

CHILEAN WORKING HOLIDAYS PARTICIPANTS
IN SWEDEN
EXPLORING INTENTIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

Master Thesis in Business Management

Stockholm School of Economics

Fall 2020

Abstract

The present work intends to explore the motivations and intentions of an emerging and growing group of new migrants in Sweden: young nationals of Chile migrating to Sweden under a working holiday visa. The qualitative study intends to visualize and understand this ongoing migration not only to complement the theoretical framework on migration but also to understand the motivations and how these are formed, being able to predict migrations and generate policies that can satisfy the intentions of the countries involved. The findings suggest that the original cultural spirit of this visa is not met and there are economical motivations that drive their actions. Also, the group is heterogeneous in terms of their intended migration and I have split them into three groups: Willing Migrants, Opportunistic Migrants, and Temporary Wanderers. Neither of these groups fit entirely into the migrations theories reviewed in this investigation, but by splitting the sample, some groups are more related to certain theories especially the ones related to high skilled migration. I also reflected on some macro and business implications given the findings. This type of migration has been understudied even though the first working holiday agreements date from the 70s, so I also suggest further areas of investigation.

Keywords: High skilled migration, Working holiday Visa, Migration Theories, Qualitative analysis, Motivations of Migrants

Author: Carolina Urrea

Supervisor: Miguel Morillas

Index

1. Introduction	4
Personal motivations	4
Research Problem	4
Research Questions and Purposes of Investigation	6
2. Background	6
Working holiday visa agreement between Chile and Sweden	7
3. Methodology	10
Data Collection	10
Data Analysis	11
Sample	12
Limitations of Qualitative Analysis	13
Validity	13
Reliability	14
4. Theoretical Framework	14
Human Capital Theory	14
Migration Theories	14
Traditional Migration Models	15
Neoclassical Theory on Migration	15
New Economics of Migration	15
Relative deprivation and migration	16
Call Effect	16
High Skilled Migration Theories	17
Liquid Immigration	17
Self-Initiated Expatriate	18
Lifestyle migration	19
Theories of Motivations On Migration	19
5. Findings	22
Common characteristics for the sample	23
Regular Migration and the selection of the visa	23
Tertiary Education	24
Social Class	24
Family Ties	24

Relevant life-course events	25
Ideas on Europe and Occidentalism	26
Type of Jobs performed in Sweden	26
Social Networks in the host country	27
Different characteristics and Clustering the sample	28
Clustering the sample	28
Intentions to stay in Sweden and Future Plans	29
Life satisfaction and life fulfillment	32
Networks and information	34
6. Discussion and Integration to Migration Theory	36
Neoclassical theory or economic factors	36
Theories related to High skilled migrants	36
Liquid Migration	36
Self-Initiated Expatriates	37
Lifestyle migration	38
Call Effect and Networks	38
7. Conclusions	39
General	39
Possible macro-effects	41
Brain-Drain	41
Brain Waste	42
Policy Implications	42
Business Implications	43
Further areas for investigation	44
Bibliography	46
Annex	50
Interview guideline	50

1. Introduction

Personal motivations

As a Chilean in Sweden, I have experienced many satisfactions but also many challenges. Humans tend to regroup with individuals who have similar characteristics (Jariego, 2003), and I, as an immigrant, tried to find connections with other Latin groups and Chileans living in Sweden. I was aware of the existence of a large colony of first-generation Chileans in the country. However, the second-generation of Chileans (who were closer to my age) were not facing the same challenges I was facing in terms of paperwork, language, and socialization.

When I moved to Sweden in 2018, there was a small group of young Chileans in Sweden under the working holiday scheme. Digital Social networks are a great place to bring people together, and it was through these networks I met people who became friends and support in a foreign country. As a friend and part of these groups, I realized that these groups of Chileans (and later Argentinians and Uruguayans, the other 2 Latin American nationalities with access to the same visa) were rapidly increasing in number and intensity. The ease in changing to a more permanent visa and the fact that during the corona crisis, most countries but Sweden (among a few others) decided to temporarily suspend the application for their working holiday visas, increased the interest in the Working Holiday in Sweden. At the same, I realized that most of the people I knew (Swedish or ex-pats) who weren't part of these groups were unaware of the existence of this increasing group of migrants, their characteristics, their challenges, and opportunities. I also couldn't find explicit intentions from Swedish or Latin-American institutions to guide the migrants in their experiences with this visa.

Research Problem

Given my motivations and having some issues similar to this new group of Chilean migrants, I started to search for literature about working holiday programs. However, I could not find much investigation on this particular group of migrants, which is more notorious for the Latin American case, given that the working holiday visa agreements are essentially a new phenomenon.

The literature on working holiday programs comes mainly from countries that have a long history with these programs (mostly Australia and Canada), and the migration literature on the Swedish case focuses on large groups of refugees and asylum seekers who have been forced to leave their countries and most of the time are unwilling to come back, which is the opposite situation to the working holiday visa holders who are willing to move temporarily and don't have restrictions to return to their home countries. One can expect that the motivations for migration for these groups (refugees and working holiday holders) would be different. Still sadly there is not much literature about it to conclude this.

The European refugee crisis has led Sweden to tighten border controls and impose legislative changes for asylum seekers, making it more challenging to get a residence permit and reunite their families. Sweden has adopted the minimum EU level that puts restrictions on family reunification and grants residence only in some instances that now include age and education requirements. (Sweden.se, 2020).

The opposite is happening with this working holiday visa; Sweden is one of the only countries to offer an unlimited number of visas to the countries with which it has agreements and, one of the few countries that didn't suspend this type of agreement even though the travel restrictions that occurred during the covid-19 pandemic, till late 2020.

Table 1
Number of working holiday visas issued by country

Country	Gender	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
ARGENTINA	M	1	145	433	379	958
	W		121	415	347	883
ARGENTINA Sum		1	266	848	726	1841
CHILE	M	82	149	274	135	640
	W	52	112	243	139	546
CHILE Sum		134	261	517	274	1186
URUGUAY	M		9	56	24	89
	W		7	29	27	63
URUGUAY Sum			16	85	51	152
Total		135	543	1450	1051	3179

Source: Migrationsverket by request

I believe that it is essential to visualize and understand this ongoing migration issue, not only to complement the theoretical framework on migration but also to understand the motivations behind this particular group of migrants, being able to predict migrations and generate policies that can satisfy the intentions of the countries involved in terms of migration.

As this work intends to understand the motivations and expectations faced by this particular group of new migrants to Sweden, I conducted a qualitative investigation to discover the motivations to migrate and how these motivations are formed; also how these motivations can shape the experience in the country and finally if current theories on migration can explain or predict this phenomenon.

Research Questions and Purposes of Investigation

1. How the difference in expectations and motivation shape the working holiday experience?
2. How can different contexts affect the overall experience?
3. Does this group of migrants fit any migration theory?

The primary purposes of this investigation are :

- Visualize the motivations behind an ongoing phenomenon.
- Relate this migration to previous theories on migration.
- Reflect on the possible effects and opportunities of this type of migration.
- Suggest further areas of investigation based on the findings and challenges of this investigation.

This investigation's structure is the following; first, I will start with background and relevant information, then a description of the methods used and the selection of the sample. Next, I will refer to previous theories on migration that can be useful to theorize on my sample and I will present the results and relate them with migration theories. Ultimately suggest further areas of investigation, based on the challenges faced by the present study.

2. Background

Mobility has always been part of human history. Humans have migrated to places with better conditions to live, being these: find more fertile lands, escape from conflicts, the pursuit of freedom, and better job prospects. People migrate mainly because they want a better future.

It is not difficult to realize that economic globalization, defined as a process by which the economies and markets, with the development of communication technologies, acquire a worldwide dimension, has led to an increase in mobility.

However, this mobility is not free from friction. There is extensive literature on migration processes and their associated (positive and negative) macro-effects on both home and host countries at a macro-level perspective. Less literature is concerned about the qualitative aspects of mobility and their effects on people, it mainly focuses on forced migration.

For Sweden, the situation has not been different and nowadays the literature focuses mainly on displaced migration. This is expected: at the beginning of the 20th-century, Sweden experienced a high emigration, today,

the situation is the opposite, and the net migration rate is positive. Nowadays, 20% of the population immigrated to Sweden in 2019. (United Nations, 2019). More than 60% of immigrants come from countries outside Europe. Most of them had entered the country as refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced persons or relatives of those. (Migration Policy Institute, 2020).

The rise of asylum seekers began in the 1980s when Sweden opened for refugees from countries with repressive regimes. Immigration from Latin American was not an issue until the beginning of the 80s with the waves of Chilean refugees coming to Sweden during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship of Chile during 1973–1990. Today, about 50,000 people with Chilean background reside in Sweden, and Sweden is home to the third-largest Chilean community outside of Chile, after Argentina and the US. (INE Chile, 2018)

Nowadays, there is a new phenomenon affecting (and somehow promoting) Latin American migration to Sweden. It comes in the form of a new visa for some countries of the region: The Working Holiday Visa. However there's not enough literature to conclude any macro or micro effects on both countries.

Working holiday visa agreement between Chile and Sweden

A working holiday visa is a temporary residence permit that allows the holder work (sometimes also study) legally in the issuing country for a limited period of time to complete the trip and accommodation cost. Their intention is mainly cultural to strengthen the relations and understanding between the countries involved.

Although working holiday visas started in the late 70s there is not much literature on the them (e.g. on the effects of the migration for the host country and the country of origin, on the visa holder's motivations, expectations and their life journeys) and most of the available literature refers to countries with a long history of the visa. In particular, most of the analyzed literature about the impacts of this type of visa comes from the Australian or Canadian case, which are the countries that first started these programs in the late 70s.

Nowadays, more than 60 countries have agreements for these programs with differences in requirements, length of stay, and the number of visas issued each year. Most of them also don't allow the participant to travel with dependents like children, spouses, or parents. By the time of this investigation, Chile had 20 Working-Holiday visa agreements. Only 3 countries issue unlimited visas for Chilean nationals (Sweden, Portugal, and Germany).

Sweden's official information states: "Chile and Sweden have signed an agreement that allows people between 18 and 30 years old the opportunity to stay as a tourist in Sweden for up to one year. Permit that is not renewable. The purpose of the stay is mainly to get to know Sweden and its traditions, but it also allows you to work temporarily." (Embassy of Sweden, 2020)

Unlike other countries that issue a limited number of visas based on the order of application or a random draw, the Swedish visa is granted to everyone who meets the requirements and the response time is about 3 months.

The participants need to complete age requirements (18-30 years), fund requirements (15.000 SEK) and have valid insurance for the length of stay, which can be up to 1 year. Also, all the application process can be done online, and it is not necessary to be in Chile to apply. Unlike other visas of this type, there are no additional requirements in terms of language, tertiary qualifications, length of time worked (in total or for the same employer), or health tests. Also, given that the visa is granted to everyone who meets the requirements, this visa is attractive for participants who want to travel with friends or partners.

