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# **What do we know about diversity, intersectionality and inclusion in organisationally-assigned expatriation? A review of relocation management company/consultancy practitioner research**

## **Abstract**

### ***Design/methodology/approach***

A review of 109 practitioner publications on organisational international assignment policy and practice was conducted to identify trends across three decades in minority expatriation and employer interventions to widen expatriate diversity.

### ***Purpose***

The purpose of this paper is to report on trends in the deployment of minority expatriates, review organisational interventions to increase expatriate diversity, and to consider the challenges facing employers in widening expatriate diversity through a review of practitioner publications published by relocation management companies/consultancies.

### ***Findings***

Practitioner publications record percentage female expatriate participation and expatriate age profiles. While expatriate diversity challenges are reported, employer interventions focus on supporting women and LGBTQ+ assignees but with little detail on their outcomes. There is little emphasis on ethnicity/race, religion, disability, pregnancy/maternity, intersectionality of diversity characteristics, and inclusion.

### ***Research limitations/implications***

Practitioner publications consulted were primarily Western-focused, with access to a 'complete' publications record precluded. Academic research that compares employer policy on diversity interventions with how it is implemented is needed.

### ***Practical implications***

A stronger focus on supporting the full range of expatriate diversity attributes and intersectionality is required, explaining how challenges have been addressed and inclusion achieved.

***Social implications***

Analysis of employer interventions could assist organisations to widen expatriate diversity and inclusion, and minorities to access international careers.

***Originality/value***

This review of practitioner data reveals trends in the deployment of minority expatriates, interventions taken by employers, and challenges they perceive in widening expatriate diversity, providing a unique perspective and enriching our understanding of academic expatriate diversity research. Path dependent organisational action may hinder employers' future focus on diversity, inclusion and intersectionality.

**Key words:** diversity, expatriation, inclusion, intersectionality, minorities, path dependency

**Paper type:** Research paper

## **Introduction**

International mobility of the highly skilled is essential to business success, beneficial to the receiving nation through the deployment of “desired talent” and it additionally benefits the careers of those expatriated, thereby creating an “ecosystem” of “interdependencies and dynamics” (Baruch *et al.* 2016, p.846). A diverse expatriate profile is reported to lead to competitive advantage for employers (Shortland and Perkins, 2020). Extending the ecosystem concept, it might be argued that there is potential for a triple win to flow from expatriate diversity – the mobility of diverse highly skilled individuals can bring benefits to countries, industries and the individuals involved. Indeed, the business case for diversity has gained much traction with Human Resource (HR) professionals with advantages cited as including: becoming an employer of choice; recruiting and retaining the best talent; reaching and responding to diverse and global markets; improving customer relations, competitiveness, creativity and innovation; as well as meeting legal, ethical, moral, social justice and corporate social responsibility obligations (Özbilgin *et al.*, 2015). Yet following business-driven diversity rhetoric can result in stereotype reinforcement, justification of discrimination, and preservation of the status quo – outcomes that are contrary to employers’ articulated efforts to capitalise on the potential business case benefits of expatriate diversity (Shortland and Perkins, 2020). For example, the female leadership literature suggests while women are more effective than men in middle-level leadership, their effectiveness is rated particularly highly when these roles require stereotypically feminine leadership characteristics such as relationship building, co-operation and interpersonal skills (Eagly, 2007); women are seen as less effective leaders in masculine environments where they may suffer from “prejudicial evaluation of their competence” (Eagly and Carli, 2003, p.807). Fletcher (2012, pp.93-94) explains that relational practices performed by women leaders are viewed differently to when these are performed by men resulting in “gendered dichotomies”; women’s relational

practices can be misunderstood as personal traits associated with weakness and emotional need, confused with feminine societal roles such as “mothering” rather than leading, while language showing empathy, care and listening is considered inappropriate to the workplace. These factors constitute drawbacks for increasing the participation of women in expatriation given this environment has been - and still is today - highly masculine (Hutchings and Michailova, 2017). Notwithstanding this, Altman and Shortland (2001) suggest being female can be particularly advantageous in an expatriate context. As Tung (2004, p.250) indicates, women are not only willing to undertake expatriation, are as successful as men when doing so and hold attributes well-suited to assignment success, but also are “better able to cope” with expatriation stressors. Precluding women from expatriate opportunities is thus detrimental to both organisational success and women’s own career outcomes.

In the expatriate context, the academic diversity literature has been heavily skewed towards gender, although there has been a more recent focus on other diversity attributes such as sexual orientation, and some (albeit limited) attention paid to race (Baruch *et al.* 2016). For example, much has been written on female expatriation over the decades (Altman and Shortland, 2008; Hutchings and Michailova, 2017; Shortland and Altman, 2011) since Adler’s (1984) ground-breaking work when women were identified as comprising just 3% of the expatriate workforce. And, since Gedro’s (2010) pioneering article on the challenges facing lesbian assignees, studies in the academic literature have proliferated examining expatriates’ sexual orientation (McPhail, 2017). However, very little research to date has addressed other expatriate diversity characteristics such as religion and age, intersectionality of diversity attributes, or how organisations have set about increasing minorities’ expatriate representation and inclusion. This is despite the backgrounds of international assignees being reported as significant factors influencing expatriate intercultural effectiveness (Mamman, 1995).

Organisationally-assigned expatriation refers to corporately-sponsored international mobility for a specific timescale, traditionally initiated by the employer, and attracting a relocation compensation package (Baruch *et al.* 2016). Expatriate assignments are known to provide effective leadership development (Stahl *et al.*, 2009) resulting in career benefits (Ramaswami *et al.*, 2016). Examination of employers' interest, action, and associated challenges in widening expatriate diversity is therefore important if minorities are to gain a greater share of organisationally-assigned expatriate roles and the career opportunities that flow from these (Shortland and Porter, 2020). However, for organisations to understand and address concerns focusing on improving expatriate diversity and for minorities to benefit from international careers, it is crucial to understand the diversity landscape in which employers and assignees operate and any changes taking place within it. Potential problems here include a lack of information on minority expatriate attributes and data on the participation of different minority groups in organisationally-assigned expatriation. In addition, we need to know how employers support minorities' international careers and whether minorities gain an increasing share of career-enhancing expatriate roles over time. An integral problem, as Aguinis *et al.* (2020, p.28) note, concerns the "science-practice gap" – notably the "disconnect" between academic research and the information that practitioners use to drive their interventions. There may also be an "interest area gap" in that academics and practitioners are interested in different issues and/or in similar issues but at different times (Deadrick and Gibson, 2009, p.144). With "at least some empirical evidence to support that a gap exists" we take up the call to consider "how the gap between management science and practice can be bridged" to lead to "mutually beneficial collaborations ... resulting in gains for both" (Banks *et al.*, 2016, p. 2207). To address this, we first review academic literature relating to potential barriers to expatriate diversity before placing a specific focus on what academic research tells us about HR interventions to widen it. In an attempt to

