



Saara Koikkalainen

Making it abroad

Experiences of highly skilled Finns
in the European Union labour markets



University of Lapland
Faculty of Social Sciences

© Saara Koikkalainen

Layout: Paula Kassinen

Sales:

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PO Box 8123
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Abstract

The geographical context of the study lies in Europe, where over the past 60 years a progressive lessening of restrictions on labour mobility between certain countries has taken place. It is possible for the majority of Europeans to study, work, or retire in any of the 28 European Union (EU) member states, as well as in Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein. Europe is thus a unique area, where sovereign states have given parts of their legislative power to supranational institutions and have given up one of the fundamental rights that define a nation state – that of deciding who can cross its borders. Increased mobility to other EU member states after Finland joined the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 and the EU in 1995 testifies to the fact that also Finns are taking advantage of the free movement regime.

This sociological study examines the labour market experiences of one intra-European migrant group: highly skilled Finns who have moved to other EU15 countries. Based on two consecutive Working in Europe online surveys (2008, 2010) and 18 migrant interviews, this study addresses three empirical questions: “Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad?”, “How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries?”, and “What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in?” The recognition of skills, educational qualifications and work experience, i.e. one’s cultural capital, is a key question for any migrant and especially so for highly educated professional migrants. The main theoretical question asked therefore is: “How does the cultural capital of the highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders?” The study engages with three related literatures focusing on highly skilled migration, intra-European mobility, and cultural capital during migration.

The study examines the personal experiences of highly skilled Finns and thus the main focus of the study is on the micro level of international mobility. Yet also various historical processes, such as globalisation and Europeanisation, cultural phenomena, and economic developments outside the control of individual migrants influence the reasons why particular individuals decided to move, where they moved to and when they moved. The study concludes that for internationally-minded, relatively young and well-educated European citizens mobility in the EU area is one possible path among many, and experimenting with living abroad may be motivated by a range of different reasons related to lifestyle and personal growth that are not directly linked with one’s professional career or the possibility of earning a better salary.

The concept of status passage, i.e. a transitional period that is spent doing low-skilled jobs, studying, in unemployment, or continuing to work in Finland while applying for highly skilled jobs abroad, is used to describe how the Finns of the study entered the labour market of their destination country. It is examined through two dimensions: as the effort required in finding a job and in terms of its duration in time. The duration of the status passage had been short for most participants of the study and finding a highly skilled job had been relatively easy. The respondents were therefore quite content with their labour market situation in the new country.

While many of the highly skilled Finns of the study moved abroad to continue on their professional career as intra-company transferees or because they were headhunted to a particular company, the study also notes four interrelated reasons for the experienced labour market success of those, who had looked for work on their own. First, their good language competence helped negotiate the value of their cultural capital abroad; second, participants were often seen through a positive Finnish or Scandinavian stereotypic image; third, the ease of finding work had often been based on applying for jobs in international workplaces; and fourth, the participants had found advantages from belonging to a small national group with skills in rather rare languages, Finnish and Swedish.

Based on the results of this study it can be concluded that the cultural capital of highly skilled intra-European migrants' transfers across national borders rather smoothly, at least when they originate from a Scandinavian country such as Finland. Yet transnationally mobile individuals, however highly skilled and educated they are, must be willing and able to adapt to the situation in the local labour market. The Finns of this study used three strategies to facilitate labour market entry: adaptation, distinction, and re-orientation. The results of this study demonstrate that highly skilled Finns do not face insurmountable barriers when they enter the labour market of another EU country, but they are also not welcomed with open arms as brains gained: finding a highly skilled job in the country of destination demands adaptation, perseverance, and sometimes even a total re-orientation of one's career.

KEYWORDS:

highly skilled migration, intra-European migration, mobility, free movement, European Union, labour market, sociology, Finland

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksen maantieteellinen konteksti on Euroopassa, jossa on viimeisten 60 vuoden ajan poistettu työvoiman liikkuvuuden esteitä tiettyjen maiden väliltä. Suuri osa eurooppalaisista voi nykyään opiskella, työskennellä, tai viettää eläkepäiviään missä tahansa 28 Euroopan unionin (EU) jäsenmaasta tai asettua asumaan Sveitsiin, Norjaan, Islantiin tai Liechtensteiniin. Euroopassa sijaitseekin globaalisti ainutlaatuinen vapaan liikkuvuuden alue, jonka merkitys näkyy myös Suomesta muihin Euroopan maihin suuntautuvan muuttoliikkeen kasvuna Suomen liittyttyä Euroopan talousalueen jäseneksi vuonna 1994 ja EU:n jäseneksi vuonna 1995.

Tämä sosiologian tieteenalaan kuuluva tutkimus käsittelee yhden Euroopan sisällä muuttavan ryhmän, EU15 maihin muuttaneiden korkeasti koulutettujen suomalaisten, työmarkkinakokemuksia. Tutkimus pohjaa kahteen Working in Europe (2008 ja 2010) verkkokyselyyn sekä 18 ulkomaille muuttaneen suomalaisen haastatteluihin. Tutkimus pyrkii vastaamaan kolmeen empiiriseen kysymykseen: ”Miksi korkeasti koulutetut osaajat muuttavat ulkomaille?”, ”Kuinka korkeasti koulutetut osaajat löytävät töitä ulkomailta?”, ja ”Minkälaiset taidot ja kvalifikaatiot edesauttavat tai vaikeuttavat kohdemaan työmarkkinoille siirtymistä ja minkälaisissa työpaikoissa nämä suomalaiset työskentelevät?”. Olemassa olevien taitojen, koulutuksen ja aikaisemman työkokemuksen tunnustaminen on tärkeää erityisesti korkeasti koulutetuille muuttajille, jotka hakevat töitä ulkomailta. Tässä tutkimuksessa näihin tietoihin ja taitoihin viitataan kulttuurisen pääoman käsitteellä ja tutkimuksen teoreettinen tutkimuskysymys käsittelee tuon pääoman siirtymistä eurooppalaisten rajojen yli. Tutkimuksessa käytetty lähdekirjallisuus käsittelee kolmea teemaa: korkeasti koulutettujen osaajien muuttoliikettä, Euroopan sisällä tapahtuvaa liikkuvuutta sekä kulttuurista pääomaa ja muuttoliiketutkimusta.

Tutkimus tarkastelee korkeasti koulutettujen suomalaisten työmarkkinakokemuksia ulkomailla. Vaikka tutkimuksen fokus on siten yksittäisten muuttajien tasolla, myös monet historialliset prosessit, kuten globalisaatio ja Euroopan integraatiokehitys, sekä kulttuuriset ja taloudelliset ilmiöt, vaikuttavat ulkomaille muuttoa harkitsevan päätöksentekoon. Siten myös yksilöä itseään laajemmat rakenteelliset ilmiöt osaltaan vaikuttavat siihen, miksi Suomesta muutetaan ulkomaille, milloin muutto tapahtuu sekä minne se suuntautuu. Tutkimuksessa todetaan, että kansainvälisesti suuntautuneille, suhteellisen nuorille ja hyvin koulutetuille Euroopan kansalaisille muutto EU:n sisällä on yksi mahdollinen väylä työmarkkinoille. Ulkomaille muutto nähdään usein kokeiluna, jota motivoivat erilaiset elämäntapaan ja henkilökohtai-

seen kasvuun liittyvät tekijät eivätkä pelkästään urakehitys tai mahdollisuus parempiin ansioihin.

Tutkimuksessa käytetään status-siirtymän käsitettä kuvaamaan sitä aikaa, jolloin koulutettu osaaja työskentelee koulutustaan vastaamattomissa töissä, opiskelee, on työttömänä tai hakee ulkomailta töitä Suomesta käsin. Status-siirtymää, jonka jälkeen muuttaja työllistyy koulutustaan ja/tai kokemustaan vastaaviin tehtäviin, tarkastellaan sekä sen ajallisen keston että työpaikan saamiseksi vaadittavien ponnistelujen kautta. Valtaosalle tämän tutkimuksen osallistujista tuo status-siirtymä oli ollut lyhytkestoinen ja sopivan työpaikan löytäminen ulkomailta oli ollut suhteellisen helppoa. Tutkimuksen osallistujat olivatkin hyvin tyytyväisiä työmarkkinatilanteeseensa ulkomailla.

Osa tutkimukseen osallistuneista oli siirtynyt ulkomaille työnantajansa lähettämänä, ja osa oli rekrytoitu Suomesta suoraan johonkin tehtävään. Itsenäisesti ulkomailta töitä hakeneiden kokemuksissa oli yhtäläisyyksiä, vaikka tutkimukseen osallistuneet suomalaiset edustavatkin kovin erilaisia ammatteja ja koulutustaustoja. Työnhakutilanteissa esimerkiksi seuraavilla tekijöillä on ollut merkitystä: 1) tutkimukseen osallistuvien hyvä kielitaito oli auttanut heidän kulttuurisen pääomansa arvon määrittelyssä, 2) osallistujien suomalaisuus ja skandinaavisuus oli nähty positiivisen stereotypian kautta, 3) osallistujat olivat hakeneet työtä kansainvälisistä yrityksistä tai järjestöistä, joissa muutkin työntekijät ovat ulkomaalaisia ja 4) osa osallistujista oli löytänyt kilpailuetua siitä, että he kuuluvat pieneen muuttajaryhmään, joka osaa harvinaisia kieliä (suomi ja ruotsi).

Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella voidaan todeta, että korkeasti koulutettujen osaajien kulttuurinen pääoma siirtyy eurooppalaisten rajojen yli suhteellisen helposti, ainakin jos muuttaja on kotoisin Suomen kaltaisesta Pohjoismaasta. Ulkomailta töitä hakevan täytyy kuitenkin olla joustava ja valmis mukautumaan kohdemaan olosuhteisiin. Tähän tutkimukseen osallistuneet suomalaiset käyttivät kolmea eri strategiaa pyrkiessään kohdemaan työmarkkinoille: sopeutumista, erottautumista ja uudelleen orientaatiota. Tutkimuksen mukaan korkeasti koulutetut suomalaiset osaajat eivät kohtaa ylitsepääsemättömiä esteitä hakiessaan työtä muista EU-maista, mutta osaamista ja koulutusta vastaavan työpaikan löytäminen vaatii sopeutumista, määrätietoisuutta ja joskus jopa hakeutumista kokonaan toiselle ammattialalle.

AVAINSANAT:

korkeasti koulutettujen muuttoliike, Euroopan sisäinen muuttoliike, liikkuvuustutkimus, vapaa liikkuvuus, Euroopan unioni, työmarkkinat, sosiologia, Suomi

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Saara Koikkalainen

1. Introduction

All migrants, including those labeled highly skilled due to their tertiary education, move with their existing skills, knowledge and experience. Highly skilled migration is often studied either as a question of *brain drain* for the sending and *brain gain* for the receiving country, or in reference to specific national labour markets, where the migrants' careers either continue successfully or ground to a halt due to discrimination and the disadvantage of being an outsider. In this study the active labour market agency of the research participants – highly skilled Finns working in Europe – is highlighted: the strategies they choose to employ in the country of destination play an important role in determining the value of their skills and experience, i.e. their human or cultural capital.

The geographical context of the study lies in Europe, where over the past 60 years a progressive lessening of restrictions on labour mobility between certain countries has taken place. Freedom of movement of workers was included in the founding Treaties of the European Union, and the right has gradually been extended to all European citizens and even permanently resident third-country nationals. It is possible for the majority of Europeans to study, work or retire in any of the 28 European Union member states, as well as in Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein (see e.g. Koikkalainen 2009a, Koikkalainen 2011a). Europe is thus a unique area, where sovereign states have given parts of their legislative power to supranational institutions and have given up one of the fundamental rights that define a nation state – that of deciding who can cross its borders (see e.g. Recchi 2013).

Intra-European mobility is supported in many ways: the higher education system was harmonized to aid degree recognition, a European Health Insurance Card helps mobile Europeans gain health care and the EURES network helps job-seekers in finding work abroad. Also cheap airlines and fast train connections have made the continent “smaller”. One can commute across national borders daily or claim unemployment benefits from one's own country while looking for work in another. An everyday life that spans across borders can be characterised as “transnational” (e.g. Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992, Guarnizo & Smith 1998), “post-national” (Soysal 1994), “de-nationalised” (Favell 2008b), or if examined with a slightly more practical look, as a life that encompasses various “cross-border practices” (Favell et al. 2011). Intra-European migrants move to specific destinations depending on the movers' nationality, age, occupation and motivation. According to Ettore Recchi, there are three main forms of cross-state mobility for EU movers of

the largest Western European member states: work-driven mobility, mobility motivated by personal and affective relationships, and quality of life motivated mobility (Recchi 2008, 217–218). Many types of Europeans are taking advantage of free movement as students, trainees, professionals, family members, retirees, and workers of different skills and educational backgrounds live abroad temporally, permanently or seasonally (e.g. King 2002, Favell et al. 2011, 19–24). Not all Europeans exercise these rights, however, and the process of European integration has not touched the lives of all European citizens in the same way: it is more likely for the well-educated, the professionals, the wealthy, and the young to identify with Europe and to take advantage of what it has to offer (Fligstein 2008, 4–5).

Increased mobility to other European Union (EU) member states after Finland joined the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 and the EU in 1995 testifies to the fact that also Finns are taking advantage of the free movement regime. The current top destinations for Finnish citizens are Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Spain. During the past five years, for example, an average of 9,000 Finnish citizens moved abroad each year, and more than 6,200 of them (69%) chose one of the EU member states as their destination (Statistics Finland database 2013.) At the same time an average of 3,800 foreign citizens moved away from Finland and almost 2,200 of them (56%) also headed towards the EU. The differences in the destination countries of these two groups (see table 1) can most likely be explained by patterns of return and onward migration. Thanks to the increase in the numbers of Estonian citizens moving to Finland in the recent years, most of those moving to Finland's neighbouring country in the South are most likely returning Estonians. Of the foreign citizens moving to more distant destinations such as India and China, 99 and 91 per cent, respectively, were from Asia themselves¹. The popularity of Sweden, traditionally the top destination for migrants from Finland, is in steady decline: when Finland joined the EU in 1995, 34 per cent of Finnish citizens who moved abroad headed for Sweden, compared to only 24 per cent in 2012 (Statistics Finland database 2013). Aggregate data on numbers of Finnish and foreign citizens leaving Finland during the past five years are presented in the table below:

1. The Stistics Finland public online database displays the citizenship of migrants entering or leaving Finland as "European" or "Asian citizens" for example, instead of showing the breakdown to specific nationalities. In the year 2000 only 750 foreign citizens moved from Estonia to Finland each year, but in the year 2012 the figure was over 6,200. It is likely that a majority of these migrants are Estonian citizens.

TABLE 1: The most popular migration destinations for those leaving Finland

Aggregate figure of Finnish citizens who moved during 2008–2012		Aggregate figure of foreign citizens who moved during 2008–2012	
1. Sweden	11,508	1. Estonia	2,602
2. United Kingdom	4,687	2. Sweden	2,580
3. United States	3,418	3. Germany	1,106
4. Germany	3,051	4. Russia	1,048
5. Spain	2,659	5. United States	948
6. Norway	2,390	6. United Kingdom	851
7. Denmark	1,895	7. India	845
8. Switzerland	1,566	8. China	706
9. Estonia	1,375	9. Poland	569
10. France	1,179	10. France	507

Source: Statistics Finland database 2013, which is based on the Population Information System maintained by the Population Register Centre. The statistics of foreign citizens include 1,317 individuals of unknown citizenship who left Finland during 2008–2012.

This study presents one view to the lives and work careers that the mobile Finns who have headed to other EU countries have had abroad. I look especially at the EU15 countries², which formed the European Union from the beginning of January of 1995 to the end of April of 2004. The EU member states that joined in 2004 (EU10)³, 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria), and 2013 (Croatia) are excluded for two main reasons. First, it makes sense to focus on the countries that have been members of the Union during the entirety of Finland’s membership, so that the effects of the opening of doors to Europe in the mid-1990s become visible. Second, it is also reasonable to limit the study to the European countries that attract most Finnish migrants: during the period spanning from 1990 to 2012, more than 95 per cent of the 139,100 Finnish citizens moving to the other EU27 countries headed for one of the EU15 countries. The share of those moving to the so-called EU10 is only 4.5 per cent, and the share of those moving to Romania and Bulgaria is a mere 0.09 per cent of the total (Official Statistics of Finland 2013).

The topic of this study has both national and international relevance. First, in Finnish discussions the possibility of looking for a career abroad has been seen as a threat: what if the best and the brightest leave for greener pastures in Europe?

2. The EU15 countries are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.
3. The EU10 countries are: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

Mobility from Finland to other European countries has increased, but little is known of the lives of those who have left and of how their education and work experiences are valued abroad, for example. Second, while much empirical research has focused on the mobility from the new Central and Eastern European member states since they joined the EU in 2004 and 2007, less interest has been paid on mobility from the Nordic countries, as these small migrant groups are somewhat invisible. While such intra-European migrants of relatively good status can easily fall outside of the radar of migration research, as they are not the target of state integration efforts or pose a real or perceived threat to the cultural and political stability of the receiving society, they are regardless a part of what King (2002) calls the *New Map of European Migration*. Third, the increase in the numbers of highly skilled migrants both globally and among those migrating within the EU calls for an examination of how skills, education and work experience transfer across national borders. In this study the concept of cultural capital (e.g. Bourdieu 1986) is used to describe these attributes, so the study also engages in discussions on the very nature of this capital. The aim of the study is not, however, to use Pierre Bourdieu's approach in its entirety, but rather to contribute to the growing literature examining the transferability of skills across borders (e.g. Nohl et al. 2010).

Research focusing on the European Union has long been dominated by economists, lawyers, political and administrative scientists whose interest has been focused more on policy implementation and on the creation and functioning of the European institutions rather than on the social side of Europeanisation, on the empirical study of how the European Union influences European societies (Favell & Guiraudon 2011). Yet there is an emerging field of research that has been labeled as empirical comparative sociology of the European Union, which aims at broadening our understanding of the social dimension of the EU. In response to this emerging tradition my study asks, which other migrant group could better display the effects of the ease of mobility in Europe on work careers and identities, than the highly skilled population who have been deemed "the only truly accepted migrants of today" (Raghuram 2004)? The mobility of highly skilled migrants within Europe has only been researched as a specific phenomenon since the mid-1990s (Ackers 2005) possibly due to the fact that intra-European migrants have largely been invisible migrants, blending in with relative ease in their new home countries. This study is one attempt to fill this gap, and take part in the development of this research field.

This study is based on the *Working in Europe* study (see chapter 2) on the labour market experiences of highly skilled Finns living in 12 different European Union member states. It addresses three empirical research questions:

- 1) Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad?
- 2) How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries?
- 3) What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in?

The theoretical ambition of the study is related to the relationship between higher education, skills and cultural capital in the European context. The main theoretical question asked therefore is: *How does the cultural capital of the highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders?* Much of the highly skilled migration literature takes the definition of a highly skilled migrant directly from the education levels of individual migrants, i.e. all those with a tertiary degree are classified as highly skilled migrants. Yet the transfer of skills across borders is often nothing but unproblematic: having a university degree is no guarantee of an easy transfer or labour market success in the destination country, as has been noted in several studies (e.g. Nohl et al. 2010, Bauder 2003, Verviebe & Eder 2006, Fossland & Aure 2011, Aure 2013). Cultural capital during migration has been researched recently, but much of the research has focused on the transferability of institutional cultural capital and on ethnic discrimination and other structural constraints in migrant labour market integration (e.g. Bauder 2005a, Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2010, Weiss 2004). What has been discussed less, however, is the active agency of skilled workers in how their own cultural capital is valued and especially how they may use their embodied cultural capital as an asset (for exceptions see Csedö 2008, Bauder 2008).

In answering the research questions of the study it is necessary to draw from three related literatures focusing on *highly skilled migration*, *intra-European mobility*, and *cultural capital during migration*. While the aim of the study is not to write a thorough explanation of Finnish outgoing migration as such, the meta-theoretical approach to understanding migration developed by Karen O'Reilly (2012) is utilised in the analysis of the context of this migration phenomenon (see chapter four). Each of the three empirical research questions is examined in its own chapter (chapters 4–6). Conclusions related to the theoretical research question and migrant agency are summarised at the end of these chapters and further discussed in chapter seven and in the conclusion.

In the following sections I briefly outline the research context: migration from Finland and Finnish migration research, and the European free movement regime and global highly skilled migration. Migration from Finland is described in more detail here than the European and global migration contexts, because these issues are further discussed in chapter two. The introduction ends with an outline of the study.

Finnish migration and migration research

Finland has been a country of emigration since the late 19th century, or at least as long as there are official records of migration statistics available. It has been estimated that during the past hundred and fifty years over 1,3 million Finns have emigrated abroad (Martikainen et al. 2013a, 26). Finland became a net receiver of immigrants as late as in the 1990s, and the share of foreign citizens living in Finland is still only 3.4 per cent and the share of the foreign-born 4.8 per cent of the population. In Sweden, for example, the share of foreign citizens is 6.8 per cent and

of the foreign-born 15 per cent of the population (Eurostats Statistics Explained 2012). The two largest waves of Finnish emigrants have headed to North America, mainly during 1880–1915, and to Sweden after World War II, especially during 1961–1970. Prior to the mass migration to the Americas at the turn of the 20th century, and the migration of Finns to other distant countries such as Australia, various short-term and seasonal migration routes operated between Finland and its neighbouring countries Sweden, Russia, Estonia, and Northern Norway for several centuries (Korkeasaari & Söderling 2007, 255–256).

Long-term migration statistics testify to the importance of Sweden as the preferred country of destination. During the period of 1924 to 2006 more than 500,000 Finnish citizens moved to Sweden, while Russia/the Soviet Union was the destination of 3,500, other European destinations of 94,500, and countries outside Europe of 110,000 Finns. Yet the importance of Sweden has been decreasing since the 1980s: in 1980 79 per cent of Finnish citizens who emigrated headed for Sweden, while in 2006 their share had fallen to 28 per cent (Korkiasaari 2008, 16–17). During the post-war guest worker era Sweden was a close and convenient destination country for the Finns who wanted to leave due to economic factors, such as unemployment, financial insecurity or having low salaries. The signing of the agreement on the creation of the common Nordic labour market in 1954 liberated labour mobility between the Nordic countries. In fact free movement of workers was a reality in the European North already before the original six member states of the European Economic Community (EEC) agreed on the principle of free mobility of workers in 1958 and fully implemented the corresponding legislation and directives in 1968 (Pedersen & Wadensjö 2008, 11, Koikkalainen 2009a, 41).

It is natural that much of Finnish migration research has focused on the most important migration phenomenon in Finnish history: migration to Sweden. The most comprehensive study on the Finnish-origin population living in Sweden is the *Suomalaiset Ruotsissa* [Finns in Sweden] study by Jouni Korkiasaari and Kari Tarkiainen (2000). This third part of the history of Finnish migration series presents a *longue durée* view on the history of migration between these two countries, as well as analyses of the role, for example, of politics, culture, working life, and sport in the life of this migrant group. Ethnographic research has focused on Finns living in particular regions or cities, such as the work of Hanna Snellman (2003) on Göteborg, which has been called “the largest village of Salla”, the original home of many of the Finnish migrants from Lapland, and the research of Lotta Weckström (2011) among the Finnish-origin second generation youth in Stockholm.

Finns living in Sweden have also been studied through a focus on their networks, lifestyles and identities (Jaakkola 1983, Björklund 2012), language (Andersson & Kangassalo 2003), ethnicity (Helander 2007), and dance music and identity (Suutari 2000). Studies on the labour market experiences include for example the qualitative research of Saila Piippola (2007) with Finnish nurses working in Sweden, and the quantitative research of Pieter Bevelander (2005) on the employment status of

immigrant women in Sweden, the labour market integration of Finns in reference with native Swedes (Saarela & Rooth 2006) and a comparison of labour market performance of Finns before and after emigration to Sweden (Saarela & Finnäs 2008). Due to this quite special migration history and depth of previous research, my study on the labour market experiences of highly skilled Finns in Europe does not focus on Sweden, but rather looks towards the more distant EU15 countries.

Migration from Finland to other European destinations has been on the rise since the early 1990s. In 1990 only 21 per cent of all those leaving Finland⁴ selected some *other* destination country than Sweden, while in 1995 their share was already 35 per cent, and ten years later in 2005 42 per cent. The same trend is true for also those moving within the area of the current European Union. In 1990 only 26 per cent of these intra-European migrants headed somewhere else than Sweden, while by 2012 the figure had already risen to 69 per cent. Interest in migration to the United Kingdom has increased the most: in 1990 only 159 persons left Finland for the UK, in 1995 already 446, and during the past ten years on average 1,100 each year. The effect of the 1995 membership of the EU is thus clearly visible in the numbers of outgoing migrants and in the diversification of destination countries. When comparing the first five years (1990–1994) to the last five years (1995–1999) of the 1990s, the increase in yearly migrations is the highest to Luxembourg (increase of +586%), Belgium (+407%), and Ireland (+363%). In terms of absolute numbers of migrants who moved during the early and late 1990s, the UK, Germany and Spain record the highest increase in migrants from Finland. The continuing popularity of these countries is highlighted in the three graphs below. The first graph depicts yearly migration numbers of Finnish citizens to Sweden and in the two following graphs to the other EU15 countries from 1990 to 2012:

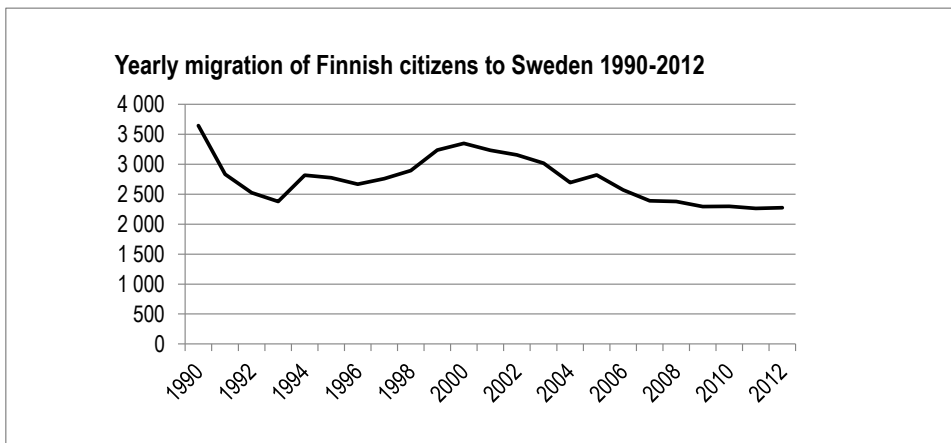
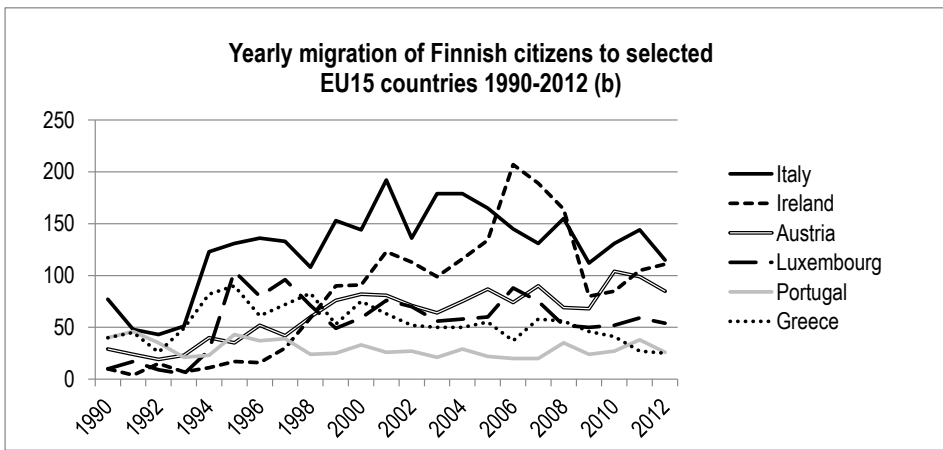
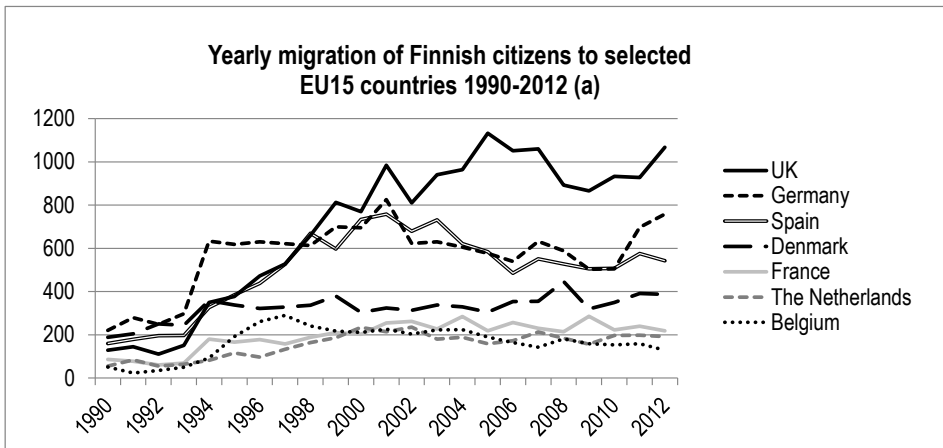


CHART 1: Yearly migration from Finland to Sweden (1990–2012)

Source: Official Statistics of Finland 2013

4. These figures include both Finnish citizens and permanently registered foreign citizens. The three charts on mobility trends include data only on migrating Finnish citizens.



CHARTS 2A and B: Yearly migration from Finland to the EU15 countries (1990–2012)
 Source: Official Statistics of Finland 2013

This diversity in migration destinations is reflected also in Finnish migration research. While much of migration related research focuses on immigration to Finland (e.g. Martikainen et al. 2013b), in recent years a number of interesting studies have been published on Finns studying, living, working, or retiring abroad in various parts of the globe. Also Finnish researchers are thus taking part in the international trend of increased interest in migration research. As Adrian Favell (2008a, 259) has noted: “Such has been the explosion of interest in international migration in the past decade or so that no scholar nowadays can feel adequate when confronting the avalanche of literature that has followed”. I will not therefore go through all possibly relevant migration or migrant integration literature here, but just note the studies that are closely related to the theme of my own study. The research on Finnish migration to non-European destinations has examined, for example, the wives of Finnish expatriates working in Singapore (Oksanen 2007), the life experiences of alcoholic expatriate Finns in Australia (Vuorinen 2011) and the position of the Finnish lan-

guage in multicultural Australia (Lammervo 2011), Finnish marriage migrants in the United States (Leinonen 2011, 2012), Nordic knowledge workers in India (Foulkes 2011, 2013), and Finns working in Silicon Valley (Kiriakos 2010, 2011, 2013).

What unites these studies is a geographical focus on one country, region, or city. The same holds true for most of the research conducted on Finnish migrants in Europe. These studies have examined the lives of Finns in Belgium (Lähteenmäki & Aalto 2007), women married to Greek men in Greece (Järvinen-Tassopoulos 2007), retirees in Costa del Sol in Spain (Karisto 2008), the history and functioning of the Finnish community living in Switzerland (Björklund 1998, Björklund 2011), and place experiences of Finns in Ireland (Saarela 2011), for example. Some studies on migration between Finland and Estonia look at two different locations: in her doctoral thesis Heli Hyvönen (2009) studied the lives of Finnish and Estonian women who had migrated across the Gulf of Finland, and in their study on migrant transnationalism Mari-Liis Jakobson et al. (2012) examine the cross-border ties that bind these countries and their populations together. In this study I focus on the labour market experiences of highly skilled Finns in multiple locations in Europe, so my approach differs from the studies mentioned above. Somewhat similar studies with a wider geographical reach have, however, been made, for example among expatriates on global careers (Jokinen, Brewster & Suutari 2008, Mäkelä, Suutari & Brewster 2013), on academic researchers abroad (Kulonpalo 2007, Hoffman 2009), professional expatriates in various countries (Ruckenstein 2004), and on students completing a degree in foreign universities (Garam 2003, Saarikallio, Hellsten & Juutilainen 2008, Saarikallio-Torp & Wiers-Jenssen 2010). As Finland both sends and receives highly skilled migrants, also research focusing on this target group living in Finland is of interest to my study as a point of comparison (e.g. Habti 2012, Korhonen 2013, Leinonen 2012, Eskelä 2013, Clarke 2013, Lulle & Balode 2013, Koskela 2013).