Working holidays agreements can be attractive to young people because, as expected, obtaining a working holiday visa takes less time and effort than moving to the host country through a job offer or a study program (Callos, 2019). To get a job offer, one generally needs a sponsor, and, understandably, most employers are reluctant to hire someone they don't have references for, or not available immediately to fill the vacant position. On the other hand, study visas generally have more requirements regarding of qualification, language, and funds. Moreover, moving to a country where wages are higher allows the participants to easily complement their funds to reside in the host country and save money for travelling around the host country or for projects at home. Participating in these programs can also be rewarding in terms of personal and cultural growth. On the professional side, participants can benefit from learning new skills and languages.

Unlike countries that have issued these visas for a longer time, like Canada or Australia, there's incomplete information in terms of what is needed to do once the visa is issued to work in Sweden. Although the official web page says that they need to get a coordination number and there's a link to the form, most of the interviewees in this investigation had problems with this process or know someone who had them. Some of them have been issued another type of tax number (personnummer) that allows them access to benefits as if they were locals, like access to public health on subsided costs or attend to language classes (Swedish or English) at no cost. It is also curious that, even when it is understandable that agreements between Sweden and different countries may vary, this same visa has different information depending on the country; for example, the visa agreement between Sweden and Canada states that "Please note that you should not enter Sweden until your application has been approved.", which is not the case for the Chilean agreement.

About the types of jobs that working holiday visa holders perform, bibliography, as is expected, suggests participants of the working holiday programs tend to work on low-skilled jobs. This could occur due the limited time of stay of the visa, the lack of local language, or the (in)transference of skills. Also, it can depend on the ability of the employer to attract locals.

Harding & Webster, 2001, in their investigation on the working holiday working in Australia, validate this statement; they also indicate that 85% of the participants engage in some type of employment and 78% in low skills jobs. Most engage in seasonal employment, given that the Australian working holiday visa only allows working 3 months for the same employers. Although there are no restrictions on the length or type of work or

performed with the Swedish working holiday visa, it is expected that most of the participants end in low skills jobs.

It is also interesting to notice in this case, the ease in changing from this working holiday visa to a more permanent one, like a work permit or a partner visa, in contrast to others countries offering these visas that restrict the access to a permanent migration after a working holiday visa.

To get a work permit, the official information on Swedish migration office web pages states: “You must have been offered a job before you can obtain a work permit. You cannot enter Sweden until the permit has been granted. You cannot obtain a work permit to go to Sweden and look for a job.” (Swedish Migration Agency, 2020b). However there is a grey area for working holiday participants who have managed to change their temporary visa to a permanent one through a Work Permit, so most of them are allowed to continue working in Sweden while they wait for an answer (which can take more than a year).

The requirements to get a Work Permit in Sweden regarding wages and general requirements are surprisingly low. Work permit applicants need to have been offered a job that pays them at least a monthly salary of 13.000 Swedish crowns (1488 USD), which is considerably lower than the average salaries in Sweden (31.400 Swedish crowns). (Statistics Sweden, 2019). Other requirements fall on the employer, like advertise the position in Sweden and within EU/EES and Switzerland for a minimum of ten days, offer terms of work that are at least on par with those set by the unions and allow the relevant trade union to provide a statement of opinion regarding the terms of employment. Unlike other European countries, Swedish employers are not obligated to prefer European candidates.

By the time of this investigation, 7% (230) of the total of working holiday participants were successfully issued a work permit, and there’s no information on how many work permits are still processing.

Table 2

Number of working permits issued after a Working Holiday visa by country

Country	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
ARGENTINA		1	41	69	111
CHILE	1	21	40	49	111
URUGUAY			1	7	8
Total	1	22	82	125	230

Source: Migrationsverket by request

3. Methodology

I decided to conduct qualitative research, given the lack of understanding of the working holiday participant's intentions and motivations.

Qualitative research involves collecting and analyzing non-numerical data (in this case, interviews) to understand opinions or experiences (Silverman, 2013). The focus is to get an in-depth insight into this phenomenon that can help, not only to the understanding of it but also to guide future qualitative and quantitative investigations and propose new problems to explore.

Narrative inquiry is a form of qualitative research in which stories become the raw data, allowing one to investigate subjective experiences, such as identity, motivation, and lifestyle. This approach requires collecting different narratives or stories from individuals or small groups (Panzeri, 2018). The narrative approach is useful to identify the immigrant's discourse about their expectations and motivations to migrate and to establish abroad. It requires a small number of participants to focus on the in-depth knowledge of their experiences. A narrative study considers the migration phenomenon as a complex, multidimensional, and dynamic process and it allows researchers to get into the subjectivity of each participant and its context.

According to Cáceres, 2003, the narrative approach in migration studies enables the analysis of 1) Well-being in immigrants; 2) Perceptions, memories, and interpretations about immigrants life; 3) Research on subjectivity and contradictory realities; 4) Immigrant as an expert and primary source of research; 5) The research process as a social interaction between the researcher and the participant, collaborating in a collective theorization. For this investigation, I focused on motivations and expectations, how they are formed and eventual contradictions in their narratives.

Moreover, a narrative perspective would amplify different points of view and dimensions about immigration experiences, getting important information to develop social policies and establish intervention programs to reduce the migrant population's risk factors. Qualitative research can also contribute to the great effort to question the classical theoretical models and seek a holistic vision of the immigrant's life experiences. (Ryan et al., 2008)

Data Collection

To explore the motivations for Chileans under a working holiday visa agreement, I conducted semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for this investigation because the researcher can ask questions as the particular case requires and search on different topics according to the participant's experience. (Panzeri, 2018).

The interview procedure involves a general interview guide approach and includes outline questions, ensuring that all pertinent topics are covered. (Butina, 2015).

To collect qualitative data, the interview guide has the following topics: i) Brief presentation of each participant; ii) Life in Chile; iii) Motivations and expectations about moving abroad; iii) Postulation process for Working Holiday; iv) Life and work experience in Sweden; v) Opportunities and difficulties in the Working Holiday process; vi) Future plans; vii) Recommendations about Working Holiday experience in Sweden. The questions' intention is related to finding out the answers for the research questions and directing the conversation to my topics of interest.

The research guideline helps to ensure that all the topics of interest are covered and limits the interviewees' discourse and maintain professional distance creating the right rapport to connect with the experience I wanted to explore.

Data Analysis

One of the most accepted definitions of data analysis in qualitative research is defined as the process of making sense of the data. Butina, 2015, explains that in the analysis process, the researcher consolidates the data focusing on those segments that may provide insight into the research questions. The researcher compares each component looking for themes in the data and interprets what the interviewees have said, giving meaning to the narratives. These meanings are the findings in the investigation. However, data collection and analysis are simultaneous, so primary analysis begins during the first interview while the investigator identifies emerging insights. When data analysis is complete, a more in-depth analysis begins. However, there are no set procedures for narrative analysis.

Riessman, 2005, describes four models used in narrative analysis, with their advantages and disadvantages: 1) Thematic analysis; 2) Structural analysis; 3) Interactional analysis; 4) Visual Narrative.

The thematic analysis emphasizes the narrative's content, mainly in what is said, avoiding the narratives' main structure. In this investigation, the thematic analysis is the most appropriate to search on immigrants' expectations and motivations. This type of research underlines concepts and theories behind the phenomenon and identifies the main themes in the immigrants' motivation and expectations during the Working Holiday experience in Sweden.

Data thematic analysis presents five stages: 1) Organization and preparation of the data; 2) Obtaining a general sense of the information; 3) Coding process; 4) Categories or themes; 5) Interpretation of the data. (Cáceres, 2003). For this investigation, I started by transcribing the interviews' audio to grasp general information from the sample. The transcription process rudimentary patterns or themes are noted in the transcript margins. The

next step is the Coding process, a progressive process of sorting and defining a strategy for sampling those scraps of collected data. The coding process's main intention is to find common narratives in the sample, and then relate these findings to migration theories. I used Nvivo Software to make the coding process more manageable and consistent. This process is not necessarily a separate stage as it can be simultaneous with other steps. Then I grouped the coding into categories that could help me explain the group's motivations and intentions.

The last stage refers to interpreting the data. Although the purpose of the investigation is not grounded theory, I do not exclude the possibility to grasp new ideas on this migration if the narratives of the sample don't seem to fit any of the theories of migration reviewed in this work.

Sample

The sample was formed by Chileans participating (or who have participated) on the working holiday visa agreement with Sweden. All of them have tertiary education.

Many immigrants, regardless of the cause of immigration, tend to regroup with other immigrants. (Rovira et al., 2000) There is no exception for this particular group of young Chileans who have found on social media a way to get information, support, and engage in social activities. Several Facebook and Whatsapp groups bring together prospects, participants, and some merely interested in the visa and the experiences of participants and former participants of the visa.

Some individuals were self-selected by request from these social media groups for working holiday participants (Facebook groups and WhatsApp groups). Others were brought by other interviewees using the snow-ball effect. The individuals were freely willing to participate and most of them didn't care about the anonymity of the investigation.

12 participants were interviewed in 11 interviews, given that no new themes were found after the 10th interview, suggesting saturation of the sample.

Table 3
Description of participants

Interview	Gender	Studies	Age	Travel with	Status
1	M	Engineer	28	Partner	Processing work Permit
2	F	English Teacher	26	Partner	Applying to work Permit
3	M	English Teacher	32	Partner & Family	Processing work Permit
4	M	Programming	28	Alone	Employer will apply for work Permit

		(incomplete)			
5	M	Nurse Assistant	27	Alone but have family in Sweden	Looking for an employer to process work Permit
6	M	Engineer	30	Partner	Doing another working holiday visa
6	F	Translator	33	Partner	Doing another working holiday visa
7	F	Nurse Assistant	30	Partner & Family	Processing work Permit
8	F	Social Worker	26	Partner	Processing work Permit Outside Sweden
9	F	Journalist	28	Alone	Processing work Permit Outside Sweden
10	M	Business Manager	30	Partner	Processing work Permit
11	F	Music Teacher	28	Partner	Back in Chile

***Interview 6 was made to 2 participants at the same time**

The interviews were conducted in Spanish to better understand their motivations and not restrict language and its interpretation. Being a Chilean in Sweden myself, allowed me also to get intimacy at the same time to understand concepts, slang and other events mentioned in the interviews that have a lot of cultural baggage.

Limitations of Qualitative Analysis

Unlike quantitative researchers, who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations. (Hoepfl, 1997). Nevertheless there are some limitations associated with this type of investigation and are: Validity and Reliability.

Validity

Validity is defined as the extent to which a concept is accurately measured in a quantitative study. The validity in quantitative research is defined as “construct validity” or “construct representation” where construct is the initial concept that the researcher wants to explore. The researchers' level of involvement in the research process could significantly reduce the validity of the investigation.

Reliability

The second measure of quality in a quantitative study is reliability or the accuracy of an instrument. In other words, the extent to which a research instrument consistently has the same results if it is used in the same situation on repeated occasions. (Heale & Twycross, 2015). Some authors disagree with the use of reliability in qualitative research given that a “good” qualitative research should generate understanding. (Golafshani, 2003), nevertheless, this study intends to understand the process and motivations of this type of migration and address previous migration theories to achieve reliability.

4. Theoretical Framework

Several theories have tried to explain the migration process. In the next section, I'll present the ones that could fit the findings better, starting from the most classic to the newer ones.