promote greater collaboration in research between academics and practitioners (Banks *et al.*, 2016) we go on to provide a unique contribution to the expatriate diversity literature by extending our understanding of practice through a “fit-for-purpose systematic review methodology” (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009, p.678) analysing the practitioner viewpoint via relocation consultancy research on minorities’ expatriate participation, employers’ interventions to support expatriate diversity, and the challenges they articulate in so-doing. To identify minority expatriates we draw upon the protected characteristics listed in the Equality Act (2010). We follow the argument of Denyer *et al.* (2008) that for practitioners to make use of the findings of a systematic review, then our analysis should relate to actual problems encountered by HR and global mobility professionals.

There are numerous relocation management companies/consultancies which provide services to client firms and directly to international assignees across a wide spectrum of areas relevant to the global mobility of employees and accompanying family members, including international assignment policy design, destination services, property finding/management, school search, dual career support, and immigration/tax compliance. Indeed, as the scale of internationalisation has increased, so organisations have increasingly relied on external providers to assist with the management of global mobility (Levitan *et al.*, 2018). Some of these relocation firms produce series of surveys and/or one-off reports drawn from client data to identify trends in specific issues relevant to international assignment policy devised to support international mobility.

Practitioner surveys, based on client data, provide snapshots of trends in organisational focus to support the deployment of female and other minority expatriates across worldwide operations. They can also help to furnish evidence related to employers’ changing interest in different facets of diversity and highlight specific efforts to mobilise an increasingly diverse profile of assignees. In addition, they can serve a valuable purpose in

raising the profile of minority expatriation. Drawing upon the findings of practitioner materials can thus provide considerable insight into employers' expatriation interventions and challenges. Academic literature, however, tends to eschew practitioner surveys highlighting their shortfalls (Shortland and Porter, 2020) and, as such, academic studies that report on trends as recorded in client-driven practitioner research are sparse. Notwithstanding the fact that practitioner surveys are limited by client participation, may focus on specific areas of service provision available from the publisher (which might be linked to their sales and marketing agenda), and can be geographically skewed by reporting on organisations based in primarily Western economies, they potentially shine a spotlight on the challenges that employers face in supporting minority expatriation, helping us to understand why women and other minorities hold such a low share of expatriate roles.

The aim of this paper is to critically review the academic literature to ascertain what we know about expatriate diversity barriers and organisational interventions to reduce these and thereby attempt to increase diversity, and to extend this knowledge through our fit-for-purpose systematic review (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009) of practitioner surveys published by relocation management companies/consultancies reporting on the deployment of female and other minority expatriates. Its objectives are to review practitioner materials from 1990-2021 to identify evidence-informed knowledge and insights (Tranfield *et al.*, 2003) into what we know about the participation of minorities in expatriation, the interventions used by employers ostensibly to increase expatriate diversity, to ascertain the challenges noted by HR and global mobility professionals with responsibility for expatriate deployment in achieving expatriate diversity, and to further our understanding of employer actions to support intersectionality and inclusion within expatriation. Our research questions are as follows:



- What do we know about the level of participation of minorities as organisationally-assigned expatriates and how has this changed over the past three decades?
- What actions do employers report undertaking to increase the expatriation of minority groups and how has employer emphasis changed?
- What barriers or challenges do employers report in their efforts to widen expatriate diversity?
- What does the practitioner literature tell us about organisational action to support intersectionality and inclusion?

Our findings are discussed within the framework of path dependency theory (Greener, 2005; Mahoney, 2000; Sydow *et al.*, 2020) to help us explain the persistence of minority expatriate participation. From this we provide directions for future academic research and implications for practice; we set the latter within the context of practitioner research we believe important to guide future organisational diversity action. Our paper contributes to path dependency theory by extending its application and scope to the field of expatriate resourcing, highlighting its capacity to challenge multinational organisation managements to surface their embedded assumptions about criteria for expatriation success.

## **Literature review**

### ***Minority expatriates, intersectionality and inclusion***

Traditional expatriates are described as white, male, middle-aged managers from Western sending countries, typically accompanied by a female spouse and children; by default, other expatriates might thus be classified as non-traditional (Guttormsen, 2018) suggesting that these latter individuals comprise ‘minorities’ or ‘diversity’ within an expatriate population. Although research into non-traditional expatriates is reported as limited (McNulty and Hutchings, 2016), particularly in respect of non-traditional family expatriation (Hutchings,

2021), it is important to note that we do not have definitive definitions of what constitutes traditional or non-traditional expatriates (Hutchings, 2021), how the intersectionality of diversity attributes might be categorised (for example, where might a single white male parent fit into a traditional or non-traditional/diverse expatriate classification) or indeed any idea of how many people are undertaking expatriation and the assignment types they are on (short-term, long-term, frequent flyer and so on) – be these organisationally-assigned or self-initiated. This means that it is not possible to calculate the exact share of expatriate roles held by minorities. Added to this information gap, as Guttormsen (2018) warns, there can be a tendency to conflate non-traditional assignment types (such as short-term assignments) with non-traditional assignees (potentially making the assumption that ‘traditional’ long-term organisationally-assigned expatriation is the preserve of the ‘traditional’ expatriate and his accompanying family). Although there is some limited literature that recognises the interplay of diversity attributes such as gender and race (see, for example, Berry and Bell, 2012; Tung 2008; Tung and Haq, 2012), academic expatriate diversity research exploring why minority groups remain under-represented in expatriation predominantly adopts a binary approach in its focus on specific non-traditional expatriate characteristics. The literature places historical emphasis on gender (since Adler’s 1979 paper questioning why, despite having the qualities required for international management, women were largely absent from this arena) and (since Gedro’s, 2010 paper on lesbian assignees) on sexual orientation. There is only limited academic literature that addresses ethnicity/race, religion, the age profiles of expatriate populations and intersectionality of diversity attributes.