The 1990s has been called the first decade of internationalisation of education in Finland (Garam 2003, 4). Thanks to increased student mobility we at least in theory now have an international generation of Finns who should possess the necessary language skills and educational qualifications to succeed in an international job market. The increased interest in international mobility among the highly educated has been noted in other studies as well (Virtanen 2003, Koskinen 2005, Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, Heikkilä 2011). In this context the definition of highly skilled is generally understood to refer to those with a tertiary level degree, i.e. either a university or a university of applied sciences (polytechnic) degree. A study of 2,630 individuals who graduated in 2000 revealed that over one third of graduates from universities and one quarter of graduates from university of applied sciences had international experience, either from student exchange or from working abroad. Three per cent of them worked abroad when the study was conducted in 2005 (Kivinen & Nurmi 2008, 51–52, 116). While the numbers of those actually realising their plans of international mobility remain rather low, the effect of the Finnish EEA and EU membership in mid-1990s is clearly visible in the chart below.

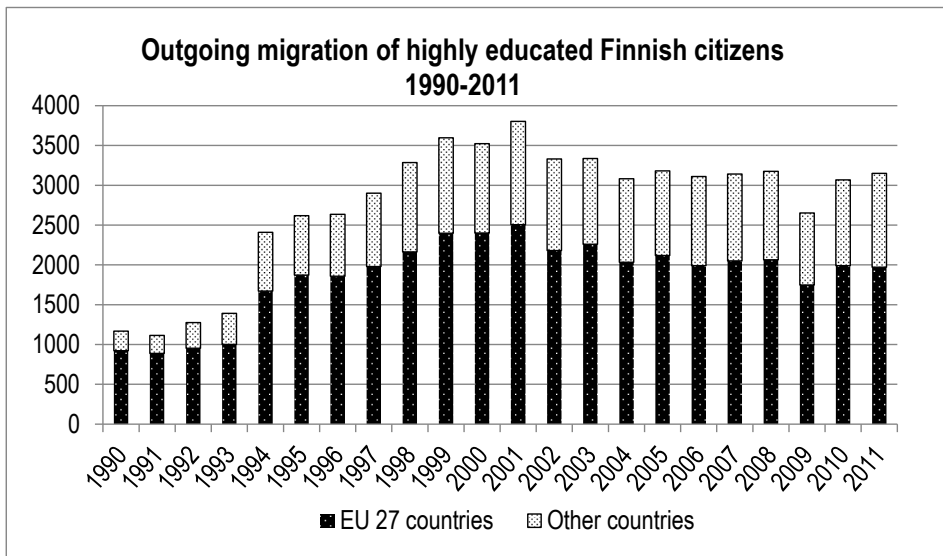


CHART 3: Outgoing migration of highly educated Finnish citizens, broken down by EU27 / Non-EU countries.

Source: Statistics Finland 2012

The share of tertiary educated migrants of all Finnish citizens moving abroad has varied between 21 to 36 per cent within the past 20 years. In terms of numbers, this has meant that 1,115 (in 1991) to 3,802 (in 2001) highly educated Finns have moved abroad each year (Statistics Finland 2012). On average during 1990–2011 a third of all Finnish citizens moving to European countries have been highly educated. The table below depicts the share of educated Finnish citizens who have moved to the EU15 countries and to selected non-EU countries. The share of educated migrants has been the highest among those moving to China (57.0%), Luxembourg (54.5%), and Belgium (54.4%) and the lowest among those moving to Greece (21.2%) and Sweden (22.4%).

The table below thus also reveals that those with lower education levels continue to move to Sweden: 39 per cent of emigrating Finnish citizens who either had no education or had completed only a secondary level degree moved to Sweden (46,607 individuals during 1990–2011). Here it is good to note, however, that all of these Finns are not necessarily traditional labour migrants who would seek blue-collar jobs: many young adults especially from Finland’s Swedish speaking minority move to Swedish universities to complete higher education degrees.

TABLE 2: Aggregate figures of Finnish citizens moving to EU-15 countries and selected non-EU countries, broken down by educational level (1990–2011).

	No educa- tion / secondary education	Higher education Degree	Total	Share of educated movers
All countries	119,571	60,949	180,520	33.8 %
Europe	102,251	49,097	151,348	32.4 %
EU15-countries:				
Luxembourg	551	660	1,211	54.5 %
Belgium	1,711	1,930	3,641	53.0 %
United Kingdom	6,602	5,626	12,228	46.0 %
Germany	6,602	5,457	12,059	45.3 %
Austria	733	599	1,332	45.0 %
The Netherlands	1,859	1,429	3,288	43.5 %
France	2,408	1,780	4,188	42.5 %
Portugal	384	262	646	40.6 %
Ireland	1,026	692	1,718	40.3 %
Denmark	4,431	2,458	6,889	35.7 %
Italy	1,818	932	2,750	33.9 %
Spain	7,220	3,495	10,715	32.6 %
Sweden	46,607	13,475	60,082	22.4 %
Greece	946	254	1,200	21.2 %
Selected non-EU countries:				
China	756	1,004	1,760	57.0 %
Switzerland	2,192	2,121	4,313	49.2 %
Russia	700	537	1,237	43.4 %
United States	7,720	5,328	13,048	40.8 %
Thailand	543	318	861	36.9 %
Norway	9,198	5,023	14,221	35.3 %
Australia	1,567	846	2,413	35.1 %
Canada	1,495	768	2,263	33.9 %

Source: Statistics Finland 2012

More individuals move abroad than come back, as can be seen from chart 4, which depicts the numbers of outgoing and incoming tertiary educated Finnish citizens from 1990 to 2011. During 1990–2011 a total of 60,949 tertiary educated Finnish citizens moved abroad. While the number of returning citizens was 41,190, the size of the skill outflow, or *brain drain* was 19,759 highly educated individuals in the past 22 years. It is good to note, however, that this data does not take into account incoming educated migrants, who are not Finnish citizens. It is also possible that a sizeable number of Finnish citizens who were educated abroad do not show in the figures as highly educated returnees because their degrees are not recorded in the Finnish databases that Statistics Finland uses.

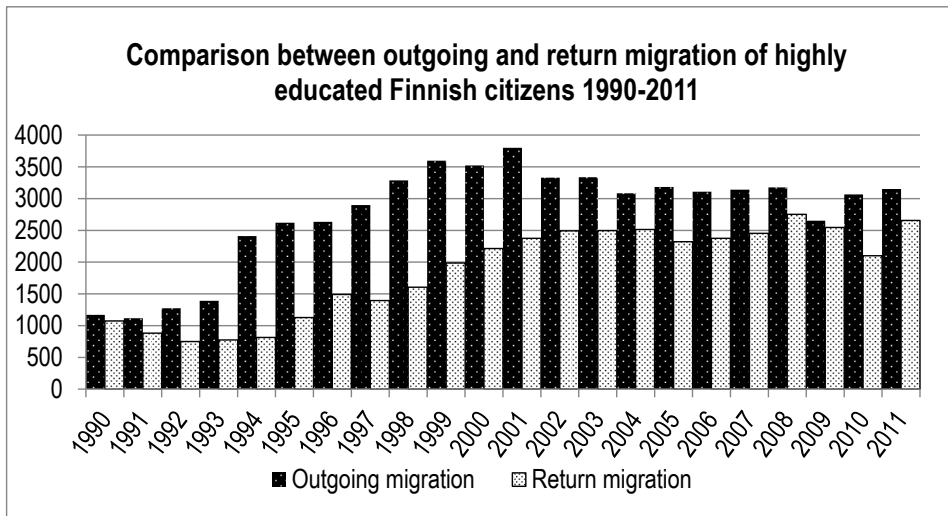


CHART 4: Outgoing and return migration of highly educated Finnish citizens
Source: Statistics Finland 2012.

These movers, who have left since the Finnish EU membership, constitute at “third category” of Finns abroad. They are not “migrants” in the traditional sense of the word as the early 19th century movers to North America or Australia, or even the (mainly) women who moved abroad for love, work or adventure in the 1960s and 1970s (Björklund 2008, 13). In Finland, women complete more higher education degrees than men, and also move to look for work abroad independently. In the past 20 years the share of women among those completing a Master’s level university degree has varied between 54 to 61 per cent (Kota-online database). During the same time between 48 to 53 per cent of the outgoing migrants from Finland have been women (Official Statistics of Finland 2013). From the Finnish citizens moving abroad during the past 20 years, 56 per cent of all tertiary educated migrants have been female. Table 3 displays the gender differences in target countries according to the share of female migrants. During the period of 1990 to 2011 the countries where the greatest majority of educated Finnish migrants have been female are Greece (79,9%), Nor-

way (69,1%) and Italy (68,1%). The lowest share of female educated migrants is, on the other hand, found from those who moved to Russia (24,6%), Thailand (25,8%) and China (35,2%). In terms of *absolute numbers* the top-three countries for educated women have been Sweden, United Kingdom, and Norway, and for educated men Sweden, United States, and Germany. (Statistics Finland 2012.)

TABLE 3: Aggregate figures of highly educated Finnish citizens moving to EU-15 countries and selected non-EU countries, broken down by gender (1990–2011)

	Male highly educated	Female highly educated	Total	Share of female educated movers
All countries	26,727	34,222	60,949	56.1 %
Europe	20,631	28,466	49,097	58.0 %
EU15-countries:				
Greece	51	203	254	79.9 %
Italy	297	635	932	68.1 %
Austria	217	382	599	63.8 %
United Kingdom	2,060	3,566	5,626	63.4 %
The Netherlands	531	898	1,429	62.8 %
Ireland	272	420	692	60.7 %
France	716	1,064	1,780	59.8 %
Luxembourg	266	394	660	59.7 %
Belgium	787	1,143	1,930	59.2 %
Denmark	1,012	1,446	2,458	58.8 %
Sweden	5,555	7,920	13,475	58.8 %
Germany	2,384	3,073	5,457	56.3 %
Spain	2,000	1,495	3,495	42.8 %
Portugal	151	111	262	42.4 %
Selected non-EU countries:				
Norway	1,552	3,471	5,023	69.1 %
Australia	309	537	846	63.5 %
Switzerland	877	1,244	2,121	58.7 %
Canada	324	444	768	57.8 %
United States	2,520	2,808	5,328	52.7 %
China	651	353	1,004	35.2 %
Thailand	236	82	318	25.8 %
Russia	405	132	537	24.6 %

Source: Statistics Finland 2012

The destination countries of highly skilled women and highly skilled men are thus slightly different: while countries such as Russia and China still attract Finnish male expatriates on company secondments, the high share of educated women among those moving to countries such as Greece and Italy most likely include more of those migrating for family reasons or love.

Finland both sends and receives highly skilled migrants (see e.g. Habti & Koikkalainen 2013). Unfortunately even a high education level does not guarantee employment in Finland (e.g. Kyhä 2011, Koikkalainen et al. 2011) and many migrants have to seek employment in occupations classified into the low- or medium-skilled sector, such as agriculture, gardening and catering (Komulainen 2013). The unemployment rate of foreign citizens has generally been twice as high as that of the overall population: in 2011, 24 per cent of foreign citizens living in Finland were unemployed, compared with 9 per cent of the general population (Ministry of the Interior 2013, 12; see also Heikkilä 2005). Finland is therefore probably not the easiest destination for highly skilled migrants, as the barriers to labour market entry – even for intra-European migrants – are higher than perhaps is the case for educated Finns living abroad.

Europe as the context of the study

The geographical context of my study is in Europe, namely in the EU15 countries. The increased mobility of the young and the educated, also referred to as *Eurostars* (Favell 2008b), is not just Finnish, but a European phenomenon. In the Eurobarometer mobility survey of 2005 it was noted that as the educational level increases, the percentage of people who have experienced long-distance moves outside their own region or country also increases. About 7 per cent of the highly educated (measured with the number of years in schooling) have moved within the EU compared with 4 per cent of the lower educated. Eurobarometer data confirms that younger, higher educated cohorts are more internationally oriented than the older cohorts: for them crossing borders, thinking globally and experiencing different cultures seems to be part of the way they advance their career, skills and expertise. (Eurofound 2006, 15–16.) The PIONEUR-study, which examined the mobility of individuals from the five largest EU member states, also noted that *EU-movers* are more educated than *EU-stayers* (Recchi & Favell 2009, 16) and they are also more likely to come from upper-class backgrounds than from working-class families (Favell & Recchi 2011, 62). A 2004 Eurobarometer study notes the same thing about the sentiments on identifying with Europe:

“The feeling of being European is more likely to be felt by men, managers, students, white-collar workers and the self-employed. The longer respondents have spent in fulltime education and the younger they are, the more likely they are to feel European to some degree or another.” (Eurobarometer Spring 2004, B.95).

The freedom of movement within the European Union continues to rank highest in the Eurobarometer surveys when Europeans are asked about what the EU means to them. Its support is high especially in the Baltic states and Scandinavia, where in the Spring 2012 survey for example 67 per cent of Estonians, 60 per cent of Swedes, and 56 per cent of Finns mentioned it as the most important aspect of the Union. The other answer choices, such as “Euro” or “peace” were less popular. The respondents’ age and education levels also influence the matter: in general the younger and more educated tend to value free movement highest, while the older and less educated rather tend to see the EU in negative terms, even as “a waste of money”. (Eurobarometer Spring 2012, 54–55). The value placed on free movement rights was visible also in the 2010 Eurobarometer survey (Spring 2010, 19) which concluded:

“(...) the younger, wealthier and ‘better-off’ socio-economically respondents are, the more they tend to value the freedom to travel, study and work. For example, this freedom was mentioned by 61% of students, 54% of those aged between 15 and 24 and 58% of senior managers compared with 35% of house persons, 36% of pensioners and 39% of the unemployed”.

European citizens are free to choose their workplace within the common labour market. In recent years skilled professionals, or *Eurostars* (Favell 2008b), have been more eager to embrace this freedom than more traditional labour migrants, at least when mobility originating from the EU15 countries is examined. These Europeans, here exemplified by the highly skilled Finns of my study, are free to choose where to live within a large geographical area. They have more legal transnational mobility rights than any other migrant group around the globe and are free to move abroad, especially if they have the required level of education, language-skills, and the necessary financial means. Some move abroad to study, for family reasons or love, for career development, or simply as a life-style choice (Benson & O’Reilly 2009; King 2002). Not all Europeans exercise these rights, however, and the process of European integration has not touched the lives of all European citizens in a similar way. It is more likely for the well educated, professionals, wealthy and young to identify with Europe, and also take advantage of what it has to offer (Fligstein 2008, 4–5). The participants of this study are not members of an elite group, but they are rather privileged in their status as European citizens and as highly educated individuals, for whom mobility can be a choice, not a necessity.

In relation to the number of studies that have focused on migration of non-EU citizens to Europe, intra-European mobility has received little attention. In most EU member states the majority of non-nationals come from outside the EU: only in Luxembourg, Ireland, Belgium, Slovakia, Cyprus and Hungary, did mobile EU citizens form a majority of the non-national population in 2010 (Eurostat Statistics in focus 34/2011). Yet this human face of European integration deserves researchers’ attention. In the words of Favell and Recchi (2009, 3): “Their lives and experiences

are the best guide to finding out how easy it is to shift one's identity or horizon to a post-national or cosmopolitan level, and of the practical benefits, insights, barriers and failings of life lived outside the place where you historically belong."

Highly skilled migration

The current era of globalisation has witnessed a global increase in the numbers of educated and highly skilled migrants. A notable increase in the numbers of skilled migrants was one of the "central migration stories of the 1990s" (Lowell 2007, 14). Migrants' skill level is often seen to be determined by the number of years they have spent in formal education. In this study, I use the completion of a university or university of applied sciences degree as the signifier of being highly skilled. With such a broad definition this migrant category, thus, includes a great variety of people moving abroad for different reasons. Some plan to stay abroad permanently while for others the assignment abroad is a short-term career move or even an adventure. The diversification of the types of international mobility (e.g. Vertovec 2007, Castles & Miller 2009) is visible also in the new routes taken by skilled migrants and in the types of educated migrants crossing borders: contrary to a former understanding of the term this migrant category does not consist only of highly privileged Western business expatriates on company secondments or of Chinese or Indian IT professionals migrating to places like Silicon Valley.

Many researchers argue that there is a global competition to attract human capital, as it is seen as one driver of innovation and economic growth, as well as a way of ensuring flexible labour in changing economic conditions (e.g. Cornelius & Espenshade 2001, Bertoli et al. 2011, Kuptsch & Pang 2006). Some countries such as Canada, The United Kingdom, Australia, and Germany have specific immigration programs to attract qualified migrants. There are two types of systems in which migrant's skills are evaluated: the "points-based system" and the "shortage occupation lists" approach. In Canada applicants get points, for example, for their academic qualifications, work experience in a particular skilled occupation, language abilities, and their age. In Germany, exemptions from the labour market test have been given to tertiary degree holders from the new EU member states, as well as to others with a tertiary degree from a German institution. (OECD 2010, 58–60.)

The United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand use shortage occupation lists to specify the kinds of skilled workers these countries want to attract. Since 2008, the United Kingdom has been developing a points-based system where highly-skilled migrants are treated as a separate applicant category. Foreign workers, whose skills fall within the shortage occupation list, can be recruited after a resident labour market test. The same applies for intra-company transferees. Similar systems have been adopted also in Denmark in 2008 and the Netherlands in 2009. Most OECD countries have a system to encourage international students to enter the labour mar-

ket in the country where they completed a higher education degree. International students are an ideal resource for skilled migration, as graduates who have studied in the host country face fewer problems in degree-recognition and are usually already fluent in the local language (OECD 2010, 53–54, 57–59, 63).

The type of system adopted for attracting skilled workers in the global competition for talent has gender influences. As Kofman and Raghuram (2009) note, in countries where occupation per se is the defining factor in skills, the system tends to favour men. These occupations have typically been in the knowledge and ICT sector, for example. The same applies for earnings prior to migration as a criterion for receiving points, as men tend to earn more from the same jobs even in skilled occupations. If educational attainment and languages as signs of valued human capital are taken into account, as in the case of Canada, which has implemented a gender-based analysis of migration regulations, the system is less disadvantageous for women. (Kofman & Raghuram 2009, 4–5)

While not all migrants end up losing out on their status when migrating, it has been noted that at least statistically, migration is a significant risk to one's labour market prospects (e.g. Lusi & Bauder 2009, Bauder 2008). Common to all highly skilled migrants is that they all face the risk of having to accept work that does not match their qualifications, if their education and work experience loses some of its value during the process of migration. Yet, as this study will demonstrate, this is a complex process that should not be examined only in terms of loss of status or loss of the value of one's qualifications. While some skills and work experience may be less valuable abroad, some other types of qualifications and skills are only recognised as valuable assets in the new context. In addition, the experience of migration itself may also create new skills that are valuable in the destination country, and in situations requiring adaptation and sensitivity to cultural differences.

Highly educated professional migrants moving from one country to another bring along their education and skills acquired in the country of origin. *Human capital* as the embodiment of an individual's education, abilities, skills and knowledge has been utilised especially in the neo-classical migration theory, which claims that migrants seek the best return for their human capital investment and thus move to where the salaries are highest (see e.g. Arango 2000, 285, Samers 2010, 60–61). Cultural and social capital, concepts originally developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986), have also widely been used to explain the problems of transferring skills from one society or cultural environment to another (e.g. Bauder 2005a, 2005b, Nohl et al. 2006, Nohl et al. 2010, Weiss 2004, Erel 2010, Ariss & Jawad 2011). Bourdieu defined three different types of capital. *Economic capital* refers to a command over economic or monetary resources. *Social capital* refers to resources based on membership of certain networks or groups, such as influence and support. *Cultural capital* on the other hand refers to skills, education and knowledge acquired through education and through the socialisation process (Bourdieu 1986, 242–243). While the effects of the loss of social capital and the weak ties (Granovetter 1973) that help in find-

ing employment are also important for highly skilled migrants, this study focuses specifically on the transferability of cultural capital.

In this study the concept of cultural capital is preferred over human capital as the sum total of an individual's skills, knowledge and experiences, because it is more versatile, and offers the possibility of making more nuanced analyses. Cultural capital is thus related to the concept of human capital, but it includes an important additional dimension: the value of this capital is always defined in social interaction and in reference to the cultural context in question. It is, therefore, better to utilize cultural capital to describe the entire set of skills and qualifications that highly skilled migrants, such as the Finns of this study here, possess (see also Ariss & Jawad 2011). In the event of migration, the acquired cultural capital is put to test. What is perceived as valuable work experience or as a good education in the country of origin may in the worst case be worth nothing in the country of destination. Lack of embodied cultural capital in the form of correct modes of behaviour in a particular setting and the lack of institutionalised cultural capital in the form of degrees and membership of professional bodies, for example, may lead to denial of job opportunities in one's own field (Bauder 2008, 308).

In a new country, the transnationally mobile individuals have to negotiate the value of their cultural capital and present their skills, experiences and qualifications in a way that is rewarded by the potential employers. In this study I discuss how transnationally mobile Finns manage in this process in the border-free Europe, where moving abroad is so easy that it has been said to be more like *internal mobility* than *international migration* (e.g. Favell 2008b, Santacreu et al. 2009, Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010). I argue that the agency of the highly skilled migrants themselves is important in the way in which their cultural capital is assessed in the destination country. The migrants are not simply *brains drained* or *brains wasted*, but they do influence their own labour market outcomes abroad. In fact it is this active agency that can be the key in determining whether moving across borders signifies a *loss* or a *gain* for the cultural capital of the migrant.

Outline of the study

My study takes part in the discussions on highly skilled mobility in the European context and relies upon the emerging field of sociology of European integration. Focusing on the real life experiences of a group of migrants who could be classified either as "highly skilled" or "highly qualified" due to their tertiary education, this research is in line with the research agenda outlined by Adrian Favell, Miriam Feldblum and Michael Peter Smith in their introductory chapter in *The Human Face of Global Mobility* (2006, see also Favell 2008b). The study examines the ways in which highly skilled Finns find work abroad, what kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access, and how their cultural capital transfers across intra-European borders.

Research on such a small national group can contribute to our understanding of contemporary labour mobility in Europe, as the empirical studies have so far tended to focus either on the large EU member states (e.g. Favell 2008b, Recchi & Favell 2009, Ackers & Gill 2008) or on the more recent and more populous movement of workers from the Eastern and Central European new member states towards the EU15 (e.g. Favell 2008c, Kahanec et al. 2009, Eade & Valkanova 2009, Black et al. 2010). In addition, it is interesting to see whether the experiences of these *Scandinavian Eurostars* differ from Adrian Favell's (2008b) *Western European Eurostars*. Is moving and settling abroad different for the mobile professionals originating from a European periphery? Is finding work more difficult for these Finns who have only belonged to the free movement area since 1994⁵ than it is for those originating from EU states with longer experience of cross-border mobility?

The chapters of this thesis can be read as individual texts each addressing one theme or research question. When read consecutively they form a story on how the participants of the study decided to move abroad, how they looked and found work in the different European countries they lived in, and what their work experiences are like. Such a reading of the thesis also offers a view into the process of transferring cultural capital within the European Union area.

Chapter two presents the theoretical background of the study. It includes a more thorough discussion of who are classified as highly skilled migrants and presents key trends in global highly skilled mobility. Further it examines the concepts of human capital and cultural capital and ends with a presentation of the three empirical research questions of the study: *Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad?*, *How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries?* and *What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in?* Based on the results gained from the analysis of these questions, also a more theoretical question is asked: *How does the cultural capital of highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders?*

Chapter three presents the data and methods of the study. Statistics Finland data on the numbers of outgoing and incoming highly educated Finnish citizens have been used in this introduction to contextualise the phenomenon of highly skilled migration from Finland and to show its volume in relation to the overall numbers of migrants. The main body of original data gathered for this study is the *Working in Europe* online survey (WiE) of 2008 (n=364) and its follow-up in 2010 (n=194) and 18 interviews of survey respondents conducted via Skype in 2011. The Finns who took part in this study include tertiary educated consultants, finance managers, ICT-workers, post-doctoral scholars, free-lance journalists, and self-employed language specialists, for example. Their intended stay abroad varies from that of a *settler* to that of a *sojourner*, from permanent emigration to short-time mobility with

5. Finland joined the European Union in 1995, but Finns gained the free movement rights already in 1994 when the country joined the European Economic Area.

a fixed time limit. Also their desire to integrate varies, as some are strongly rooted to the current home country, while others contemplate either returning to Finland, or moving on to a new destination. Over two thirds of all respondents were female: there were 280 female (77%) and 84 male (23%) respondents. 45 per cent of the respondents were cohabiting, 28 per cent were married and 27 per cent were single. Most respondents (76%) did not have any children. The respondent average age was 32 years and they were fairly recent movers as 78 per cent had moved abroad after the year 2000. The educational background of the respondents was rather varied: 48 per cent had obtained their degree in Finland, 20 per cent from abroad, and 25 per cent had a degree from both countries. Seven per cent of them were still studying. 87 per cent of all responses were from five countries: United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, France, and Spain.

The method of analysis draws from the documentary method, based on Karl Mannheim's *Sociology of Knowledge* (1952) and further developed by authors such as Harold Garfinkel (1967), Ralf Bohnsack (2008, 2010) and Arnd-Michael Nohl (2010, see also Nohl & Ofner 2010). The documentary method acknowledges the agency and knowledge of the actor but distinguishes between different types of knowledge: *the intentional expressive meaning* or what the actor in question sought to express with her act and *the objective meaning* of what the act in general was about in a given context. In addition, the second level carries *the evidential or documentary meaning*, which in turn refers to tacit or pre-reflexive knowledge, which the actors may be unaware of, but which may yet be the "modus operandi of [their] practical action" (Bohnsack 2010, 103). For Garfinkel (1967, 95) this meant trying to grasp the "document" or "underlying pattern" based on the observations made on a particular research subject's actions in the everyday setting and by comparing them with the experiences of others. The comparison of cases with each other helps avoid the pitfall of the researcher imposing her own ready-made categories onto the research data. Thus in this study looking at different themes that occur in various pieces of data and contrasting them with those found in other cases brings forward also the tacit knowledge on topics like the respondent's experiences of success or discrimination, labour market strategies or feelings of belonging and identity.

Chapter four responds to the first empirical research question of the study: *Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad?* Drawing on the practice theory of international migration developed by Karen O'Reilly (2012) I first discuss the importance of the wider structural processes that promote mobility from Finland to other countries in Europe, and then present the results of the *Working in Europe* survey and the interviews on migration motivations of the participants of the study. I also present the case for an important factor facilitating labour mobility in Europe: the European mobility industry. At the end of the chapter the results related to the theoretical aim of the study are concluded.

Chapter five focuses on the second empirical research question: *How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries?* I first describe the institutionalised

cultural capital of the participants of this study and then proceed to examine the kinds of labour market positions they had while still living in Finland. The routes leading to a highly skilled job in the destination country vary according to, for example, the educational background, career stage, profession, and migration motivation of each highly skilled migrant as well as the country in question. In their study on highly skilled migration and the transferability of cultural capital into the labour market of Germany Nohl, Ofner and Thomsen (2010) use the concept of *status passage* to describe the transitional period between exiting the labour market of the country or origin, or graduating from an institution of higher education, and integrating into the labour market of the country of destination. I use the status passage and discuss the WiE survey –results in relation to two dimensions: *the effort* and *the time* it took for the participants of the study to find a highly skilled job in the destination country. The chapter ends with a presentation of the results related to the theoretical aim of the study.

Chapter six answers the third empirical research question: *What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in?* The conclusion of chapter five is that for the majority of the participants of the study finding employment had been relatively easy and the status passage into the destination country labour market was short in duration. The institutionalised cultural capital of the study participants transferred across borders rather easily. Following this, the sixth chapter continues to identify certain factors, many of them linked with the research participants' embodied cultural capital that helped the participants of the study in finding a highly skilled job. First, I present the labour market situations of the WiE respondents in the country of destination and discuss the importance of language skills as embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. I conclude the chapter by identifying three additional factors that have helped in finding a highly skilled job: the perceived position of Finns as first class migrants, having careers in international workplaces, and utilising their expertise in the Finnish and Swedish languages. Again the results related to the theoretical aim of the study are discussed at the very end of the chapter.

Chapter seven discusses the final, more theoretically oriented research question of the study: *How does the cultural capital of the highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders?* Transnationally mobile highly skilled professionals cannot influence the unemployment levels or demand for labour in their countries of destination. Apart from selecting a destination country, which seems to have demand for one's skills, an individual migrant can only adapt to the situation on the ground. In this last substantive chapter, I draw from the lessons of the three empirical research questions examined in the previous chapters and discuss migrant agency in finding highly skilled employment. I propose that highly skilled migrants can use certain strategies to make the most of their situation abroad and to negotiate the value of their cultural capital. The somewhat overlapping strategies that I identify are: *adaptation*, *distinction* and *re-orientation*.

Conclusions, the final chapter of the study, consist of two sections. The first part revisits the three empirical research questions and summarises the main results of the study in regard to the theoretical research question on the transferability of cultural capital. The chapter ends with some reflections on the limitations of the study and on the significance of the results. The study concludes that the institutionalised cultural capital of such intra-European migrants as the Finns of this study, transfers across borders rather smoothly, even though considerable migrant agency is needed in the process. Also the embodied cultural capital retains much of its value, and can in some cases even increase in value during migration. According to the participants of this study there are numerous ways in which to *make it abroad*, in which to find a good life and a new place for oneself in the border free Europe.

2. Theoretical background and research questions

The context of my study is within the European Union, which is said to form a one, unified labour market where European citizens are free to cross borders in search of work, better education, higher standard of living, or even a warmer climate. As an area comprised of 28 countries with more than 500 million inhabitants, the EU is currently the world's best research laboratory on legal, transnational migration. This study belongs to the emerging research field of the sociology of European Union (Favell & Guiraudon 2011), especially research on intra-European labour mobility. It draws on three sets of literature: *firstly* research on the highly skilled and privileged migration, *secondly* on research in intra-European mobility, and *thirdly* research on cultural capital during migration. In addition the practice theory of international migration (O'Reilly 2012) is utilised in understanding the context of the migration phenomenon in question: intra-European, highly skilled migration from Finland (see chapter four). This chapter first details the theoretical background of the research and then continues to present the three separate but interlinking empirical research questions and the theoretical aim of the study.

The global flows of human capital

In the policy debates on economic prosperity and competitiveness, an educated and skilled workforce is increasingly seen as a key component of a successful economy. It has been claimed that there is a process termed either a global *war for talent* or *battle for brains* where highly skilled workers are attracted to nodes of the global economy that offer the best salaries, career advancement opportunities and working conditions (e.g. Cornelius & Espenshade 2001, Bertoli et al. 2011, Kuptsch & Pang 2006). Highly skilled migrants are the only truly accepted migrants of today (Raghuram 2004) and easing their immigration has been high on the political agenda in Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia, for example. Almost 90 per cent of the international stock of tertiary-educated migrants lives either in Europe or North America (Docquier & Marfouk 2006, Lowell 2007, 17).