Human Capital Theory

The Oxford English Dictionary defines human capital as “the skills the labor force possesses and is regarded as a resource or asset.”. This stock of skills (e.g. knowledge, habits, social and personality attributes, etc) allows individuals to perform in the labor market and produce economic value. According to human capital theory, people move to find employment and remuneration more appropriate to their formal education and training. (Iredale, 2001). By migration, individuals can get more opportunities than in their current location. These opportunities can generate higher wages and opportunities to increase their human capital and generate even higher returns in the long term.

Immigrants bring their human capital accumulated in their countries of origin to the host country. Still in some cases, this human capital may not be transferable to the host country (e.g. social capital). Therefore, the explanation for ‘underemployment’ would be explained by differences in human capital between natives and immigrants. Being more specific, even high skilled immigrants (especially new) tend to lack country-specific skills (e.g. language, understanding of customs, social-capital).

This theory could help understand if these migrants move because their human capital is more valued in the host country and recall how transferable are the skills they gather in the home country.

Migration Theories

Several theories can explain immigration, but even though they try to explain the same phenomenon, they employ radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference. (Massey et al., 1993).

Traditional Migration Models

Traditional migration models focus on the pull-push factors to explain migrations. Push factors from the original location would be inequality-poverty and push factors in the destination, social safety, and better wages. The most general theory on immigration based on the pull-push effects is the neoclassical theory; however there are other theories, especially on ethnography that recall the same pull-push arguments.

Neoclassical Theory on Migration

The neoclassical theory suggests that individuals are rational and search for personal benefits or well-being to explain migratory movements. Individuals then migrate because they can obtain better wages and better living conditions than where they reside. The migrants conceive a rational calculation that compares costs (e.g., monetary cost of moving, effort to integrate into a new culture and learn a new language), and benefits. They will go where they can be more productive.

At a macro level, the neoclassical theory of international mobility is explained by differences in wages and labor markets among countries. If wage differences were eliminated, international mobility would stop. Labor would move from labor-force-rich/capital-poor countries to labor-force-poor/capital-rich countries; and the capital would move oppositely (expecting higher returns on investments).

At a micro level, migrants move because they expect higher wages in the place they move.

There are some criticisms to this approach: 1): The economic factor has a predominant role within the causes of migration, although there are multiple factors that motivate migration 2): It focuses on the present, forget the weight of historical factors and minimize the migratory culture of the populations; and, 3): that neoclassical formulations apply to developed countries, but not to traditional societies, where the capital factor is scarce, the labor force is abundant and the articulation between the different modes of production is marked.

It is essential to consider this classical theory for the group, especially when we know that they are moving to a wealthier economy.

New Economics of Migration

The new economics of migration, indicate that migration decisions are not isolated but are taken by a large number of people, which collectively maximize their incomes. (Massey et al., 1993). These groups of people (households), unlike individuals, can plan better strategies to diversify risk. Migration then would occur as a strategy to diversify risks and not necessarily stop if wage differences disappear.

Relative deprivation and migration

Unlike the neoclassical theory on immigration, relative deprivation emphasizes the comparison of welfare between the migrants and their group of reference. Deprivation is an increasing function of not having something one wants, by seeing someone else having it, or seeing it as feasible to have. Relative deprivation then would depend on the prosperity of other groups that are taken as reference, and the perception of well being of the group itself. Migration would occur to maximize the expected income and to minimize the feeling of relative deprivation to the reference group. (Kafle et al., 2020)

Later authors have hypothesized that both, traditional immigration models and relative deprivation models, should be analyzed to understand the migration decisions, cause however, it is not surprising that migrations movements tend to go from countries with lower average wages to higher average wages, the largest movements of people don't come from the poorer countries. Significant migrations also come from richer countries to poorer countries and also among countries with similar wage levels. (Czaika & de Haas, 2012).

Czaika & de Hass 2012, introduced the concepts of internal (within a country or local community) and international relative deprivation (between countries) to explain migrations. Internal and international relative deprivation can both influence the willingness to migrate, however, it could also be argued that only one of them is perceived by the individual and therefore affecting their migration. For example, some individuals could perceive a high-level of local relative deprivation, and then they are willing to relocate internationally, even though the destination does not necessarily show higher average wage levels. The authors also suggest that “education brings with it a broadening of “mental horizons” and changing concepts of the “good life and increasing life aspirations”.

Comparing these working holiday participants with their reference group at home or with other Chileans living abroad could be a reason for the migration. It will be interesting not only to test this theory but also to discover which reference groups are they comparing themselves to.

Call Effect

Positive narratives of established migrants in the host country can promote migration by creating a hyper-reality of their own experiences creating a call-effect or pull-effect on other compatriots promoting immigration to the host country.

The call effect is also based on specific governmental policies that make the settlement of migrants easy. In some cases, this had encouraged the arrival of illegal migrants like it had happened in Spain and Chile. Nevertheless, ONU statistics show there is no call-effect from a specific political event (Baeza, 2019), but it will be naive to deny its existence and eventual effect on migrations without further investigation.

It is not a secret that southern countries face challenges in terms of stability, inequality, and wages but the established migrants from these economies in wealthier ones, tend to glorify the benefits of the host country, making the migration process look easier and free of friction than it could be.

The access to social media, blogs, and Youtube make these narratives easily accessible to the audience. Statements like “ don’t listen to negative comments” and “You can do it” discourage people to look for neutral or negative experiences to generate a more objective picture of the migration process. It would be naive to deny that people nowadays find information of all kinds in social media, and for this migration, it’s important to recognize if there’s a Call Effect for this group and who are the groups that are making the “call”.

High Skilled Migration Theories

According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, highly skilled workers are typically defined as having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field.

The group is indeed high-skilled and given so, their motivations might fit better to theories developed for this group. Their education should give them more scope to analyze the opportunities and they should have more intentions in terms of capitalizing their experience.

Liquid Immigration

One of the concepts that have been lately used as a theory to explain high skilled migration is liquid migration. The term was coined mainly to describe the massive migration from polish citizens to Uk, Ireland, and the Netherlands after these countries opened their borders to European citizens for work purposes, given that traditional theories on immigration failed to explain (and predict) this migration process.

The concept refers to a more fluid way to migrate given the transformation of institutions and the elimination of the administrative borders that came to describe migrations in the European Union after the free movement of workers was established. Liquid migration is a phenomenon post access to the migration and is highly labor-motivated. (Engbersen & Snel, 2013). Liquid migration possesses six characteristics :

1. Settlement: This type of migration is temporary and migrants move back and forth from the host country and the country of origin. The non-registration can give the migrants an invisible status in the host country.
2. Type of Migration: Migrants move for student and labor reasons, being the latter the predominant one.
3. Status: Migrants have legal residential status.
4. Destination: There is no destination settled in advance.

5. Family: It is mostly an individual decision and they are mainly first-generation migrants.
6. Migratory habitus: Unpredictable. Migrants might move back, or to another destination.

Students and other high skilled immigrants have the ambition to capitalize on their competencies and move upward in the foreign country. Still they reside in temporal settings and don't have a lot of natives in their social networks. (Engbersen & Snel, 2013).

Even though this theory does not assess the real migratory status for this group, this migration phenomenon is happening after an "open border" between Chile and Sweden and could help to explain some of the motivations to migrate.

Self-Initiated Expatriate

According to Cerdin & Selmer, 2013, self-initiated expatriates (SIE) are a particular group of migrants that possess 4 characteristics:

1. Self-initiated international relocation: SIEs do not have direct support from an organization (or employer) to relocate. In their pursuit to relocate, they may find a job before the relocation. They move mainly because of the challenges and opportunities abroad and they have not suffered from violence or economic distress in their country.
2. Intentions of regular employment: Even though in some cases, and due to policies and certifications, SIEs can end up doing much less skilled jobs, the will to find a job according to their skills prevails.
3. Intentions of a temporary stay: SIEs look for eventual repatriation although this return is not pre-arranged, and this is different from other migrants whose decisions to relocate are mostly on a long-term basis. Given this temporal relocation, they just temporarily adjust their behavior but they keep their values and norms more or less intact.
4. Possess skilled/professional qualifications: They need to have qualifications that allow them to find a job in the host country.

It is essential to distinguish SIEs from other types of high skilled migrants, because their length of stay and integration differ from more traditional types of migrations. Their motivations and contributions to the host and home country are also something to be considered in terms of public policies and also for organizations in terms of retention and recruitment.

As most of the group in study is indeed formed mostly for high skilled migrants, they could fit into this theory if their intentions to relocate are temporary and their intentions are mostly to work, however the original purpose of the working holiday visas is mainly cultural.

Lifestyle migration

For the past few years, the term “lifestyle migration” has been used to refer to an increasing number of people who decide to migrate based on their belief that there is a more fulfilling way of life available to them elsewhere. (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

Although there is not a clear definition of lifestyle migrants, the literature suggests that are migrants whose main reason to relocate is not economical and they do not necessarily move to a country with a more robust economy.

It is difficult to explain a better way of life, but the narratives suggest that the sense of “new beginning” and escaping from their local reality' seems to be common for this type of migration. The advantages of the new location are often idealized and individual fulfilling is the primary goal of migrating, so lifestyle migrants tend to move alone or with their closest family (partner or partner and kids), which is also a difference in the motivations and goals of other types of migration.

Lifestyle migration is a novel extension of a phenomenon that relates mostly to the relative economic privilege of individuals in the developed world and even though the search for a better life is a familiar concept among other types of migrations, there are differences regarding the main motivation (not economical), the possibility to come back to the source country with ease and the individualistic source of the motivation to move.

This theory is more related to the cultural intention of the working holiday visas, it is interesting to analyze if this “new start” and idealization are present in the working holiday experience.

Theories of Motivations On Migration

De Jong, 2000 developed a theory on migration that suggests that expectations and family norms about migration are the main predictors of the intention to move. His work is quantitative and used different regression models to test different sets of expectations and their impact on the intention to move using data from the 1992 and 1994 waves of the Thailand National Migration Survey. One of the author's goals was to test a behavioral model that incorporates subjective expectations among other variables as determinants of migration intentions and behavior.

More classical theories on migration refer to individual decision making in terms of migration. Still these classical models had failed to explain some migratory movements of people and also immobility in others. Adding a network element to the models had intended to explain migration dynamics in the context of a

pioneer and a subsequent “migration-chain”. Some authors had concluded that adding this effect can predict direction but not volume of international migration. The role of networks and collectives that could induce people to stay, move, or return is not entirely understood.

De Jong also refers to the theory of planned behavior to explain social influence in migration decisions. This theory, developed by Ajzen in 1988, links beliefs and behavior, indicating that expectations are the primary determinant of behavior. This approach also identifies some elements that can constraint or facilitate behaviors. Social influence can affect the beliefs about the probability of success of a particular action (e.g. likelihood of obtaining a higher wage in a different location) but also about what is expectedly to be the (social) norm (e.g. migrating is the norm at a certain age). The author found that these “socially influenced beliefs” affect in a greater extent the decision to relocate permanently than on temporary decisions on migrations, which are more reactive to the environment.