Research indicates that women experience more barriers to their expatriation than men including: selection bias (Harris, 2002; Vance and Paik, 2001); insufficient support when on assignment (Linehan and Scullion, 2008) and upon repatriation (Mayrhofer and Scullion, 2002) such as fewer opportunities to benefit from mentors, role models and

networks throughout the expatriate cycle (Linehan and Walsh, 2000; Shortland, 2014).

Compared to men, women also report less perceived organisational support (Hutchings *et al.*, 2008), potentially affecting their willingness to expatriate (Salamin and Davoine, 2015).

LGBTQ+ assignees can face considerable barriers to their expatriation including legislative and societal intolerance, stigmatisation and discrimination (Faeth and Kittler, 2020; Luiz and Spicer, 2021) with transgender individuals experiencing discrimination particularly severely (Singh, 2018). Employers' duty of care can preclude LGBTQ+ expatriation where same-sex relationships attract severe penalties yet, even where homosexuality is legal, same-sex couples can face barriers to residency, work visas, marriage and adoption, etc. (Luiz and Spicer, 2021). Safety concerns can preclude an accompanied assignment with a same-sex partner (Gedro *et al.*, 2013) but the alternative of a single status posting can cause stress and damaged relationships (Hutchings and McNulty, 2018). Cultural context can influence the acceptability of gender identity/expression and sexual orientation, affecting how individuals disclose the intersection of their identities (Paisley and Tayar, 2016). Yet, hiding one's identity is stressful and reduces productivity (McPhail and Fisher, 2015); decisions to undertake expatriation can thus rest on an assessment of likely LGBTQ+ acceptance (Paisley and Tayar, 2016). Being fearful of a potentially hostile reception (Maley and Moeller, 2015) can lead to sexual minorities electing to refuse assignments in favour of safer careers (McNulty, 2015).

The expatriate literature indicates that racial hierarchies in multi-ethnic societies can result in prestige effects for particular racial groups (Song, 2004) with the most prestigious groups benefitting from the greatest support in-country (Olsen and Martins, 2009).

Professional capabilities are attributed according to race with white expatriates regarded as experts (Fechter and Walsh, 2010). For example in Nigeria, white Westerners are favoured over black Westerners from the same sending country and over individuals from African

nations (Carr *et al.*, 1996). Negative stereotypes regarding education, skilled work capability and specific technical job roles can be applied to expatriates from developing nations (Carr *et al.*, 1996; Fisher and Hartel, 2003; Luring, 2007). Expatriates of similar racial profiles to their hosts can experience difficulties in gaining local acceptance; shared ethnicity can be a negative characteristic (Zhang *et al.*, 2018) if it leads to identity conflict and adjustment problems (Peltokorpi and Zhang, 2020).

The academic literature provides only limited insight into potential expatriation barriers linked to other diversity attributes such as religion and age, and appears silent on pregnancy/maternity, and disability. Expatriates' religious beliefs appear unimportant to their effectiveness (Fisher and Hartel, 2003) and so holding different beliefs potentially might not act as a barrier to expatriation. Notwithstanding this, local religious understanding does influence cultural intelligence (Malek and Budhwar, 2013). Expatriates' average age profile ranges from 37-42 with studies indicating a mixed picture as to the effects of age on expatriate performance (Albrecht *et al.*, 2018; Banai and Reisel, 1993; Black and Gregersen, 1991; Selmer, 2001). While older expatriates potentially offer greater experience (Albrecht *et al.*, 2018), they may prove to be more expensive to deploy due to seniority-based compensation (Banai and Reisel, 1993), and thus prove less attractive to employers in cost-cutting environments (Maley *et al.*, 2020) and where younger employees demonstrate a stronger appetite for global mobility as a career enhancer (Crowley-Henry and Collins, 2017).

Turning to intersectionality, although women expatriates are reported as "similar in socioeconomic terms to male expatriates: they are white, highly educated executives, managers and professionals" (Berry and Bell, 2012, p.21), there is some evidence within academic research on non-white women expatriates' experiences. For example, female expatriates resembling local women in Taiwan faced greater gender discrimination from men of the same ethnic background than Western women (Tzeng, 2006), women of Chinese

descent working in China and of Japanese descent working in Japan experienced greater initial resistance than Caucasian women (Napier and Taylor, 2002), and African-American female expatriates were less accepted than white American women assignees in India (Tung and Haq, 2012). In Mathur-Helm's (2002) interviews with female expatriates/repatriates in South Africa, Caucasian women did not report gender or racial discrimination in contrast to black women who experienced both.

Unlike the corporate governance literature which has begun to research inclusive diversity (see for example, Brown, 2002; Harris, 2009; Kayani *et al.*, 2021) expatriate academic research appears to have yet to analyse this aspect, namely how a culture of inclusion can be fostered to integrate everyone and draw out the full potential that diversity can bring (Pless and Maak, 2004). Employers articulate inclusive diversity as “a set of behaviors that promote collaboration, creativity and innovation, high performance, fairness and respect, and an environment where employees believe they belong” (Homeland Security, 2021, p.0). This leads us to consider what the academic expatriate literature tells us about interventions that practitioners deploy to achieve both expatriate diversity and inclusion.

### ***Practitioner interventions to support expatriate diversity and inclusion***

Turning to practitioner action to encourage, facilitate and support women's expatriation and that of other minorities, the academic literature reveals that organisationally-assigned female expatriates can benefit from employer interventions including: pre-assignment trips, training, mentoring, networking, career counselling, and family support (Shortland and Altman, 2011). Such interventions assist women's expatriation differentially to men's. For example, female expatriates are reported to place greater emphasis on pre-assignment visits to gain first-hand experience of their new location for family integration; the literature also makes a strong case for the value of expatriate training, with such support differentially assisting women (Mayrhofer and Scullion, 2002). However, women's experiences appear to indicate that they

perceive only limited access to appropriate training compared to men and training that is received can be inadequate or irrelevant for their expatriate career progression (Shortland and Porter, 2020).

Mentors, sponsors, networks and role models are highlighted as particularly helpful in facilitating women's international careers (Hutchings and Michailova, 2017) and are also reported as critical to female expatriates' job satisfaction (Culpan and Wright, 2002). In male-dominated industries, networking and role models can be especially valuable as expatriate gender diversity interventions. For example, in the oil and gas industry, employer-sponsored women's networks are welcomed by female expatriates to assist them with lifestyle, family and career development issues – although with the caveat that if perceived as exclusionary by men, they could reinforce male solidarity and thereby prove counter-productive (Shortland, 2011). In sectors where female role models are scarce, they can only play a limited part in encouraging other women to consider an expatriate career; organisational support in the form of time and resources is therefore needed for women to be encouraged to act as role models if this intervention is to be effective (Shortland, 2014).