The current era of globalisation has witnessed a worldwide increase in the numbers of educated and skilled migrants. Tertiary-educated migrants represented a 30 per cent share of all adult emigrants in 1990, but by 2000 their share was 35 per cent

of the worldwide migrant stock. Thus it has been argued that this substantial increase in the numbers of skilled migrants was one of the “central migration stories of the 1990s” (Lowell, 2007, 14). This increase in the numbers of skilled migrants coincides with notable changes in the labour markets, which have since the 1990s been described as, for example, “transitional” (Schmid 2008, Suikkanen et al. 2001), “risky” and “individualised” (Beck 2000a, Giddens 1991). Increased mobility and need for transitions during one’s career is yet another manifestation of such labour market changes (e.g. Koikkalainen & Suikkanen 2012). These changes form the context of the present study, but are not the main focus of the analysis, as the aim is to look at transnational mobility from the level of the individual migrant rather than examining the changes brought to the European employment system, for example.

Highly skilled migrants moving from one country to another bring along their education and skills acquired in the country of origin. The idea of *human capital* dates back to Adam Smith (1776) who saw “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society” as one of the four cornerstones of the wealth of nations. This capital, though based within individuals, was also to benefit the society:

“The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs” (Smith 1776, II.1.17).

The interests of states in welcoming highly skilled migrants rest on this foundation: such immigrants bring with them new skills and talent that will increase the nation’s wealth with little economic investment from the state in question.

Human capital as the embodiment of an individual’s education, abilities, skills and knowledge has been utilised also in the field of migration. Economic theories of migration stress the importance of wage differentials and standards of living as the causes of human mobility. People will continue to move from an area with no jobs or jobs that pay significantly less to areas with employment that gives a better pay-off to their human capital investment. Ideally this mobility will occur until an equilibrium is formed as the wage levels of these two areas even out. The wage differentials can be understood either as *push factors* encouraging emigration, or *pull factors* attracting immigration to a certain area (Öberg 1997, 23–25). Neo-classical migration theory has focused on the economic rationale of migrants seeking the best return for their human capital investment and thus moving to where the salaries are highest (see e.g. Arango 2000, 285, Samers 2010, 60–61). Yet the understanding of international migration being based on various push and pull factors has been shown to be overly simplistic as there should be more mobility between richer and poorer countries, if even the educated sectors of each society engaged in such cost-benefit calculations (Castles & Miller 2009, 21–26, Samers 2010, 54–59).

It has been noted that globalisation increases the demand for labour in the opposite ends of the skill hierarchy: of low-skilled, service and agricultural workers and of highly skilled professionals (Cornelius & Espenshade 2001, May et al. 2007). Largest global movements of skilled labour at the turn of the new Millennium took place from developing to post-industrialized countries of the Global North, especially the United States and Western Europe (Iredale 2001, 17). This phenomenon, where educated and skilled workers move from one country to another and create a one-way flow of human capital has been called *brain drain*. Discussions on brain drain date back to the 1950s and 1960s and were originally focused primarily on the loss of talented, university-educated individuals from Europe, mainly from the United Kingdom, to the United States, and later from India to both of these countries. (Ackers 2005, 1–2, Castles & Miller 2009, 63, Skeldon 2005, 1). Clemens (2009) proposes that *skill flow* – a more neutral and objective term than brain drain – should be used to describe the phenomenon today. Brain drain can be understood rather pejoratively, as Clemens underlines: “Calling the rate of skilled worker movement the ‘brain drain rate’ is just as ludicrously value-laden as measuring the rate at which women traded the kitchen for the workplace in the 1950s and labeling it the ‘rate of family abandonment’” (Clemens 2009, 48).

A simple one-way flow of talent from the less developed countries to the wealthier ones is not the full picture of skilled migration today, as many countries of the Global North both receive and send high numbers of skilled migrants (e.g. Favell, Feldblum & Smith 2006). The term *brain exchange* has been used to describe a more equal or balanced exchange of skilled workers between different countries: there is transnational movement of workers, but the human capital of immigrants can somewhat replace the capital lost in the outgoing emigrants (Straubhaar 2000, 8). Migration is not always permanent and the concept of *brain circulation* has been introduced to describe a situation where emigrants return to their original home country when the economy begins to take off and provide jobs for qualified returnees (Castles & Miller 2009, 65). In addition to her human capital the emigrant returns with additional skills and networks that can in turn help the economy and create jobs. Also remittances sent back home during the stay abroad can be used to facilitate return migration.

In recent years steps have been taken to create common European immigration policies, and also to attract highly skilled workers from outside the EU via the Blue Card initiative (e.g. Bertoli et al. 2011, 13, European Commission 2005, European Council 2009). The share of highly skilled migrants varies between the European Union countries. The available statistical data on migrants in general and skill levels of migrants in particular is incomplete, as countries classify both migrants and their professional qualifications in different ways (e.g. Fassman et al. 2010). In general there are serious problems in obtaining reliable, comparative data on global migration flows and the transfer of human capital, as countries do not keep comparable records on their emigrants’ education levels. Yet there is enough evidence to show

that the flow of skilled migrants towards the developed world has increased over the recent years (Skeldon 2005, 13, Samers 2010, 166–167). Docquer and Marfouk (2006, Table 5.6.B) estimate that in 2000 the EU15 countries having the highest share of tertiary educated persons among their immigrant population were Ireland (41,1%), the United Kingdom (34,5%), Sweden (27,5%), Luxembourg (25,6%), and Finland (23,8%). However, in their analysis of net gains, France, Germany, Sweden, and Belgium appear as winners in the competition for skilled labour while the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Finland are losing more educated emigrants than gaining immigrants. In the following section, I note the common definitions of highly skilled migrants and then move on to discuss the ways in which their competence transfers across borders.

Who are highly skilled migrants?

Migrants' skill level is often determined by the number of years they have spent in schooling. Some of the most common definitions of *skilled* or *highly skilled migrants* include: tertiary degree-holders, university degree-holders, or individuals with extensive experience from a given field (Iredale 2001, 8). In this study, I use the completion of a university or university of applied sciences (polytechnic) degree as the signifier of being highly skilled. There is considerable variation and diversity within this migrant category. Mahroum (2001, 29) identifies five different groups of highly skilled migrants, each with their own specific logic for mobility. The categories he uses are 1) senior managers and executives, 2) engineers and technicians, 3) scientists, 4) entrepreneurs, and 5) students. Sometimes a further distinction is made between those who are skilled (e.g. nurses and teachers) and those who are highly skilled (e.g. ICT workers, scientists and doctors) (Iredale 2001, 8, Skeldon 2005, 8). The line between a student and a professional working (full-time or part-time) in a highly skilled job may also at times be blurred, so higher education students do also naturally belong to the category of highly skilled migrants (Eskelä 2013, see also Skeldon 2005).

The classification of a type of migrant as highly skilled based on the level of her education assumes a rather linear transfer of skills, education and expertise. This may be true for a limited number of professional fields, where a particular skill is in demand in the country of destination, as has been the case with information technology professionals and engineers moving to the Silicon Valley, for example. The economic benefits these migrants generate are measured in their capacity to make innovations, start new businesses and thus create new jobs (Gurcak et al. 2001, 62, 69–70) as well as in their “strong connections to growing overseas markets” (Saxenian 2001, 198). In the United States many of these workers have entered the country with a specific type of a visa: the temporary specialty visa H-1/H-1B, which is meant for workers who will work in occupations requiring a “theoretical and practical application of a body of highly specialised knowledge” (text from the US offi-

cial visa statute, quoted in Lowell 2001, 136, for a description of the US visa system see Money & Falstrom 2006). The US attracts the majority of highly skilled workers globally and the Silicon Valley success stories include companies such as Yahoo! and Hotmail, both created by immigrant entrepreneurs (Saxenian 2001, 199). In this context many have claimed that Europe has not faced up to the challenge of recruiting the *best brains* from the developing world. Straubhaar summarised the fears of Europe loosing out as follows: "Global citizens of the 21st century have many options. Closed doors here and red carpets there could mean that the brains of the future will be lured by the Americans" (Straubhaar 2000, 21).

Skeldon (2005, 6) identifies three separate research strands within the brain drain and skill flow discussion, namely those focusing 1) on scientific workers, especially in the ICT sector, 2) on health workers, and 3) on student mobility. Iredale (2001, 16–20,) on the other hand, uses a slightly different approach and recognizes five typologies of professional migrants. Skilled migrants can be categorized 1) by motivation, ranging from forced exodus of the skilled to government or industry led migration, 2) by the nature of source and destination countries, be they less or more developed, 3) by mechanism of their mobility, either as intra-company transferees, through recruitment agencies, or as independent job-seekers, 4) by length of stay, whether it is permanent, temporary or circular, and 5) by mode of integration into the destination country and economy. In addition, he proposes a sixth category: that of national versus international professions, as the level of internationalisation of different professional fields plays an important role in explaining the flows of skilled migrants.

Women form nearly half of the international migrants of today (Morrison et al. 1997, United Nations 2013). While the most distinct skilled migration streams, such as the flow of ICT professionals from India and China to the United States, are heavily male-dominated (Iredale 2001, 14–15), women are also part of this mobility (see e.g. Leinonen 2012). Kofman and Raghuram (2009) note that research on, and media stories of, migrant women's employment have largely focused on sex work or domestic work, often dangerous, dirty and low-paid (for an exception, see Zulauf 2001). Yet women do not only follow the male breadwinner, move due to family unification or as victims of human trafficking, but also as individual skilled migrants. Global healthcare migration has increased the numbers of skilled women migrants since the 1960s, as over 90 per cent of migrant nurses are women. Some countries such as the Philippines and Bangladesh even train nurses above the national need in deliberate export of skilled human resources. (Kofman & Raghuram 2009, 1–4, Iredale 2001, 14–15.)

The category of highly skilled migrants thus includes a great variety of people moving abroad for different reasons. This is true especially in Europe, where the intra-European migrant does not have to plan her mobility based on admission through a specific visa category, as is the case in the United States. Some plan to stay abroad permanently, while for others, the assignment abroad is a short-term career move or even an adventure. For many highly skilled migrants the move abroad is

voluntary, but for some, originating from politically unstable or economically troublesome areas, it may be the only option available. What can be said to unify this migrant group is that they all face the risk of having to accept work that does not match their qualifications, if their education and work experience loses some of its value during the process of migration. Michael Samers (2010, 14) has pointed out that no migrant is in fact “unskilled”, so the concept of highly skilled migrants is very context dependent, as particular countries’ and employers’ definition of “skilled” and “not so skilled” varies over space and time. The understanding of highly skilled mobility and migration has in fact in recent research been widened to include various different types of people, not only seconded expatriates or businessmen on corporate careers (e.g. Leinonen 2012, Ryan & Mulholland 2013, Koikkalainen 2011b, on students see Eskelä 2013). To borrow the words of Sam Scott (2006, 1121), who has studied British highly skilled migrants resident in Paris: “... where once ‘expatriate’ communities were relatively homogenous containers for managers and executives, the world city now plays host to a diverse middle-class population of skilled migrants.”

The term *brain drain* is rarely used in the context of European mobility, where the concepts of *brain circulation* and *brain exchange* are more appropriate, if one wishes to describe highly skilled migration in terms of gains or losses for the national economies. The fact that mobility across the intra-European borders is so easy allows various forms of temporary or circular migration to go unnoticed by official statistics. As for example John Urry (2000), Russel King (2002) and Adrian Favell (2008a) have argued, in the light of the current multitude in the forms of mobility, some of the assumptions taken for granted by sociologists and migration scholars should be rethought. One such definition is the time period of one year, after which a move to another country is seen as *permanent* and the mobile individual considered a *migrant*. Focusing solely on this population ignores the diverse forms of shorter-term mobility: intra-company transfers between offices located in different countries, student exchange, retirement migration, and commuting between different countries on a regular basis. Yet these are important forms of transnational mobility also for highly skilled workers. This study is not limited only on Finns who have “permanently emigrated” from Finland, so it thus includes the experiences of recent movers as well as those with a longer history of living abroad. At the time when the study was conducted some of the research participants planned to stay in their respective countries permanently while others knew they would stay there only temporarily.

Many European Union member states are struggling to maintain their competitiveness, economic growth and welfare state services in difficult economic conditions while also facing demographic pressures from their aging populations. Attracting skilled labour from abroad has been proposed as a solution to this dilemma and increased intra-European labour mobility is seen as one way of guaranteeing the promotion of full employment and ensuring that Europe is a “competitive, dynamic knowledge-based economy” (European Commission 2001, 17). Gunter Schmid (2008) argues that the megatrends of globalisation, individualisation and transnationalisation are

changing the European labour market, as “In the information age, working for an employer at a fixed location and producing goods or services for an anonymous market is becoming increasingly obsolete” (Schmid 2008, 20). The formation of a transnational European labour market is one part of this change, because it is understood as a way of ensuring that labour is in full supply. In the field of migration and labour mobility the policies of the EU are characterized by an inherent dualism: free movement of European citizens has been a fundamental right guaranteed by EU founding treaties for decades but regulating immigration of third-country nationals has fallen within the sovereignty of each member state (Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010).

Human or cultural capital?

This study examines the labour market experiences of highly skilled Finns in other EU member states. I do not examine individual careers abroad from the point of view of human resource management, but rather focus on how do the skills and knowledge of intra-European migrants transfer across borders. The recognition of skills, educational qualifications and work experience is a key question for any migrant; especially so for highly educated professional migrants, who have spent years in schooling in the country of origin, and may face significant barriers to labour market access in the country of destination.

In much of the highly skilled migration literature presented in the beginning of this chapter the concept *human capital* is used to refer to the grand total of an individual’s skills and knowledge. Human capital is often used in connection with economic theories of migration (e.g. Massey et al. 1993) with a rather limited view into the situated nature of these skills. The human capital theory explains highly skilled migration through the idea that potential migrants make rational calculations on where to move to get the best return for their personal investment in skills and education, i.e. their own human capital. Yet as Harald Bauder (2005a, 81) concludes: “... education and skills do not always provide access to higher-wage occupations. Rather institutional processes define whether a worker is eligible to work in a particular occupation. Furthermore, eligibility is a function of pre-market processes of social distinction.”

Cultural capital is related to the concept of human capital, but it includes an important additional dimension: the value of this capital is always *defined in social interaction* and *in reference to the cultural context* in question. In this study I therefore utilize cultural capital to describe the entire set of skills and qualifications that highly skilled migrants possess. In the event of migration the acquired cultural capital is put to test, as what is perceived as valuable work experience or as a good education in the country of origin may in the worst case be worth nothing in the country of destination.

In my understanding, cultural capital is thus a more flexible concept; and one that acknowledges the symbolic struggles that always take place when the value of the

said capital is defined in everyday interactions (see also Ariss & Jawad 2011). As Lusis and Bauder (2009) demonstrate in their review of existing migration literature on immigrant labour market integration and segmentation, "...the social and cultural capital of the 'immigrant' holds different value in different geographical contexts." My research therefore contributes to the growing body of literature examining cultural capital in migratory situations (see e.g. Bauder 2005a, 2005b, Nohl et al. 2006, Nohl et al. 2010, Weiss 2004, Erel 2010, Ariss & Jawad 2011). This line of research draws from concepts originally developed by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in his analysis of the social reproduction of the class hierarchies and positions of power in the French society (e.g. Bourdieu 1984). An analysis which uses Bourdieu's concepts to examine the labour market experiences of mobile populations undoubtedly loses some of the nuances of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, but I still argue that the use of the concept of cultural capital – in what currently is its standard interpretation in migration research – is useful. In this study, therefore, cultural capital refers to the *skills, knowledge, education* and *work experience* of an individual migrant.

Adopting this concept as the main focus of interest in how the careers of highly skilled Finns proceed in other European countries also allows me to take into account properties embodied in the migrants during their childhood socialization, instead of just examining how different are the post-migration career paths of a lawyer, a biologist or a social scientist, for example. The educational backgrounds of these highly skilled migrants are different, and in Finland, their families, childhood experiences, schools and universities influence the class positions they hold and the kinds of work careers they may achieve. When a Finn destined for an excellent career in Finland, due to having valued cultural capital, such as an elite school background and completion of a degree in a highly competitive field, for example, decides to move abroad, the value of this cultural capital diminishes as those in charge of recruitment decisions do not necessarily recognise it as capital of value.

In Finland the shared Finnish nationality may be the smallest common denominator that any randomly selected group of highly skilled individuals would share, but when abroad, the fact that they are Finnish increases in significance. While in the Bourdieusian sense each migrant does enter a specific field constructed by the relevant actors of each profession in the destination country, the highly skilled migrants of my study also have some shared experiences that are interesting to note and examine. Finns who move abroad no longer head towards specific areas or towns, as was the case during the early 20th century migration to the United States, for example, where in some counties the majority of the population still holds Finnish ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). Yet today's expatriate Finns do engage in various "familial, socio-cultural, economic and political transnational practices" (Faist et al. 2013) across borders, and they can relate to each other's experiences of being a foreigner in the country where they now live. At the very least, all the participants of the study share the experience that they are seen as Finns by the inhabitants of the societies they enter, and face the possible prejudices and stereotypes as a "group".

Because they also share a common mother tongue⁶ and nationality, at least some of their experiences abroad are comparable. Through the shared experience of being a Finn living and working abroad they therefore form what Karen O'Reilly (2012) calls "a community of practice". In the following section the key concepts initially developed by Pierre Bourdieu are briefly explained as well as their current use in state-of-the-art migration research into transferring cultural capital.

Cultural capital and migration research

In migration research the concepts *field*, *habitus* and especially the *different types of capital*, originally developed by Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1984, 1986), are used to understand the problems of transferring skills from one society or cultural environment to another. For Bourdieu all differentiated societies consist of different fields or networks of relations that structure our social world: "the social cosmos is made up of a number of such relatively autonomous social microcosms, i.e. spaces of objective relations (...)" (Wacquant 1989, 39). These include, for example, the economic, artistic or religious field, that each follow a particular logic of its own and is an arena for struggles over the specific resources of that field (Wacquant 1989, 39–40, see also Jenkins 2002, 84–85).

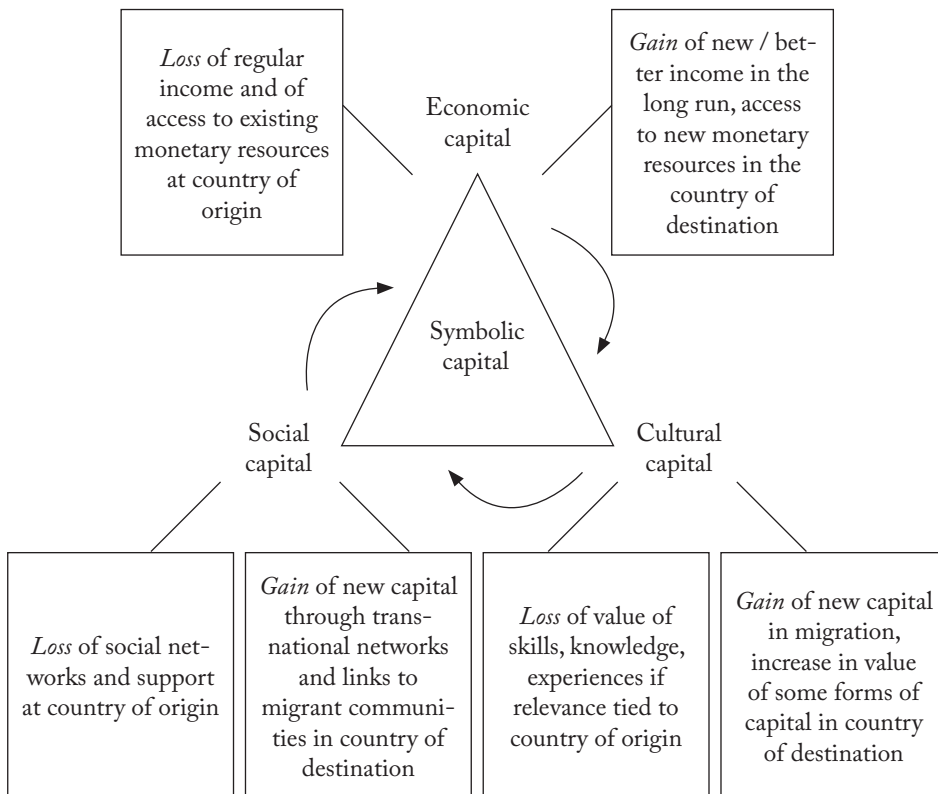
The concept of habitus on the other hand refers to the outlook, habits and dispositions embodied onto oneself during socialization; it consists of "schemes of perception, thought, and action" (Bourdieu 1989, 14). Habitus is a relevant concept in the context of migration because a change of cultural and spatial location, or *field*, brings into view things that are normally taken for granted in the everyday life. As Bourdieu notes during an interview with his long-standing colleague Loïc Wacquant: "And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted." (Wacquant 1989, 43, see also Sallaz & Zavisca 2007, 24–25.) The act of migration thus calls into question these schemes one has learned to live by, as the "water" one has to swim in does not conform to one's expectations. Habitus can thus refer to both the habitus of the individual migrant, or the habitus of the groups within which that individual migrant is currently located, as well as the interaction taking place between these (O'Reilly 2012, 27).

Bourdieu also defined three different types of capital: economic, social and cultural. *Economic capital* refers to a command over economic or monetary resources. *Social capital* refers to resources based on membership of certain networks or groups, such as influence and support. *Cultural capital* on the other hand refers to skills, education

6. I did not specifically ask for their mother tongue, but assume that for a clear majority of the study's participants this would be Finnish. There is a Swedish speaking minority, but their share is only around 5 per cent of the population living in Finland (Official Statistics Finland 2013).

and knowledge acquired through education and through the socialisation process. (Bourdieu 1986, 242–243.) When the value of these forms of capital is known and recognised either in the individual, everyday contexts or collective, political contexts, they transform into *symbolic capital*, and play a role in the process of societal reproduction (Bourdieu 1989, 17). The power drawn from possessing the right types of symbolic capital thus contributes in legitimating our social world, as “Objective relations of power tend to reproduce themselves in relations of symbolic power” (Bourdieu 1989, 21). Jenkins (2002, 85) simply defines the concept of symbolic capital as “prestige and social honour”. When migrants cross national borders they enter a different social sphere, where these types of capital as well as relations of symbolic power are constructed differently in the various fields that they encounter in their personal and professional lives. The diagram below depicts my analysis of the types of positive and negative effects migration may have for one’s symbolic capital. Depending on how the value of one’s economic, social and cultural capital changes during and after migration, the move abroad can thus signify either “loss” or “gain” for the individual.

DIAGRAM 1: Possible impacts of migration on the symbolic capital of the migrant



Social capital is the grand total of actual or potential resources that one can mobilise from one's network, group or collective. The volume of the social capital thus depends on the size of this network and the volume of (economic, cultural or symbolic) capital possessed by the members of that network, which the individual in question can utilise on the basis of solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986, 248–249). For Bourdieu these social networks are not a natural given, but must be constructed through investment strategies that aim at institutionalising group relations as a source of benefits (Portes, 1998, 3). In this respect taking the concepts of cultural and social capital as the starting point of analysing skilled migration is highly interesting: leaving one's resources and networks behind the transnationally mobile individual has to recreate those resources, renegotiate the value of her own capital or find ways in which the loss of this symbolic capital does not signify a loss of status in the working life. In migration research social capital is generally associated with "...social networks, membership in social groups and associated social identities." (Lusis & Bauder 2009, 6). While the effects of the loss of social capital and the weak ties (Granovetter 1973) that help in finding employment are also important for highly skilled migrants, in this study I focus specifically on cultural capital. (For more on social capital see e.g. Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Ryan 2011, Lancee 2012, Aure 2013, 280–281.)

Bourdieu further divides cultural capital into three subtypes: *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutionalised*. Embodied cultural capital includes properties, which are embodied on the habitus (Bourdieu 1993, 86–88) of an individual, such as a set of habits or traditions learned from one's family during socialization. Objectified cultural capital refers to things that can be owned. Possessing these exact cultural objects, such as prestigious works of art, signify and reflect certain embodied cultural capital. The institutionalised type of cultural capital refers to the academic qualifications of a certain individual, which can then be assigned a monetary value in the labour market (Bourdieu 1986, 242–243). Bourdieu's ideas form a theory of reproduction of social classes and power relations (e.g. Calhoun 1993, 69–72). The worth of each type of capital is evaluated in the field one is currently situated in. As Jenkins (2002, 85) in his interpretation of Bourdieu concludes: "The existence of a field *presupposes* and, in its functioning, *creates* a belief on the part of the participants in the legitimacy and value of the capital which is at stake in the field. This legitimate *interest* in the field is produced by the same historical processes which produce the field itself"⁷. The playing field is therefore not level for all players in any society, as having access to cultural and social resources, best schools and universities, networks of future employers, as well as having the necessary economic means are attached to certain groups (or classes) that pass them on to their children. The picture is even more complex under the conditions of mobility.

How do highly skilled migrants then succeed in using their skills and knowledge in the destination country labour market so that it is acknowledged as valuable cul-

7. Italics in the original.

tural capital? This is a question posed by a research group on *Cultural capital during migration* led by Arnd-Michael Nohl, Karin Schittelheim, Oliver Schmidtke and Anja Weiss. Their comparative research on the highly skilled labour market access included migrants from a number of educational backgrounds in certain fields, namely in natural sciences and technology, management and finance and healthcare, and focused on Germany, Canada and Turkey (Nohl et al. 2010, 10–11, 14, see also Nohl & Ofner 2010, 254–255.) They argue that public debates on highly skilled mobility focus too much on unrealistic ideas of managing migration with initiatives such as the German green card or the European Union Blue card system that are designed to attract human capital of a specific form. They argue that instead of heavily investing in migration management schemes, European countries should examine how the highly skilled migrants already living in Europe manage to negotiate their place in the labour market. (Nohl et al. 2010, 9–10).

Nohl et al. (2010) argue that during migration the form and the particular characteristics of one's cultural capital, such as degrees and language proficiency, are of significance. The recognition of institutional cultural capital, such as educational titles can be regulated through the authorities responsible for foreign degree recognition in the respective countries. Incorporated or embodied cultural capital, such as mental schemes and action orientation, language, value, and competences are tied to the habitus and are acquired through a long socialization and education process. As institutionalised cultural capital is usually applied in national contexts its value or relevance may diminish after migration. Nevertheless, Nohl et al. note that there are some fields of specialization where a transnational labour market exists and cultural capital can be utilised, regardless of where it was obtained. (Nohl et al. 2006, paragraphs 15–16, see also Erel 2010, 646–650.)

Nohl et al. (2010, 10–11) use the concept of *status passage* to describe the school-to-work transition. When this status passage also involves a transition to another country, it becomes multidimensional. Under current competition in the labour market, and especially for migrants in a new country, the passage is not automatic, but requires efforts and struggle from the individual herself. This period has also been referred to as the *transition penalty* (Lochhead 2003, see also Zikic et al. 2010, 670) when the transitional period of finding skilled employment is prolonged. The individual needs to present her cultural capital in a favourable light when looking for employment. Nohl et al. (2006, paragraphs 18–19) call the negotiations that individuals undertake in trying to find work *symbolic struggles* over the assessment of capital between migrants and the native population⁸. These struggles can also involve recognising types of knowledge and abilities that may not have been utilised in the migrants' country of origin, but have become valuable during the migration process. They argue that empirical research should not only focus on formal profes-

8. On the difficulties of labour market integration of migrants in Finland see e.g. Koikkalainen et al. 2011, Katisko 2011, Ristikari 2012.

sional titles, but also look at the incorporated components of cultural capital: which of them are valuable and can be transferred from one country to another? What binds cultural capital to specific places so that it devalues during migration? Is new cultural capital developing during migration?

Krisztina Csedö (2008) also sees looking for work as a situation where the job applicant has to *negotiate the best possible value* for her cultural capital. Her research on Hungarian and Romanian professionals and graduates in London highlights the importance of social context and immigrant agency in the assessment of skills and human capital. According to Csedö only those highly qualified migrants who successfully transfer their specific skills from previous employment into the destination country labour market can be considered “highly skilled”, rather than just being “highly educated”. The mobile Europeans’ success not only depends on their internationally competitive human (and economic and social) capital, but also on their ability to communicate its value to local employers. In her study only those tertiary educated migrants, who on top of their high qualifications also had globally valuable and transferable social and work experience, were successful in transferring their skills (Csedö 2008, 819).

Based on the previous research on cultural capital and migration outlined here it can therefore be concluded that in a new country the mobile individual has to negotiate the value of her cultural capital and present her skills, experiences and qualifications in a way that is accepted by the potential employers. In the following section I explain the theoretical aim and empirical research questions of the study and continue to discuss how transnationally mobile Finns manage in this process in the border-free Europe.

Theoretical aim and empirical research questions

Migrants who cross national borders leave one field and enter another, where the rules of the labour market may differ from their expectations. Some highly skilled migrants are not (immediately) successful in gaining employment at the expected level and suffer from a process called *skill downgrading* or even *brain waste*, as despite their education levels not everyone is necessarily regarded highly skilled in their country of destination (Bertoli et al. 2011, 20). Also those migrating with a higher education thus need to integrate to a particular local labour market, and this may be considerably more difficult than much of the highly skilled migration literature discussed in the first part of this chapter would suggest. As Favell, Feldblum, and Smith (2006, 17) conclude: “...the faster social and spatial mobility based on the ‘universal’ metric of skill and talent, does not, in fact, remove the challenge of incorporation.”

Ideally, the labour market skills that the highly skilled migrants possess should be transferable across borders, and their experience should be internationally recognised for the transfer to a new country to go smoothly. To be able to fully benefit from their previous education and work experience, the migrants must also possess the

social skills and language proficiency to negotiate the value of their human capital in the destination country labour market (Csedö 2008, see also Koikkalainen 2009b). This is the case especially for those migrants who do not move with the help of their employer, some multinational company or international agency, for example, but have to find employment on their own. Based on the experiences of the participants of the study, I try to respond to questions of a theoretical nature: Is the institutional cultural capital of intra-European migrants easily recognised, or does mobility decrease the value of educational qualifications? Does mobility create new types of cultural capital? What about the value of embodied cultural capital – is a foreign habitus a barrier for employment, or can it have a value in itself? And what can the migrant herself do to *make it abroad*? The three empirical research questions as well as the main theoretical question related to transferring cultural capital are briefly presented below.

Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad? (Chapter four)

In recent years the mobility of skilled professionals, also called *Eurostars* (Favell 2008b), has been on the increase within the EU15. The increased diversity in migration that has been referred to as *superdiversity* by Steven Vertovec (2007) is also visible in intra-European migration. Other intra-European migrants include, for example, students (e.g. Sigalas 2010, Teichler & Janson 2007, Murphy-Lejeune 2003a, 2003b) and life-style migrants, such as retirees (e.g. O'Reilly 2000, Karisto 2008, Gustafson 2009), marriage or romance migrants (e.g. Bailey & Boyle 2004, Trundle 2009) and lifestyle and voluntary migrants who search for a “better and more fulfilling way of life” (Benson 2009, 121, see also Amid 2007). According to Madison (2006), some can even be classified as existential migrants because they choose to leave their homeland voluntarily to become foreigners in a new culture, due to “(...) a felt yearning to leave, a call to go out into the world (...)” (Madison 2006, 19). Previous studies on intra-European migration have noted that as the standard of living rises, also the reasons for international mobility become more diverse and change from mainly economic motives towards other factors, such as moving because of family, love or lifestyle choices (Santacreu, Baldoni & Albert 2009).