The main conclusions of De Jong are that expectations (especially on wages) are a statistically significant predictor of the intention to move permanently, and still is more determinant for women than for men. These expectations are influenced by migration norms in the closest social network, being the size of the network not statistically significant. Furthermore, the expectations of not attaining goals in the local community also positively affect the intention to move, and there are no differences among gender. Prior experiences on migration are also a positive determinator of the intention to move. At the same time, men's intentions to migrate are more dependent on family and friend affiliation expectations in the local community, migrant networks in cities, on the discouraging factors of migration, having a dependent child or elderly, reduces the intention of moving especially on men.

Another article by Hoxhaj, 2015, on wage expectations of illegal immigrants in Italy, also found that expectations about the destination country's future conditions are a fundamental determinant of migration. However there is evidence suggesting that these expectations are not met. The decision to migrate depends mainly on the expectation of wages, which at the same time depends on the available information for the migrants before departure. He found that for illegal immigrants, this overestimation of wages can be up to 84%.

Expectations based on incorrect information could be unrealistic. Some studies mentioned in Hoxhaj's investigation show that returning and staying migrants emphasize their positive experiences in the host country to indicate they have or had a successful experience.

Other studies suggest the role of media (tv) in creating high expectations of the potential host country. It is not difficult to infer that nowadays, social media could have the same effect on the creation of expectations, especially cause it allows access to a large number of individuals' experiences being Facebooks Groups and Youtube channels an important source of information that it's perceived as objective, even though it's generally

about the subjective experiences of that individual in a particular context. It is also not hard to expect that most of these experiences are positive.

Hoxhaj found that on average, migrants overestimate the wages they can get abroad cause they compare the information of wages that locals receive. He also analyzed the role of networks in creating these high expectations and found that even though there is evidence on the effects of possessing a network, there are no studies on the quality of the information that networks spread.

He finally concludes that real socio-economic information on the destination country could increase the benefits of migration for host and sending countries by reducing “failed migration” and therefore reducing the pressure on the destination countries. However I would argue that still, migrants would look for mainly positive experiences on their networks, overlooking the negative (which are also more difficult to find) to justify their expectations under an over-positive light.

Decisions to migrate are complex and are based on personal perception of the home and host country. Networks influence these personal perceptions. According to Faist, 2000, these perceptions are affected at a micro-level (individual), a macro-level (national), and a meso-level (community). The author also defines norms and expectations as being part of social ties. These social ties also involved what he called symbolic ties, which are perceived bonds not based on prior contact. Bringing these definitions to how people connect today on social media, it is not difficult to realize that symbolic ties are embedded in social ties and also can be as or more important than traditional social ties. Moreover, Faist defined social capital as an inherent local asset that can only be transported outside of the community if it meets certain characteristics. Still, nowadays this transportation process is easier and more fluid than it used to, and it is not difficult to visualize that social influence on decisions to migrate is larger than before.

Life-course can also shape the expectations on migration: younger migrants look for higher wages and older people look for better weather and health access. (Kley, 2010) . The author also proposes the sequence-stage process on migration that considers a pre-decisional phase (considering migration), a phase after the decision is taken (planning migration), and a phase in which the action is carried out (moving). She also suggested that migration intentions are based on the perception that achieving life goals are easier in the host country. Therefore migration decisions depend upon life-course events and life-course transitions. Events that tend to dissolve bonds to the home country (eg like completing school) at certain stages of the decision process, can shape expectations and could be triggers on migration decisions. As it is expected events that can create new ties in the destination country (eg having more financial resources elsewhere) have also a positive impact on the migration intention.

Cerdin et al., 2014, in their exploratory article on motivations and integration on high-skilled migrants in France, found that the motivations to move were the main aspects of their narratives. They find that their motivations are a combination of factors that are related to their opinion on the host country (cultural factors, opportunities for international experience, and family factors, that usually relate to marriage to a french person) the opinion on the home country (insecurity, difficult environment and economic problems) and their personal motivations. Given that these motives are similar to the ones in the theory of self-initiated expatriate (described previously) the authors added a fourth dimension related to gain framing (expectations of gain something in the host country like professional skills) and loss framing (the fear to lose something at home due to the migration like social and professional status).

Decisions to migrate tend to be risky, given that the probabilities of different scenarios are uncertain. A correct evaluation of the trade-off between gain losses can create realistic expectations of the complex migration process. But even among well-educated migrants the hypothesis of comparative ignorance (Fox & Tversky, 1995). This hypothesis suggests that uncertainty is “reduced” by comparing the uncertain scenario with less uncertain events or with individuals considered as more knowledgeable. When people evaluate an uncertain event in isolation, they consider their known probabilities of success and failure, but when they evaluate two scenarios with different knowledge on them they tend to rely on the most familiar one. This theory also suggests that there is a network component when it comes to evaluating uncertain situations like the migration process.

5. Findings

I will start by sharing the main findings in the sample and then linking them to the theories mentioned above. When I began this investigation, I intended to investigate a homogeneous group and I, indeed, found several common characteristics in their narratives. In qualitative analysis, data collection and analysis are processes that can be done at the same time. Hence as I started to get more understanding of the data I realized that the group is not homogenous. There are important differences that make it impossible to analyze the data as a whole. To solve this heterogeneity in the data, I clustered the participants into groups that share more similarities.

In this section, I will present the common characteristics in the sample to later present the differences and finally, present the data grouping into -more- homogeneous groups.

Common characteristics for the sample

Regular Migration and the selection of the visa

It is interesting to notice that migrating (temporary or permanently) is motivated by the possibility to do this legally. Even though the interviewees don't mention this "legal status" explicitly, when they refer to the ease to apply for the visa or the possibility to stay, they are implicitly referring to do this legally.

"We wanted to stay in Europe, and we read (on social media) that in Sweden it's really easy to do."

"Now that we can stay here with a work permit, we stay in Sweden for now"

"We wanted to travel but for a longer time in Europe that a tourist visa allows (3 months). We applied for this visa cause once with the pink card (European residence card) we can move around Europe for a year"

From their narratives, it is inferred that they consider illegal migration difficult and some of them declare that they would try to establish in another country if they can't stay legally in Sweden. Only one of the interviewees reported that they (as a family) move illegally but now even though they don't yet have a work permit approved (but in process, so their status is not irregular anymore) they can access to social benefits.

"I wouldn't recommend to anyone to do what we did (stayed illegally in Sweden) and we definitely won't do it again. If we are not granted a work permit, we will try it somewhere else, or we will come back to Chile."

All of the participants considered that this visa is really easy to obtain. Some authors have stated that this type of visa is easier to obtain than traditional visas for temporary or permanent migration like study or work visas, but all of the interviews suggested that this visa is easier to obtain among other visas of this type. It is also interesting that they selected this visa because, according to them, it is easy to stay (permanently) and/or because it allows them to travel with their partners. Comparing their motivations with other high-skilled migrants (Cerdin et al., 2014) whose incentives to move had an important cultural factor, in this group of migrants, the cultural aspect is almost non-existent in terms of decision for the country, and if it is present, it is more related to Europe as a whole than in a particular cultural interest in Sweden.

"I always wanted to live abroad...in the United States or in Europe"

"We applied for this visa because we wanted to be sure that we could travel together. We didn't want to stress applying to other countries"

"I couldn't apply to Australia because I couldn't get my study certificates, and I didn't make it through the New Zealand's process, so I looked for the place which was easier to apply (Sweden), I applied and here I am"

Tertiary Education

Even though there is no requirement for tertiary education to apply and obtain the visa, all the interviewees had some kind of tertiary education, either professional, technical, or incomplete. Chile's working holiday programs are relatively new, and the working holiday visa agreement between Chile and Sweden started in late 2016, so this option wasn't available when they were younger.

This question was explicitly asked to all the participants during the interview concerning what they were doing when they decided to apply for the working holiday visa.

The finishing of tertiary education can also be seen as a life-course event that facilitates migration being this temporary or with permanent intentions.

Social Class

From their narratives, I could infer that all of them are middle class. The term is itself unclear, and as Barozet & Fierro, 2011, commented in their work, it is also a moving target. According to 2000s statistics about 42% of the Chilean population belongs to this segment. The characteristics of the Chilean middle class are mainly the participation in the formal jobs market (66%), complete secondary education, and permanent housing (being rented or owned). Even though Chile has one of the highest inequalities in income in the world, there is no indication that these inequalities are extrapolated to the sample, and none of them declare any major problems in terms of getting the necessary funds to apply for the visa.

Also, supporting this statement, none of them mentioned that they have businesses or other assets to attend in Chile that could have prevented them from travelling or established abroad. At the same time, most of them seem to be self-funded, cause they didn't mention recurring to friends or family for economical support for their expenses.

"I had some fundings and I knew that I could make money working there... I graduated and I applied"

"We had some funds and we wanted to travel for a longer time, he sold his truck and we applied"

Family Ties

The participants in the sample, either travelled with their partners or have weak family ties in Chile. This lack of deep social structures back home and the possibility of travelling with their close family could be drivers of migrating.

Most literature on migration (especially on irregular migration) suggests the disintegration of the family, for example, Wahyun, 2015, concludes that the direct impact of migration on households and family structures has

been the splitting of a family into several types of households geographically dispersed. For this particular type of migration (through this working holiday visa) seems to be the opposite, (given that it's easy to travel in groups), and this could be a trigger not only to the intention to travel but also to the intention to establish permanently abroad.

"I would have come to Spain no matter what (to finish my studies) and he was working in Valparaiso, but we were together for more than a year and he decided to quit -his job- and come to Spain with me ... and then when we decided to come to Sweden, he wanted to come too"

"My partner, her sister, and her boyfriend. We started the travel together, and we have been in family ever since"

"Yes (I have a strong relationship) but only with my close family: mom, dad. With my siblings, I only talk occasionally. My daughter is the most important (person in my life) ... I talk to her every day"

"I don't really miss them (family and friends in Chile), well, of course, a little, but not that much, as I've said before I'm a quite cold person and I don't tend to miss people a lot."

"We have been together for 4 years and we wanted to travel together"

Relevant life-course events

Most of the interviews declare in their motivation some life events that make them want to travel at this point in their life. Some of them were finishing their studies; others declared that their main intention to travel was to get to know other countries and others were facing a choice between the travel and another life event like buying a property or getting married.

Given the age accepted to get the visa (18-30), most of the participants are in their late 30's. Even though it was not mentioned in the interviews, 30 is considered the age of transition and about 10% of people experiment a life-crisis at that age where they recall their previous decision and life journey, (Wethington, 2000), at this age is expecting that they decided to take some time off or decide a new path for their life. The participants's age could be a reflection of this "life-crisis" as part of their life-course events that motivate migration at this stage of their lives.

"We were about to move in together, buy an apartment, but we decided to travel first."

"We have bought an apartment and we wanted to get married, but I was 30 and we decided to apply for the visa first."

Ideas on Europe and Occidentalism

There is a generalized enlightenment of Europe among the Chilean population that sees this continent as almost perfect and free of frictions where everything works better and the possibilities are endless. This constitution of Europe as superior has led to a eurocentric approach in the former colonies that is still present not only for social matters but also in academic issues as Albuquerque, 2013, commented in his work. The author has also stated a eurocentric approach in Chilean education and a lack of teaching on other Latin American countries and on native populations.

The narrative on the sample can confirm this eurocentric approach where they tend to exaggerate the positive traits of Europe and negate the local attributes. This positive vision of Europe is extrapolated to Sweden, but they do not associate more attributes to Sweden than they assign to Europe as a whole.