With respect to sexual orientation, employer action in respect of compensation and benefits (Gedro *et al.*, 2013; Luiz and Spicer, 2021; McNulty *et al.*, 2018), support mechanisms (McNulty and Hutchings, 2016; McNulty *et al.*, 2018), family implications (Gedro *et al.*, 2013), and acculturation (McNulty, 2015; McPhail, 2017; McPhail and Fisher, 2015) all feature in the academic literature on supporting LGBTQ+ assignees. The practical application of compensation and benefits elements of international assignment policies such as the provision of spousal assistance and housing may prove to be impossible for same sex couples in countries where homosexuality is illegal or being identified as part of a same-sex couple brings great danger (Luiz and Spicer, 2021). This reflection of Ferner *et al.*'s (2005) warning that headquarters policy may not be embraced in host subsidiaries is clearly

detrimental to organisations attempting to enact policy through practical support for expatriate sexual minorities. Helpful interventions include providing advice to LGBTQ+ minorities on career decisions (Gedro, 2010), managerial support in home and host locations, visa assistance for partners, information on benefits available to dependants, links into support groups in the home and host locations, access to mentors, and safe housing (McNulty *et al.*, 2018). Preparation assistance including briefing on host country legal and cultural issues (Gedro *et al.*, 2013), a pre-assignment visit, and language training (McPhail *et al.*, 2016) are also recommended. The use of social media is also reported as valuable to lesbian and gay expatriates to assist with acculturation (McPhail and Fisher, 2015).

Ethnicity, race and religion are important aspects of expatriate diversity: they capture important demographic differences beyond national origin as the expatriate pool becomes increasingly diverse as business globalises (Olsen and Martins, 2009). In respect of interventions to support these minority expatriates, language and cultural training can be helpful. Speaking the local language is reported as influencing inclusion (Lauring, 2007) while cross-cultural training is reported to help assist expatriates to develop personal attributes to perform more effectively in ethnically diverse workplaces (Freeman and Lindsay, 2012). Understanding and respecting religious beliefs are also deemed important (Al Mazrouei and Pech, 2015), helping to develop cultural intelligence (Malek and Budhwar, 2013) and facilitate international tasks (Graf, 2004). Yet even with the delivery of language and cultural training, expatriates may not adjust to the ethnic, racial or religious context; expatriates may be unwilling to interact with locals (Peltokorpi and Zhang, 2020) and/or experience hostility from them (Bader and Berg, 2014). A cautious approach to selection is proposed (Peltokorpi and Zhang, 2020) with effective use of social networks within the local ethnic community (Pires *et al.*, 2006).

To date the academic expatriate literature contains little in the way of specific detail on employer interventions to support intersectionality of diversity attributes and inclusive practices. This may flow from the difficulties in distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional expatriates and/or improvements being required to enhance knowledge sharing between the academic and practitioner communities (Guttormsen, 2018). It may also be a function of policy making processes that are embedded in what Mahoney (2000, p.508) describes as “historical sequences” occurring at critical junctures (Hall and Taylor, 1996) for determining resourcing of international operations. These develop into managerial thought pathways that, over time, inhibit the perceived scope for what may be endorsed as legitimate innovation.

## **Method**

### *Systematic reviews in management studies*

Systematic reviews are reported as research projects that analyse existing studies in a replicable manner to explore specified questions drawn from practice problems; four core principles apply namely they are expected to be “replicable, exclusive, aggregative, and algorithmic” (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009, p.674). In essence: systematic reviews must provide details of the protocol used and meet specified inclusion/exclusion criteria for replicability; exclusive reviews synthesise the best available evidence; the study context must be accounted for in any data aggregation; and algorithmic guidelines should require practitioners to integrate their local conditions and preferences with review evidence.

Systematic reviews are valuable to practitioners because they can offer a reliable basis upon which to devise and implement management policy and associated interventions. However, rigorous systematic reviews have traditionally been applied in disciplines applying a positivist research approach (such as medicine); conducting systematic reviews within management studies has been widely criticised as descriptive, lacking critical assessment and



potentially subject to researcher bias (Tranfield *et al.*, 2003). Nonetheless, Denyer and Tranfield (2009) argue that systematic reviews can be applied within management disciplines using a fit-for-purpose, bespoke methodology, reflecting the characteristics of the field, and the nature of available evidence (which, necessarily, takes into account fragmentation of information and multiple methods of data collection). Revising the principles of systematic reviews for management studies and qualitative research environments, Denyer and Tranfield (2009, p.678) suggest that if transparency, inclusivity, explanatory and heuristic core principles apply, such reviews can “produce knowledge of use to managers in providing insight or designing solutions to field problems”.

In our review of the practitioner expatriate diversity literature we follow Denyer and Tranfield’s (2009) suggestions that systematic management reviews should not necessarily attempt to achieve replicability but instead document methods used openly so as to provide transparency, report on any protocol alterations (for example in response to unforeseen literature), link findings to discussion and recommendations, and clearly articulate assumptions underpinning the review. With respect to inclusivity, we follow encouragement given to include “a wide range of studies, research types and data forms to promote a full understanding of the phenomenon of interest” (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009, p.680) and, to address explanatory principles, we follow the authors’ advice on synthesis to bring “the pieces from individual texts together to make a whole that should be more than the sum of the parts” (*ibid.*). Finally, with regard to Denyer and Tranfield’s (2009, p.681) heuristic core principle, we set out to produce an output which provides management with ideas, tools and methods “that may help to guide design for effective implementation” in widening expatriate diversity.

***Data sources, collection methods, assumptions, and synthesis of findings***

The researchers collected practitioner publications including client surveys and reports relating to organisational international relocation policy content and delivery published by relocation management companies/consultancies on an ongoing basis since 1990. Over three decades we accessed these via organisations which directly represent employers relocating staff globally and their external providers/consultancies (the CBI, Canadian and Worldwide Employee Relocation Councils, Permits Foundation, and Relocate Global), as well as via direct contact with the relocation consultancies themselves via exhibitions and personal connections. In addition to the early decade print materials, we searched relocation management companies'/consultancies' websites for all of their recent publications. These were downloaded and searched for any information/data relating to expatriate minorities, diversity and inclusion. To identify relevant content relating to the expatriation of minority groups we considered the following protected characteristics as noted in the Equality Act (2010): age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation. We used the following search terms: gender; female; women; age; nationality; ethnicity; race; religion; culture; disability; pregnancy; maternity; lesbian; gay; bisexual; transgender; queer; LGBT. In addition, we searched for mentions of diversity, intersectionality and inclusion challenges faced by participating employers using the following search terms: challenge; diversity; inclusion; intersectionality.