Even though researchers often classify their research subjects into different categories, it does not mean that in real life individuals migrating for different reasons would fall neatly into distinct migrant groups. In fact, it is natural that any migrant can belong to many different categories: a marriage migrant following her husband abroad can also be highly educated and list quality of life as an important motivator for her move, or a highly skilled professional transferring to another office of her multinational employer may do so more for the adventure than better career prospects. The diversity of intra-European migration challenges the assumption, stemming from the human capital and neo-classical theories of migration, that financial gain is the main motivational factor inducing migration. For mobile Europeans also many other factors, such as life-style choices and seeking adventure, play an impor-

tant role (e.g. Favell 2008b). In addition, migrants are not immune to the social and cultural processes taking place in society, even though their impact on one's personal choices may not seem obvious. While the focus of my thesis is on the micro level of individual migrants, also a short discussion of the context of this particular migration phenomenon in Europe is included with reference to the practice theory of international migration developed by Karen O'Reilly (2012). Chapter four therefore discusses the mobility motivations of the participants of the study. The theoretical conclusions of the chapter are related to the active migrant agency in building individualised life paths within the context of the European free movement regime.

How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries? (Chapter five)

Much of the research on highly skilled migration has focused on the movement of workers from the Global South to the countries of the Global North, especially on the movement of workers from countries such as India or China to the United States (e.g. Cornelius, Espenshade & Salehyan 2001, Skeldon 2005). Research on intra-European mobility, on the other hand, has tended to focus on movement between the largest EU member states (e.g. Recchi & Favell 2009) and on mobility originating from the new EU member states that joined in 2004 and 2007 (e.g. Favell 2008c, Krieger 2005, Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010). The paths that lead highly skilled migrants from small and peripheral countries such as Finland to other European countries have largely been left unexplored. Yet the experiences of all these migrants can shed light into how migrants' cultural capital is evaluated abroad, and in the European context on the kind of barriers that still exist for labour market integration in the common European labour market.

The focus of the present study is on highly skilled migrants who are between the ages of 23 and 45 years. This age group is generally in gainful employment, so most of the research participants did have to integrate to the destination country labour market, even though the move might have been motivated by non-work related reasons, such as adventure or love. So how did they look for work abroad? Did they find a job prior to moving or did they claim unemployment benefits from Finland while looking for a job in the country of destination? The fifth chapter of the thesis begins with an examination of the labour market situation of the participants of the study while they were still living in Finland and continues to discuss the ways in which they have looked for work abroad. The theoretical findings of the chapter contribute to our understanding on how institutional cultural capital transfers across intra-European borders.

What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access abroad and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in? (Chapter six)

International migration is both a product of globalisation and one of the drivers of globalisation. Fast trains and cheap flights and bus connections have made inter-

national travel easier and more affordable, and the Internet connects individuals and communities across the globe. This applies also to intra-European mobility: deciding to move abroad to look for work has never been so easy for the European Union citizen. Yet the ease of mobility does not necessarily equal the ease of integration. The work opportunities that the global labour market offers for transnational migrants seem to be twofold: firstly there are jobs that require a higher education and special skills and offer good salaries and corporate career prospects. On the other hand there are jobs that require cheap, relatively low-skilled workers for routine jobs that are no longer desirable for the country's own nationals (e.g. Cornelius & Espenshade 2001; on the situation in London see May et al. 2007). These processes of differentiation are at work also in Europe: after the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 to Central and Eastern Europe, many of the educated migrants' originating from the new member states have had to settle for the latter jobs (Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010, Trevena 2012).

Transnational migration can be described as a multidimensional status passage, where the mobile individual needs to find her place in the destination country labour market (Nohl et al. 2010). Research into highly skilled migration has identified certain international professions, where the knowledge and skills gained in one country can easily be transferred to another (e.g. Weiss 2004). Some other forms of education and work experience are less portable and more difficult to get international recognition for. So what kind of jobs did the mobile Finns of this study find abroad in comparison to those they had back in Finland? Did their labour market integration signify brain waste or de-skilling? And what kind of skills and qualities did they find useful in the destination country labour market? This is the topic of chapter six. The theoretical contribution of the chapter is in an analysis of embodied cultural capital: how in some cases being foreign can be an advantage rather than being a barrier to labour market access.

How does the cultural capital of highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders? (Chapter seven)

Transnational migrants have little control over the labour market conditions of their countries of destination, so apart from deciding to move to a country where there are skill-shortages in a particular field or where unemployment figures are the lowest, they are forced to adapt to existing conditions. So what about individual agency during the status passage (Nohl et al. 2010) into the new country? How can the migrants themselves influence their labour market outcomes – or do success or failure in finding a job only depend on the receiving society? In chapter seven I turn to the more theory-oriented part of the study and examine the process of transferring cultural capital in the European context. The theoretical findings of the chapter are related to migrant agency in the country of destination: how can individual migrants get the best value for their existing cultural capital in the new context?

3. Data and methods of the study

This chapter presents the data of my study and discusses the research methods utilised. It begins with a presentation of the challenges in researching intra-European migrants and continues to describe how the expatriate Finns living in different parts of Europe were reached. In the second and third subchapters the two consecutive *Working in Europe* surveys (WiE 2008 and WiE 2010) are presented, as well as the key characteristics of the participants of the surveys. The penultimate subchapter describes how the 18 semi-structured Skype interviews were conducted and the last subchapter explains the research methods I used in my study.

On the virtual field: finding a way to reach expatriate Finns around Europe⁹

Thanks to the development of the European Union free movement regime during the past sixty years, intra-European borders have lost much of their significance for the mobile EU citizen. Researchers focusing on intra-European mobility have therefore faced a difficult dilemma: how to reach this population that is almost invisible in the new host country, at least when compared with other migrant groups, such as asylum seekers or refugees who are under vigorous control? Because European citizens can legally cross intra-European national borders without necessarily showing up on migration statistics, also the data on how many intra-European migrants there are in each member state at any given time are not fully reliable. Also due to the unique national histories of each state, the methods of collecting population data and the systems measuring incoming and outgoing migrants are different across Europe (e.g. Fassman, Reeger, & Sievers 2009, Favell & Recchi 2011, 61, see also Samers 2010, 20–21).

The PIONEUR-study, which examined the mobility of individuals to and from the five largest EU member states, used an innovative sampling method where a computer program was used to search for typical names of each nationality from the telephone directories of the country of destination (Braun & Santacreu 2009). This sampling method was used to conduct an extensive *European Internal Movers' Social Survey* and to select participants for in-dept interviews. Replicating that method was unfortunately not possible in my study because of the obvious reasons

9. This chapter is an extended and revised version of Koikkalainen 2012.

of financial costs and time required in such an exercise. Small migrant groups, such as the expatriate Finns of this study, are located in different places, even though their reasons for mobility, educational backgrounds as well as some other individual characteristics might be somewhat similar. How can one then study the labour market experiences of such migrant groups that share the country of origin but live scattered in different countries of destination?

A large-scale survey targeting Finns living abroad would be one option, but unfortunately there are no regularly updated registers of addresses of expatriate Finns, as a notification to the *Population Register Centre* (Väestörekisterikeskus) on change of address while living abroad is recommended, but not compulsory. Utilising that database would thus make the sample biased and affect the validity of the data, as it would limit the sample to those who choose to notify Finnish officials of their moves, and to those expatriates who are still Finnish citizens. It would also omit an important group of mobile individuals, namely those who move for a period of less than a year and are thus not officially considered migrants at all. The Population Register Centre keeps a record of postal addresses only, so reaching expatriate Finns through that register would also have meant sending the survey or a web link to the survey via ordinary mail. The costs of buying the addresses¹⁰, mailing survey materials abroad and sending reminders to those who do not respond would have made the costs of the data collection very high.

Saarikallio, Hellsten and Juutilainen (2008) also discuss the problem of how to reach Finns living abroad. They wanted to study the differences in school-to-work transition between those who studied in Finland and those who completed a degree abroad. The only way participants to that study could be found was via the *National Health Insurance* (KELA) database on students, who have received student financial aid for their studies abroad. They approached all 3,554 individuals who had received student aid for foreign degree studies during a certain period, but despite sending two reminder letters and offering a book voucher as a reward for responding, their web-survey only gathered 858 responses from abroad. The sample they obtained from Finland was considerably higher (1,502).

On the qualitative research side, ethnographic fieldwork provides excellent tools for studying the migrant experience as well as looking at the on-the-ground influences of transnational population movements on both the sending and the receiving localities. Ethnography can be seen as a “cocktail of methodologies” (Hobbs 2006, 102) encompassing many forms of data gathering and suitable for a variety of research topics. There are numerous ways in which to conduct ethnographic research in the field of migration studies: the research can be deeply rooted in one local community that is a key node in a migrant network, span across distance to multiple localities, or follow mobile populations commuting from one place to another. Also the lives of expatriate Finns have been studied with this method. Examples of studies loosely falling

10. The price that the Population Register Centre charged per address in 2012 was 1,23 €.

within this category have focused on, amongst other topics, Finnish women married in Greece (Järvinen-Tassopoulos 2007), Finns working in Silicon Valley (Kiriakos 2010, 2011), Finnish retirees moving to the Southern coast of Spain (Karisto 2008) and Finns who moved to work in Sweden (Snellman 2003, Piippola 2007).

Studying the experiences of educated Finns in the European labour markets with the traditional ethnographic approach would be quite possible. As a long immersion into the culture of expatriate Finns would be expected, the research would have to be limited to one geographic location, such as London (e.g. Beaverstock & Smith 1996, Ryan & Mulholland 2013). Concentrating on just one location would inevitably alter the scope of the research, as it would be difficult to answer the research question of my study: how do educated Finns find work abroad? And further, how have they benefited from the opportunities offered by the European free mobility regime? Do they face discrimination, or does their cultural capital transfer abroad easily?

Another option would be to use the multi-sited ethnography approach (Marcus 1995). There are many interesting examples of researchers tracking the lives of mobile groups that cross national borders (e.g. Greenhalgh 2007, Hannerz 2003, Sinatti 2008, Smith 2007, Smith & Bakker 2008, Hirvi 2012). In Europe Adrian Favell's (2008b) study on young, professional *Eurostars* used such a multi-sited approach, as he interviewed transnationally mobile Europeans living in three cities, London, Brussels and Amsterdam. Also in the case of highly skilled Finns moving to Europe this would be one possible course of action, be it quite slow, as gathering enough field data on the individual journeys of those choosing to go to Paris, Rome, Brussels or Dublin, for example, would take a long time.

If a long-term immersion in the culture of the mobile population in question is not feasible, one has to do with the next-best option of gathering information; be content with what Ulf Hannerz (2003, 213) calls "ethnography as an art of the possible". Focusing on the experiences of Finns in certain European cities would be interesting, but it would not help answering questions of a more general nature: how does intra-European mobility work in practice? How can these migrants make the best use of their education and previous work experience in a new country? Is there a European labour market that they take part in when they leave Finland? Because of the nature of my research questions, the focus cannot be on a single destination or route, but should aim for a wider reach, despite the difficulties in obtaining such data.

I decided to go to the field virtually and use the Internet as a tool to reach expatriate Finns scattered across the continent. The mobile professionals may not all gather in one physical place where they could be easily reached, but they do all interact in the virtual field. This may be a relevant point to note also in other types of ethnographic exercises, where the focus of the study could be more localized. As Karen O'Reilly (O'Reilly 2008, 101) concludes: "the sense of a group and a locality has not gone, but there is an argument that people can no longer be understood simply in their local context, that the regional or global context must be addressed as well as political, economic, social and cultural relations". In this sense focusing on one small

and dispersed national group located in several countries can reveal something of the nature of European mobility in general, and the kinds of barriers that still exist for transnational mobility within this seemingly border-free area. In the following sections I explain how my study was conducted and what types of data it generated.

The development of different online networking tools, virtual communities and discussion platforms has created a multitude of different forums for interaction as well as creating a new, virtual field for researchers to explore. People across the globe play interactive online games, meet in chat-rooms, share their life events on *Facebook* and photos on *Flickr*, rate their hotels on *TripAdvisor* and look for house renovation ideas on *Pinterest*, write microblogs, create content for wikis, and publish music and videos for anyone to see. The Internet and especially social networking sites such as *MySpace* or *Facebook* provide inexpensive ways of keeping contact with those who stay at home as well as tools for building networks in the new home area or country. They can increase one's social capital, as contact to old friends and acquaintances can be maintained across geographical distance (see e.g. Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe 2007). Social media is transforming migrant networks in important ways, as online communication facilitates frequent contact back home, strengthens weak ties (Granovetter 1973) and acts a source of discrete and unofficial insider knowledge on migration (Dekker & Engbersen 2012).

Also Finns have websites and discussion groups that service expatriates living in different locations. These include commercial and non-commercial websites and discussion forums, mailing lists and Facebook groups for Finns living in London (e.g. *The Finnish church in London*¹¹) or Berlin (e.g. *Finns in Berlin*¹²), for example. Facebook also connects expatriate Finns who have never met in real life in forums such as *Finns in other countries*¹³ and *Greetings from abroad*¹⁴. Thus even though their numbers are small in comparison with the more numerous global migration networks, at least online Finns, too, exist as a distinct migrant group. Many expatriate Finns are also active in local Finnish associations, the Finland Society, or Finnish language schools. These organizations are active both locally and transnationally, so expatriate Finns engage in some forms of diaspora politics (Brinkerhoff 2009) and take part in transnational advocacy networks (Vierimaa 2011).

In my search for the target group of this study, the highly skilled Finns working in different European countries, I thus turned my attention to the virtual field and decided to use the SurveyMonkey tool to conduct two consecutive *Working in Europe* online surveys (2008 and 2010). In the following sections the process of conducting the surveys as well as the background characteristics of the respondents are explained.

11. *Lontoon merimieskirikka*, 1,396 likes in October 2013.

12. *Suomalaiset Berliinissä*, 1,506 members in October 2013. The Finns in Germany, *Suomalaiset Saksassa* discussion forum has 5,856 members (<http://www.suomalaiset.de/>)

13. *Suomalaiset muilla mailla*, 1,076 members in September 2013.

14. *Terveisiä maailmalta*, 286 members in October 2013. This group is administered by the Helsingin Sanomat newspaper. It also runs a related website <http://terveysiamailmalta.hs.fi/>, where more than 3,500 expatriate Finns have sent their "greetings" to Finland.

Working in Europe: the first survey in 2008

Several researchers have noted that taking on the Internet as the research field does have clear advantages: online questionnaires are cheap compared with mailing paper copies to survey participants, the researcher does not have to be absent from her family and home institution for years on fieldwork trips, and she can access the research participants whenever suitable from the office, home or conference trip abroad (see e.g. Beaulieu 2004, Hannerz 2003, Hine 2000, Kozinets 2010, Murthy 2008). To include a diversity of voices from around the continent, I decided to conduct an online survey. In this kind of a research design this method was also the only reasonable way to make contact with as wide a population as possible.

I conducted the *Working in Europe* online survey (n=364, hereafter referred to as the WiE survey) of Finns living in EU15¹⁵ countries in March–October 2008. The questionnaire was created with a program called SurveyMonkey¹⁶. It was tested with a number of Finns living abroad, and an extensive peer review of the questions, layout and usability was done before the launch of the survey. The survey had 27 questions on the personal and educational background of the respondents, their international experiences, and reasons for moving abroad as well as their labour market experiences both in Finland and abroad. An English translation of the WiE web-questionnaire is included as Appendix 1 of this study. Time required for completion of the survey was approximately 20 minutes and the language used was Finnish. Respondents were asked for their e-mail address, should they be interested in participating in an interview later. Submitting the e-mail address was voluntary. The survey targeted only Finns currently living abroad, so no views from those who have returned to Finland are included¹⁷. This would have required a different set of questions and retrospective analysis on the part of the respondents, so it was left outside the scope of the present study.

I publicised the request to take part in the WiE survey in many places in the Internet, where it could reach the desired target group. A combination of techniques was used in generating a sample for the survey. Three possible methods identified by Richie, Lewis and Elam (2006, 93–94) were combined for maximum coverage: *sampling through an organisation*, *targeting flow populations* and *snowballing*. The organisation whose help was sought was SEFE, The Finnish Association of Business School Graduates, which agreed to forward my request to take part in the survey to all its expatriate members¹⁸. I sought the attention of flow populations from various discussion forums and websites that service Finns living abroad, such

15. EU15 countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.
16. For more information on the program, see www.surveymonkey.com. For a critical analysis of survey based research and web questionnaires see Selkälä 2008.
17. During the follow-up survey in 2010 some respondents who took part in the 2008 survey had returned to Finland and could thus provide a return migrant perspective.
18. This message generated 58 responses to the survey.

as www.expatrium.fi and www.ulkosuomalainen.com, and sent a request to take part in the survey and encourage friends to do the same to discussion forums of Finns in Britain, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Ireland, Spain, and to Finnish schools in Italy and Austria. In addition, the snowballing method was used by asking friends and acquaintances as well as 30 Finns who write blogs on their life abroad to respond to the survey and to forward the message to others in similar situations. I also set up a Facebook group for the project to publicise it in social media. The respondents were advised to click directly to the survey via a link in the e-mail/web-page, or to take a closer look at the research questions, objectives and research ethics from a web page presenting the study at www.ulapland.fi/EUtyo (in Finnish).

Gathering the experiences of Finns abroad by openly requesting them to take part in the survey eliminated one of the most problematic features of online research, that of getting the consent of those being “observed”. Engaging in participant observation by lurking in the background on online discussion groups, quoting from blogs and treating all web content as research material has been criticized as unethical, as even though content produced to the web is by its very nature public, not all Internet users always perceive it to be so (Murthy 2008, 840–841). Further, Kozinets (2010, 147–148) seriously argues against any kind of covert observation as part of one’s research. In order to conduct online research ethically, the researcher should always inform the participants of her presence and research aims.

Promoting the survey via the networks of Finns living abroad was effective: within a week after the first messages concerning the survey were posted, already 264 responses had been submitted, and nine weeks later already more than 400. During March–July a total of 487 people started the survey. Out of these 415 individuals (85.2%) completed the whole questionnaire. The message sent to the mailing list of SEFE generated 58 replies, out of which 56 (96.6%) were complete. During the entire time the survey was open online, a total of 545 persons started the survey, out of whom 471 completed the whole questionnaire. A total of 364 respondents were included in the final sample as they matched the following criteria: they lived in the European Union area in 12 different countries, had completed a tertiary degree, were within the age bracket set for the study (25–44)¹⁹ and had completed the whole survey without skipping any of the key background questions (age, gender, education, country of residence).

It has to be recognised that the method of publicising my survey mainly via the Internet communities of Finns abroad does have an impact on the kind of people that were reached and took part in the survey. It cannot be guaranteed that they would be

19. These age groups were selected because of the Statistics Finland age-group classifications, so that I could compare my data with e.g. their information on numbers of migrants. In Finland the average age of completing a university degree is higher than in the UK for example, so it is quite common for students to be older than 25 when they finish their studies. However, I did not want to be too strict on the age limit, and included in the sample eight respondents who were aged 23–24 and had completed a bachelor’s degree abroad.

a representative, unbiased sample as certain groups are surely overrepresented. Because the survey is based on a non-probability sample acquired via participant self-selection it cannot thus be used to generalise on the whole Finnish population abroad (de Leeuw, 2008, 126–127; Lozar Manfreda & Vehovar, 2008, 266–268). This study does not therefore aim to be a statistically representative portrait of highly skilled expatriate Finns, as could be the case if the survey was based on a random sample where each member of the target group has an equal chance of being selected into the survey sample (Thompson 2012, 11). 39 per cent of the respondents (143 individuals) were from the United Kingdom, partly reflecting the fact that it is one of the most popular destinations of Finns moving abroad, but also that the snowball method of finding respondents worked efficiently in London. One may also suspect that those who have not lived abroad for very long are more interested in taking part in discussions with other Finns online than those who are more integrated to their current home country. There is also a gender bias, possibly also partly due to the data gathering method: the final sample of the study includes 280 women (77%) and only 84 men (23%).

As this type of a self-selection sampling does not guarantee that the data generated from the survey would produce generalisable information on all expatriate Finns living in Europe, I treat it as qualitative, not quantitative data. Initially I was of the opinion that statistical comparisons could be one way of examining the data. However, the first preliminary experiments proved that the nature of the data was not best suited for this type of analysis because of the sheer diversity of the sample²⁰. The participants of the study live in 12 different countries, are of different genders, and have a diverse educational background both in terms of discipline and country where the education was obtained. They have also moved abroad due to different reasons, at different career stages, and with different motivations in finding work, starting a family, or experimenting with living abroad.

The heterogeneity of the WiE survey participants is therefore embraced as its strength in a qualitative sense, rather than understood as a limitation in the quantitative sense. The participants of the WiE survey all originate from Finland, but they do come from a variety of backgrounds, rather than all originating from the Helsinki capital area, or all being graduates of certain universities, for example. There is geographic diversity as there were former students from all the university towns and university centres of Finland. In addition, all Finnish provinces apart from the Åland islands were represented among respondents' place of birth. It is possible that the choice of the Finnish language may have discouraged participation from amongst the Swedish-speaking minority, which forms around 6 per cent of Finland's population. However, as the networks of expatriate Finns that were used to find respondents oper-

20. A sum variable was formed from various statements related to the respondent's labour market situation in the destination country. For the results see below in the section of this chapter where the educational background of the WiE participants is discussed.

ate in Finnish, translating the survey into Swedish made little sense, as most Swedish-speaking Finns also understand enough Finnish to be able to take part in a survey.

The most important features of the WiE-survey respondents are presented in this chapter in a visual format²¹. The size of the final sample was 364 respondents and thus all the charts and tables of this study reflect that number of respondents (n=364), unless stated otherwise. If the chart or table uses data on a certain question with more/less responses than 364 were given, the number is displayed in the chart. A clear majority of the survey responses came from the large EU countries that attract most intra-European migrants: 87 per cent of the respondents lived either in the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, France or Spain (in order of frequency). The majority of the respondents (72%) lived in big cities, either in the capital or another city with more than 0.5 million inhabitants. There were no respondents from Greece and the respondents from Sweden were omitted from further analysis because the long history of migration and geographical proximity and shared (Swedish) language between the two countries make Sweden a special case. In addition, there were only 8 relevant respondents from Sweden, so considerably more replies would have been required to make comparisons between these cases worthwhile. Migration flows between Finland and Sweden have also been extensively studied compared with migration to other European countries (see the Finnish migration and migration research -section in the Introduction). Chart 5 below shows the distribution of responses between the 12 countries.

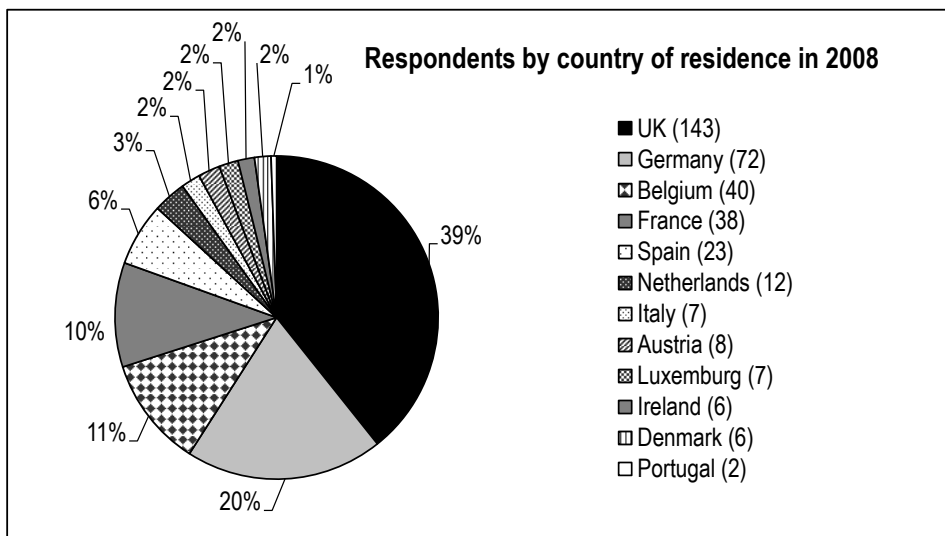
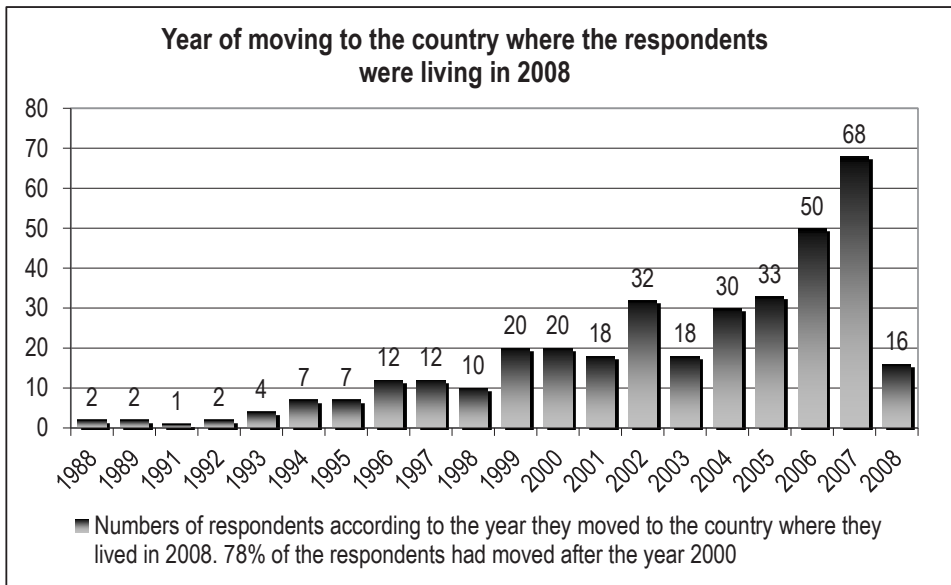


CHART 5: Respondents by country of residence in 2008

21. It is good to note that the data presented here refers to the situation in 2008. A number of participants had already moved somewhere by the time of the second WiE survey in 2010. Also their relationship status or educational level, for example, may naturally have changed after the data was collected.

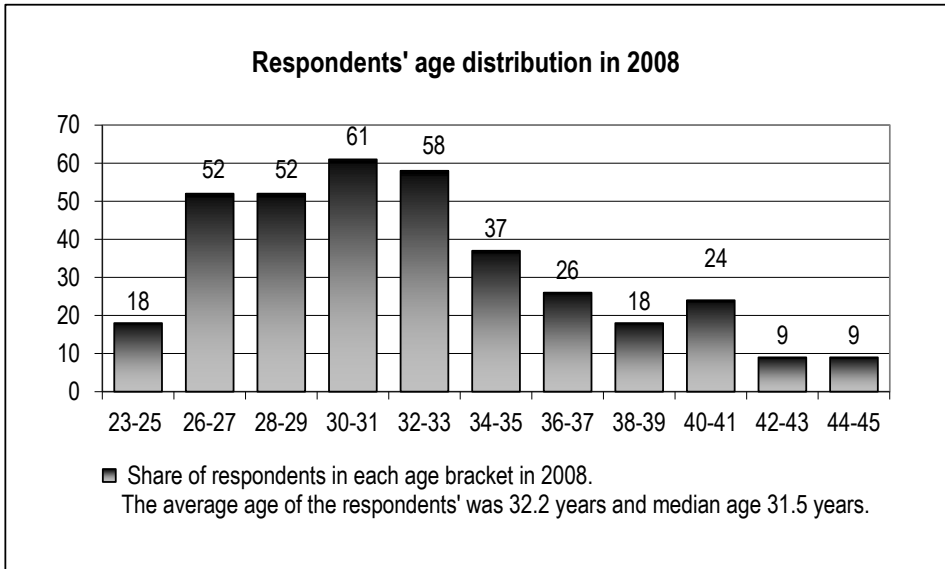
The majority of the respondents had moved to the country where they lived in 2008 from Finland (77%), while nearly a fifth had moved from some other EU member state and the rest from a non-EU country.²² A majority of the respondents had moved there after the year 2000 (78%). Most of them were fairly recent movers, and only five per cent of respondents had moved before the Finnish EU membership in 1995. The bar chart below shows the respondents' year of moving to the country where they lived in 2008.



BAR CHART 1: Year of moving to the country where the respondents were living in 2008

The average age of the respondents was 32 years (median age 31.5 years). Thus 14 per cent of the respondents were born in the 1960s, 61 per cent in the 1970s and 25 per cent in the 1980s. The youngest respondent selected to the sample was 23 and oldest 45 years old during the time of the first survey in 2008. The respondents' age distribution during the first WiE survey in 2008 is detailed in the bar chart below.

22. Data on the previous country was missing from 2 respondents.



BAR CHART 2: Respondents' age distribution in 2008

In terms of their relationship status the largest group among the respondents were those who were cohabiting (45%), whereas 28 per cent of them were married and 27 per cent were single. Most respondents (76%) did not have any children. Of those participants who had a partner at the time of the first survey, it was less common to have a Finnish partner (30%) than to have a non-Finnish partner (70%). The nationality of the non-Finnish partner was most likely that of the current host country (70%) or that of another EU member state (18%), rather than of a non-EU member state (11%). The chart below shows the family situation of the respondents during the first WiE survey in 2008.

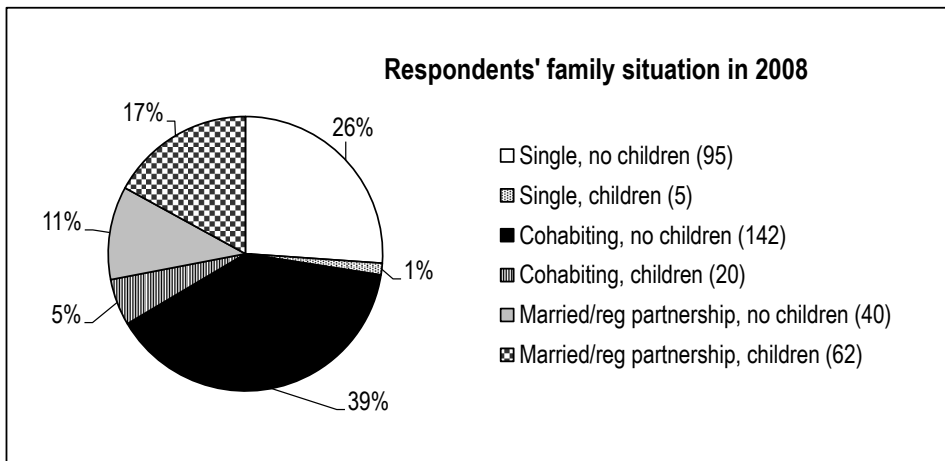


CHART 6: Respondents' family situation in 2008

As the study focuses on highly skilled Finns in the EU15, only those respondents who had completed, or were currently finishing, a higher education degree were included in the final sample. Students who study abroad or take part in a student exchange can be said to belong to a migratory elite when compared with many other migrant groups (Murphy-Lejeune 2003a, 5–6), so also those respondents who were studying at a university abroad were included in the sample. In cases where the degree had been completed abroad and was called something else than a regular bachelor's, master's or doctoral degree (e.g. *BTS Vente et Production Touristique*, *Ecole des Cadres: diplôme supérieur de communication et relations publique*, or *Tecnico de Turismo*), these were treated as higher education degrees if the respondent had indicated that they were studies completed at the university or university of applied sciences (polytechnic) level. In the interview quotations and respondent survey replies the participants' degrees are classified by their level into BA, MA and PhD degrees, as it was impossible to track down the exact official English language title of each individual degree. While some respondents were very specific about the title of their degree, some only referred it to having a master's degree in Finnish as "maisterin tutkinto" which could mean a Master of Science, Master of Arts, or Magister depending on the discipline and country.