“I like languages a lot... In Chile I always felt like...stuck, Europe is different”

“I like the system here, everything works well”

“This country is more advanced than Chile, therefore there is less garbage, people have more education...”

Type of Jobs performed in Sweden

As other studies that, present the types of jobs performed by working holiday participants in Australia and Canada (Harding & Webster, 2001; Kato, 2013), all of the participants in this study ended up in low-skilled jobs which are notoriously different from their activities performed previous the trip and/or their correspondent field of study. Most of them are working in hospitality (restaurants, hotels) and cleaning.

Although unlike in other visas of this type, there is no restriction on the kind of job they can perform or the length of this work, it looks like the lack of language or their intention, prevents them from applying to more skilled jobs. Only one interviewee declared that she applied to more skilled jobs with negative answers.

“I applied for jobs (related to my studies) but I only got negative answers. Most of them didn’t reply and the few emails I got with feedback, they told me that they required me to have studied in Sweden.”

Also, they don’t seem to prepare to face the host country’s job market in terms of abilities or language as it was seen in Japanese working holidays participants in Canada in the work of Kato, 2013, where most of their interviewees prepared themselves by studying English even though it was not a mandatory requirement to apply to the visa (just like in the Swedish case).

“My English was pretty basic, I couldn’t even buy the (transportation) ticket. My English was that bad”

“My partner spent most of his visa unemployed cause he didn’t speak English at all”

“For my girlfriend was more difficult cause she wasn’t used to these (physically intensive) jobs. She never worked in hospitality before.”

It is interesting to notice that even though all the participants have indeed a visa that allows them to work with no restrictions, some of them, their partners or people they know, engaged in unregistered jobs. The main reason for this was not to avoid taxes but because they were the only opportunities they got to get a job or an extra job. They said that this type of job is mainly managed by other Latins that recruit mostly undocumented migrants to reduce costs.

“I got jobs with Chileans mostly to do ‘rigvning’ or demolition. Most of the people I work with were undocumented and they were very lazy”

They indicated that these jobs have been -physically- difficult, sometimes not paid, and have no security in of health-related issues. Even though the situation could be just a coincidence among the sample, it is important to notice that most of the interviewees had some kind of proximity with this unregistered economy and it doesn't seem to be that they were talking about the same companies.

“We couldn’t get the (tax) numbers and most employers don’t hire you if you don’t have them. He (her partner) found an employer after 6 months. I started to work in house cleaning but I was paid in cash, so I never applied again (for the tax number).”

“My partner is waiting for my work permit (as a dependant), so he has only worked in irregular jobs. Mostly with Latins, it is not as bad, most of them pay on time.”

“My boyfriend got an (irregular) job with a Chilean guy, and he had an accident. He doesn’t have (work) insurance, so he lost his job and we had to pay a lot of money in health expenses.”

“We took all the jobs we could, most of the side jobs were with no contract, but we got paid the same day and we didn’t have to pay taxes.”

Social Networks in the host country

It is interesting to note that they have no social relations with locals. Although most of the participants traveled with their partners/family or have family in Sweden, all of them gather mainly and almost exclusively with other Chileans or Latin groups.

Social Media here plays a crucial role in connecting them in the virtual world and in ‘real-life’ and their social groups are mainly with other working holiday participants they have met on social networks. Some of them have stated that it is difficult to connect with locals but at the same time, they don’t seem to be pursuing this instance. Language-wise or merely by the fact that they share more traits with other people living the same

experience, they don't gather with Swedes even though some of them have Swedish coworkers or acquaintances and declare to have a cordial relationship with them.

"It is difficult that a Swede invite you to their homes or that they want to have a drink with you after work"

"Most of my friends are (Latins) with working holidays or some have already their work permit"

"Mainly Chileans, all our friends are Chileans"

"I get together mostly with my family, but we also participate in the church and we interact with a lot of people from all over the world, from Letonia, Spain, Kazakhstan, but also with Swedes."

Different characteristics and Clustering the sample

In the next section, I will describe the main differences found in the sample. The first one is the most notorious difference in their narratives and it's the main one I used to separate the group into homogenous clusters, which not only help with the understanding of their motivations and intentions but also to link them to migration theories.

Clustering the sample

The main difference among the interviewees is regarding their intention to migrate permanently to Sweden. Based on their differences in intentions of permanence, I have grouped them into 3 groups.

Temporary Wanderers: They are looking for travel, learn about new cultures, and come back to Chile. At the same time they want to make at least the same amount of money that they spend in the experience.

Opportunistic migrants: They were offered a work permit and now they want to stay in Sweden now, but the main intention to participate in the working holiday program was not with an intention to stay permanently.

Willing migrants: They selected this working holiday visa because they want to establish themselves permanently in Sweden given the facility to do so. They do not want to come back to Chile and they are actively pursuing this instance.

Figure 4
Grouping participants

Interview	Gender	Studies	Age	Travel with	Status	Assigned Group
1	M	Engineer	28	Partner	Processing WP	Willing Migrant
2	F	English Teacher	26	Partner	Applying to WP	Willing Migrant
3	M	English Teacher	32	Partner & Family	Processing WP	Willing Migrant

4	M	Programming (incomplete)	28	Alone	Employer will apply for WP	Willing Migrant
5	M	Nurse Assistant	27	Alone but have family in Sweden	Looking for an employer to process WP	Willing Migrant
6	M	Engineer	30	Partner	Doing another WH visa	Temporary Wanderer
6	F	Translator	33	Partner	Doing another WH visa	Temporary Wanderer
7	F	Nurse Assistant	30	Partner & Family	Processing WP	Willing Migrant
8	F	Social Worker	26	Partner	Processing WP Outside Sweden	Opportunistic Migrant
9	F	Journalist	28	With Friend	Processing WP Outside Sweden	Opportunistic Migrant
10	M	Business Manager	30	Partner	Processing WP	Opportunistic Migrant
11	F	Music Teacher	28	Partner	Back in Chile	Temporary Wanderer

Intentions to stay in Sweden and Future Plans

The main difference in their narratives is about their intention of migrating permanently to Sweden. This intention to stay permanently refers to regular or legal migration.

Willing Migrants relate their main intention to apply for the working holiday in Sweden is to pursue a permanent migration to the country. They stated that the process is really simple and I could confirm that the requirements to obtain a work permit are indeed low. (Swedish Migration Agency, 2020a, 2020b).

“After living in Denmark for a year, we decided that we wanted to stay in Scandinavia. We have heard that this could be done easily in Sweden”

“I chose Sweden because I wanted to stay long term in Europe, after getting all the paperwork, I would like to move to another country in Europe”

“The process is easy, most of my football team have their work permit or they are processing it...My employer would do the process for me too”

Although modern theories in migration add other drivers for migration, for this group the main reason to move permanently to Sweden is mainly economical. All the participants assigned as *Willing Migrants* are satisfied with the wages they earn in Sweden and they recall that they earn more in Sweden doing a low-skilled job than what they can earn in Chile working in their professions.

“I was a teacher in Chile and at this time of year, I would be stressed with the closing (of the academic year). Here I only work 30 hours, I can save and travel”

“I earn here the same as someone with 5 years of experience in my field in Chile.”

“When I saw my first paycheck I was WOW I could have never made this money in Chile.”

Even though none of the *Willing Migrants* declare that the fact that they can stay permanently with their partner affected their motivation for migration (some indicate that they would have migrated alone anyway), it would be naive to negate the effect of the family ties in this migration process.

“I think I would have come here anyway, but traveling with a partner is cheaper, cause we share expenses”

As I mentioned before, all the participants are in low-skilled jobs, but this group intends to change quickly to a more qualified job. Most of them would like to continue working in their professions but some of them would like to change careers and to study once they get their permanent status settled cause education in Sweden is subsidized for residents. They indicate that language (lack of Swedish or English) is the main and only obstacle to get a qualified job in Sweden and they are not considering the transference of skills as of any importance in terms of finding a qualified job in Sweden.

“As soon as I get the work Permit I would like to find a new job. I've heard that it is easy to change employers once you have the permit”

“If you speak English you can get a qualified job easily and if you also speak Swedish the world is yours”

Not all of them or their partners got a job offer to obtain a work permit, but they said that their partners are applying for them or they are doing it for their partners, cause the work permit does allow them to migrate with dependents (unlike the working holiday visa).

They have no intentions to come back to Chile to reside, and they would pursue this instance in another developed country if they get the chance to do so in a regular way.

“I have no idea what I would do if I don't get a work permit, I think I'll try in another country, but I don't want to come back to Chile.”

“I would come back to Chile to visit, of course, but now that I know how things are here, I intended to start a family here”

It is also interesting to notice that even though they are applying for the work permit legally, they do realize that some grey areas in the process allow them to stay and work in Sweden while they wait for an answer from the Swedish Migration Office, and because of this, they haven't complained about the delays in their processes.

“People in the Migration Office always give me different answers and I don't want to push them, cause they might reject my application”

“I know the situation is a little strange, but if we complain they might cancel the process for the next to come”

For *Opportunistic Migrants*, the decision to stay in Sweden is mostly situational and they and their partner (for the ones who traveled accompanied) have been offered a work permit. The fact that both had gotten a job offer appears to be a driver for this group to stay longer in Sweden.

“My partner's boss offered her a work permit, we were uncertain, but he could offer that (work permit) for me too, so I changed jobs.”

“I was back home and I saw the job ad. I contacted my manager and she immediately processed my work permit”

The main intention for *Opportunistic Migrants* to apply for the working holiday was referring to the original spirit of these visas being this, travel and get to know the country (and Europe). They show more flexibility in terms of their future and they do not discard to return to Chile but now they are pursuing a permanent relocation to Europe. They are on a low-skilled job but they are not as eager to change to a qualified job as the *Willing Migrants* but they would pursue this instance if they decided to stay longer after their work permit (this period is usually 2 years).

“This was never in my plans, but I could use more time in Sweden. The country offers a lot of opportunities to study and I would like to find a job in my field later. I do have a home to come back to, other migrants (refugees in Sweden) don't”

Temporary Wanderers reveal a different intention regarding their stay in Sweden. Their narrative fits better in the (expected) traditional working holiday participant but the culture intention about Sweden is missing. They intend to travel and come back to Chile to continue with their lives and careers. They have some funds and they said that they want to complement them by working in the host country, but their narratives also suggest that they want not only to complement funds but also to make money and they won't come back to Chile with less money than they started the experience with, making this out of the scope of the working holiday visas and turning them into economic migrants.

“It would have taken us, 3 years to save the same amount of money we saved in one year in Sweden, and we could also travel around Europe, well at least till the coronavirus forced the closure of borders”

As working (to make money) is an important driver and not a permanent migration to Sweden, they tend to change work frequently, cause they don't need to build trust with the employer to get a permanent job offer to apply for a work permit. They also take extra jobs when they can and sometimes they engage in the black economy. They are also less satisfied with their jobs than the two previous groups.

“ We did the jobs that Swedes don't want to do”.