Statistics (such as the percentage of women assignees and the age profiles of expatriates) were recorded as was any detail on actual interventions practised (such as global mobility policy content related to fostering diversity). Diversity and inclusion challenges faced by participating employers were highlighted too. All relevant information was recorded in Word files. In each case, the year of publication was noted so that we could trace developments over time; we added in newly-released materials as our research progressed

and as we revised our work for publication. Using our search criteria as the basis for inclusion in our review, we identified 109 surveys and articles based upon them (where the original surveys were unavailable) published in the English language from 1990-2021 which contained data or commentary on the expatriation of women and other minority expatriates (predominantly younger/older and LGBTQ+ expatriates). Surveys/reports that did not include data/commentary on expatriate minorities, diversity and/or inclusion were excluded from our analysis.

With three decades of materials in hand, we considered that there should be sufficient trends data available for an analysis of organisational statistics and interventions on expatriate diversity. Notwithstanding this, we recognise that conducting our academic research into trends in practitioner data was hindered by some access issues. For example, some consultancy survey data was restricted to participating clients, was available only for purchase at high cost, or only brief ‘highlights’ or press releases were made available to external researchers. In addition, we found that practitioner publications were not always lodged with major repositories such as national libraries (e.g. the British Library) and so, as relocation consultancies had closed down or were acquired by others, their previous research publications became inaccessible. As such, we acknowledge that collating a ‘complete’ dataset of relocation company/consultancy publications was near-on impossible from an academic research perspective.

Being UK-based, we also acknowledge that the majority of publications we identified were published by Western-headquartered relocation management firms (many US-based with UK bases of operation) and, as such, provided sparse data on international assignment practice outside of the Americas and Europe. In addition, while there were some examples of surveys being conducted regularly (see for example, Brookfield, Cartus, Santa Fe) this was by no means the norm. Indeed, even when regular surveys were carried out, the client base

surveyed most likely varied with each publication as new clients joined and previous clients moved on to take their business elsewhere. This potentially resulted in identified inconsistencies in employer policy components and implementation practices from survey to survey. Notwithstanding this, information on the content of employers' global mobility policies in support of widening expatriate diversity is important because it frames the actions taken by sending and receiving line managers, from transparent and equitable selection decision-making of minorities through to their successful assignment completion – assuming of course that these policies are going to be followed as intended (Perkins and Daste, 2007). We organised the materials to present a synthesis of our findings linked to our research questions using sub-headings that we found reflected the main foci of the practitioner literature: trends in minority expatriate participation (women; age; LGBTQ+); diversity interventions; and diversity challenges. Data/information on expatriate ethnicity, race, religion, pregnancy/maternity and disability, inclusion and intersectionality were rare.

Our findings are summarised below (with, for the sake of brevity, only the cited practitioner references listed in the references list, marked with \* to make clear which were selected for their contribution to understanding practitioner data relating to minority expatriate diversity).

## **Findings**

### ***Trends in minority expatriate participation***

*Women:* Our analysis revealed an increase in the participation of women as international assignees from just 5% in 1989 (ORC/CBI, 1990) to 34% in 2021 (Santa Fe, 2021a) (Table 1). In the 1990s, practitioner publications recorded a steady rise in female expatriation to reach 15% by the end of the decade (Windham/NFTC, 1998). In the 2000s, women's participation seemed to fluctuate to a greater extent, rising and falling back again – starting the decade at 13% in 2000 (Moore, 2002), reaching 21% in 2007 (Cartus, 2007) to decline to

between 17-19% by 2010 (Brookfield, 2010; Cartus, 2010). However, it is important to note that in this period the various surveys published demonstrated a wide range of figures for female expatriate participation even within the same year. For example for 2008, ORC Worldwide (2008) recorded female expatriation at only 13% while GMAC (2008) noted it as 19%.

In the first half of the 2011-2020 decade, women's expatriate participation seemed to have stalled – the decade began with 18% female participation (Brookfield, 2011) and then hovered around the 19-24% mark (Brookfield, 2015a; Cartus, 2012). In the latter half of this decade, however, an increase in female expatriate participation was in evidence: 25-35% female participation was recorded (Brookfield, 2016; Impact Group, 2018); this reached 32% by the end of the decade (Santa Fe, 2019, 2020), increasing to 34% in 2021 (Santa Fe, 2021a). The data collected referred solely to gender; our research did not identify information relating to intersectionality such as the participation of women of colour and/or LGBTQ+.

Table 1 about here

*Age:* The practitioner surveys also provided some data on the changing age profile of assignees. Although the majority (around 70%) of expatriates were reported to be in the 30-49 year age range (BGRS, 2016a; Cartus, 2010) there has been a slight shift in age composition over time, with the Brookfield surveys (Table 2) indicating a small decline in the proportion of 30-49 year olds in favour of gradually increasing proportions of younger (20-29) and older (50+) assignees. For example, in 2009, 75% of expatriates were aged between 30 and 49 (Brookfield, 2009) but this percentage figure declined to 69% in 2016 (Brookfield, 2016). The proportion of assignees aged 50+ rose over this period from 16% (Brookfield, 2009) to 22% in 2011-2013 (Brookfield, 2011, 2012, 2014) before declining to 20% by 2016 (Brookfield, 2016). The proportion of younger assignees in the 20-29 age group was reported at 9% in 2009 (Brookfield, 2009), rising to 13% in 2012 (Brookfield, 2012) before declining

to 11% in 2016 (Brookfield, 2016). Going forward, the practitioner literature suggested an increasing trend towards the deployment of younger assignees aged 20-29, particularly in organisations that viewed global mobility as a strategic talent driver; this age group also presented the advantage of being less costly to expatriate (BGRS, 2016a, 2016b).

Table 2 about here

*LGBTQ+*: The practitioner literature provided some limited information on the deployment of LGBTQ+ assignees, with this subject gaining prominence around six years ago.

Expatriating LGBTQ+ individuals was described as “a subject that has now risen near the top of trending issues” (Brookfield, 2015b, p.4) as concerns over talent shortages had to be balanced with such issues as legal status, immigration laws and healthcare provision.