It was quite common for the respondents to have completed several degrees, thus making it difficult to draw any straightforward conclusions about the effect of the field of study on the migrant's labour market success. Those holding a PhD degree also naturally had completed at least a master's degree, if not also a bachelor's degree. Some respondents had first completed a university of applied sciences degree and then continued to study towards a university degree, often in a quite different field. The most common degrees completed were university level master's degrees (55%) and university of applied sciences or polytechnic bachelor's degrees (21%). For the education distribution of all respondents see the chart below.

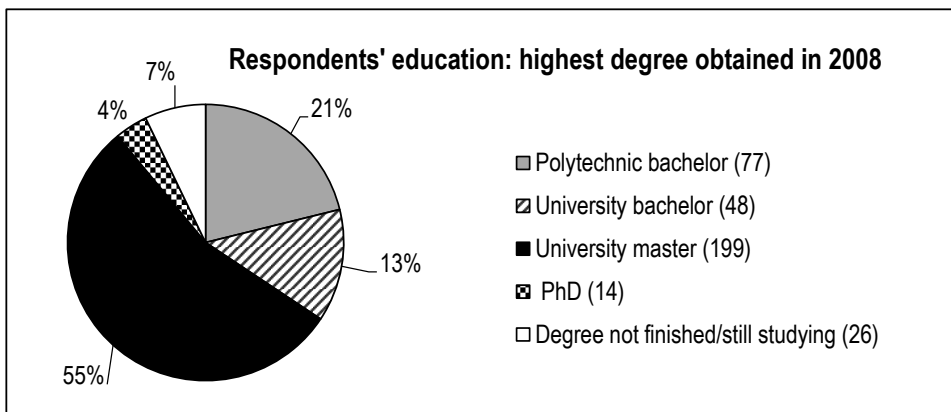


CHART 7: Respondents' education: highest degree obtained in 2008

The educational background of the respondents in terms of countries where they had studied was varied. 48 per cent of the respondents had obtained a degree in Finland, 20 per cent from abroad, and 25 per cent from both countries. 7 per cent of them were still studying while working abroad. This data is presented in the chart below.

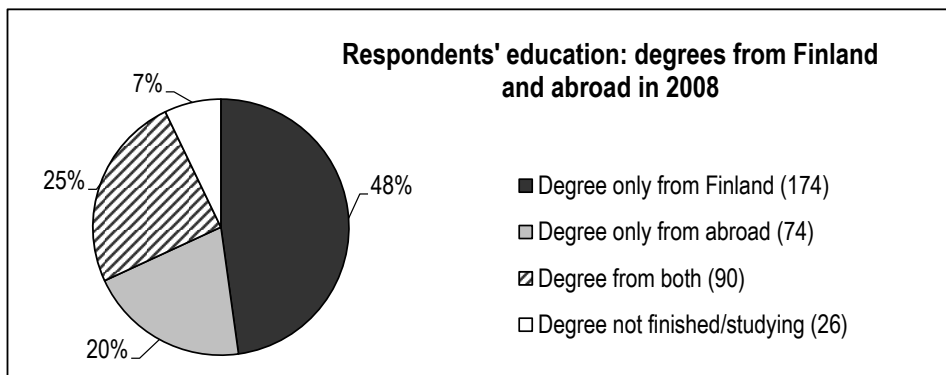


CHART 8: Respondents' education: degrees from Finland and abroad in 2008

The respondents of the WiE survey have university degrees from a variety of fields ranging from architecture to theoretical physics and from nursing to engineering. Broadly speaking the most common fields of study were the social sciences, business, marketing and economics, and the humanities. The educational background of the WiE respondents is explained in more detail in chapter five (under section Higher education as institutionalised cultural capital). At the beginning of this research project it was anticipated that some factors that make one more likely to succeed in the destination country labour market could be identified, based on the previous education, language skills or destination country, for example. Would respondents with a degree in such fields as business or law be more satisfied about their situation abroad than those with a degree in a field that could be perceived more national, as teacher education or Finnish language, for example? Or would the level of the education matter: would the situation of those with a university of applied sciences bachelor's degree differ from those who have a university level master's degree? Also gender differences could be foreseen, as prior research has shown that transnational mobility even within Europe can be a career risk for women (Recchi 2009, 88).

Yet the possibilities of making such comparisons from the survey material proved challenging. 75 per cent of the respondents were engaged in fulltime employment and more than 80 per cent of those who replied to the open-ended question on whether "moving abroad was a good decision for their career" regarded the move abroad as beneficial. Only a clear minority of respondents reflected on the negative issues that the move away from Finland had meant for their career: some had

experienced discrimination, failed to find a job that would match their education, or felt that they were “committing a career suicide” (survey respondent 161, female b. 1977, France, MA in French language and translation studies). A far more common reply to the question about whether moving abroad was a good decision was simply: “Absolutely yes!” This is, however, perhaps not too surprising, because on the one hand it may be difficult to admit to a researcher (or even to oneself?) that moving abroad was a bad choice. On the other hand, it may be difficult to know whether the migration decision was a good one or not, as it requires a fair amount of counterfactual thinking on what one’s life would have been like if one had stayed in Finland. As Adrian Favell (2008b, 203) has concluded: “It is a given of migration research (...) that migrants do not admit failure” and that moments of regret have to be teased out from “little inflections of darkness or discord in an otherwise sunny eurolandscape.”

The respondents were also asked to evaluate their situation in the destination country in relation to certain statements, such as: *In the country where I now live...* “I have a higher salary”, “I have a job that fits my qualifications”, “my degree is recognised”, “my work experience is recognised” and “my language skills are sufficient.” The responses were given in a 5-point Likert scale. In a preliminary statistical analysis these five questions were grouped to form a sum variable. Also the result thus gained show high level of satisfaction in the destination country labour market: 92.6 per cent of “I agree completely” and “I somewhat agree” versus a mere 0.6 per cent of “I disagree completely” and “I somewhat disagree”²³. As this avenue of analysis was not going the lead to fruitful results, I did not conduct any further statistical analysis, but decided to continue with qualitative methods.

The nature of data collection used in this study also poses some other limitations to its use. It is good to stress again that because the sample is not representative of Finns living in the EU15 countries, it cannot be used to generalise on the labour market experiences of all expatriate Finns. Due to the considerable differences in the numbers of participants from individual countries, no conclusive comparisons can be made between the experiences of migrants trying to find work in different countries of destination. The same is true for the educational backgrounds: the data cannot be used to distinguish whether it is better to move abroad to look for work with a degree in education or in business administration, or whether all those educated in the country of destination find work easier than those who move with a degree from Finland. When the online survey is based on participant self-selection, the researcher has virtually no control over the kind of respondents she will get, so the research design will have to be somewhat flexible.

23. The share of “I completely agree”-responses was over 50% in all the individual statements that were used for the sum variable. The survey also included a question on the labour market situation in Finland prior to moving abroad. In that question the highest number of “I completely agree” responses was for “I had a job that matched my degree” (49%) and lowest for “I had a good salary” (11%).

Working in Europe survey: the follow-up in 2010

In the *Working in Europe* survey of 2008 the participants were asked to give their e-mail addresses for a possible interview later. There were 269 respondents (out of 364) who chose to do so. Because the original survey data was collected before the global economic downturn, I decided to conduct a follow-up survey in 2010 to see whether the recession had a serious negative impact on the labour market situation of the respondents. An English language translation of the WiE 2010 web-questionnaire is included as Appendix 2 of this study. The follow-up survey generated 194 responses. Some simply did not respond even though a reminder message was sent two weeks later, and approximately 20 e-mail addresses were no longer working. The key characteristics of those respondents, who took part in both surveys, are presented here. A total of 148 (76%) women and 46 (24%) men took part in the survey of 2010 (n=194); thus the gender division was roughly the same as in 2008 (77% female, 23% male). Chart 9 below shows the country of residence of the respondents in 2010. It is good to note that 48 (25%) of the 194 respondents had changed countries since the first survey: 30 had returned to Finland and 18 moved to another country. Below are also two other charts that summarize the key characteristics of the respondents of the 2010 survey: the highest degree completed (chart 10) and their family situation (chart 11).

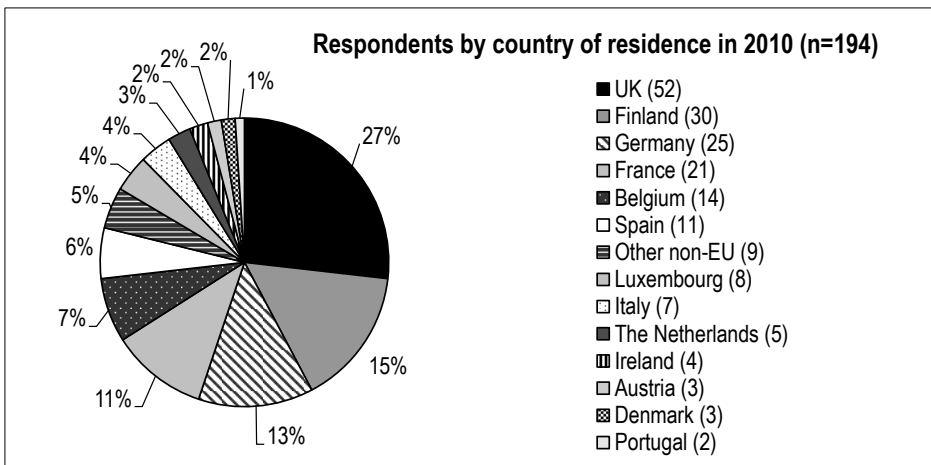


CHART 9: Respondents by country of residence in 2010

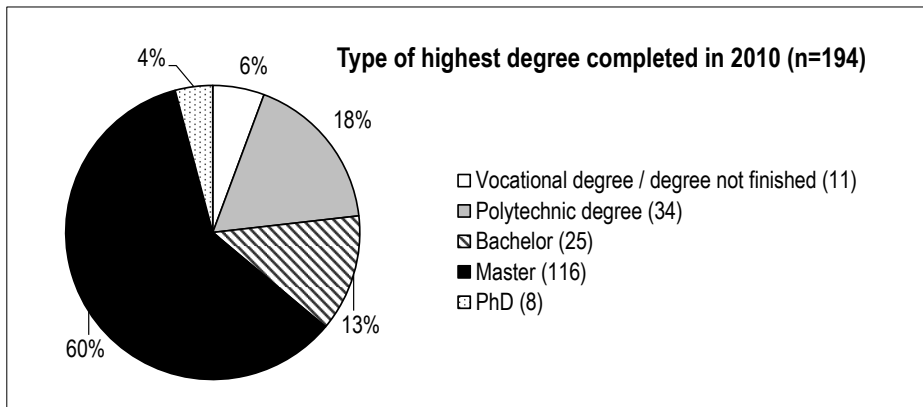


CHART 10: Type of highest degree completed in 2010

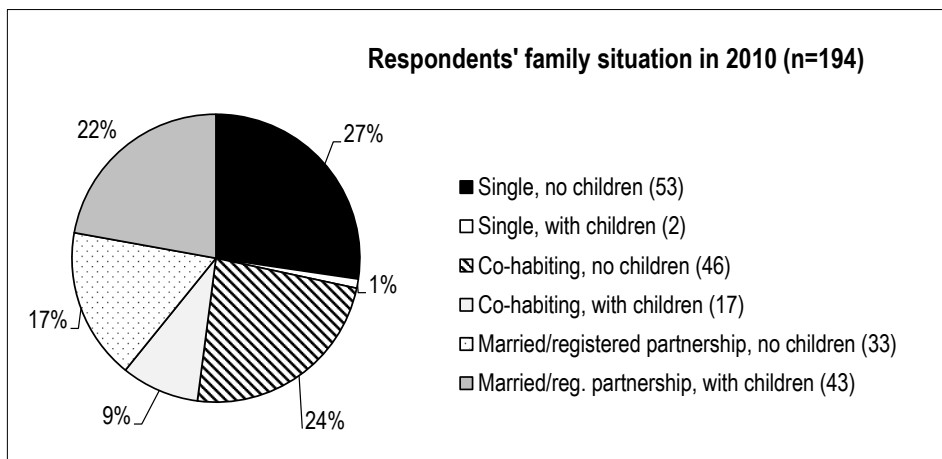


CHART 11: Respondents' family situation in 2010

The WiE 2010 data reveals that the economic crisis did not have a major impact on the situation of the highly skilled Finns of my study. Even though many of those who responded did discuss the effects of the recession on their employer, co-workers or the national economy of the country where they were living, the recession had not affected them particularly hard, at least not immediately. The labour market situation of the respondents is detailed in the two tables below: the first one showing the 2008 situation of the 194 respondents who took part in both surveys²⁴ and the second showing their situation in 2010. The share of those in full-time employment in 2010 is lower (63%) than two years previously in 2008 (77%). The difference can largely be explained by the higher share of those in freelance, self-employed and part-time jobs (10% ->19%) and those on parental leave (3% -> 7%), rather than a rise in the numbers of those who are looking for a job (3% -> 4%) per se.

24. The employment situation of all the 2008 WiE-survey respondents is discussed in chapter six.

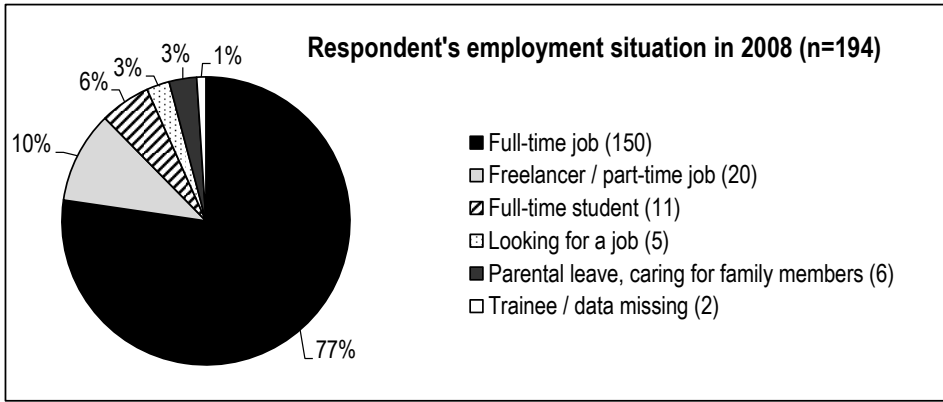


CHART 12: Respondents' employment situation in 2008 (the respondents who took part in both surveys)

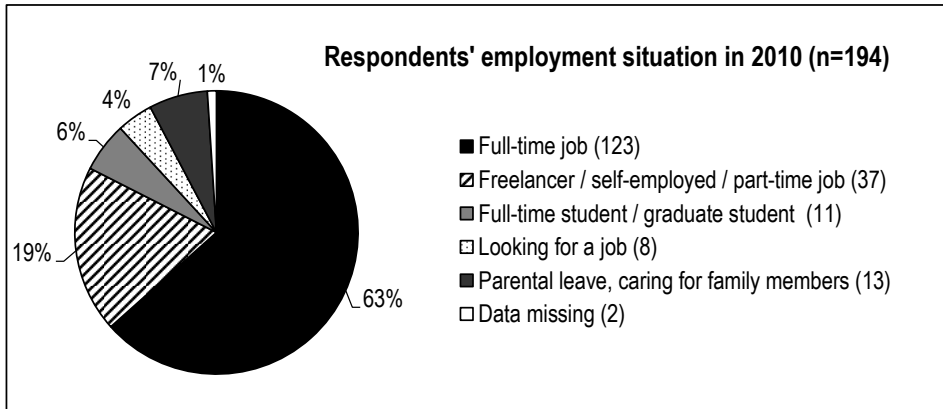


CHART 13: Respondents' employment situation in 2010

The 2010 WiE survey also included an open-ended question on the effects of the global economic downturn. It seems that the high human capital and the intra-European migrant status did protect the WiE-respondents from immediate effects of the crisis: only 17 per cent wrote in their open-ended responses that their labour market situation in 2010 was worse in comparison with the situation prior to the crisis in the spring of 2008. Of these respondents only a handful state that they had personally been fired, had experienced a pay cut or been forced to relocate abroad. A majority (58%) of the respondents either had experienced no change in their situation or stated that their reasons for changing jobs or moving had nothing to do with the crisis. 25 per cent of the respondents stated that their situation had in fact improved: they had been promoted, increased their income or been given a permanent contract. However, the recession did have an impact on their career advancement prospects, workload and the ability to change jobs, so the crisis did somewhat increase the vulnerability of this rather privileged migrant group. 30 respondents

had returned to Finland during the time in-between the two surveys, 9 moved to another EU country, and 9 to a non-EU country. Yet only for a couple of respondents the crisis was the main motivator for this mobility.

The two surveys gave me a general but somewhat superficial understanding of how the expatriate Finns of my study experience working abroad. Yet the nature of survey-generated data does leave many interesting questions unanswered: the responses written to the open-ended questions of the survey were often quite brief, and provided only limited contextual information. It was therefore necessary to dig deeper into the lives of some of the participants. As I did not want to limit the continuation of the study to few specific geographical locations that I could personally visit to interview survey participants, I decided to continue using the opportunities that the virtual fields have to offer. To gather their stories, and to hear the voice of research participants, I selected a number of survey respondents to be interviewed.

Interviewing expatriate Finns

In an effort to “bring a human face to the study of global highly skilled mobility” (Favell, Feldblum & Smith 2006) and to complement the overall picture given by the two surveys I thus decided to interview a selection of survey participants. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, 112) emphasise that in the process of sampling in qualitative research the researcher purposefully selects individuals that can provide the necessary information. The process of *purposeful sampling* can be completed in at least three different ways. *First*, it can mean that the individuals selected represent maximal variation in terms of the phenomenon to be studied; *second*, a homogeneous group of representative individuals may be selected; or *third*, individuals that represent unusual or problematic cases in relation to what is known of the studied phenomenon can be targeted. Instead of focusing on a single destination country or educational background, for example, I wanted to highlight the diversity of this expatriate group. The aim was therefore to gather a purposive sample that would be as diverse as possible in terms of the migration motivation, year of mobility, educational background, field of study, career, country of residence, life situation and the kinds of positive and negative labour market experiences they wrote about in the open-ended questions of the two WiE surveys. This was a natural continuation to how I interpreted the nature of the survey data itself: it is not a representative portrait of Finns living in the EU15 countries, but a view into the diverse lifepaths, career choices, and experiences that drive intra-European mobility.

The sampling frame for the interviews consisted of the 158 respondents who took part in both surveys and stated in both that they could be interviewed (36 respondents were interested in the interview in 2008, but chose not to renew their interest in 2010). 19 individuals were omitted from consideration because they lacked experiences of looking for work abroad as they had been either sent abroad by a Finnish

employer, transferred directly within their company, recruited to one of the European Union institutions via the open competition process, or had no labour market experience abroad because they were on parental leave, for example. The selection of the interviewees was therefore done from among the 139 remaining respondents. An e-mail message about the interviews was sent initially to 32 individuals in the end of May 2011. Three e-mail addresses were no longer working and three persons replied that they were no longer willing or had no time to be interviewed. Surprisingly many of those approached did not respond anything, not even after a reminder message was sent two weeks later. This was possibly due to the impersonal nature of e-mail, as a message from a researcher can easily be buried under more pressing work-related messages. To gather enough interviewees, the request was then sent to five additional persons that matched the selection criteria of those who were non-responsive. By July I had interviewed the 18 Finns who agreed to be interviewed: six male and 12 female, from Austria (1), Belgium (1), Denmark (1), France (2), Germany (2), Iceland (1), Ireland (1), Italy (1), Luxembourg (1), Portugal (1), Spain (1) and United Kingdom (5)²⁵.

The interviews were conducted via the online communication system Skype, which can be used for calling the Skype-program on the computer of the person one tries to reach (which is free), or for calling a landline or mobile telephone (which cost the researcher between 2 to 10 Euros per interview). Both of these options were used depending on the case. The video capacity of Skype offers the possibility of interacting on a more personal level than just using ordinary telephone interviews as the participants can see each other. The interviews can be conducted with an outline resembling an ordinary person-to-person interview, thus trying to aim for a real sense of shared space despite using the computer as a medium to facilitate the interview (Kozinets 2010, 45–47, 110–111.) Before the actual Skype-contact the interviewees were each sent a short briefing about the themes and purpose of the interview: these guidelines are included as Appendix 3 of this study.

The interviews were recorded either as an audio file or both audio & video files with a program called Call Recorder²⁶. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour depending on how long answers the interviewees were giving and on how much detail they included. The interviews were semi-structured and followed a predetermined topic guide (Arthur & Nazroo 2003, 115–122, Fielding & Thomas 2008, 253–255). The topic guide was formatted individually for each participant and included information they had already given in their survey responses, such as their educational background, life situation, mobility history, reasons for migrating, job titles, and countries of identification and future plans. The same set of questions was

25. Some of the interviewees were living in different countries at the time of the first survey: Anna now lives in Iceland but in 2008 she lived in Spain and Juhani now lives in Spain but used to live in the Netherlands, for example. Having more interviewees from the UK is justified, as 39 per cent of all the 2008 survey respondents were living there, and London as Europe's foremost global city attracts skilled labour worldwide.

26. For more information on the Call Recorder program for Mac, see <http://www.ecamm.com/mac/callrecorder/>.

thus discussed in each case, even though there was some variation in which order the themes were addressed. At the end of the interview, the participants were asked to bring up any topics they thought had not been covered of their experience of what it is like to live and work abroad.

The interviewees did not receive any reward or payment for taking part in the interview. However, at the end of the interview, I promised to send them a digital copy of the doctoral thesis once it is finished. I transcribed 3 interviews ad verbatim (Fielding & Thomas 2008, 256–258) myself and had an outside company transcribe 15 of them. The interview transcripts range in length from 14 to 29 pages (font size 11, line spacing 1.5). The interviewees were asked if they also want a personal copy of the recording, and a link to the recorded data was sent to eight interviewees. Each interviewee was given a pseudonym that is used in the study. The female interviewees are called *Anna, Anneli, Emilia, Helena, Johanna, Maarit, Maria, Marika, Minna, Pauliina, Sari, and Susanna*, and the male *Antti, Jubani, Marko, Mika, Mikael, and Tapio*. The pseudonyms are Finnish names that were among the most popular ones given to Finnish babies during the year when they were born. At the end of our discussion I asked the interviewees whether they approved of the selected pseudonym. Each interviewee is presented in more detail in Appendix 4, as a short biographical note was written on each interviewee as a part of the analysis of the data.

There are both positive and negative aspects in using Skype in conducting research interviews. While Skype does allow you to see the person you discuss with, provided that both participants have a web camera, you miss most of the information provided by the social setting where the interview takes place. If I were to visit the homes of the people I interview, I could see how they live, what kinds of signs of Finnishness their homes display, for example, and possibly also meet their families. The interviews I conducted lasted from 30 minutes to 1 hour, even though the long list of themes and questions I had prepared suggested that the discussions could take longer. Using the computer as a medium of communication removes much of the social conventions of face-to-face encounters and the discussion tends to follow a question-answer format rather than resembling a free discussion. Because of the physical distance the interview is on the virtual field is therefore rather different from personal interviews in a shared space. On the other hand I was free to choose participants from all over Europe without having to travel anywhere and my interviewees could talk to me from the comfort of their own homes or offices without having to spend time coming to meet me somewhere. Conducting interviews in this manner was also very efficient: while sitting in my Rovaniemi office, I was able to learn from the lives and experiences of skilled migrants living in Spain, Austria and Luxembourg within the scope of one working day.

On methods

This qualitative study utilises different types of research materials: survey data, open-ended responses to survey questions, and interview transcripts. The chosen method of analysis after the data was gathered from the virtual field draws from the documentary method, based on Karl Mannheim's *Sociology of Knowledge* and further developed by authors such as Harold Garfinkel (1967), Ralf Bohnsack (2008) and Arnd-Michael Nohl (2010, see also Nohl & Ofner 2010). This methodology is better known in the German academic discussions than in Anglophone ones, and was used, for example, in a recent extensive research project on cultural capital during migration (Nohl et al. 2010). The documentary method fits well with the aims of the current study as it "(...) considers the knowledge of actors an empirical basis, but detaches from the actors' ascriptions of meaning" (Nohl & Ofner 2010, 242). Because the aim of this study is to learn more about the labour market experiences of highly educated Finns working abroad, it makes sense to start the analysis on what the research participants themselves say about their personal experiences and how they describe the way in which they found work and succeeded in making it abroad, and then proceed with comparing the different cases with each other.

The documentary method acknowledges the agency and knowledge of the actor but distinguishes between different types of knowledge: "While the actor or speaker is consciously aware of what he or she is doing – e.g. expressing a political belief, giving charity to someone in need or saying 'I love you' – this action or text also has a second level of meaning to which the actor does not necessarily have access." (Nohl 2010, 201). The first level can be understood to consist of two interconnected meanings: "the intentional expressive meaning" or what the actor in question sought to express with her act and "the objective meaning" of what the act in general was about in a given context. In addition the second level carries "the evidential or documentary meaning", which in turn signifies to the process in which it came about, or of a certain *Weltanschauung*, or a sign of the times that shines through the actions of an individual (Mannheim 1952, 44–47, 61–62, see also Nohl 2010, 200–201). As Mannheim (1952, 63) concludes: "(...) the 'spirit' of global outlook of an epoch is something the interpreting subject cannot grasp without falling back upon his own historic 'substance', which is why the history of documentary interpretations of past ages is at the same time a history of the interpreting subjects themselves." For Garfinkel (1967, 95) this meant trying to grasp the "document" or "underlying pattern" based on the observations made on a particular research subject's actions in the everyday setting. For example: the mobile Finns of this study know *why* they moved abroad as individuals, but may be unaware of the wider historical or economic forces, "the external structures" (O'Reilly 2012) that also influence their behaviour and present them with possible ways of action. The interplay of wider structural forces and individual agency in migration decision-making in this particular case is discussed further in chapter four.

Ralf Bohnsack (2008, 255, 135) calls the documentary meaning the “modus operandi” and the “orientation framework” of the actor. In the everyday situations we are not aware of all the “habitual action” that we engage in, and “Only when we are forced to explain something to outsiders do we attempt to convey the object of *habitual action* and *atheoretical knowledge* in common-sense terms.” (Nohl 2010, 201–202, italics added). In the documentary method the comparison of different interviews, texts or other forms of qualitative data is used to uncover this documentary meaning and atheoretical knowledge. Researchers usually tend to interpret the first interview against the background of their own common-sense understanding of the respective topic, but once they start systematically comparing it with other interviews and other empirical cases it is possible to proceed beyond such simple explanations and find what is common and what is different between these cases (Nohl 2010, 203, Nohl & Ofner 2010, 242).

Nohl (2010, 203–204, 210–212) concludes that the documentary interpretation of narrative data takes place in four stages: *formulating interpretation*, *reflecting interpretation*, *comparative sequential analysis* and *type formation*. In the formulating interpretation stage topics of interest are identified from the interviews to essentially find out *what* the interview is about. The topics can either be based on a predefined criteria or arise during the interview if the interviewee speaks passionately about a particular topic for example. This stage can also be referred to as a “first cycle coding method” (Saldaña 2009, 45–46), which refers to the processes that take place during the initial coding of research data. The reflecting interpretation phase aims at clarifying *how* these topics are discussed and in which contexts do they appear. The interview data is then open for comparative sequential analysis, where the cases are contrasted with each other to find the orientation frameworks in which various topics are discussed. From this basis various typologies can be formulated to complete the analysis. A particular orientation framework initially observed in a particular interview, for example, can be identified in other interviews as well and thus becomes a type, rather than being just a single case. (Nohl 2010, 204, 210–212.)

In my study the data analysis began with the WiE survey of 2008. Initially, the respondent background characteristics were examined to see the general characteristics of the group of expatriate Finns who had chosen to take part in the survey. Special attention was paid to the four open-ended questions that gave me a preliminary understanding of how the expatriate Finns construct a narrative of what living and working abroad had been like for them. This analysis is exemplified below in tables 4 and 5, which list all the responses to the open-ended questions from two participants. They had rather contrasting experiences: the first one is from a male respondent in the United Kingdom for whom the transition to work in his destination country was effortless, and the second one from a female respondent in France, for whom finding work abroad had been difficult.

The survey and the interviews that form the main data of this study were conducted in Finnish. The quotations of survey responses and the interview transcripts

used in this dissertation are my own English translations. In the analysis of the following chapters I will, however, also include the original Finnish text in a footnote. When quoting responses of the two WiE web surveys, I have simply copied the Finnish language text as it was written. The original quotations included as footnotes thus include minor spelling mistakes, and when the respondent wrote with a non-Scandinavian keyboard, the Finnish letters ä and ö are replaced by letters a and o. When I include interview quotes (transcribed ad verbatim) to the footnotes, I have taken the liberty of removing any redundant words that are not necessary to convey the meaning intended.

TABLE 4: First example of listing all responses from a single respondent

<p>Survey response number: 8</p> <p>Background characteristics: Male, born 1974, lives in the United Kingdom since 2006, and has a career in information technology. Has a master's degree in the field of technology from Finland. Is a Finnish citizen, does not have children, but is in a relationship with another Finn.</p>
<p>Tell more about your future plans: why are you planning to stay where you now live, move to another country, or return to Finland?</p> <p><i>A couple of years, at least, here in the UK, and then I can transfer to another country. At least for now, I have no desire to return to Finland, as Finland is easy to visit to see family and friends. Europe is your Oyster!</i></p> <p>What was it like to look for work abroad? Tell about, for example, what kind of positive or negative experiences you have had? How many jobs did you apply for before finding work?</p> <p><i>I sent my CV to a couple of head hunters. Got a few telephone interviews. During my summer holiday I visited London for a couple of days to go to the interviews that I had agreed on the telephone. It would certainly have been easier had I been here already, so I would not have had to call them from Finland. Finding work through a head hunter was really easy as the hunter makes you interview appointments, so you only have to take part in the telephone interview and visit the place for another interview.</i></p> <p>What is it like to be a foreign worker in the country where you live? Have you felt any discrimination? Has being foreign been an advantage?</p> <p><i>Our team is very international so adaptation has been easy. In addition, my background in a major Finnish telephone company has helped and still helps me forward.</i></p> <p>Was moving abroad a good decision for your career? If you have not found work, why do you think that is? You can also tell more of your experience working abroad.</p> <p><i>This has been really nice. I am gaining international experience. For me it has meant a great deal that I worked for [company name] in Finland and now I can liaison with my current company and the previous employer. On the other hand I could move to some third country some time later, now that I already have experience from one move across national borders.</i></p>

TABLE 5: Second example of listing all responses from a single respondent

<p>Survey response number: 214</p> <p>Background characteristics: Female, born 1982, lives in France since 2004. Has worked as a salesperson but was looking for work at the time of the survey in 2008. She has a bachelor's degree from a Finnish university of applied sciences and some university studies in the English language from France. She is a Finnish citizen, does not have children, but is in a relationship with a French citizen.</p>
<p>Tell more about your future plans: why are you planning to stay where you now live, move to another country, or return to Finland?</p> <p><i>I would like to return to Finland to complete my university of applied sciences degree in beauty care, because they do not have education in that field here in France. Here all the schools apart from universities and professional schools have tuition fees, and at the age of 26, it is really difficult to find information about possibilities for further education. So I am long-term unemployed, but do not get any unemployment benefits because I have worked in France for less than six months. I also do not get the social minimum because I come from a European Union member state. Getting a job in here with "vague" foreign degree titles is really difficult. Especially because I made the mistake of moving here before graduating.</i></p> <p>What was it like to look for work abroad? Tell about, for example, what kind of positive or negative experiences you have had? How many jobs did you apply for before finding work?</p> <p><i>Really difficult. They toss you around in the employment office and it is difficult to get proper advice/help. I have been to dozens of job interviews and always there is some problem. Even with two years of work experience it is difficult to get a job in sales as a foreigner.</i></p> <p>What is it like to be a foreign worker in the country where you live? Have you felt any discrimination? Has being foreign been an advantage?</p> <p><i>In the job interview you always get the same question of how good is your French, and Finnish/Swedish you will not need in this job. In the end they know quite little about Finland and particularly translating the names of degrees and educational institutions is difficult. On the other hand, I have heard more than once that Scandinavians are well educated and more advanced in languages than the French. It depends on the person.</i></p> <p>Was moving abroad a good decision for your career? If you have not found work, why do you think that is? You can also tell more of your experience working abroad.</p> <p><i>The move abroad was definitely a bad decision from the point of view of my education, but I guess that cannot be helped any more. I would still like to complete my degree in beauty care if it were possible here.</i></p>

While it is clear that many individual factors, such as the country of residence, profession, degree, and career situation affect the experiences of any given respondent, comparing the cases with each other was a way of teasing out the similarities that were shared by many regardless of the particularities of each case. As first generation

migrants they share a common background in Finnish society²⁷ and at least some traits of a common *habitus* (e.g. Bourdieu 1993, 86–88); the embodiment of cultural knowledge created during their childhood socialization. Despite having chosen differing professional paths, they have grown up with at least some shared understanding on how the labour market (in Finland) operates, and on the kinds of career expectations that are attached to certain degrees. In this sense they are part of the same “community of practice” (O’Reilly 2012), as they share important background experiences of growing up in Finland, and they all have made the choice of looking for work abroad. With the documentary method, the analysis does not stop at the literal level of what the participants *write* in response to the survey questions or *say* during the interview (see e.g. Nohl et al. 2010, 15–16). Looking at different themes that occur in various pieces of data and contrasting them with other cases brings forward also the tacit knowledge on topics like the respondent’s experiences of success or discrimination, labour market strategies, or feelings of belonging and identity.