“I worked in some cleaning companies till I got my own clients. I also worked as a nanny”

“The work was (physically) hard, but we didn't want to come back with empty hands, and we also want to do some businesses when we come back (to Chile)”

Regarding their ties in Chile, they have stronger family connections in Chile and value more family and friends. Even though they consider to keep traveling or studying abroad soon, they don't see themselves living in another country, even if they can obtain a qualified job as good for them as the one they had in Chile.

“I might come back to visit or to work, but I won't see myself living (permanently) somewhere else.”

“I have a lot of friends from different groups that I meet often. In Sweden, I only had 2 close friends.”

“I was in Sweden before and I thought the social thing would be easier, but it was harder than I thought”

Life satisfaction and life fulfillment

Most of the interviewees had previous work experience in their work fields (the rest were recent graduates) and most of them stated to be satisfied with their jobs and lives, but at the same time, *Willing* and *Opportunistic Migrants*, revealed that they considered establishing abroad at some point in their lives. Maybe they weren't confident enough to reveal that they weren't completely fulfilled by their jobs because there are contradictions in their narratives stating that they always wanted to establish abroad mostly because of the higher wages and the life they can have abroad.

“Financially we weren't bad. We knew from people that it was good abroad, but we never imagined that it was this good.”

“My life was pretty plain, with studies and work... I didn't have time for anything else.”

“I had a good job, but I was bored ...If I want to it would be easier to get a similar job back in Chile.”

Life priorities appear to be different for the identified groups. For *Willing Migrants* and *Opportunistic Migrants*, to a lesser extent the fact to live 'in Europe' has a lot of value by itself. They do not complain about the low-skilled jobs they are performing and they even state to feel satisfied and are learning a lot from it. Money has a lot of value for them, even though they consider the amount in nominal terms.

"Most of my friend (in Chile) are surprised that I am working here as a cashier, but I earn more than them and I work less (hours a week)"

"I don't mind about cleaning. Money is good."

Temporary Wanderers have a different appraisal in terms of self-fulfillment and values. They recall that even though they might be earning the same (in nominal value) they feel more satisfied living in Chile (working in their professions or closer to their family). They also show stronger family ties at home so they are not pursuing a life outside Chile. Even though they are also traveling with their partner, they do miss the family outside their inner circle.

"I like it better in Chile... In Sweden, I don't like the way they teach their children they don't seem to really worry about them"

"I have a big family, in any family event there were at least 30 people. Of course I miss that."

This group also thinks that it would be really difficult to get a qualified job abroad (at least one as good as the one they had in Chile) and even though they could get it they won't pursue a permanent relocation as they have plans in Chile. The status also plays a role for this group and the recall that they enjoyed more their lives in Chile. It is also interesting to know that this group feels that they would never be able to play the role of a Swede in society. They said they have experienced discrimination in terms of restrictions to work and to advance in society but they haven't experienced direct racial attacks, but they feel that even if they want to, they won't be able to achieve the level of status that they enjoy in Chile.

"Someone told me "you'll never be a real Swede here", even if you speak the language it is impossible to have their life... the house, the boat..."

"I'd rather have my life in Chile, even though I earn less. There I could see my friends on the weekend, go out to eat at least once a week....I felt more fulfilled there"

"I worked some days as a teacher replacement but swede kids didn't respect me....foreign kids were more approachable"

Networks and information

The last significant difference in the narratives is related to the networks where they find information. All of the identified groups recall strongly on the information found on their networks in terms of the visa. Most of the participants regarding the group they were assigned got some information about the visa in their close networks, but what is different is the value that they truthfulness they gave to this information.

“I know some friends did the visa in Australia, and we were like ‘Why don’t we do it?’”

“I haven’t heard about the visas until I couldn’t stay in Spain. I heard some acquaintances had done it in Denmark, but the Swedish one was easier to obtain”

Willing Migrants focused mainly on the positive experiences in their networks. There is a clear *Call Effect* from the most successful previous Chilean migrants, who highlight the positive threats of living in Sweden. Their narratives also indicate that they trust extremely on the positive previous experiences on this visa and they expect to have the same positive experiences. Their expectations are formed mainly on this over-positive environment and therefore they expect their migration journey to be as easy and free of frictions. They also seemed not to adjust to these high expectations even though they have heard negative experiences.

“We read (on social media) that a lot of people were getting work permits so we wanted to try in Sweden too”

“There is this friend of mine, well not a friend, I found him on Youtube and now we talk sometimes. He encourage me to come, he even said that I could bring my daughter soon”

It is also interesting to notice that most of the participants in this group were granted the “personnummer” which allows them to get the same benefits as permanent residents and locals, so they didn’t have any issues in terms of health coverage and the possibility to study Swedish or English.

“Health is really cheap, and I get all birth control for like a third the cost in Chile.”

“I signed for swedish classes but with the pandemic they moved them online, so I quit.”

Temporary Wanderers stated that they started their search for information in their close networks, but they saw a different picture when they arrived in Sweden. They met people who have had negative experiences related to finding a job, housing, and problems to obtain the tax numbers. They recall that it is different being in the country as a tourist and the got to see some negatives aspects of the swedish society like discrimination and the individualism.

“The experiences of the Facebook groups were really positive and we thought we could find a better job, but it’s harder when you get there, especially when you don’t have the personnummer.”

They also suggested that not all the negative experiences get to social media channels. They said that people don't expose their negative experiences in public places, like social media, because they don't want to feel ashamed of not being as successful as their pairs. They also realized that most negative experiences are erased from social media, especially on Facebook groups that are managed by individuals and not by established institutions of the countries involved.

"We realized that some negative experiences were erased.... we had a friend who was blocked from one Whatsapp group because she was saying how hard was to get a job with the coordination number (cause some companies' system don't recognize it)... we also meet 4 kids that had to come back because they couldn't find a job and they ran out of funds."

Their intention to make money, brought them closer to the black economy and, as expected, they faced the challenges associated with this circumstance, like irregular working hours, late or no payments, and the feeling of being taken advantage of. Even though their expectations were not as high as for the ones who wanted a permanent relocation, they adjusted them quickly downwards for the information they got on their networks.

"Our boss offered us a work permit and we accepted because we were content with the money we were making, but he started to complain about our job and cutting some hours.... our main intention was not staying here so we decided to go back"

Opportunistic Migrants, given that they were offered a work permit from their employer, fall somehow in between the previous groups, given that some of them declare to get positive information on their networks. In contrast, other interviews declare the opposite, but all of the participants assigned to this group adjusted their expectations, upward or downward, faster than the previous groups. This more flexible mindset could be why they adjust their expectations accordingly to the environment and do not recall only on positive or negative information on their networks to create their expectations regarding their migration.

"I've heard negative things about Sweden, but we didn't want to come back to Chile (they were doing a working holiday visa in Canada), and this was the easier place to go. Now I think it's not as bad and we want to stay for now."

"I came here with a friend and she had read wonderful things about "living in Europe", but I think she got disappointed and she moved back as soon her visa ended. I think that I was more realistic about it, so when my manager could apply me to the work permit I said yes"

6. Discussion and Integration to Migration Theory

By separating the sample is easier to relate the narratives of the groups to previous migration theories. But at this point, it is easier to realize that these groups won't fit entirely into any, and that there's no particular theory developed to this type of migration, although the working holiday programs exist since the 70s and there is an increasing number of agreements between countries.

Suppose the intentions of the group were in line with the original spirit of the visa, in that case they could be classified merely as tourists (that could work occasionally), but their narratives show something different.

Neoclassical theory or economic factors

Although there are several theories on migration that add other drivers to migration, for the group as a whole, the economic factor seems to be the most important critical for this migration (either temporary or permanent), suggesting that they fit on the neoclassical theory. One of the arguments against this theory has been exactly that it puts the economic factor as the most important in terms of migration. Still, for this group it is impossible to refuse this argument, and even though some other aspects like "security", "free education and health" and "be more in tune with the society's value" seems to be secondary and more related with their intention of stay permanently than with the intention to migrate in the first place. All participants in the sample recall the economical factor (given the possibility to work with no restrictions) is one of the most attractive factors to decide to travel and eventually stay in Sweden.

Theories related to High skilled migrants

Given that all of the participants had some kind of tertiary education, the group as a whole could also be referring to theories for these migrants.

Liquid Migration

The application for this working holiday has had an explosive increasing number of visas since it started in 2018 (see table 1). Chileans participants in particular, have increased in more than double since then (this number can be even larger given that when the information was requested to the swedish migration office there were applications in course) and this could be due opportunity of this new "border free" between Chile and Sweden. Another characteristic found in the sample that relates to this theory of migration is the fact that it is indeed a legal process of migrating, and even though there are some grey areas in terms of tax numbers and work permit process, the Chilean participants possess a legal status in Sweden.

The phenomenon of liquid migration happens after the access to migration. It is highly driven by labor opportunities and in thereupon could be explaining this type of migration. Still, the theory can't explain the whole group given the different intentions regarding the length of stay .

As this theory suggests, the migration process is mostly temporary therefore the intentions of integrating and connecting with the local culture are expected to be low. For the group as a whole this intention is indeed low, but the intention of temporary migration is not the case for *Willing Migrants*. For this group the theory fails to explain both: the intention to permanently migrate and the lack of intention to integrate into the Swedish culture. This could be because *Willing Migrants* won't move to another location unless they can materialize this permanent migration with the same ease that they can do it in Sweden. For European citizens, the situation is different and they, given the free movement among the European Union (European Commission, 1957), can relocate easily to any country of the EU. It is expected that European move fluidly in Europe and this fluidity could make their intentions to migrate to be temporary, so it is not strange that they don't generate social ties in the host country. Another explanation for this situation could be the early stage of migration in which *Willing migrants* are, so they are not considering it important by the time of the interview.

Either way none of the participants of the sample declare to consider the lack of social networks in the host country as a problem neither in the social context nor in the job networking problem.

Self-Initiated Expatriates

The group as a whole, seems to fit some of the characteristics of the Self-Initiated Expatriates given that the main reason to move is actually to work (make money) and a company is not sponsoring them. Most SIE's secure a job before the migration but the migratory restrictions of some countries could explain this. Most developed countries don't allow to change the migratory status while in the country or explicitly don't allow to find a job while on a tourist visa. This is not applicable to the group cause they possess a legal status to work in Sweden.

Their intentions in terms of the type of work, however, are different among the groups. The theory suggests that SIE's main purpose is to find a job according to their skills, but that's not what previous literature indicates about the working holidays participants and also is not what I've found on the sample. All of the participants are performing low skilled jobs but at the same time, most of them haven't tried to find a job more related to their studies.

Willing migrants expect to get a job more related to their qualification in the short term, and they consider the lack of local language as the main barrier to finding a qualified job. They are not considering that their human capital acquired in Chile might not be transferable to Sweden. Therefore the jobs that they are performing are the ones that value the skills they could transfer to Sweden and that in terms of finding another job they would

need to acquire more skills than just the local language. Social capital is one of the skills that it is difficult to export to the host country and according to Korpi, 2001 it is indeed one of the skills needed in Sweden in terms to find a job. The study shows that social relations and the size of these networks actually have a positive impact in terms of finding a job, but it is not conclusive on how strong the ties need to be in order to make an impact. The study also supports the claims that lack of personal contacts may lie behind long-term unemployment and ghetto poverty.