However, percentage data on the participation of LGBTQ+ were not available.

### *Diversity interventions*

Early publications that reported percentage figures for women’s expatriate participation, for example, the Cartus (2007, 2010, 2012, 2014) series, did not suggest how to increase it.

Cartus (2007, p.6) did note that the low proportion of female assignees “raises a serious question about policy design” and questioned whether policies as written reflected the male, mid-career, married demographic at the expense of other demographics; however, it left the question “has spouse support been historically designed for female spouses, a fact that perpetuates a bias against married female assignees?” unanswered.

With respect to interventions that employers might take to increase expatriate gender diversity, mentoring for female expatriates within the worksite or host location was suggested (Air Inc., 2019). In addition, a focus on providing support for dual career couples (such as assistance with securing work visas for accompanying partners) was recommended where women’s partners might otherwise be unwilling to mobilise with them (Permits Foundation, 2009). Yet, in relation to the types of spousal support actually given, the emphasis seemed to

lie in the provision of language and intercultural training (ICT). For example, 75% of organisations provided language training and 64% provided ICT, while just 37% provided work permit information/advice, 35% offered career planning assistance, 27% employment search and 23% provided a lump sum in support of spouse/partner assistance (Brookfield, 2015a).

More recently employer interventions to increase gender diversity have been reported: 6% of the organisations surveyed by Cartus (2018) counselled home country sending managers and 3% counselled host country receiving managers on the potential host location challenges for female assignees; and in Santa Fe's (2020) survey, 4% of the participants reported positive action on gender would enhance diverse leadership. In both instances though, the actions taken to facilitate female expatriation were not made explicit. In its 2016 survey, Brookfield noted that 59% of its participants said that women faced greater obstacles to accepting assignments than men and 37% said that low female acceptance of assignments had an adverse impact on creating a gender-balanced senior management team. The intervention mentioned to address this concerned communicating the importance of assignments to employees' careers which, the report indicates, resulted in 43% of employers stating that this had increased interest by women considering undertaking an assignment (Brookfield, 2016). It was not clear though as to whether this actually resulted in increased take-up of assignments by women.

Facilitating mentoring, conducting ICT, organising networks, establishing global employee exchanges and providing specific tailored support have all been suggested as interventions helpful in supporting expatriate diversity generally (Boston Consulting Group, 2008; Nomidis, 2021). Notwithstanding this, very little appeared to have been published in relation to expatriation interventions specifically linked to ethnicity and religion, even though 36% of global mobility professionals were reported as expecting more cultural diversity in

the coming 24 months (Santa Fe, 2019). It was suggested that an analysis of the career trajectories of assignees of different nationalities and ethnicities should be conducted so that actions could be tailored accordingly (Boston Consulting Group, 2008), and employee-specific ICT be given to assignees relocating with adopted children to countries where adoption is uncommon (Air Inc., 2019).

With respect to ICT and language training given to assignees, it was notable that the proportion of organisations offering support was falling over time. For example, some 55% of organisations offered ICT and 58% offered language training in 2007 (Cartus, 2007); this fell to 54% and 49% respectively in 2016 (Cartus, 2016). These types of support then declined further with only 44% of respondents offering both forms of preparatory support by 2018; however, the percentage of firms that offered ICT and language training to minority assignees was higher at 47% and 45% respectively than the 44% that gave such assistance to all assignees (Cartus, 2018). This is relevant because preparatory training has been identified as important for minorities' adjustment in academic studies (see, for example, Freeman and Lindsay, 2012; Gedro, 2010; Pires *et al.*, 2006).

The practitioner literature did make some specific recommendations for employer interventions to assist with the deployment of LGBTQ+ expatriates. For example, when spousal visas were granted for same-sex couples, it was suggested that organisations should educate assignees on prejudices and cultural/practical barriers that they and their partners might experience (Cartus, 2015a). It was also recommended that employers create an inventory of legal and social host country attitudes to the LGBTQ+ community, plan to manage risks associated with LGBTQ+ candidate deployment, provide appropriate ICT, review support available within relocation policy, and ensure leadership commitment to LGBTQ+ international careers (Brookfield, 2015b). According to Cartus (2014), 75% of its survey participants provided relocation support to same-sex partners and 11% noted that they



planned to strengthen policy provision in this regard; details of the actual support given/intended were not reported though. In 2018, Cartus (2018) noted that 8% of organisations counselled home country sending managers and 5% counselled host country receiving managers on potential host location challenges for LGBTQ+ and younger assignees, slightly higher percentages than reported doing so for female expatriates. The most recent literature not only highlighted the importance of international careers from both organisational and employee perspectives but was also mindful of employees' well-being and the ill-health effects that discrimination could cause; it therefore urged companies to ensure that their global policy "explicitly prohibits discrimination and harassment on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity" (Lyons *et al.*, 2020, p.12).

The practitioner literature indicated pregnancy and maternity policies for expatriates are uncommon and that case-by-case action is often taken (Rosenzwaig, 2010). With respect to disability, the very limited published literature reported on physical rather than mental health issues: Air Inc. (2019) focused on support such as the funding of ramps to provide accessible access for expatriates/families at the workplace/living accommodation.

### ***Diversity challenges***

Over the past six years it was notable that the practitioner literature has appeared to shift its focus from reporting percentage figures on the composition of the expatriate workforce and the proportion of organisations providing particular forms of support under their international assignment policies towards an emphasis on global mobility challenges for the years ahead. Cartus (2015b, 2018) surveys, for example, ceased to report women's percentage expatriate participation, having focused their emphasis instead on cost containment, immigration, compliance, compensation, housing and data security as global mobility's greatest challenges.

Even though expatriate gender and minority diversity has not been reported as one of the top global mobility challenges, 10% of organisations did identify it as a key issue going forward (Santa Fe, 2016). The practitioner literature took a country-specific focus in this regard. For example, China, India, Russia and Brazil were reported as some of the most challenging countries to deploy expatriates to with immigration, cultural differences and concerns over personal safety recorded as the top three challenges in these locations – 14% of organisations reported race, sexuality, religion and gender as especially challenging in these destinations (Santa Fe, 2015). More recently, the USA has been placed at the top of the challenging destinations list, followed by China – with 23% of organisations having reported that the diversity climate was challenging in these destinations in 2020, down from 25% reporting similarly in 2019 (Santa Fe, 2019, 2020). In Santa Fe’s (2020) survey 17% of organisations said that spousal careers would present a challenge over the next 24 months.