I used the results of the analysis of the survey data when designing the topic guides (Arthur & Nazroo 2003, 115–122, Fielding & Thomas 2008, 253–255) for the semi-structured interviews of selected research participants. The questions that in the light of the survey data were the most interesting were thus discussed during the interviews in more detail. It would have been possible to quote parts of the interview transcripts in this study by referring to the interviewees as “female, aged 33, UK” or “male, aged 35, IT consultant”. However, because I want to stress the ethnographic nature of the study and to see the interviews as a form of “engaged listening” (Forsey 2010), I chose to use the pseudonyms listed earlier in this chapter. After the interviews were over, I wrote a short retrospective migration and labour market history of each participant, as the topics discussed centred around mobility on the one hand, and on labour market integration on the other (see Appendix 4). These short biographies were sent for review to the respective participants of the study so that they could correct possible mistakes in how their life stories were presented, or on what the correct English language translations of their university degrees were, for example. This also extended our contact from a one-time encounter on the virtual field to at least a slightly longer relationship. Accepting feedback from and interacting with the research participants is an important feature of ethnographic research. Some researchers have gone so far in emphasizing the collective nature of the research enterprise as to call the migrant participants, or interviewees of the study “co-researchers” (Madison 2006).

I coded the interview transcripts initially with descriptive codes (Saldaña 2009, 70–71) that were related to the themes of the research. The codes included topics such as future plans, identity, possible return to Finland, friends, spouse, education abroad, and looking for work. This process corresponded with the formulating interpretation

27. A couple of the interviewees had lived abroad for some years when they were children. Yet they had returned to Finland to finish their secondary schooling.

phase of the documentary method (Nohl 2010, 204). After this coding process, the interviews were examined again to look for similarities in the topics discussed and for connecting themes that appear in more than one case. This process corresponded with the reflecting interpretation phase. In the comparative sequential analysis phase (Nohl 2010, 204–205) I distributed the data into the following themes:

- migration motivations
- looking for work in Finland / looking for work abroad
- initial difficulties abroad / difficulties in finding work
- one can always return to Finland / the impossibility of returning to Finland
- future plans
- standard of living and quality of life
- happiness and life experience
- education and career
- cultural differences
- discrimination/non-discrimination
- integration

In the type formation phase (Nohl 2010, 211–214), statements related to working abroad were again examined and three strategies of transferring one's cultural capital across borders, or of "making it abroad" were constructed." These strategies of *adaptation*, *distinction*, and *re-orientation* are discussed more thoroughly in chapter seven.

4. Explaining highly skilled migration from Finland

My study examines the personal experiences of highly skilled Finns who have moved abroad. Therefore the main focus of the study is on what has been called the *micro* level of international mobility. Yet also historical processes, cultural phenomena and economic developments outside the control of individual migrants influence the reasons *why* these particular individuals decided to move, *where* they moved to, and *when* they moved. As Stephen Castles and Mark Miller conclude in *The Age of Migration* (2009, 30): “Macro-, meso- and micro-structures are intertwined in the migratory process, and there are no clear dividing lines between them. No single cause is ever sufficient to explain why people decide to leave their country and settle in another.” Acknowledging the existence of these three separate levels does not, however, sufficiently recognize the processual nature of migration phenomena. Drawing on a more dynamic model, the practice theory of international migration developed by Karen O’Reilly (2012), I first briefly discuss the importance of the wider structural processes that promote migration from Finland and present the case for an important factor facilitating labour mobility in Europe: the European mobility industry. This chapter therefore responds to the first empirical research question of the study: *Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad?* The theoretical lessons from this chapter are related to the role of migrant agency in highly skilled migration, especially in relation to the mobility decision itself. They are presented at the very end of this chapter.

The practice theory of international migration

In her book *International migration and Social Theory* (2012), Karen O’Reilly explores the complex field of migration research, which encompasses disciplines as diverse as sociology, human geography, demography, international relations, economics and even the arts, and notes that no general theory of migration has yet emerged (see also Samers 2010). There are, however, several substantive theories that are used to explain migration from the perspective of migration systems, networks, economy, or globalisation, for example. These theories often either assume that migrants are rational agents exercising their free will, or suggest that migrants are practically forced to migration by structural forces beyond their control (O’Reilly 2012, 4–5). O’Reilly proposes a theoretical framework that does not aim to replace these theories, but supplements

them with a practice theory approach to international migration. In her words: “(...) practice theory perceives social life as the outcome of the interaction of structures (of constraints and opportunity) and actions (of individuals and groups who embody, shape and form these structures) in the practice of daily life” (O’Reilly 2012, 7).

O’Reilly (2012, 23–32) introduces the concepts of *external structures* and *internal structures*, *practice*, and *outcomes* as the key concepts of her theoretical framework. In this chapter, my aim is not to write a thorough “practice story” (O’Reilly 2012, 32–34) on the mobility of highly skilled Finns, as it is beyond the scope of this study. However, the tools provided by O’Reilly can help in understanding how the migration decision is never made as just a personal choice, but “in the context of wider social structures and historical forces” (O’Reilly 2012, 33). The approach thus provides a way of addressing the relationship between the classic dualism of individual agency versus the wider structural processes that influence specific migration phenomena, and of factors that other migration theorists have classified as belonging to the micro, meso or macro levels. O’Reilly has a slightly different understanding of what these levels consist of than Castles and Miller (2009), for example. In their explanation of the migration systems theory, Castles and Miller (2009, 29) propose that the intermediate meso-structures consist of migration industries: “Certain individuals, groups or institutions [that] take the role of mediating between migrants and political or economic institutions”. For O’Reilly the meso level between the macro level forces, such as transnational wider migration systems, and the micro level of migrant action is not a distinct “level” as such, but rather the area in which the interrelatedness of the two other levels is visible (O’Reilly 2012, 33, 49).

In the practice theory for international migration, the external structures are the macro level forces that we have no individual control over, but which nevertheless affect the way in which we live our everyday lives, and which form the context of the acts of the migrant. The external structures are divided into *upper structural layers* and *more proximate structural layers*. According to O’Reilly (2012, 24) these upper structural layers are “... wider conditions of action, general cultural shifts, technological advances, ideological frames, global power shifts, and broad policy agendas.” In short, these consist of various historical, cultural, economic and societal processes that influence the decisions of potential migrants. The more proximate structural layers, on the other hand, are things that frame one’s actions and influence what is understood as possible and what is not at a more concrete level: laws, regulations, local policies, and institutional arrangements (O’Reilly 2012, 24).

The wider structures that affect our everyday lives are also internalized in our *habitus* and in *our conjunctureally-specific internal structures*. *Habitus* refers to the outlook, habits and dispositions embodied onto us during our socialization, and in the words of Pierre Bourdieu (1989, 14) it consists of “schemes of perception, thought, and action”. O’Reilly (2012, 26) concludes that the *habitus* is the outcome of “the interaction of actions and structures through daily practice over generations, and over and during one’s life-course.” How does one’s *habitus* then influence migration

decision-making? While the external structures constrain our choices and present us with opportunities, the internal structures are the embodiment of those constraints and opportunities: of what is taken for granted and seen as possible. The habitus incorporates one's own experiences of mobility (e.g. in the form of tourism or student exchange), as well as one's family history of migration or the value one's family places in staying rooted in one's community, for example. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I outline some of the key external and internal structures that are relevant to the case of highly skilled migration from Finland.

The increase in the numbers of migrants from Finland in the 1990s

In 1993, Finland was in the midst of its worst economic depression since the country's independence in 1917. The rapid growth of the 1980s was followed by the worst peacetime economic crisis that any Western European nation had faced since the Second World War. Property prices plummeted, the banking sector had to be restructured, and the crash led to mass unemployment and numerous bankruptcies of previously profitable companies. From a record low level of unemployment in 1990 (3.1 per cent of the workforce) the unemployment rate rose to a record high by 1994 (16.6 per cent) (Kiander 2001, 31, see also Blomberg et al. 2002). During the worst years of the recession (1990–93), fewer people left Finland than what had been the norm in the late 1980s, so at the time unemployment did not increase migration. The numbers of outgoing migrants only begin to rise again in 1994 (see the chart below).

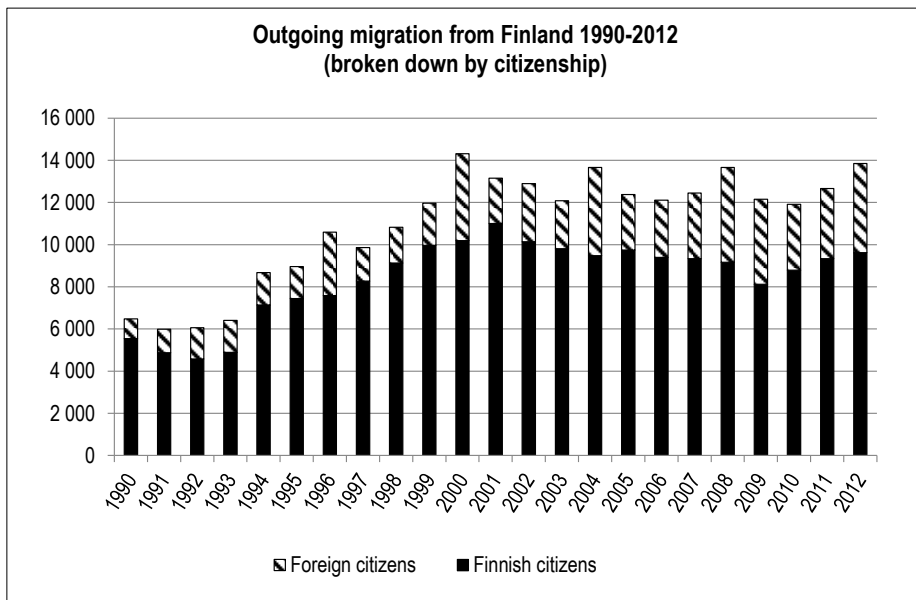


CHART 14: Outgoing migration from Finland by citizenship 1990–2012

Source: Official Statistics of Finland 2013.

In 2012, more than 13,800 individuals moved abroad from Finland. In the past ten years, the European Union (EU) has constantly been the destination for most outgoing migrants. As the above chart depicts, since the early 1990s the numbers of outgoing migrants have doubled. There has been a rise in the numbers of outgoing migrants in all age groups, but the rise has been highest among those between the ages of 25 to 34 years. In 1993 a total of 1,988 individuals in that age group left Finland, while in 2012 their number was 4,406, an increase of more than 120 per cent. The shares of outgoing migrants from different age groups are detailed in the chart below. The share of young people moving abroad either permanently or temporarily is in fact even higher than what the topmost lines of the chart depict. The Finnish population register only records migration that is meant to last for more than a year as permanent emigration from Finland. Thus all shorter term stays abroad, such as working at a summer job, going on student exchange, or working as a trainee for a couple of months, are missing from these figures.

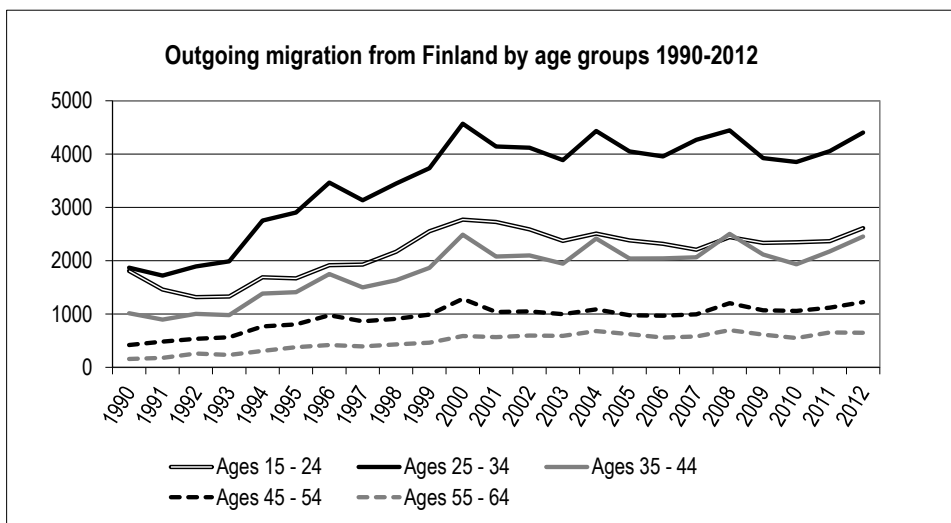


CHART 15: Outgoing migration from Finland by age groups 1990–2012
Source: Official Statistics of Finland 2013.

As the migration statistics and the brief analyses presented here and in the introduction demonstrate, the characteristics of those who left Finland during the past twenty years differ from the migration trends of earlier decades. The two largest waves of Finnish emigrants headed to North America, mainly between 1880 and 1915, and to Sweden after World War II, and especially between 1961 and 1970. Björklund (2008, 13) has called the movers who have left after the Finnish EU membership in 1995 the “third category” of Finns abroad, as they differ from the traditional image of an emigrant leaving her home country for good. Ettore Recchi (2013, 109) notes that intra-European mobility patterns can be roughly classified

into two modalities: the *channeled type* where the migrants head towards only a few, selected destination countries, and the *dispersed type*, where the migrants head for a wider variety of destination countries depending on their own life projects. Due to the importance of Sweden as a migration destination for Finns, mobility from Finland has traditionally largely followed the channeled type, even though the patterns seem to be changing (Recchi 2013, 115–116). Today's migrants are younger, more educated, and move to a wider variety of countries than before. So what factors have influenced the mobility of these young Finns? Was the depression of the early 1990s the main cause of increased migration, or what other and perhaps more important factors were involved? And what kinds of reasons did those who left Finland give to their decision to move to other European countries?

Economic and cultural globalisation

During the past twenty years the process of cultural and economic globalisation has changed the world significantly. Globalisation has many different definitions, but it can be understood for example as a “widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” (Held et al. 1999, 2, see also Beck 2000). This new era has even been described as one where both nation states and geographical distance have lost their significance. As Ulrich Beck (2000a, 269) argues: “(...) ever more forms of economic and social action, work and life cease to be acted out within the containing framework of the state.” Globalisation has had its effects on migration at both ends of the occupational skill hierarchy, as it creates opportunities for highly skilled professionals on the one hand, and on low-skilled manual labourers on the other (Cornelius & Espenshade 2001).

While international migration is still impossible for the majority that lacks the resources and opportunities to move, the globe can be an open playing field for the top-level “networkers” and “innovators” (Castells 2000, 250–1) or the “global nomads” and “vagabonds” (Bauman 1998, 87–8), who may experiment with mobility and choose where to settle. Globalisation has offered the possibility of unparalleled freedom of movement for at least some highly skilled migrants. Members of this “transnational upper class” are typically characterised by having internationally valued education, right (Western) habitus, and labour market skills that are not country-specific. They have considerable spatial autonomy and can move globally after better career prospects (Weiss 2004, 712–6). Due to the preference states place on attracting this migrant type, highly skilled migrants have been described as “the only truly accepted migrants of today” (Raghuram 2004). Steven Castles and Mark Miller (2009, 56) explain the role of globalisation on increased mobility as follows:

“Globalisation has helped create the new technologies facilitating mobility: cheap air travel, electronic media and spread of images of first-world prosperity. Spreading the cultural capital and networks facilitating mobility has also been aided by globalisation as information on migration routes and employment opportunities is more readily available than ever before.”

After the Second World War more than 575,000 Finns moved to Sweden. During the post-war guest worker era Finland was still a country of emigration, which sent manual labourers to its more prosperous neighbouring country in the West. During the Cold War, Finland was a neutral country on the Western side of the Iron Curtain, even though it had close political and trade connections with Soviet Union, its neighbour in the East. The country’s peripheric location in Northern Europe also played a role in how those growing up at the time saw their home country. As one of the participants of the WiE study, Minna (b. 1976, Ireland) talks about her desire to move away from the small city she grew up in Eastern Finland: “...It explains a lot if you know that I am from Joensuu, it just always felt that the world was so far away from there.”²⁸

The recession of the early 1990s was followed in Finland by “seven good years”: the economy grew, the mobile phone company Nokia became a global player in the ITC business, and the country began to recover from its crisis (Kiander 2001, 61–8). The recovery from the recession also coincided with an increase in the share of the higher educated among the Finnish labour force, or what has been called the massification of higher education in Finland (Välilä 2001). The recession changed Finnish labour market towards favouring those with a higher education: for the first time in Finnish history, the number and share of employed wage earners with only basic education was lower than the share of those with a university or polytechnic education (Suikkanen et al. 2002). As Suikkanen et al. (2002, 89) conclude: “The only group whose employment has clearly increased after the recession is that of the highly educated, whose current share of the employed wage earners is 23 per cent.” The jobs requiring higher education were not all based in Finland: besides Nokia, also other Finnish companies became more interested in operating globally and offered opportunities for those who were willing to travel and were interested in living abroad. Globalisation thus opened doors to a new generation of migrants: highly educated professionals who were moving more as a career choice than due to economic necessity or unemployment. An example of such a mobile career is provided by this WiE survey respondent, currently living in Spain:

”We came here for my husband’s work, like to all the previous places/countries. We plan to stay for another year, and then start to look for the next

28. The original quotes in Finnish are included in the footnotes (redundant words that do not change the meaning of the quote have been deleted). ...*Joo, luulen et se selittää asiaa, kun on tuolta Joensuun perukoilta, niin sit se tuntu, et se maailma on niin kaukana sieltä.*

place to move to. My husband works in the hotel business, and his career requires a change in jobs every couple of years and so far it has always meant changing countries, too. (...) All our options are open now; we may stay in the EU or move outside the EU.” (Survey respondent 180, female, b. 1975, BA in hotel management.)²⁹

The European free movement regime

Over the past 60 years, Europe has undergone a shift from a region of net emigration to one of net immigration. During this time, a progressive lessening of restrictions on labor mobility between certain European countries has taken place. In a way it is a return to the past, as labour migration has played an important role in the social history of Europe. Until the First World War 1914–18 there were virtually no border controls, requirements for passports, or restrictions to labour mobility across the European continent (Moch 2003, 1–21, 160–161). By the 1950s Europe had begun to recover from the devastation of the war and experienced a period of intense economic growth. As the lack of skilled workers was seen as a challenge to the growing economies, the freedom of movement of *coal and steel industry workers* was included in the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in Paris 1951. This agreement was the first step taken towards the present European Union (ECSC Treaty, Article 69). The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 introduced free movement rights to *workers in other industries*, with the exception of the public sector. This right was finally made a reality in 1968 for the workers from the six original Member states – West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg (EEC Treaty, Article 8a, Council regulation (EEC) 1612/1968 on freedom of movement of workers within the Community).

Since the 1970s, the European Court of Justice has played a fundamental role in widening the scope of free movement. The Treaties, the Council Regulations and Directives left room for interpreting of what the right to free movement meant in practice. Europeans have been active in testing the boundaries in court, which gradually shifted the focus from the free movement of *workers* to free movement of *persons*. The definition of “worker” expanded to include also short-term and seasonal employment, and in 1990 the right of free movement was granted also for students, pensioners, the unemployed, and their families (Baldoni 2003, 8–9, 18, Recchi 2005, 7). The EEC treaty was amended in a major way in 1986, when the Single European Act (SEA) set the goal of creating an internal market within the European Community

29. *Tulimme tanne puolisoni työn vuoksi, kuten edellisiinkin asuinpaikkoihin/-maihin. Suunnitelmissa on olla taalla vielä vuoden verran, jonka jälkeen ryhdymme katselemaan seuraavaa paikkaa. Mieheni on hotellialalla, ja urakehtiyksen kannalta on otollisinta vaihtaa muutaman vuoden vaillein työpaikkaa, ja taban mennessä se on tarkoittanut maankin vaihtoa. (...) Kaikki vaihtoehdot ovat avoimia tällä hetkellä, saatamme pysyä EU:n sisällä, tai muuttaa EU:n ulkopuolelle.*

by the year 1993. Free movement of *persons* is first mentioned in the SEA and the right was explicitly granted to non-economically active groups with the concept of *European citizenship* in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (TEU, Artikles 8, 8a and 8b).

European citizenship is a globally unique phenomenon as the rights of these citizens are in fact only effective outside ones' own country (Carrera 2004, 1–5, Koikkalainen 2011a). Since the late 1980s a series of educational, training and research programmes have been created to promote intra-European mobility, as increased labour mobility is thought to contribute to economic prosperity. These include Socrates/Erasmus student and teacher exchange, and Leonardo trainee exchange programmes as well as Esprit and Eureka programmes for cooperation in the field of technology and research. For example the European Employment Services (EURES) network was set up in 1994 to help job seekers in finding work in other member states (Tassinopoulos et al. 1998, 21–22). An important initiative aimed at tackling the problem of degree recognition was the creation of the *European Credit Transfer and Accumulation system* (ECTS), where the European higher education institutions follow similar ground rules on credit accumulation, grading systems and measuring learning outcomes. Further harmonization efforts include, for example, the creation of a common European CV format and online CV service, the Europass training certificate, the Ploteus Portal on Learning Opportunities Throughout the European Space, European Health Insurance Card, and the Bologna process of creating a European Higher Education Area.

There is also another important process of the past decades, which has made intra-European migration easier through reduced border control formalities within Europe. The Schengen Agreement, which was first initiated outside official EU cooperation, went into effect in 1995 and created a common, essentially borderless area between Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain, wherein travel credentials were only required at the area's external borders. Two years later the Schengen rules were incorporated into the Treaty of Amsterdam, and by 1999 European citizens were free to cross most intra-European borders without having to show their passports. The Schengen Area now encompasses all EU countries (except UK, Romania, Bulgaria and Ireland) as well as Norway, Iceland and Switzerland (e.g Koikkalainen 2011a). Combined these two developments have created a unique area of free movement in Europe: intra-European migration is now so easy that it has been likened to internal mobility rather than international migration (e.g Favell 2008b, Santacreu et al. 2009, Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010). As one of the interviewees, Anna, who has lived abroad in three different countries explains: "(...) when you have travelled a lot from an early age and studied abroad, and always had foreign friends (...) moving abroad was not really such a big step mentally"³⁰ (b. 1980, Iceland, MA in business administration).

30. (...) *ku on nuorest lähtien matkustanu aina paljon ja opiskellu ulkomailla ja aina ollu ulkomaalasi kavereita (...) ni se ulkomaille muutto ei tavallaan tuntunu niin henkisesti isolta askeleelta.*

When Finland joined the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 and the EU in 1995, the European free movement regime was already fully in place. The doors to Europe were suddenly wide open, and the university students of the 1990s began to experiment with living abroad through the newly introduced student exchange programmes. The 1990s have been called the first decade of internationalisation of higher education in Finland (Garam 2003, 4, see also Saarikallio et al. 2008). Visa and passport free travel within the Scandinavian countries had been possible since the 1950s, but after the EEA/EU membership the area of free movement was much larger. Finland had “joined Europe”, so why should its youth not wish to move to exciting capitals such as London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome? The main destination countries of the increased mobility from Finland have been among the EU15 countries: Sweden, UK, Germany, Spain, Denmark, and France have received more than half of all migrants who left Finland during 1994–2012. Migration statistics from this post-EEA/EU membership era testify to the importance of the younger age groups in the increase in migrant numbers: those aged between 15 to 34 years account for 67 per cent of all moves abroad made by Finnish citizens during this time period. The share of these young migrants has been more than 80 per cent of those who moved to Denmark and Ireland, and more than 70 per cent of those who moved to the UK, the Netherlands, Austria, and Sweden. (Official Statistics of Finland 2013.) In the words of a female WiE survey respondent from Dublin who plans on making the most of her stay abroad:

“I have a good job; I am still young, so why would I not stay abroad for a couple more years. But also living in London/New York/in some other large metropolis is tempting. I think I’ll return to Finland anyway at some point.” (Survey respondent 44, b. 1982, BA/Mphil in social sciences from Ireland.)³¹

The European mobility industry

After identifying key external structures that affect migration from Finland I now turn to the “more proximate structural layers” that O’Reilly (2012) sees as the framework of migration in practice. For the phenomenon of highly skilled migration from Finland, the more proximate structural layers would consist of, for example, laws and regulations governing mobility in Europe, employment policies in various countries, active recruitment of skilled labour in certain professions, cheap air and rail travel that make actual physical mobility easier, web-based technological solutions that make finding work and housing abroad easy and maintaining transnational con-

31. *Olen hyvässä työpaikassa, ja vielä nuori, joten mikä ettei olisi ulkomailla vielä muutamaa vuotta. Mutta myös asuminen Lontoossa/New Yorkissa/jossain muussa suurkaupungissa houkuttelee. Suomeen palaan kuitenkin varmaan jossakin vaiheessa.*

nections effortless, and networks of previous migrants that provide opportunities to newcomers. A full analysis of all these factors is beyond the scope of this thesis, but instead I elaborate one important aspect of this context, namely the European mobility industry that plays an important role in facilitating intra-European migration.

If the European mobility industry were understood as Castles and Miller define the various levels that influence international migration, then it would fall within the meso level (2009, 29). On the other hand, if one views the factors influencing migration as O'Reilly (2012) does, it falls within the sphere of more proximate external structures. While these two interpretations are not entirely compatible, they both recognise the middle ground that does have an impact on migration flows and the decisions of individuals contemplating migration. The term migration industry (e.g. Castles & Miller 2009, Kyle & Goldstein 2011) has been used to refer to the various agents and organizations helping migrants, companies facilitating the sending of remittances, as well as human smugglers and criminal syndicates that facilitate clandestine or irregular migration. Castles and Miller (2009, 201) explain that the “term embraces a broad spectrum of people who earn their livelihood by organizing migratory movements.” Castles (2013) lists as members of the migration industry the following: “(...) migration agents, travel bureaus, bankers, lawyer[s], labour recruiters, interpreters and housing brokers (...) members of a migrant community such as shopkeepers, priests, teachers and other community leaders (...)” Garapich (2008) also argues that not only do the different parts of the migration industry facilitate international migration; they also help migrants integrate into the country of destination. For him, the migration industry is “a set of specialised social actors and commercial institutions that profit directly not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation into the new environment” (Garapich 2008, 736). Kyle and Goldstein (2011) differentiate between weak and more robust versions of the migration industry depending on the effect these “migration merchants” (Kyle 2000) have on shaping and sustaining actual migration flows between specific geographical destinations.

I argue that this term can also be useful in studying voluntary mobility in Europe and in understanding the different forms of intra-European mobility. In the European context, permanent migration is not the only, or perhaps even the main form of transnational movement across borders, and I would therefore rather speak of a mobility, rather than migration industry. While some scholars, such as Garapich (2008) and Hernández-León (2008) understand the concept of migration industry as a commercial enterprise, as “the market face of transnational connections transcending ethnicity, class and cultures by linking particular localities to the global economy” (Garapich 2008, 738), the mobility industry has a not-for-profit side that also works as a facilitator of transnational movements. In fact, the participants of the intra-European mobility industry can be roughly divided into two categories: first, the non-commercial institutions and agencies that provide information and facilitate the mobility of students, trainees and academics as well as job-seekers, and

second, the commercial relocation and headhunting agencies, consultants and job search portals, whose business it is to facilitate the mobility of professionals.

The first branch of the mobility industry is heavily supported by the European Union institutions as well as the respective national governments and higher education institutions. One of the most notable efforts by the EU to increase labour mobility was the creation of the European Employment Services (EURES) that has a Job Mobility Portal³² in the Internet and a network of 850 EURES advisers in 31 European countries. Another example is the successful Socrates-Erasmus student exchange programme, which runs via the international offices of thousands of European universities that take care of the bureaucracy of selecting students for exchange, paying their scholarships, and organizing the transfer of courses completed abroad. This exchange programme is one of the success stories of European cooperation, and it has financed the mobility of close to 3 million students since its inception in 1987 (European Commission 2013). It covers 33 European countries and facilitates the mobility of more than 230,000 students and trainees each year (Europa Press Releases 2012). Mobility opportunities are not limited to university students: European Youth Portal promotes opportunities also for those in vocational education via the Leonardo da Vinci programme. National agencies, such as CIMO – the Center for International Mobility in Finland provide information on mobility options, run their own mobility programmes, and organize events where the international co-coordinators and managers of international study programmes come together to discuss new developments in the field. European agencies, such as the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) study mobility, spread best practices and lobby for the internationalisation cause.

Student mobility is obviously linked to highly skilled migration. From the perspective of the sending country student migrants may also be considered brains lost, because many of them end up staying in their new home country upon graduation (Castles & Miller 2009, 65, 140–1). It has been noted that the movement of human capital from poor countries of the Global South to the countries of the Global North that takes place through the “employment gate” is often preceded by the mobility of students entering through the “academic gate”. Even though in the intra-European context there are few such gates restricting access in the first place, it has been noted that prior international experience does increase the probability of migration later in life (Santacreu et al. 2009, 70). The not-for-profit side of the European mobility industry also promotes mobility of post-graduate students, post-doctoral researchers and other academics through actions such as the EU funded Marie Curie programme and the EURAXESS – Researchers in Motion web-site.

The second branch of the mobility industry consists of private companies, consultancy firms, and commercial job search portals that help in recruiting workers and promote mobility as the career-enhancing choice of the global professional.

32. The European Job Mobility Portal can be accessed at <https://ec.europa.eu/eures/>.

Some of these companies target mainly Europe, while some operate globally. The online search engines include, for example eurojobs.com (“the only multi-country job site in Europe”), jobware.de (“Stellenangebote & Jobs für Qualifizierte Fach- und Führungskräfte”), jobsinhubs.com (“English Jobs in Europe”), exposurejobs.com (“Search the best jobs in Europe”) and graduatejobsineurope.com (“Europe’s top-rated graduate employers and live economic data by country”). Many of these companies promise the prospective job applicants professional development and great career opportunities, such as monster.com with its slogan: “We’re your first step to becoming everything you want to be.” A number of websites mainly offer their services to job seekers. These services include online CV databases for headhunters and company recruiters and the matching of jobseeker profiles with desirable employers. While some companies target all professions, some are limited to a certain type of employer, such as *University Positions* (www.universitypositions.eu), which helps universities in northern Europe with faculty recruitment. Most large consultancy companies, such as *Ernst&Young* and *Deloitte*, offer relocation services for mobile professionals. There are also companies specialising in relocation services, such as *Interdean* (interdean.com: “Thinking Relocation? Think Interdean”) and *The Forum for Expatriate Management*, which boasts to be “a news and information portal for everyone who works in the fabulous world of Global Mobility” (totallyexpat.com).