The main difference from the SIE's theory with the narratives in this study, is the intention in the length of stay. This theory refers to temporary stay only and intentions to come back to the home country, even though the repatriation is not settled in advance. Given this, the theory seems to fit better the group of *Opportunistic Migrants*, although it is important to have in mind their original intentions changed when they got offered a work permit.

Lifestyle migration

From the theories about high skilled migrants, Lifestyle migration could be the theory less related to the group in study, given that this theory states that the main reason to migrate is not economical. But I want to stress that the narratives of *Opportunistic Migrants* and *Willing Migrants* (specially the latter) do recall about the better way of life as also an important driver for permanent migration. This "better way of life" is extremely idealized on these groups and it is difficult for them to talk about negative aspects of the country or the society, also they can come back with ease to Chile and their migration is mostly individualistic given that they are migrating with their partners or close family and have no intention to bring their extended family to Sweden.

Call Effect and Networks

For the group as a whole, we can infer that there is a Call-effect in different degrees. All the group got some information about the working holiday visas in their close networks by people who have already participated in these programs. The main difference in the groups has to be with the value they assigned to this information and also what it is the information they are looking for. While the groups that are not intended in a permanent migration (*Opportunistic Migrants*, *Temporary Wanderers*) seem to get the information more spontaneously and on closer networks, *Willing Migrants* strive for information on distant networks being social media (Facebook and Youtube) an important source of information.

It is interesting to notice that although these sources of information are impersonal and it is difficult to verify their accuracy, the complete group gave a lot of value to this information specially on early stages of their decision to travel. *Temporary Wanderers* adjusted quickly the value assigned to these networks while *Willing Migrants* and *Opportunistic Migrants* kept it high and based their motivations on this information. The

call-effect is clearer for these later groups and most of their narratives indicate that their intentions are formed mainly around information they got on social media.

7. Conclusions

General

Working holiday agreements are not a new phenomenon but there are few investigations about the programs' scope, the objectives of the countries participants and the intentions of the participants.

The most critical finding is that the original spirit of the visa is not met in this group. As is stated in the agreement between Chile and Sweden the aim of the visa is promote the further cooperation between the countries by facilitating the stay of the participants in the other's country territory with the purpose of vacation and supplement their fundings with the opportunity to work (Chile, Sweden, 2017). None of the participants in the sample applied for this visa with a cultural intention. The economic factor is the most important driver for these migrants, either to not spend their funds or make money for *Temporary Wanderers* and *Opportunistic Migrants* or pursue a permanent migration for *Willing Migrants* in a country where they can earn more money in low skilled positions than working in their professions in Chile. This also suggests that this migration of Chileans to Sweden would cease if the wages in the countries would level.

Another finding is the heterogeneity in the intentions and motivations in the sample. This situation led me to split the data into different groups. Even though the sample as a whole shares a lot of common characteristics, the different groups have different intentions and motivations that have been shaped differently for them.

Given that one of the purposes of the visa is cooperation and understanding between the countries, it is strange to find a narrative in the sample that does not pursue an integration and understanding with the host culture. Although not all the identified groups are pursuing a permanent migration to Sweden, none of the participants are willing to make efforts to connect, participate or fit into the local culture. The intention to learn Swedish is mostly motivated mostly by an intention to get a better job (mostly meaning a better salary).

By contrast, the intentions to integrate of other study about high skilled migrants, are positively related to high levels of gain framing and low levels of loss framing and "they will stop at nothing to make their dream become reality, socializing with local people, learning the culture and the language and doing whatever they can to understand their working environment." (Cerdin et al., 2014). I couldn't find these intentions on *Willing Migrants* whose perceived gains of the migration process are high in contrast with the low losses associated with the process.

According to the same authors, the group that has little motivation to integrate is the group that feel that its losses associated with the migration are more significant than their gains, and in their study, this group was composed mainly by people who have been pushed away from their countries (refugees). Although none of the participants in this investigation face this situation, *Temporary Wanderers* showed high loss framing and low gain framing in terms of migration and are indeed not interested in integration with the local culture.

However, the acculturation process is complex and requires time. Changes in work, family and relations (among others) could affect people in different ways. While some could even experiment grief-like feelings others can adapt easily to the new environment. Most of the participants are travelling with their partners (or family), that they are young and that they are still in early stages of the migration process could prevent them from willing to integrate to the host culture.

For migrants families, 3 stages of acculturation have been found: A first stage referring to the arrival to the new country and the admiration of new culture, a second stage where they perceive difficulties and sometimes discrimination and a third stage of negotiation and acceptance where they found an equilibrium between their own identity and adaptation. (Nina-estrella, 2018) . The length of each stage is not set in advance cause it depends on several factors, like the degrees of difference between the home and host culture, the support that migrants get from institutions and individual factors of the migrants. Although given their narratives, it's not difficult to realize that *Willing* and *Opportunistic Migrants* are in their first stage of their migrating process.

Concluding and answering the research questions; there are different intentions regarding the migration of Chileans to Sweden with a working holiday visa, a group that was expected to be more homogeneous. Their intentions range mainly about the length of the migration, from a temporary stay to pursue a permanent migration. The motivations that drive these intentions are formed with the information that these migrants got on their networks and the value that they assign to this information, that in some cases seem to be impersonal and unreliable. These intentions are also affected by their first experiences in Sweden as a migrant. *Willing Migrants* and *Opportunistic Migrants in lesser degree*, had better experiences from the beginning, specially related to the fact that most of them received the local tax number (the personnummer) which facilitates paperwork, access to public services and work opportunities. Most employers are reluctant to employ someone without the local tax number either because of distrust or because the company's internal system doesn't allow them to enrol someone with no numbers or with the temporary tax number.

These intentions of permanence also affect the experience. One of the findings is that none of the interviews declared to have a cultural intention. Therefore the cultural experience in Sweden and the desire to get to know more about the Swedish culture and traditions is almost nonexistent. This is different from other groups of working holiday participants that historically have more in common with the host culture, like nationals of New Zealand and Australia in the United Kingdom (Wilson et al., 2009). The low cultural interest is related to

Europe (and its most tourist destinations) so the interviewees who have managed to travel, have decided to go mainly to other countries in Europe instead of travelling inside Sweden. Given that one critical driver to choose the visa is economical, most of them spent most of their time in Sweden, working, either with the intention to make money or to generate thrust with their employers (to obtain a job offer to apply for the work permit). This focus on work (and making money) has faced them with the black economy and its expected negative outcomes.

Finally, the groups that are expecting a permanent migration to Sweden, *Willing Migrants* and *Opportunistic Migrants*, appear to be still in their early stages of the migration process and their motivations and intentions to stay permanently in Sweden could change in the future especially if they face more difficulties later. Therefore they could end up fitting to one of the migration theories cited in this investigation.

Possible macro-effects

Two main effects that can be expected at a macro level regarding the mobilization of high skilled migrants.

Brain-Drain

Globalization, economy, and policies to attract high skilled migrants had promoted the movement of qualified individuals. Most of these highly skilled migrants, move from developing countries to more economies. If a large number of skilled persons leave the country (or region), it poses the risk of 'brain drain' for the country of origin. (Lowell & Findlay, 2001)

Brain-drain can generate several effects for developing countries. Possible negatives effects are:

1. One clear direct effect is that brain-drain reduces the number of qualified workers critical to the economy.
2. Another effect is that this group of migrants won't pay taxes in their native land. As their wages (and therefore taxes) are relatively high, the effect can be unexpectedly high. Also, if education is subsidized, the country would also be losing the investment in education. (Dodani & LaPorte, 2005).
3. High skilled migrants would contribute to the host countries' development and technological progress, widening the gap between developed and developing countries.

Brain-drain can also generate positive effects for the developing countries that are 'sending' their high-skilled workers abroad:

1. When the migrants come back, they'll bring back new skills and work experience from the host country.

2. Even if the migrants don't come back, they can generate networks beneficial for both countries. These migrants also send remittances. Remittances from expatriates living abroad constitute a significant proportion of foreign revenue for many developing countries.

These effects suggest that there is an optimal level of brain-drain.

Brain Waste

Brain waste describes when college graduates cannot fully utilize their skills and education in the workplace despite their high professional qualifications (Batalova et al., 2016). Applying this definition to the migration context, high-skilled migrants face the risk of brain waste if they end up doing under-qualified jobs in the host country.

Human capital aside, migrants can find difficulties in transferring their skills into the host country. This could be due several reasons; from an inability to validate the skills and studies in the host country, discrimination by the employers, and the self-selection by the skilled migrants that select unskilled jobs in the host country, given that they can't find a suitable position in the host country. This self-selection is related to the expectations to find a better job in the future.

Brain waste has the following consequences: reduces education incentives; weakens the chances for positive self-selection; and decreases the possibility of a brain gain for the host country. (Garcia Pires, 2015).

There is evidence on brain waste among different groups of migrants in countries like the US, Israel, Spain, and Germany, demonstrating that degrees obtained abroad are less valuable than local obtained degrees. Underutilization of skills is not only negative for the migrants that receive fewer wages than their local counterparts but also for the economy on a macro level. The highest probability for skilled migrants to end up in under-skilled work is faced by migrants from Latin America and Asia.

Policy Implications

For the narratives in the sample it is not difficult to grasp on some macro effects on the participating countries.

For Chile, the permanent migration of young professionals could lead into a brain drain effect, and for Sweden this could lead to an underutilization of the professionals attracted by this visa. There is no declared intention regarding these issues neither by Sweden nor by Chile. However, the negative effects of the brain drain and brain waste could be mitigated by well designed policies.

According to an article by the Migration Policy institute, (Glennie & Chappell, 2020), on factors and motivations to move from high skilled migrants, there are 5 factors to move abroad (wages, employment,

professional development, networks, and socioeconomic and political conditions) and 3 reasons to return to the home country (improvement of the situation at home, the feeling of belonging to one's culture and society, and the achievement of a specific goal). The countries involved in these agreements should work upon these motivations to achieve what they intend in terms of foreign policy and cooperation through these working holiday programs.

For Chile some measures could focus on the positive aspects of the migration of high skilled migrants like facilitating local networks with Chileans living abroad, promoting the transportation of ideas and creating networks that could be beneficial for both countries, designating funds to promote these networks. Also, improve these agreements to make it more attractive for young professionals to come back to Chile.

Sweden on its side, could designate programs to integrate this group of migrants (that is expected to be easier than with refugees that tend to have a psychological baggage in terms of integration) and also facilitate the validation of foreign credentials specially in the industries that have a lack of professionals in the country. If the intention is not permanently receive these migrants, a restriction on the length of time worked or an increase in the work permit requirements could prevent them to stay, given that these migrants are intended to migrate legally.

Business Implications

This increasing number of Chileans (and Latins) that now have migrated to Sweden could be a new business target for different types of products and services.

Firstly the consumption patterns of migrants is expectedly to be different than the locals'. Previous studies have called this effect: exported/imported consumption (Winkler & Matarrita-Cascante, 2020). This term has been coined to the consumption of *Lifestyle Migrants* in the host countries, but similar (imported) consumption patterns have been found in other groups of migrants in their host countries.