In 2020, Santa Fe stated “business leaders are prioritising the value of diversity” (p.52) while in 2021, the integration of equality, diversity and inclusion into policies, procedures and programmes was reported as one of the top ten trends over the past decade (Santa Fe, 2021b). These comments appeared to be associated with the specific circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic, most notably the increased use of virtual assignments whereby assignees work from their home/host or a third country but are not physically present at the assignment worksite. Virtual international working particularly from the home country when physical mobility is not required might assist women, LGBTQ+, those with physical disabilities, and other minorities where cultural, legal and access restrictions have held back their global mobility. Unsurprisingly, Santa Fe (2020) predicted that diversity will be an issue to measure over the coming 12-24 months as traditional mobility is increasingly replaced by virtual working. Yet, despite this, diversity did not feature specifically in its lengthy list of challenges facing global mobility in the future – the

top four challenges being immigration compliance, safety/security in host locations, employee initiated virtual assignments, and environmental health/medical risks (clearly all linked to Covid-19 and its impact on mobility).

### ***Intersectionality and inclusion***

Our analysis of practitioner publications to date suggested that intersectionality has yet to be researched and content relating to inclusion was very limited. In 2021, practitioner research began to include headlines relating to inclusion although it was notable that their content majored on discrete aspects of diversity. For example, Santa Fe (2021a, p.18) purported to address “equality, diversity and inclusion considerations” but reported primarily on female participation statistics, on cultural diversity and the talent agenda, not focusing on actions to promote inclusion per se. Air Inc. (2021) provided statistics on aspects of diversity currently in focus within global mobility programmes, interestingly signalling interest in racial and religious diversity, disability, and gender identity, set alongside the more traditional diversity focus on gender, age and sexual orientation. However, one intervention to promote inclusion was briefly mentioned with 48% of participants “reviewing policy language for inclusive tone” (Air Inc., 2021, p.4). This might indicate the start of a trend within practitioner research to investigate and report on inclusion going forward.

### **Discussion**

The findings demonstrate a number of trends within practitioner studies of expatriate diversity. In the first two decades from the late 1980s, we saw the tendency towards a simple record of the proportion of women within the expatriate population, with some data also published on age profiles of expatriates. At this point data on other minorities were not featured within practitioner research and there was little attempt to explain the under-representation of women. The practitioner literature turned its attention to other minorities

only within the last decade, with a focus, in the main, on LGBTQ+ assignees; other minorities remained unstudied.

Emphasis on providing information on practitioner interventions to support women and LGBTQ+ assignees in pursuit of wider expatriate diversity became a feature of the practitioner literature within the last decade. The focus here has mainly been on recording the percentage of international assignment policies that support assignment preparation such as language training and ICT. Other interventions reported included spousal support, career counselling, mentoring and networking – but with relatively little in the way of explanation as to how these have actually benefitted minority groups in practice.

More recently, the literature has turned its attention to the challenge of increasing diversity but again we see little information on how organisations are addressing this. Overall, this paints a disappointing picture: over three decades’ of practitioner research does not give us clear lessons on how expatriate diversity can be increased or specific examples of interventions that have addressed identified diversity challenges successfully. It is also disappointing to see that such a narrow focus on expatriate diversity remains – to date there has been very little emphasis on ethnicity, race, religion, pregnancy/maternity, and disability (both in relation to physical and mental health) for example. It is also notable that there is a gap in the practitioner literature in respect of engagement with intersectionality of diversity attributes (for example specific issues facing expatriate minorities such as LGBTQ+ women of colour, etc.) and how the scope of employers’ interventions might helpfully advance the inclusion of minority groups.

### ***Theoretical contribution***

Path dependency theorising (Greener, 2005; Mahoney, 2000; Sydow *et al.*, 2020) suggests that rather than being an outcome of rational decision-taking (Hodgson, 2012), once locked-in to a particular path (Goldstone, 1998), policy formation and application may simply be

conditioned by habit (Greener, 2005). When expatriation policy is determined, choices relating to expatriate characterisation may constrain the ways in which the social actors interpret and act upon it (Sahakiantz *et al.*, 2015). Path dependent organisational norms affecting expatriation thus might create conditions that preclude access to international assignments and concomitant experiential learning, such that potential expatriate resource pools are limited to those whose characteristics match norms that are simply a function of institutional inertia (Kingdon and Stano, 1995), fulfilling expectations that only certain (traditional) candidate profiles are suitable. Thus, standardised interventions to encourage and support minorities in expatriation may collide with the glass ceilings and borders (Insch *et al.*, 2008) that minority expatriates encounter. So is it possible to break from history? For example, can interventions create openings through which change of substance may be ushered in before inertia reasserts itself (Kingdon and Stano, 1995)?

Analysis of action intended to breach these barriers demands attention to embedded assumptions about the characteristics implicitly deemed legitimate to qualify for international assignments as well as to policy content that might support minorities in expatriation. We argue that path dependency theory can help analysis on both of these issues, namely how to change organisational policy and practice in respect of resourcing and supporting minority expatriation mindful of the business and moral case for expatriate diversity. First, a path dependent framework for assessing interventions to widen expatriate diversity can enable a “time-sensitive” understanding of organisational phenomena (Sydow *et al.*, 2020, p.718), in place of “ahistorical generalities” (Hodgson, 2012, p.94) informing strategic choices made by corporate managements. Second, as triggers for change in path dependent settings need to be exogenous (Hall and Taylor, 1996) to generate the conditions necessary to overcome endogenous inertia in multinational organisations, agency by exogenous powerful and vocal vested interest groups can advocate for ideas that challenge the status quo (Greener, 2005).

Potentially, relocation consultancies and their practitioner research publications can contribute here by not only collating details of current challenges and practices but through suggestions for future interventions drawn from perspectives external to those taking decisions on expatriate resource pools and supporting policy content.

Turning to expatriate characteristics and framing consideration of these using the lens of organisational path dependency (Greener, 2005; Mahoney, 2000; Sydow *et al.*, 2020) suggests setting aside assumptions that ahistorical rational choice (Hodgson, 2012) guides managerial identification of expatriate suitability. Instead a time-sensitive lens should be applied to scrutinise how expatriate characteristics as envisioned by organisations were originally formed. Historical ‘traditional’ expatriate demographic characteristics may have created locked-in resourcing rationales (Goldstone, 1998; Greener, 2005) that reflect social norms from previous decades which, although they have been questioned and overturned during the past 30 years, are still creating barriers to minorities’ expatriate participation. To break with these endogenous historical paths, attention may be directed towards exogenous influences highlighting business as well as moral imperatives (Sydow *et al.*, 2020) to update expatriation success criteria to align with today’s normative social ecosystem (Baruch *et al.*, 2016; Hall and Taylor, 1996; Greener, 2005). This could enable horizontal and vertical routes for a greater diversity of organisational talent more representative of contemporary society to participate in expatriate experiences to the benefit of organisational success, receiving countries’ skill shortages, and minorities’ careers alike.