The message evident in these websites and job portals is that a better career is out there, if you just grab the opportunity and go. As *The Insider’s Guide to Working in Europe* (Boels 2000, 23), one of the many self-help books also aiming to help the mobile professional, underlines:

”Working for some time in another country gives you more chances of finding a job easily – and possibly a better paid one – when you return home. (...) The chances are that you will have become the type of person employers are more and more looking for – a person who can adapt to new and unknown situations, who is prepared to learn new skills, who learns from experience, and who is, in short, ‘highly employable.’”

While such marketing speech may not be what appeals to most European graduates, it is clear that it is relatively easy to embark on an international career in Europe if one has the right language skills and qualifications and is willing to be mobile. This applies also to Finland, which despite its location in the Northern European periphery has been an active player in the Erasmus student exchange programme, and where the possibilities of going abroad to study or work have been actively marketed to students and young graduates, especially after Finland joined the EEA and the EU (see e.g. Garam 2003, Saarikallio et al. 2008). The border-free Europe is more accessible to the highly skilled migrant than ever before: thanks to the various agencies and organisations whose main occupation it is to ease transnational mobil-

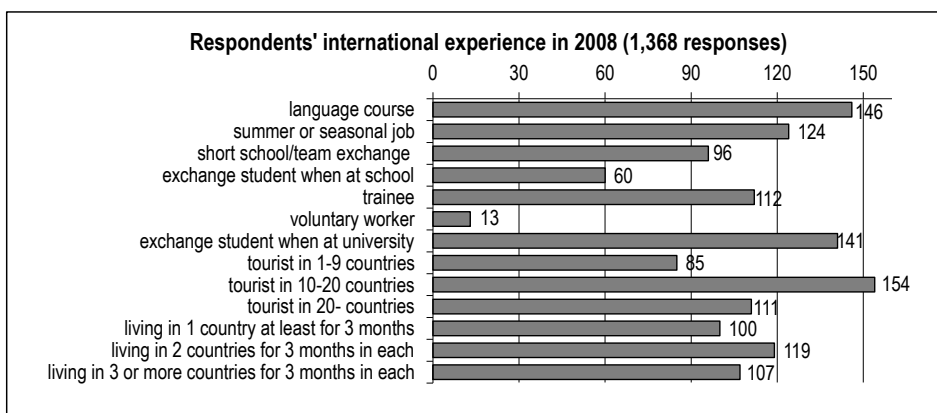
ity, the recent graduate or unemployed professional can embark on a job hunt from the comfort of her own home.

Mobility motivations of highly skilled Finns

After this brief examination of external structures affecting migration from Finland to Europe, I now turn my attention to the internal structures at the level of individual migrants. O'Reilly borrows the concept of conjecturally-specific internal structures from Rob Stones (2005), and notes that they refer to "how the given agent (...) perceives the specific context of action, how external circumstances (...) are understood in this place and time" (O'Reilly 2012, 27). For the Finns of my study, these structures can consist of knowledge of opportunities for internationalisation and transnational mobility, a desire to experience new things in far-away places, an understanding of how to act in strange or unfamiliar situations, or an awareness of how to grasp the opportunity for mobility as it presents itself, for example. This section therefore examines the mobility history and migration reasoning of the WiE respondents.

Studying or working as a trainee or in a summer job abroad while completing a higher education degree is one possible path leading to an international career, as it creates *mobility capital* that can help with career enhancement later on (Findlay et al. 2006, 293–294, see also Murphy-Lejeune 2003b, 103–5). In population statistics, the period of one year is often considered to be the time limit when a move becomes permanent and is therefore classified as migration proper (Fassman et al. 2009, United Nations 1998). If one adopts such a view, many shorter term forms of mobility that are relevant for the relatively young movers of this study would not be considered migration at all (see also Hoffman 2009). Yet also shorter international experiences, such as student exchanges or summer jobs abroad, build mobility capital and have an influence on the career and life choices of the highly skilled individual (Norris & Gillespie 2009, Teichler & Janson 2007).

All respondents of the WiE survey (n=364) had lived, studied, worked or at least travelled abroad before moving to the country where they were living in 2008. When asked about their previous international experiences, the most common choice selected was having been "a tourist in 10–20 countries" (154 responses), taken part in "language courses abroad" (146), taken part in "university student exchange" (141) and worked in a "summer job abroad" (124). 107 individuals, nearly a third of all respondents, had lived in at least 3 different countries outside of Finland. Each respondent selected an average of four forms of international experience from a list offering 13 different choices. All responses given are detailed in the bar chart below.



BAR CHART 3: Respondents' international experience in 2008

These types of international experience can be classified in four categories. The first includes international experience related to *work*, such as summer jobs, working as a trainee and voluntary work. The second category is *short trips and exchanges*, such as language courses or school trips abroad. The third category entails *non-work related longer stays abroad*, such as university student exchanges. Nearly all respondents had experience of the fourth variety, *international tourism*³³. This classification helps to show the depth of interest for all things international that a number of the respondents exhibit.

The role of the not-for-profit branch of the European mobility industry features frequently in the explanations of how and why the respondents of the WiE-survey moved abroad. A total of 141 of the 2008 WiE survey respondents (39%) had been in student exchange and 112 (31%) had been abroad as a trainee during their university studies. On the other hand only eight respondents write that they applied for work via the EURES-system, and only one respondent explicitly mentions it as the way they found work abroad in the open-ended responses. Using the Erasmus programme and other study-related possibilities was thus much more common than using the help of these European employment advisers for finding a job abroad. Altogether 59 respondents had been abroad both as trainees and as students, in both cases using the help of the not-for-profit branch of the mobility industry. One female respondent explains:

“When I studied here at the university (on a one-year exchange from my Finnish university) I saw some advertisements for 12-month traineeships at the recruitment office of the university. I got invited to four interviews and got two offers. (...) When I returned here after finishing my studies I got the first job I

33. 14 respondents did not select any of the offered choices on the numbers of countries they had visited as tourists. Each of them had other types of international experience, however.

applied for.”³⁴ (Survey respondent 139, b. 1980, UK, MA in business administration from Finland.)

For some highly skilled migrants, international mobility is a clear goal in life, while for others, some sudden opportunity or unexpected event triggers the decision to move, even though they may have not previously been interested in living abroad. 65 respondents had been abroad in connection with all the above-mentioned categories of mobility. It is exactly the students and highly skilled professionals who have an inherent interest in taking part in different international activities that benefit most from the opportunities offered by the European free movement regime (see e.g. Fligstein 2008). They have gained mobility capital during their stays abroad and have always known that they will want to live abroad. As this female respondent who has been living in the United Kingdom since 2000 explains:

“I have known since my childhood that I want to move abroad to work, I started learning English by myself from TV at the age of four, so I never even considered other options. I just hope that I had gone a lot farther and left a lot sooner, but I believe my current work experience will be useful in achieving my future goals.”³⁵ (Survey respondent 102, b. 1979, BA degree in graphic design from the UK.)

Yet there are also 31 respondents, for whom the move to the country where they lived during the WiE-survey had been their only international experience apart from travel for tourism. Using a concept developed by Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels (2012), they could be referred to as “accidental migrants”, for whom international mobility was never on the agenda before they were faced with the choice of whether to move abroad or stay in Finland. Often the stay which was meant to be a temporary one turned out to be permanent, even though the individual never actually made the decision to move abroad for good (see also Favell 2008b, 65). Also many of those who had previous international experience from for example student exchange had not really planned to move abroad before actually doing so. For example Juhani (b. 1977, Spain) notes that:

“It can really be down to some tiny thing, like for me it was the result of a few coincidences [that I now live here], if I had done a couple of things differently

34. *Taalla yliopistossa opiskellessani (vuoden ns. vaihtovuotena omasta suomalaisesta korkeakoulusta) nain yo:n rekrytoimistossa 12kk mittaisia harjoittelijan paikkoja, joista 4 sain haastattelupyynnnon joista sitten 2sta tyotarjouksen. (...) kun palasin opintojeni jalkeen tanne sain ensimmaisen tyopaikan mita hain.*

35. *Olen tiennyt pienesta pitaen etta halusin muuttaa ulkomaille toihin, aloin opettelemaan englantia itse televisiosta nelja-vuotiaana, joten en ole ikina edes barkinnut muita vaihtoehdoja. Toivoisin etta olisin lahtenyt paljon kauemmaksi ja paljon aiemmin, mutta uskon taman hetkisesta tyokokemuksestani olevan hyotyja tulevaisuuden tavoitteideni saavuttamisessa.*

then the end result would have been totally different. It is pretty exciting when you think about it afterwards, how little things influence where you end up.”³⁶

Juhani got his first job with the help of the recruitment office of the university from which he graduated in Finland. The job happened to be in Ireland, but it could easily have been in Helsinki or in some other Finnish town. The way in which Johanna (b. 1974, Belgium) explains her move abroad – also with the help of the European mobility industry – resonates with the idea that life could easily have turned out very differently: “I had long dreamed about moving abroad, but had not been active in making that happen (...) I stumbled upon an internship opportunity while surfing on the Internet, filled in an online application and was later surprised to hear that I got the job.”³⁷ Other factors that triggered the mobility decision for several other WiE respondents included sudden career advancement opportunities, the foreign nationality of one’s spouse, or the mobility requirements of one’s partner’s career. Most of those moving because of the partner’s career were female, but there were also some men who made the migration decision because of their wife’s career, as this male respondent from Brussels concludes:

“I moved to Belgium to be together with my wife, not because of my career. Job security at the European Commission is very high, so from that perspective my move from the private sector in Finland to Belgium and the Commission was a good choice.”³⁸ (Survey respondent 9924³⁹, b. 1967, MA in business and accounting from Finland.)

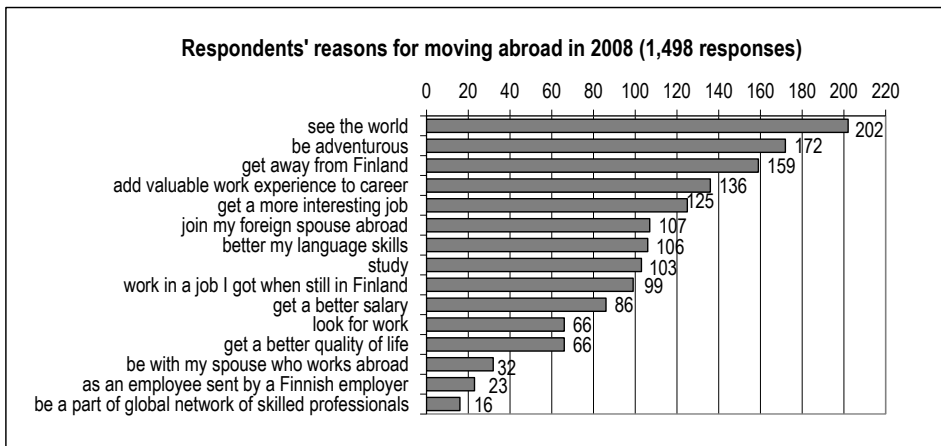
As Thomas Faist (2000, 38) has noted: “(...) potential migrants often rationalize their actions ex post rather than reason ex ante.” Because of this, researchers are puzzled with how best to study migration motivations, since migration can often be the result of “not clearly specified feelings of insecurity and dissatisfaction (Faist 2000, 38)” rather than rational analysis of weighing between different options, assessing the possible increase in life satisfaction, or calculating the best possible

36. *se voi olla tosi pienistä jutuista kiinni... mä voink sanoa, että mullakin se oli ihan muutaman sattuman summa, et ei olis montaa juttuu tarvinnu tehä eri lailla, niin lopputulos ois täysin erilainen, et se on jännä juttu kun jälkikäteen ajattelee, että kuin pienistä jutuista se voi olla kiinni et mistä sitä ittensä löytää.*
37. *...mä olin pitkään haaveillu ulkomaille läböstä, mut mä en ollu mitenkään aktiivisesti tehny asian hyväks mitään ja... ja tosiaan se harjoittelupaikka löyty vähän niinkun sillain sattumalta, että netistä selaillessa täytin hakemuksen ja lähetin ja sit yllättäen sainkin sen paikan...*
38. *Muutin Belgian jotta saisin asua vaimoni kanssa yhdessä, en työurani takia. Varmuus työpaikan säilyvyydestä on Euroopan Komissiossa huippuluokkaa joten siltä kannalta katsottuna muutto Suomen yksityissektorilta Belgiaan ja Komissioon oli järkevä ratkaisu.*
39. This individual responded to the survey that was distributed through the mailing list of the Finnish association of business graduates, SEFE. The two surveys were identical, but to distinguish the two groups, I numbered the SEFE respondents with a survey-id number beginning with 99.

return for one's human capital investment. When the migrant is later asked about her reasons for moving, factors that seem plausible reasons are used to rationalize the move that already happened and the decision that was already taken (see also De Jong & Fawcett 1981, 43–44). Therefore, the responses given to the WiE survey question “Why did you move abroad” should not be used to categorize the respondents into substantially different types of migrants – such as *marriage migrants* or *career migrants* – but rather to understand the ways in which they retrospectively have explained their reasons for moving.

Previous research has noted three main forms of cross-state mobility for EU movers of the largest Western European member states: work-driven mobility, mobility motivated by personal and affective relationships, and quality of life motivated mobility (Recchi 2008, 217–218). The WiE respondents could select a number of possible reasons to *Why did you move abroad?* from a list of 15 reasons. Along the lines of Recchi (2008) these reasons can be classified into motivations related firstly to work: 186 respondents replied that they moved “to look for work”, “to a job they already got while in Finland”, or “as an employee sent abroad by a Finnish employer.” The second set of reasons was related to personal relationships, such as the 139 respondents who stated that they moved “because my partner was foreign” or “to accompany my partner abroad.” The third category includes the 66 respondents who moved “to get a better quality of life”. However, there is also a fourth category that of mobility related to studying as 104 respondents said they “moved abroad to study”. It is good to note that there is considerable overlap between these groups, as each respondent chose an average of four reasons for why they had moved abroad. While the initial push for moving may have come due to the partner's job, for example, the individual may have also chosen to explain that she moved abroad to look for work and to be adventurous.

The most popular choices in each of the four categories listed above were the following: “to get valuable work experience to my career” (136 answers), “to join my foreign spouse abroad” (107 answers), “to improve my language skills” (106 answers) and “to see the world” (202 answers). Only 86 survey respondents out of 364 chose “to get a better salary” as a motivating factor, even though the number of possible selections was not limited. Gaining valuable work experience and “to get a more interesting job” (125 answers) were more common work-related reasons for moving than financial considerations. This was reflected also in the responses to the open-ended questions of the survey: while higher salaries are mentioned as a positive feature of working abroad, they are also balanced by higher taxation (e.g. in responses from Belgium and Denmark) and higher cost of living and requirements for longer working days and shorter holidays (from London, UK). Those responding from Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, noted that salaries in these countries are lower than in Finland. The bar chart below shows the breakdown of the respondent reasons for moving abroad.



BAR CHART 4: Respondents' reasons for moving abroad in 2008

In the PIONEUR project, Ettore Recchi examined the social mobility of movers in the European Union labour markets. He concludes that there is no significant difference between the intergenerational mobility of EU movers and EU stayers – at least within the five largest EU countries involved in the study. In addition he concludes: “(T)he free-movement regime of the EU is an alternative route to social mobility for the less privileged young who are ready to leave their home countries, working also as an additional means of class reproduction for the transnational fraction of the European bourgeoisie” (Recchi 2009, 95). The educational background of the WiE respondents’ families was quite varied: 41 per cent came from families where at least one parent had a university degree, 15 per cent had parents who had only completed grammar school. For such respondents, moving abroad can be a way to upward social mobility, even though the same mobility via higher education could have been achieved in Finland.

The sheer diversity of intra-European migration paths negates the possibility of making sweeping generalisations on why some Europeans move abroad while some choose to stay. As Santacreu et al. (2009, 57–64) found in the PIONEUR project, the mobility motivations of those migrating between the five largest EU member states varied from work and study to quality of life and love and relationships, depending on the country of origin and the country of destination. The same applies to the Finns of my study: among those moving to a metropolis such as London, Paris, or Brussels, there are more career-oriented jobseekers, while among those moving to smaller cities and rural areas there are more of those who moved because of a foreign spouse. What is common to both of these groups is that the mobility decision is not only viewed through the possibilities of gaining a higher salary or having better career prospects, but also as a lifestyle choice, or a learning experience that has consequences far beyond one’s career (see also Leinonen 2012, 260 and Ryan & Mulholland 2013, 6–9).

Chapter conclusions

This chapter examined highly skilled mobility from Finland with the help of Karen O'Reilly's (2012) practice theory of international migration. Using this meta-theoretical model, I noted two major external structures influencing migration from Finland. The first of these consisted of processes related to economic and cultural globalisation, such as the concentration of professional jobs in certain locations, media-mediated imagery of prosperity and promise offered by global cities like London, as well as technical advances such as the Internet with its effortless possibilities for transnational communication. The second set of processes was related to Europeanisation: the Finnish membership of the European Economic Area in 1994 and the European Union in 1995, the creation of the Schengen area with no internal border controls, and the promotion of free movement of labour. I also noted an important "more proximate structural layer" (O'Reilly 2012) which has played a major part in facilitating intra-European mobility: the European mobility industry. Yet while the increased mobility from Finland takes place within the larger context of external structures, and as a continuum of previous Finnish migration trends, there is room for considerable individual agency.

The vast majority of the study's participants moved abroad after the Finnish EU membership in 1995. For those who finished senior secondary school or graduated from a Finnish university after the severe recession of the early 1990s, the opening of doors to Europe provided an exciting possibility to break away from the beaten track of their peers back home. Cities like Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg appear on the map as new destinations that require Finnish highly skilled employees. Studying at a UK university was an option for those who did not wish to spend years trying to enter Finnish universities through highly competitive entrance examinations. For those who left after the year 2000, the possibility of taking one's chances abroad was already something that was taken for granted: freedom to choose where to study or work was their right as European citizens. And for those who simply wanted to leave their peripheric and boring life behind, deciding to live abroad at a global city was as easy as buying a RyanAir plane ticket.

Many of the participants of the study took advantage of the European mobility industry to build individualised study, work and life careers that span multiple localities in Europe and sometimes beyond. This type of intra-European mobility is not based on necessity, but on choice: of all the possible routes to the labour market, the participants of the study chose those that happened to lead abroad. They have acquired and utilised mobility capital, which eases transnational mobility and the transfer of also other forms of cultural capital across borders. The role of agency in highly skilled migration is further discussed in chapter seven. I now turn my attention to what happens after the migration decision has been taken: how do the respondents succeed in finding employment abroad?

5. On finding a job abroad

Highly skilled migrants move globally for different reasons depending on factors such as the professional field, family situation, migration motivation, and countries of origin and destination. For some migrants transnational migration is an inherent part of career advancement, while for others, it is more of an adventure to explore the opportunities available. Depending on the field in question, migration may thus either be a necessary career move or a risky decision that may in the worst case lead to unemployment or losing out in terms of salary, respect and the quality of one's job (see e.g. Bauder 2005a). In many cases, migrant workers are disadvantaged in comparison with native workers because they lack social networks and local contacts, possess less locally valuable cultural capital and may be less fluent in the local language. Little research exists on how Finnish professionals manage abroad: do they have to accept employment in the low-paid service sector, or do they manage to continue their careers abroad at the expected level? This chapter therefore responds to the second empirical research question of the study: *How do highly skilled Finns find work in the EU15 countries?* The theoretical interest of this chapter is focused on the process of transferring institutionalised cultural capital. The insights of this topic are summarised at the end of the chapter.

Higher education as institutionalised cultural capital

Pierre Bourdieu divided cultural capital into three subtypes: *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutionalised*. Institutionalised cultural capital refers to the education and academic qualifications of a certain individual, which can then be assigned a monetary value in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1986, 242–243). The institutionalised type of cultural capital possessed by the WiE survey participants is presented here in more detail. The participants of this study earned their degrees most commonly in social science, business, marketing and economics, and humanities. They had completed degrees in Finland, in the country where they were living during the survey, and in other countries where they had lived earlier. The UK was by far the most common foreign country where degrees had been completed: due to the nature of its higher education system and the English language, it has been a popular destination for Finns studying abroad. 48 per cent of the respondents had obtained their degree in Finland, 20 per cent from abroad, and 25 per cent had a degree from both coun-

tries. 7 per cent of them were still studying while working abroad. According to the WiE survey data from 2008, the 338 survey respondents had completed a total 418 degrees, while 26 respondents were currently finishing their studies.

The educational background of the respondents in terms of fields of study was rather varied. All the tertiary degrees completed by the respondents of the WiE survey by field of study are detailed below. In charts 16 and 17 the degrees completed in Finnish universities of applied sciences and universities are displayed separately, as the degree programmes and classifications somewhat differ⁴⁰. For the degrees obtained from abroad no such division is made, so all foreign degrees are shown in chart 18.

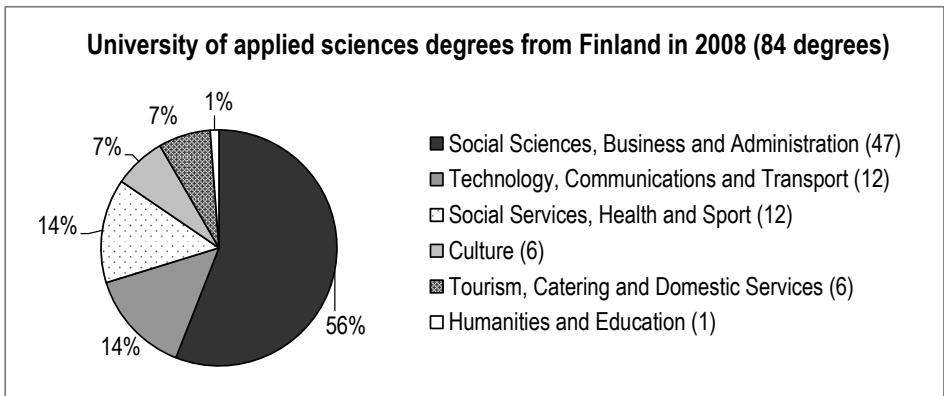


CHART 16: University of applied sciences degrees from Finland by field of study in 2008

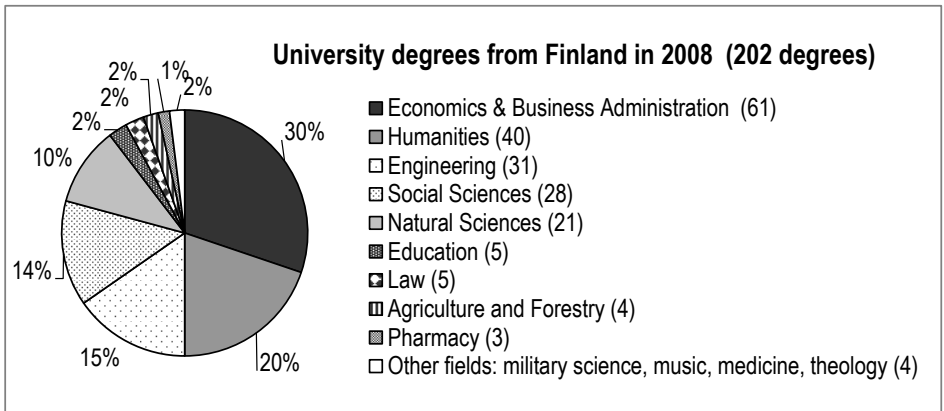


CHART 17: University degrees from Finland by field of study in 2008

40. The fields of study are classified according to the Ministry of Education and Culture official guidelines (Ministry of Education 2013). For translations of these into English see also Elomaa 2005.

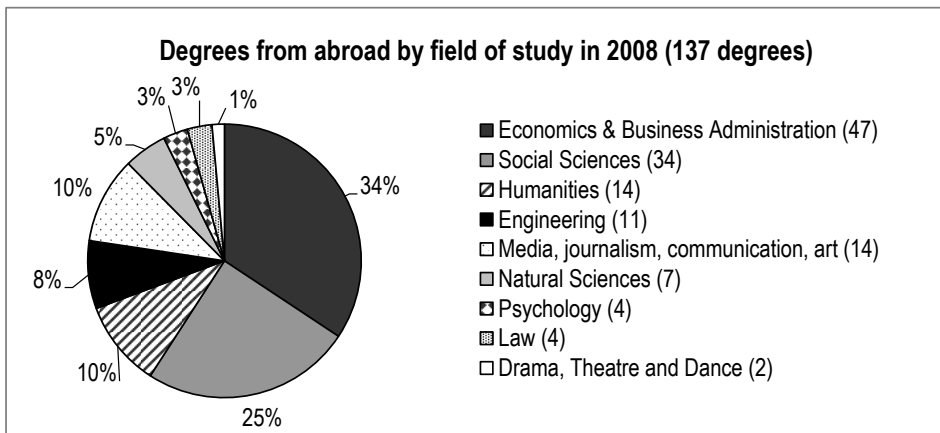


CHART 18: Higher education degrees from abroad by field of study in 2008

Non-recognition of foreign educational degrees can be an important barrier for labour market integration. Friedberg (2000) has noted that the national origin of one's human capital is a crucial determinant of its value, as education from abroad is generally less valued than its domestic counterpart (see also Csedö 2008). The transportability of academic degrees across borders is something that especially those migrants who have lived in several different countries have experience of. Even though a master's degree in, for example, business and economics from Finland is in theory recognised as a higher education degree in the various European countries, having that qualification may not in practice be enough. The traditions between the kinds of degrees and qualifications one needs to advance on a career in business differ across Europe. As one of the interviewees, Juhani (b.1975, Spain), who has work experience from three different countries, explains:

(...) in each country they have their own practices, and I think that this European education system is not yet fully comparable. In Ireland, for example, an English language country (...) you needed all kinds of degrees to advance in your career. In the Netherlands, they talked of their own degrees for registered controllers and in Spain, they believe in the MBAs, which can at its worst be an investment of 30 – 40,000 euros and a year of studying. (...) So if I had to look for work with just a Finnish degree, I would have perhaps felt like an underdog, but now with my long work experience the degree is becoming less significant.”⁴¹

41. ... joka maassa on ollut erilaiset käytännöt ja mä luulen, että tää eurooppalainen koulutusjärjestelmä ei oo vielä täysin vertailukelpoinen, esimerkiksi Irlannissa, englanninkielisessä maassa, (...) olis pitänyt olla erilaisia tutkintoja, että olis päässyt etenemään, Hollannissa puhuttiin heidän omista rekisteröidyistä kontrollerin tutkinnoista ja Espanjassa vannotaan tän MBA:n nimiin, joka sitten saattaa olla pahimmillaan 30 - 40 000 investointi ja sitten vielä vuosi opiskelua (...) täysin suomalaisen tutkinnon kanssa, et jos ois pitänyt työ hakee, ni ehkä vähän altavastaajana, mutta tota noin näin pitkällä työkokemuksella sen tutkinnon merkitys alkaa olla paljon vähäisempi.

The value of one's acquired cultural capital in the form of work experience may thus be much more important than one's institutionalised cultural capital in the form of a higher education degree. As Antti (b. 1973, Germany), an engineer who has worked in the United Kingdom and Germany, notes: "No one has ever asked to see any certificates anywhere, not after the time when I applied to the university [in Finland]. (...) So I could have easily told whatever stories to anyone."⁴² In the international field of information and telecommunication technology, his university degree was of no particular interest to his employers, as long as he could show he had the necessary technical skills and previous work experience with a particular technology.

Various professional bodies can act as gatekeepers that limit access to certain regulated professions. In such cases especially the process of getting one's degree certified can be time-consuming and expensive (e.g. Rabben 2013, Bauder 2005a). However, in light of the experiences of the WiE respondents, this was not the case with these intra-European migrants. When asked to respond to the claim "my degree is recognised in the destination country" only 29 respondents⁴³ (9%) "somewhat disagree" or "disagree completely" with this claim. Equally, the number of respondents who either "somewhat disagree" or "disagree completely" with the claim that their "job fits their qualifications" was low: only 45 respondents (13%) selected this option. To both of these claims over half of the respondents chose the "I agree completely" option. The same question included also other claims related to the labour market position of the respondent (such as "my work experience is recognised", "my skills in the local language are sufficient", and "I am discriminated against for being foreign"). At the end of the question, some space was provided for comments. Out of the 67 respondents who wrote a comment, only four wrote something about their problems in degree recognition. Instead, the respondents chose to write about the importance of language skills, on Finns being an appreciated migrant group, on the level of salaries, duration of the workweek and holidays, for example.

The European Union's goal to harmonise the European higher education degrees through the so-called Bologna process seems to have been realised, at least according to the experiences of the WiE respondents. Non-recognition of their institutional cultural capital was not an obstacle, and the process of applying for work with a foreign degree was only rarely mentioned as difficult. Before turning to the question of careers and types of jobs that the highly skilled Finns of this study found abroad, I describe their labour market situation in Finland because thus we can compare their labour market positions abroad with their situation prior to migration.

42. *Kukaan ei ole koskaan missään kysynyt yhtään mitään todistusta, paitsi kun hain korkeakouluun (...)*
Et mä oisin ihan yhtä hyvin voinu kertoa mitä tahansa fuulaa kaikille.

43. 25 respondents skipped this question on degree recognition, so the per centage is calculated from those 339 respondents who did respond to this claim. Similarly 23 respondents skipped the claim on having a job fitting to their qualifications.

Labour market experiences in Finland

The WiE survey of 2008 had two questions related to the respondents' employment history. First the respondents were asked how long it took for them to find work that would match their degree in Finland. Nearly half of the survey respondents (167) had never worked in Finland, and thus skipped these questions. They had either moved abroad to study after finishing the senior secondary school or had left immediately after completing their university education in Finland. It is customary for most Finnish university students to start working already while studying, so 67 per cent of those who responded to this question selected "I found work already while studying". A further 20 per cent found work right after graduation, while only 4 per cent reported having been unemployed for more than six months. All the responses are detailed in the chart below.



CHART 19: Respondents' experiences of finding work in Finland in 2008

The WiE respondents were also asked to respond to six different claims related to their situation in Finland. Five of these were positive: "I worked at a job that was well suited to my skills", "I worked at a job that was well suited to my degree", "I could change jobs if I wanted to", "My career prospects were good", and "I was satisfied with my salary." In addition, the respondents were asked to react to one negative claim: "I was afraid of being unemployed". Based on the responses to these claims, it can be concluded that the WiE respondents were satisfied with their labour market situation and prospects back in Finland. The share of respondents who "agree completely" or "somewhat agree" with the five positive claims ranged between 46 to 83 per cent.

The share of those who either "disagree completely" or "somewhat disagree" with the positive claims ranged from 12 to 41 per cent of the respondents. The highest number of satisfied respondents was for the positive claim on how well suited their job was to their skills (86%) and degree (76%), and lowest for the claim related to

their salary (46%). In addition, only 21 per cent somewhat or completely agreed to the negative claim of “I was afraid of being unemployed”. Because such a high share of the survey respondents describe their circumstances back in Finland as satisfactory, no major conclusions can be drawn from how the situation differed between various professions or fields of study, for example. However, a brief look at those respondents who were *not* satisfied with their work and career is in order.