Furthermore, this imported consumption is expected to be higher for temporary migrants given that the longer migrants stay in the host country, the more acculturated they become, therefore they tend to adapt the host country's consumption patterns. Moreover this imported consumption of newly arrived migrants could also trigger the consumption of locals for these imported products and services, either in their original or modified way. Local businesses that are aware of these emerging consumer patterns could satisfy the demand for this new target. Being the first-mover in a market could have several benefits like: absence of competition (at least for some time), create entry barriers, better understanding of the customer and design a standard for the industry.

Secondly, the working holiday's participants have needs that they want to fulfill in the host country and that are not necessarily an imported consumption from the origin country, but an intention for local goods and services.

Therefore they can create additional jobs in the industries that they demand the most. Harding & Webster, 2001 have found that the industries that create more jobs to satisfy the working holidays needs in Australia are Housing, travel, food, drinks, nightlife and souvenirs. Sweden should prepare to expand their offer in similar industries and, therefore, capitalize on these migrants' arrival to the country.

Further areas for investigation

Surprisingly there's scarce literature of these programs even though they have more than 40 years and are increasing in number. Although the numbers of migrants through a working holiday visa might not be as impressive as illegal or refugee migration, it is essential to understand the processes that made people migrate and the intentions behind this migration.

Some of these agreements, like this particular one between Chile and Sweden, are quite new, and investigations at this stage could be beneficial for the countries involved given that they can evaluate whether the countries's intentions are met.

1. First, I suggest more focus on the working holidays programs in general. Countries should focus and evaluate the agreements they are generating to protect their nationals and meet their migration objectives so I propose conducting similar studies about the experiences of nationals with the visa in all the destinations countries where one country has agreements with.
2. Nowadays, a lot of information is in social media, where anonymity could encourage the -over-expression of feelings. This could lead to more honest expressions (but also to negative attitudes like trolling) and therefore sentiment analysis (text processing) could be performed on social media platforms. It is important to have in mind that this information might not be as reliable as interviews and as I've found in this investigation that some (negative) comments apparently are erased from social media while others might never reach social platforms.
3. I suggest conducting a similar qualitative study in the following years to determine if these groups of young high skilled Chilean migrants in Sweden have met their expectations on their early narratives. Their future experiences could change their intentions regarding a permanent migration and integration in Sweden, and therefore they could fit in migration theories that they do not fit nowadays.
4. Most of the studies on working holidays focus on participants from weaker economies in the richer host countries, so another area understudied is the impact and motivations of participants from the wealthier economies in their host countries. Expectedly their intentions would be less economical than in this study and it would be interesting to find out what is the visa doing for them in terms of understanding of local culture.

5. Find out about experiences from employers hiring young Latins who are in Sweden with a working holiday visa and what they have decided to hire them instead of nationals, and more importantly why they have decided to process for them the work permit.
 - Are Latins more committed as some literature indicates? (Like is the case of Australia)
 - Do they perceive a shortage of labor for their particular industries?
 - Do they know about their professionals' skills?
6. Study the macro effects on the local workforce. There could be several effects on the local work in terms of displacement of the local workforce and creation of new positions to cover the needs of the working holiday participants in the host country. It is important to know the extent of these effects especially if this visa will continue to be unlimited in number and increase as it is by today.

Bibliography

- Alburquerque, G. (2013). El tercermundismo como paradigma científico en América Latina. *Universum - Universidad de Talca*, 28(2), 209–227.
- Baeza, P. L. (2019, June 20). ¿Existe el efecto llamada? Todo lo que sabemos indica que no. *Newtral*.
<https://www.newtral.es/existe-el-efecto-llamada-todo-lo-que-sabemos-indica-que-no/20190620/>
- Barozet, E., & Fierro, J. (2011). *The middle class in Chile*. 17.
- Batalova, J., Fix, M., & Bachmeier, J. (2016). Untapped Talent: The Costs of Brain Waste among Highly Skilled Immigrants in the United States. *Migration Policy Institute, New American Economy, and World Education Services*, 47.
- Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life: A Critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration. *The Sociological Review*, 57(4), 608–625.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01864.x>
- Butina, M. (2015). A Narrative Approach to Qualitative Inquiry. *American Society for Clinical Laboratory Science*, 28(3), 190–196. <https://doi.org/10.29074/ascls.28.3.190>
- Cáceres, P. (2003). *Análisis Cualitativo de Contenido: Una Alternativa Metodológica Alcanzable*. *Revista de la Escuela de Psicología*, 60.
- Callos, N. (2019, May 31). *A Guide to Working Holiday Visas*. Volunteer Forever.
https://www.volunteerforever.com/article_post/a-guide-to-working-holiday-visas/
- Cerdin, J.-L., Diné, M. A., & Brewster, C. (2014). Qualified immigrants' success: Exploring the motivation to migrate and to integrate. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45(2), 151–168.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/jibs.2013.45>
- Cerdin, J.-L., & Selmer, J. (2013). Who is a self-initiated expatriate? Towards conceptual clarity of a common notion. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.863793>
- Chile, Sweden. (2017). *Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Government of the Republic of Chile on a Working Holiday Programme*.
- Czaika, M., & de Haas, H. (2012). The Role of Internal and International Relative Deprivation in Global

- Migration. *Oxford Development Studies*, 40(4), 423–442.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13600818.2012.728581>
- De Jong, G. F. (2000). Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making. *Population Studies*, 54(3), 307–319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713779089>
- Dodani, S., & LaPorte, R. (2005). Brain drain from developing countries: How can brain drain be converted into wisdom gain? *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 98, 487–491.
- Embassy of Sweden. (2020). *Working Holiday*.
<https://www.swedenabroad.se/es/sobre-suecia/chile/visitar-suecia/working-holiday/>
- Engbersen, G., & Snel, E. (2013). Liquid migration. Dynamic and fluid patterns of post-accession migration flows. In *Mobility in Transition* (pp. 21–40). Amsterdam University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048515493-002>
- European Commission. (1957). *Free movement—EU nationals*.
<https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=457>
- Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*.
- Fox, C., & Tversky, A. (1995). Ambiguity aversion and comparative ignorance. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
- Garcia Pires, A. (2015). Brain Drain and Brain Waste. *Journal of Economic Development*, 40(1), 1–34.
<https://doi.org/10.35866/CAUJED.2015.40.1.001>
- Glennie, A., & Chappell, L. (2020, April 22). *Show Me the Money (and Opportunity): Why Skilled People Leave Home—And Why They Sometimes Return*. Migrationpolicy.Org.
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/show-me-money-and-opportunity-why-skilled-people-leave-home-%E2%80%94-and-why-they-sometimes-return>
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4).
- Harding, G., & Webster, E. (2001). *The Working Holiday Maker Scheme and The Australian Labour Market*. 65.
- Heale, R., & Twycross, A. (2015). Validity and reliability in quantitative studies. *Evid Based Nurs*, 18(3).
- Hoepfl, M. C. (1997). Choosing Qualitative Research: A Primer for Technology Education Researchers. *Journal of Technology Education*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.21061/jte.v9i1.a.4>
- Hoxhaj, R. (2015). Wage expectations of illegal immigrants: The role of networks and previous migration

- experience. *International Economics*, 142, 136–151. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.inteco.2014.10.002>
- INE Chile. (2018). *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile-Mapa de Chilenos en el Exterior*.
<http://ine-chile.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=b5566d7be27e4230a7e1f3bb30498a87>
- Iredale, R. (2001). The Migration of Professionals: Theories and Typologies. *International Migration*, 39(5), 7–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00169>
- Kafle, K., Benfica, R., & Winters, P. (2020). Does relative deprivation induce migration? Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 102(3), 999–1019.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ajae.12007>
- Kato, E. (2013). Self-searching migrants: Youth and adulthood, work and holiday in the lives of Japanese temporary residents in Canada and Australia. *Asian Anthropology*, 12(1), 20–34.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2013.774309>
- Kley, S. (2010). Explaining the Stages of Migration within a Life-course Framework. *European Sociological Review*, 27(4), 469–486. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq020>
- Korpi, T. (2001). Good Friends in Bad Times? Social Networks and Job Search among the Unemployed in Sweden. *Scandinavian Sociological Association*, 14.
- Lowell, B. L., & Findlay, A. M. (2001). Migration of Highly Skilled Persons from Developing countries: Impact and Policy Responses. *International Labour Office*, 38.
- Massey, D. S., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 37.
- Nina-estrella, R. (2018). Procesos Psicológicos de la Migración: Aculturación, Estrés y Resiliencia. *Boletín Científico Science Research*, 8, 29–37.
- Panzeri, R. (2018). Migración y bienestar: La importancia de una perspectiva narrativa. *RIEM. Revista internacional de estudios migratorios*, 8(2), 252. <https://doi.org/10.25115/riem.v8i2.2321>
- Riessman, C. K. (2005). Narrative Analysis. In *Narrative, Memory & Everyday Life*.
- Rovira, D. P., Castro, J. L. G., Torres, N. A., & Casullo, E. Z. (2000). *Identidad cultural, Aculturación y Adaptación de los Inmigrantes Latinoamericanos (chilenos) en el País Vasco*. 128.
- Ryan, D., Dooley, B., & Benson, C. (2008). Theoretical Perspectives on Post-Migration Adaptation and Psychological Well-Being among Refugees: Towards a Resource-Based Model. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem047>

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing Qualitative Research*. 870.

Statistics Sweden. (2019). *Average monthly salary by occupation, 2019*.

<https://www.scb.se/en/finding-statistics/statistics-by-subject-area/labour-market/wages-salaries-and-labour-costs/wage-and-salary-structures-and-employment-in-the-primary-municipalities/pong/tables-and-graphs/average-monthly-salary-by-occupation/>

Swedish Migration Agency. (2020a). *Work Permit Requirements*.

<https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Working-in-Sweden/Employed/Work-permit-requirements.html>

Swedish Migration Agency. (2020b). *Work permit requirements – information for employers*.

<https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Other-operators-English/Employers/Employing-people-from-non-EU-countries-/Work-permit-requirements.html>

Wahyun, E. (2015). The Impact of Migration on Family Structure and Functioning: Case Study in Jawa. *International Population Conference*.

Wethington, E. (2000). Expecting Stress: Americans and the “Midlife Crisis”. *Motivation and Emotion*, 19.

Wilson, J., Fisher, D., & Moore, K. (2009). The OE goes ‘home’: Cultural aspects of a working holiday experience. *Tourist Studies*, 9(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797609360590>

Winkler, R. L., & Matarrita-Cascante, D. (2020). Exporting consumption: Lifestyle migration and energy use. *Global Environmental Change*, 61, 102026. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2019.102026>

Annex

Interview guideline

1. Intro questions. Name, age.
2. What did you decide to apply for this working holiday?
3. What were you doing before applying for the visa? Were you satisfied with that scenario?
4. ¿Por qué decides postular a la visa WH? ¿Por qué eliges Suecia para este proceso?
5. Did you always want to travel or was it mostly situational?
6. What kind of jobs have you performed in Sweden? How did you find that job? What did you like about that job?
7. Have you found any difficulties living in Sweden?
8. Who's your social group in Sweden? How did you meet them?
9. What plans do you have after the working holiday visa?
10. Would you recommend the working holiday experience?
11. If you would have stayed in Chile, how do you imagine your life there?
12. Do you think this experience can help you personal and/or professional growth?