### ***Future research agenda***

Academic research that compares policy as written with how it is implemented in practice in relation to supporting all aspects of expatriate diversity is needed. A stronger focus on areas that have attracted only limited academic attention in the past would be particularly welcome in this regard, such as interventions to support racial/ethnic/religious minorities as well as

older and younger assignees and those with disabilities. In addition, academic research on how employers have overcome diversity challenges, and managed intersectionality and inclusion within expatriation would be especially valuable.

Path dependency theory helps to demonstrate that it is inappropriate to assume managerial choices surrounding expatriate resourcing are exclusively the product of rational thought. Habitual frames of reference applied by decision-makers constitute the criteria that have traditionally applied with the effect of privileging characteristics of the traditional expatriate as legitimate when choosing whom to develop and select for expatriation. Being locked-in to this conceptual pathway may crowd out other normative claims on criteria for expatriate success, effectively de-legitimising individuals whose profiles fall outside that of the traditional expatriate. Further research into minority expatriation set within the context of path dependency theorising would therefore be welcome to explore, for example, how exogenous actors/influences might assist in bringing about change. These research areas have the potential to be supported by partnership with relocation management companies/consultancies, drawing upon their large client bases to gain access to participation data of minority expatriates, employer policy actions, and to determine trends over time.

### ***Implications for practitioner research/practice***

In terms of relocation firms and their contribution to the diversity agenda on behalf of their practitioner clients, a stronger focus is needed on capturing organisational participants' full expatriate diversity profiles so that a better understanding of expatriate workforce attributes might be gleaned. Notwithstanding that their client profiles change over time, relocation companies/consultancies are urged to adopt a more consistent approach to surveying their clients such that longitudinal trends can be identified as these should prove immensely helpful to understanding employers' progress in increasing expatriate diversity. As well as reporting on policy interventions taken by participating organisations to enhance diversity,

practitioner publications are encouraged to report on the outcomes of these, ideally via diversity metrics. Besides recording not only what their clients see as diversity challenges, relocation companies/consultancies are further encouraged to report on how employers plan to (or have already) addressed them such that others might learn from effective practice.

In addition, practitioner research needs to gather data on intersectionality of diversity attributes within expatriate workforces, and to report on the challenges and action taken (with outcomes where possible) to promote inclusion. Of course, if relocation companies/consultancies are going to collect these data for dissemination to the benefit of organisations and, in turn, their minority expatriates and the countries where they are deployed thereby supporting the wider global mobility ecosystem, it requires client organisations to keep appropriate records on their expatriate diversity profiles, share data by taking part in research initiatives, implement interventions that can potentially widen expatriate diversity and inclusion, and report back on their outcomes. Only by demonstrating such commitment can practitioners shun path dependency and contribute to a future of inclusive expatriate diversity.

### ***Concluding remarks***

Three decades of practitioner research into trends in the participation of minority expatriates indicates that minorities remain under-represented within the organisationally-assigned expatriate arena. Although lamenting the lack of expatriate diversity and the challenge it presents to organisations, there is sparse data available within practitioner studies on the participation of minority groups, other than of women, in the expatriate workforce. Employer interventions that might enhance opportunities to support all minorities to undertake international assignments have not been researched in any depth such that their potential to bring about lasting change can be determined and, while diversity challenges are articulated, there is little information available in practitioner studies to show how these have been



tackled. Practitioners are also missing out on information available to assist them to manage intersectionality and inclusion effectively in the expatriate context. When expatriation policy is determined, choices relating to expatriate characterisation may constrain the ways in which the social actors interpret and act upon it. Practitioner research suggests a path dependent approach in this respect – locked-in inertia that has precluded minority expatriation largely continues to this day.

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**Table 1: Trends in women's expatriate participation (1990-2021)**

<b>Female expatriate participation (%)</b>	<b>Year to which data apply</b>	<b>Source</b>
5	1989	ORC/CBI, 1990
7	1989	ORC/CBI, 1990
5	1992	ORC/CBI, 1992
9	1995	UMIST/CBI/CIB, 1995
10	1996	ORC/CBI, 1996
14	1996	Windham/NFTC, 1997
15	1998	Windham/NFTC, 1998
13	2000	Moore, 2002
14	2000	Gardiner, 2001; Strout, 2001; Tyler, 2001
14	2002	ORC, 2002
11	2004	ORC Worldwide, 2004
16.5	2005	ORC, 2005
23	2005	Anonymous, 2006
20	2006	GMAC GRS/NFTC, 2007
11	2007	ORC Worldwide, 2007
18	2007	IRC/ORC Worldwide, 2007
21	2007	Cartus, 2007
13	2008	ORC Worldwide, 2008
19	2008	GMAC, 2008
20	2009	Brookfield, 2009
19	2010	Cartus, 2010
17	2010	Brookfield, 2010
18	2011	Brookfield, 2011
24	2012	Cartus, 2012
20	2012	Brookfield, 2012
24	2014	Cartus, 2014
20	2014	Brookfield, 2014
19	2015	Brookfield, 2015a
25	2016	Brookfield, 2016
24	2016	Cartus, 2016
27	2017	BGRS, 2017
25	2018	Santa Fe, 2018
35	2018	Impact Group, 2018
32	2019	Santa Fe, 2019
32	2020	Santa Fe, 2020
34	2021	Santa Fe, 2021a



**Table 2: Trends in expatriate participation by age range (2008-2016)**

Age (%)					Year to which data apply	Source
20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+		
9	38	37	14	2	End January 2009	Brookfield, 2009
10	32	40	16	2	End January 2010	Brookfield, 2010
9	32	37	19	3	End January 2011	Brookfield, 2011
13	31	34	19	3	End January 2012	Brookfield, 2012
10	33	35	18	4	End 2013	Brookfield, 2014
11	35	36	15	2	End 2014	Brookfield, 2015a
11	31	38	17	3	End January 2016	Brookfield, 2016