Of those 50 respondents who “disagreed completely” with at least one of the five positive claims, the claim “I was satisfied with my salary” gathered most of the disagreeing responses. A majority (22 individuals) of the 34 respondents, who described the other aspects of their labour market situation in positive terms and only selected *one* “disagree completely” option, did so in response to the question on salaries. The rest of the issues that the respondents were most dissatisfied about were distributed more randomly: five respondents completely disagreed with two and eleven with three or more of the claims presented. Some of the respondents clearly did have a job that matched their degree in Finland, but were still dissatisfied with their career prospects, as this female respondent notes: “Moving abroad was a good decision for my career and CV, in fact it was a compulsory move in regards to my career as a researcher”⁴⁴ (survey respondent 157, b. 1977, France, PhD in physics from Finland). A handful of respondents express disillusionment with Finland and its labour market in general:

“I moved to Britain for the first time in ’97 and in December 2003 I returned to Finland, but was fed up with the short-term contracts, poor salaries and bad career prospects in a year. I returned to Britain in 2005. I will not return to Finland because I cannot bare the short work contracts and the fact that women are paid poorly and there are only a few jobs to choose from.”⁴⁵ (Survey respondent 236, b. 1970, UK, BA in sociology from the UK.)

Unemployment or bleak economic prospects for newly graduated workers in the country of origin can be important push factors (e.g. Castles & Miller 2009, 22) encouraging emigration. Among most of the WiE respondents, this has not been the case, however, as those who had been unemployed and were dissatisfied with their career prospects are a clear minority. Only 2 per cent report having looked for work abroad via the EURES employment agency network, which would have been a natural choice, had they been customers of the local unemployment agency while still in Finland. Yet for some respondents the labour market situation did play a major part in the decision to look for work abroad. Pauliina, one of the interviewees

44. *Muutto oli järkevä ratkaisu työuran kannalta sekä CV:n kannalta, tutkijan uralla etenemisen kannalta pakollinen liike.*

45. *Muutin eka kerran britanniaan 97 opiskelemaan ja v 2003 (joulukuun) palasin suomeen mutta kypsyin vuodessa patkatoihin ja huonoon palkkaan ja huonoihin uramahdollisuuksiin. Palasin takaisin britanniaan 2005. En aio palata suomeen koska en jaksa patkatoita ja sita etta naisille maksetaan huonosti palkkaa ja ei ole paljoa toita mista valita.*

(b. 1980, Denmark) is a good example of such a situation. While the main reason to move specifically to Denmark was her Danish boyfriend, she however concludes:

“...I graduated before Christmas 2006 (...) I tried to look for work but found nothing, or did find but there were some hundred thousand other applicants and I got nothing, so it felt that I had the wrong education for everything I tried. So I got fed up and mad and as my boyfriend was from here I decided to randomly apply for work here and got a job.”⁴⁶

Then again for some other interviewees, the desire to move did not stem from lack of work or poor career prospects in Finland, but was rather an opportunity for career advancement, as in the case of Tapio (b. 1977, UK):

“...my former employer headhunted me from my previous job (...) they said I had shown my competence through work so I was welcome there if I was interested, and as the salaries in London are so much higher, it was not such a major decision, and of course in terms of work experience, London is the best place in Europe for a finance lawyer.”⁴⁷

Tapio has a law degree from Finland, and he represents a highly skilled migrant who started his work career in Finland and moved on to continue with the same profession abroad. The career point at which migrants such as Pauliina – with little experience in her own field after graduation – and Tapio – with an established position in his field – had the value of their cultural capital abroad evaluated is therefore very different.

The respondents were asked about the job titles they held while still working in Finland⁴⁸. Many of the titles were clearly white-collar, office jobs, but the titles reveal only little of the actual content of the job: the work of a “project director”, “marketing manager”, “customer advisor”, or “communications officer” can entail very different tasks and be situated on various levels of the employer’s career structure. In addition this data was missing from a large share of respondents, if they had no work history in Finland, for example. 163 respondents listed their job titles in Finland, and 257 gave the information of their titles abroad. The career progression of a respondent who has worked as a “legal trainee, assistant lawyer, and lawyer”

46. *...kun mä valmistuin 2006 jouluna ja (...) yritin hakee töitä, mut mitään ei löytyny, tai löytys, mut sinne oli joku satatuhatta muutakin hakijaa ja sit ei mitään irronnu ja tuntu et oli ihan väärä koulutus kaikkiin asioihin, niin mä kyllästyin ja suiwaannuin ja kun mies kerran oli täältä, niin päädyin sit hakee randomilla töitä täältä ja sain työpaikan.*

47. *...tää mun edellinen työnantaja headhuntas mut mun entisestä tota työpaikasta ja (...) ne sano mulle et sä oot näyttänny kompetenssin ihan työn merkeissä, että tuu tänne jos kiinnostaa tulla, ja palkat Lontoossa on niin paljon kovemmat että se ei ollu mikään kaubeen vaikee päätös ja tietysti työkoemuksena rahoitusjuristille Lontoo on periaatteessa paras paikka Euroopassa.*

48. Most respondents gave their job titles in Finland in Finnish and titles abroad in English. I translated the titles into English for the table in Appendix 5 to the best of my knowledge.

in Finland and as an “associate lawyer” (survey respondent 10, b. 1978, BA in law from Finland, MA in European Law from Belgium) in the United Kingdom seems pretty straightforward – she has successfully continued her career abroad. So is the case with those respondents who continued with the exactly same title (“translator” – “translator”, “analyst” – “analyst”, “nurse” – “nurse”, or “buyer” – “buyer”), or first completed a doctoral degree in Finland and continued as post-doctoral researchers abroad. Then again evaluating the career progress of, for example, a respondent who held the titles of “registering assistant” and “registering co-ordinator” in Finland and “regulatory affairs manager” (survey respondent 48, b. 1978, BA from a polytechnic, Social Services, Health and Sport, Germany) abroad is difficult without more information on the exact nature of the jobs and the names of the employers.⁴⁹

Based on this information alone no conclusive comparisons can be made on how the careers of the respondents progressed once they left their job in Finland and acquired a new one in the destination country, apart from how they themselves evaluated whether they are in a job matching their degree and work experience (see chapter six). However, for information purposes, Appendix 5 includes the job titles of the 121 WiE respondents who listed their titles both in Finland and abroad. The list includes jobs as diverse as midwife, publishing editor, associate lawyer, pharmacist, financial analyst, museum guide, IT-analyst, and teacher. But how then to analyse the labour market experiences and the process of transferring cultural capital of such a diverse group of highly skilled migrants, especially when they also differ in terms of their educational background, work experience and country of destination? In the following sections, the paths leading to high skilled jobs abroad are examined with the help of the concept of *status passage*, which is analysed from two viewpoints: the effort required and the duration of time that it took for the jobseekers to find a suitable job.

Status passages into the destination country labour market

The process of finding a highly skilled job in the destination country naturally varies according to, for example, the educational background, career stage, profession, and migration motivation of each migrant as well as the country in question. In their study on highly skilled migration and the transferability of cultural capital into the labour market of Germany, Nohl, Ofner, and Thomsen (2010) use the concept of status passage to describe the transitional period between exiting the labour market of the country or origin, or graduating from an institution of higher education, and integrating into the labour market of the country of destination (Nohl et al. 2010,

49. There is quite an extensive literature in the field of management concerning highly skilled mobility and expatriate careers. In this thesis references to this literature are made only sparingly. For a good introduction to these debates see Ariss et al. 2012, which is an introduction to a special issue on the careers of skilled migrants abroad in *The Journal of Management Development*.

69–70, see also Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010–2011). In an earlier article by the members of the same *Cultural capital during migration* research group, the researchers define the concept as follows: “(...) the ‘status passage’ denotes the period of life during which the transition between the educational degree and the labor market takes place” (Nohl et al. 2006, paragraph 27).

Transnational mobility complicates this transitional period, as the status passage determines whether migrants can utilise their education and related cultural capital, or whether they experience exclusion and a diminished status in the new country (Nohl et al. 2006, paragraph 21). Migrants can be at a disadvantage due to lack of language skills and country specific knowledge, and face problems in getting their foreign degrees and other qualifications recognised. Finding a way around these obstacles takes time and causes delay in their career trajectories (Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010–2011, 132). The concept of status passage is useful in describing also the paths taken by the expatriate Finns of my study. In this study the term signifies the transitional periods that are spent doing low-skilled jobs, studying, in unemployment, or continuing to work in Finland while applying for highly skilled jobs in the destination country. Two dimensions of this period are studied: first, *the effort required* to find a job, exemplified by the numbers of applications sent and interviews attended, and second, *in terms of time*, of how long it took to find a satisfactory job. I will first describe my conceptualisation of the status passage and then discuss the two dimensions separately in the following sections of this chapter.

Table 6 below depicts the status passages of the participants of my study. Their paths into highly skilled jobs varied from “easy – straight away” to “difficult – after a year or more”, depending on how much effort and time they had to invest in finding a suitable job. Obviously, the transition was easiest for those moving from one country to the next as an intra-company transferee, as well as for those who were either head-hunted from Finland to a job abroad or had found a job abroad while still living in Finland. A typical case of such an easy and effortless transfer is this WiE respondent, who tells about his 2007 job search in the United Kingdom in a rather casual manner:

“I found the job almost accidentally: I sent a trial balloon to a recruitment agency during my holiday – they invited me over and once I was there I realised that they had arranged interviews to seven companies. Of those two offered me a job.”⁵⁰ (Survey respondent 107, b. 1970, MA in economics from Finland.)

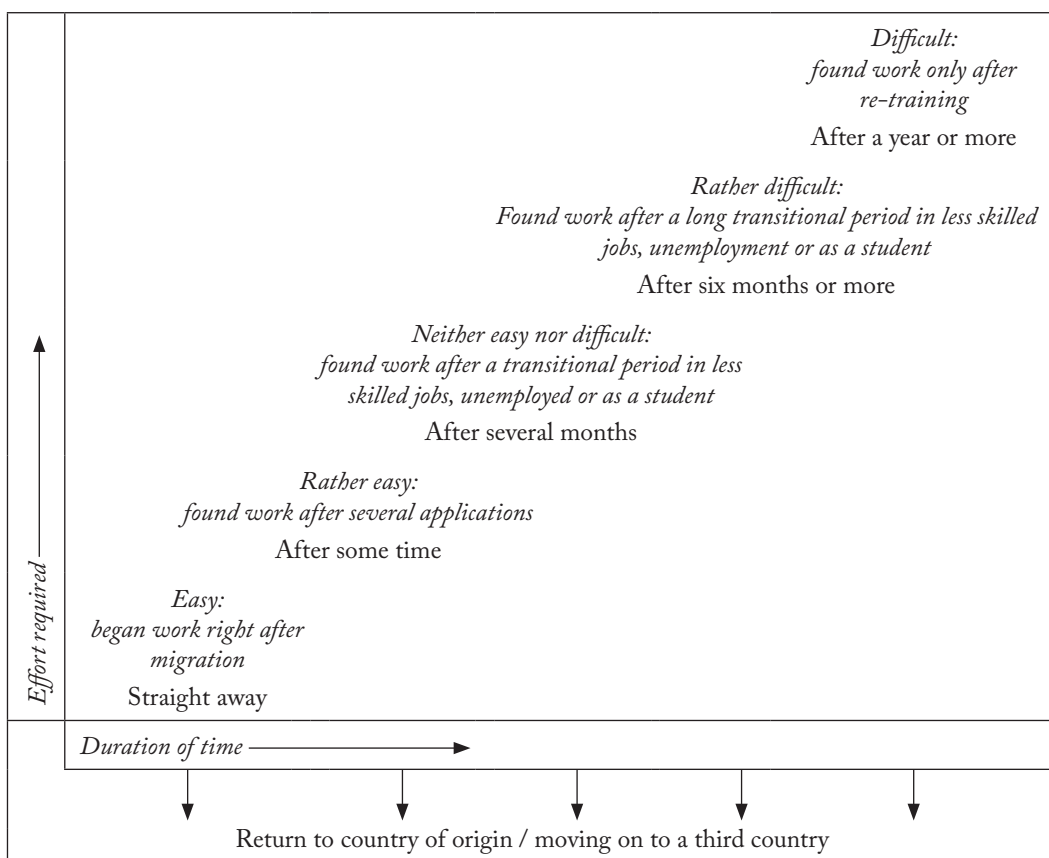
For the male respondent quoted above, finding work from London was “really easy”, as it had also been when he had originally moved from Finland to Ireland in the year 2000. At the other end of the spectrum, gaining access to the labour market of the destination country was most difficult for those respondents who could not

50. *Työllistysin puolivahingossa: lähetin koepallon rekrytoimistoon kesälomalla – kutsuivat käymään ja tullessani käymään olivat järjestäneet haastatteluja 7 yritykseen. Näistä kaksi tarjosivat työpaikkaa.*

find a highly skilled job before they had spent months or even years in studying or acquiring a new profession. The prolonged period that foreign job applicants spend before finding qualified jobs has also been called the *transition penalty* (Lochhead 2003). A female respondent from France explains her difficulties in finding work:

“I am still looking for a job. I have not found a job in the nine months I have lived here. A large part of that time I have been a ‘passive job-seeker’ as I have put my energy in studying French full time. (...) I think it is very difficult to find a job in France without a good command of the language.”⁵¹ (Survey respondent 239, b. 1980, Artisan degree in footwear design from a Finnish polytechnic.)

TABLE 6: The status passage: Finding a highly skilled job in the destination country



51. Minulla työnhaku vieläkin päällä. Työpaikkaa ei ole löytynyt 9 kuukauden oleskelun aikana, siitä ajasta suuri osa on kuitenkin ollut “passiivista” työnhakua. Eli ollessani kokopäiväisellä ranskankursilla, olen pistänyt energiani kielen opiskeluun, enkä ole aktiivisesti ottanut yhteyttä kovinkaan moneen yritykseen kurssin aikana. Tuntuma kuitenkin on, että Ranskassa todella vaikeaa saada työpaikkaa ilman kielen hyvää hallintaa.

It will become evident in the following chapters that for the majority of this study's participants passing through the status passage required only a little time and relatively little effort. As the Finns of this study are voluntary migrants moving within Europe, a return home is always an option for those dissatisfied with their career prospects abroad or life in the new context in general. As Favell and Recchi (2011, 73) conclude on the EU as a new European field of mobility: "(...) [it is] an open, undefined, protean horizon beyond the nation, a place for self-discovery and adventure as much as possible opportunity and advancement, that works because of its relatively bounded scope". Mikael (b. 1976, Luxembourg), one of the male interviewees, concludes on the ease of transnational mobility in Europe: "Finding work abroad is easier than many Finns even realise (...) just be brave and go out and see for yourself and try it, you can always go back if all else fails⁵²."

The effort taken: Ways of looking for work

The route to labour market integration in the country of destination can take many forms, and often also highly skilled migrants have to pass a series of hurdles to gain access to skilled employment. Based on her data on highly skilled female migrants in Germany, von Hausen (2010, 181–182) notes four spaces of activity⁵³ where the individual actions and contextual factors influence the kinds of labour market outcomes that highly skilled migrants are able to reach. These areas are: 1) building cultural capital, 2) gaining the right of residence and obtaining a work permit, 3) the recognition of educational titles, and 4) labour market participation. Activity in these spaces generally takes place sequentially over time, but in some cases one type of activity may dominate or have new urgency over another. At least in theory, intra-European migrants need not worry about getting a residence permit, apply for a work permit, or struggle for the official recognition of their degrees. Yet some of the interviewees tell about bureaucratic problems that show how mobility across intra-European borders is not always as frictionless as it should be (see also Favell 2008b). EU citizen Antti (b. 1973, Germany) had to apply for a work and residence permit in Germany because his wife was a non-EU citizen, and Marika (b. 1976, UK) had initial troubles entering the UK labour market because of an administrative problem:

"At first I just studied there (...) I had trouble with the local authorities. You need this National Insurance Number, even if you are a foreigner from an EU member state, you cannot work without it. There was this peculiar 'chicken or

52. *Et niinkun se työn saaminen ulkomailta on helpompaa kuin moni suomalainen tajuu (...) kannattais olla robkea ja käydä kattomassa ja kokeilemassa, aina pääsee maitojunalla takaisin.*

53. Space of activity is "Wirkungsräume" in the German language original. The spaces of activity are presented in a graph titled "Wirkungskreis Tätigkeitsniveau."

egg' dilemma that I could not get the number without a job, and the employers said that without the National Insurance Number we cannot hire you."⁵⁴

The highly skilled Finns of this study are European citizens and they did not therefore have to fear being denied entry into their countries of destination or endure long waiting periods before being given the right to stay. According to von Hausen's analysis (2010) *building (new) cultural capital* and *labour market participation* are for such migrants the key areas that define the achievable occupational level. Looking for employment in the country of destination is the starting point for both of these spaces of activity. It is also when the value of one's existing cultural capital is tested and when one learns whether acquiring new cultural capital is required to access a highly skilled job in the new country.

In the 2008 WiE survey the respondents were presented with a list of 15 different job search methods and were asked to select all those that they had used in the country where they currently lived. The respondents selected an average of 2,9 different methods and 46 respondents selected the answer choice "I have not looked for work in this country"⁵⁵. The single most common method was to reply to an employer's add, which had been used by 56 per cent of all respondents (203 individuals). The second and third most common methods were to conduct job searches over the Internet (45%, 164 respondents) and to send open applications or contact employers directly (44%, 160 respondents). The two branches of the European mobility industry identified in the previous chapter had aided the mobility of these Finns. It is worth noting that the use of private recruitment agencies was much more common (25%, 92 responses) than using the publicly funded EURES-network, which has been specially designed to ease labour mobility across European borders. Only 8 respondents (2%) say they had taken advantage of the extensive EURES network.

The 15 different methods of looking for work that the respondents had used can be combined into five larger categories: *contacting employers*, i.e. responding to an employer's add or sending open applications to employers directly, *using agencies*, i.e. consulting some public or private employment agency, *using social networks* as a

54. *Mä pelkästään opiskelin sen alkuaian (...) oli ongelmia paikallisten viranomaisten kanssa kun tääl pitää olla sellanen National insurance number... Ulkomaalaisen vaikka olis EU-jäsen, niin ei ne laske töihin ilman sitä ja sit oli semmonen ihmeellinen muna-kana solmu että sitä numberia ei saanu ulkomaalaisena hakea ellei ollu töitä mut sitten työnantajat oli että et sä ilman tätä National insurance numberia pääse töihin.*

55. Three respondents skipped this question. It should be noted that the number of respondents without experience of looking for work (46) in their current home country was rather high. 12 of these respondents were students, free lancers, and trainees or were taking care of children at home or had started their own company. The responses to the open-ended questions provided some light to why the remaining 32 respondents with no experience of looking for work were, however, working full time in their current countries. A common explanation was to have been seconded from elsewhere or taken an intra-company transfer, having been headhunted or having moved abroad for scientific research or following one's spouse, not to seriously *look for work* per se.

source of information on job opportunities, *being headhunted*, i.e. being approached directly by employers, and making an *independent initiative*, i.e. setting up one's own company or advertising one's skills and services in a newspaper or online. The breakdown of in these categories is presented in the table below.

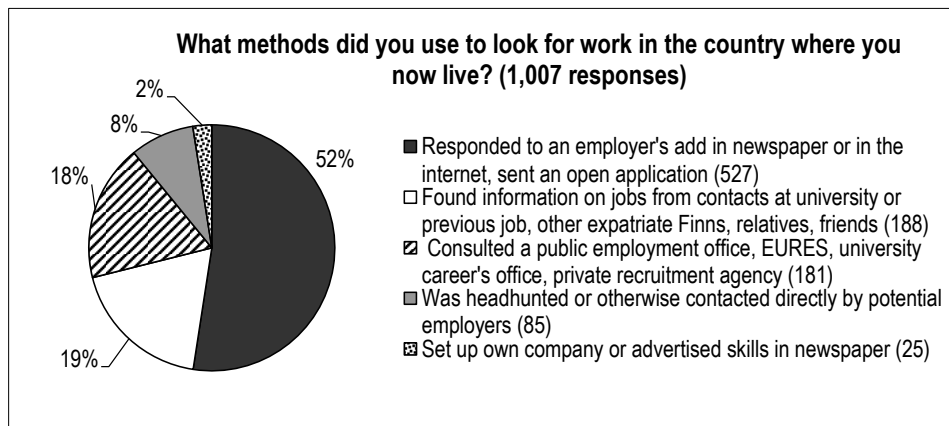


CHART 20: Methods of looking for work in the country of destination in 2008

According to the WiE survey results, the rather conventional way of sending applications to employers in response to vacancies advertised was still the main form of looking for work, even though the role of the Internet has in the recent years become more important than responding to job advertisements placed in leading newspapers. Consulting different types of employment offices and recruitment agencies does provide help for the job seeker, but as noted above, the private agencies were used more than the public ones. Many of those who moved to the United Kingdom to look for work explained that one simply has to get used to operating with the private agencies, which belong to the for-profit branch of the European mobility industry. As this male respondent explains:

“To keep it short, in England, especially in London’s finance sector, there is a countless number of agencies that typically handle the recruitment processes. They come in many forms. Typically pretty superficial and slick operations, unbelievable bullshit.”⁵⁶ (Survey respondent 993, b. 1968, MA in Economics from Finland.)

One’s social network plays an important role in finding work: the weak ties to former colleagues, contacts from university and one’s friends and extended family pro-

56. *Lyhyesti, englannissa, eritoten lontoossa rahoitusalla on lukematon määrä agency:ja joiden kautta hakuprosessit yleensä hoidetaan. Naita on sitten moneen lahtoon. Yleensä hyvin pintapuolista ja lipevaa toimintaa, uskomatonta paskanjauhamista.*

vide information on possible job openings. Weak ties are also used in headhunting: being offered a job by a prospective employer or her representative was common especially with survey respondents working in the banking, finance, and consultancy sectors. Often career advancement opportunities came from a former colleague, as one of the interviewees, Tapio (b. 1977, UK), a lawyer working in London explains:

”... my current boss and I worked together at my previous workplace (...). He quit that job a couple of years ago and has since recruited a number of colleagues... or headhunted them from his former employer. (...) Headhunters are much, much more active here in London than they are in Finland, here the advertising of jobs on the open market is much more limited. (...) either the headhunter contacts you or you contact the headhunter, only a few jobs can be applied for directly.”⁵⁷

Both Tapio and Mikael (b. 1976), an investment director at a bank in Luxembourg, were originally headhunted to companies abroad from their jobs in Helsinki. Networks based on professional contacts and personal acquaintances have also aided the career of Mika (b. 1976, UK), a financial consultant who was headhunted into a different field from his former London job. Also Susanna (b. 1978, UK), a consultant with a very international career, gets frequent calls from rival companies, due to her good reputation among the colleagues in her field. Even though she is not actively considering leaving the company in which she has worked for years, she says “...I always think about the situation for a while when a headhunter calls me. Would this offer be interesting? But on the other hand, I really like my work here.”⁵⁸ Listening to what the headhunters are offering is her way of keeping track of what she calls “the dynamic job market of her field.”⁵⁹

The importance of understanding the operation of the local system in the destination country was highlighted in the open-ended responses to question 20 of the WiE survey: *What was it like to look for work abroad?* At least two major factors that vary from country to country can be identified: *the channels* one has to use to access information about vacancies and *the kind of application* one is supposed to hand in to be considered as a serious applicant. In some countries limited information on job openings can be an obstacle for finding work, as this female respondent from Spain explains:

57. ... mun nykyinen pomo oli mun kanssa mun edellisessä työpaikassa töissä (...)hän lähti sieltä itte pari vuotta sitten pois ja sit... hän on hiljalleen muutamia tyypppejä rekrytoinu... tai headhuntannu sieltä vanhasta putiikista (...) se täytyy sanoa täst Lontoon työmarkkinoista ylipäätäkin, että headhunntterit on paljon paljon aktiivisempia täällä kun Suomessa, et semmonen avoimien työpaikkojen haku on paljon paljon rajotetumpaa kun mitä se on Suomessa, (...) et täällä joko headhunntteri ottaa subun yhteyttä tai sä otat yhteyttä headhunntteriin, et harvoja paikkoja täällä haetaan suoraan.

58. mä aina mietin vähän aikaa kun ne headhunntterit soittaa, et voisiko tää olla mielenkiintoista mut toisaalta mä kyl tykkään näistä mun duuneista

59. dynaaminen markkina

“In my current location it [looking for work] was difficult, because employment is mainly found via your connections to other people, and because I am foreign, getting into these networks takes time. I sent applications to a number of places and got my current job through my connections.”⁶⁰ (Survey respondent 158, b. 1969, MA in social sciences from Finland, some doctoral studies in Spain.)

Also Anna (b. 1980, Iceland⁶¹), one of the interviewees notes the same phenomenon on the importance of networks in Spain: “I would have had to start from zero. There the local networks and local experience are valued a lot: you simply do not get hired to a senior level position just like that.”⁶² For Anna the solution to the problem of lacking local contacts and social capital was found in choosing to stay outside of the actual local labour market. She had set up her own company as soon as she graduated in Finland, and she continued to work for Finnish and international clients as a freelance journalist based in Spain. There is, however, considerable variation between different European destinations, as in some other countries the process of finding work seems to be much easier. The importance of dealing with private recruitment agencies was highlighted by many from both the United Kingdom and Ireland. As this female respondent explains:

“It is pretty easy to look for work in Ireland, there are plenty of jobs. All you have to do is send a CV to the recruitment agency and they arrange interviews and soon you start getting job offers.”⁶³ (Survey respondent 55, b. 1983, BA in business and economics from a university of applied sciences from Finland.)

Making an application that fits the local norm can be another difficulty, especially if one was educated abroad and did not become socialised into that particular job-seeking system as a student. As this female respondent from Belgium explains: “The job seekers’ ‘application pack’ for the job I applied for was demanding. When I filled in the form, it was about 20 pages long. This I have not encountered in Finland”⁶⁴ (survey respondent 287, b. 1977, MA in social sciences from Finland). Despite the difference, she was successful in getting the job she applied for. Also those writing from Germany commented on how the format of the application seemed to be very

60. *”Nykyisessä asuinpaikassani se oli vaikeaa, sillä tyosuhteet solmitaan lähinnä subteiden kautta ja ulkomaalaisena subteiden solmiminen kestä. Lahetin hakemuksia moniin eri paikkoihin, ja sain nykyisen työpaikkani subteiden kautta.*

61. She lived in Spain during the first WiE survey in 2008 and later moved to Iceland, which is not a member of the EU, but does belong to the European Economic Area (EEA).

62. *No Espanjassa olis pitänyt alottaa täysin puhtaalta pöydältä, et siel ne paikalliset verkostot ja paikallinen kokemus, sitä arvostetaan tosi paljon, et sua ei heti palkata mikskään johtaja-päälliköks*

63. *Irlannissa työnhaku on aika helppoa, toita on paljon. Ei tarvitse kuin lahettaa CV rekrytointistoon ja he hoitavat haastatteluajat ja aika nopeasti saa jo tyotarjouksia*

64. *Työnhakijan “application pack” hakemaani tehtävään oli vaativa, lomakkeesta tuli täytettynä n. 20 sivua tekstiä. Sellaiseen en ole törmännyt Suomessa.*

strict, and how important it was to include copies of all possible certificates, including those completed while still at school in Finland: “When I came here (only 6 years ago), electronic applications were not accepted, but you had to send these German application binders, where everything had to be exactly right”⁶⁵ (survey respondent 108, b. 1966, MA in business administration and MA in German philology). Also Emilia (b. 1980, Germany), one of the female interviewees, notes the same:

”(...) a German CV is pretty strict, you need a proper photograph for example (...) It has to be written very neatly and have that German punctuality, and usually it had to be sent by mail, not e-mailed, and have a real application binder with all possible certificates (...) It was quite a job to learn to do this a few years back.”⁶⁶

Another factor to be taken into account is the range of jobs one can apply for with different qualifications and educational backgrounds. Having been used to the Finnish system of rather strict boundaries between disciplines and professions, the variety of jobs one could apply for, came as a surprise to many. As Minna (b. 1976, Ireland) an interviewee with a degree in Nordic philology, explains:

“The difference between England and Finland is that in Finland it is pretty fixed: if you study one field, you only work in that field; if you are a technician for example then you do not start wandering off into some other field, but you look for work in the field that you studied. In England you may have studied art history and end up working in public relations.”⁶⁷

This flexibility is not unique to Britain. Pauliina (b. 1980, Denmark) observes the same thing from Denmark: “In Finland it is important that you have the right education, here it is important that you have an education (...) you can apply for a much wider range of jobs.”⁶⁸

65. *Siinä vaiheessa, kun tulin tänne (eli vain 6 vuotta sitten), sähköisiä hakemuksia ei hyväksytty vaan piti lähetää sellaisia saksalaisia hakemusmappeja, joissa kaikki piti olla jämäptilleen oikein.*

66. *saksalainen CV on... siin on aika tiukat kriteerit, siinä pitää olla hyvä kuva esimerkiksi. (...) Ja pitää olla hyvin jämpä hakemus ja saksalainen täsmällisyys, ja yleensä aina postitse piti lähetellä, et ei sähköpostitse ja aina sinne piti tehdä semmonen kansio oikeen, missä kaikki todistuskopiot. (...) Oli siinä aika opettelua silloin muutamia vuosia sitten.*

67. *(...) minkä eron huomaa Englannin ja Suomen välillä on se, että ku Suomessa on aika lukkiutunu se, jos opiskelet jotain alaa, niin sit teet pelkästään sillä alalla niitä töitä, et ku oot joku teknikko ni et sit siitä lähde mihinkään muualle hoipertelemaan, et se on se ala mitä oot opiskellu ni siltä alalta myöskin haet töitä, kun taas sit vaikka Englannissa, jos oot lukenu taidehistoriaa, niin sit ootkin PR:n parissa töissä (...)*

68. *Suomessa se on niin tärkeätä, et sulla on oikee koulutus, tääl on tärkeätä se, että sulla on joku koulutus (...) et tääl voi hakee vähän niinkun ehkä laajemmalla skaalalla juttuja.*

The time spent: Duration of time before finding a highly skilled job

The gains and losses that transnational mobility causes to the career of the highly skilled migrant are not determined immediately upon arrival to the destination country. The possible up- or downgrading of the career is rather a process that takes place over time (Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010–2011, 132). Finding work in one's own field may take a long time, but once the right job comes along, getting it may be surprisingly simple. The transition through the status passage can therefore be described as “difficult” and “easy” at the same time. The experience of a kindergarten teacher from Belgium works as an example: while still living in Finland, she found a job matching her degree when still studying, but in Belgium it took her some three to six months to find a suitable job at an international school. She explains:

“Looking for work was rather laborious. It depended a lot on how active you were, and on luck. I sent open applications to employers in my own field, and my current workplace contacted me on the day after I had sent them my application.”⁶⁹ (Survey respondent 213, b. 1981, university of applied sciences BA from Finland.)

When asked how long it took for them to find employment that *matched their degree* in the new country, only four per cent of the WiE respondents reported that they had not found such a job, and a further four per cent said that they had been unemployed and had looked for work for longer than six months. 76 per cent had found work within just weeks: either before moving or immediately after it, or before or immediately after graduating from a local institution. The respondents were also asked to compare their current country with Finland on a number of claims related to their labour market position. The respondents were rather content with their situation in the new country, as the share of “agree completely/somewhat agree” replies to the claim “I get a better salary than in Finland” was 70 per cent, to “I have a job that fits my qualifications” 79 per cent, “My degree is recognised” 77 per cent, and “My previous job experience is recognised” 77 per cent. Being foreign had not been a major obstacle in finding work, as only 11 per cent reported having faced discrimination (see also Koikkalainen 2009b).

69. *Työnbaku oli melko työlästä. Riippui paljon omasta aktiivisuudesta sekä tuurista. Lähetin avoimia työhakemuksia oman alan työpaikoihin, joista nykyinen työpaikkani otti minuun yhteyttä seuraavana päivänä hakemuksen lähettämisestä.*

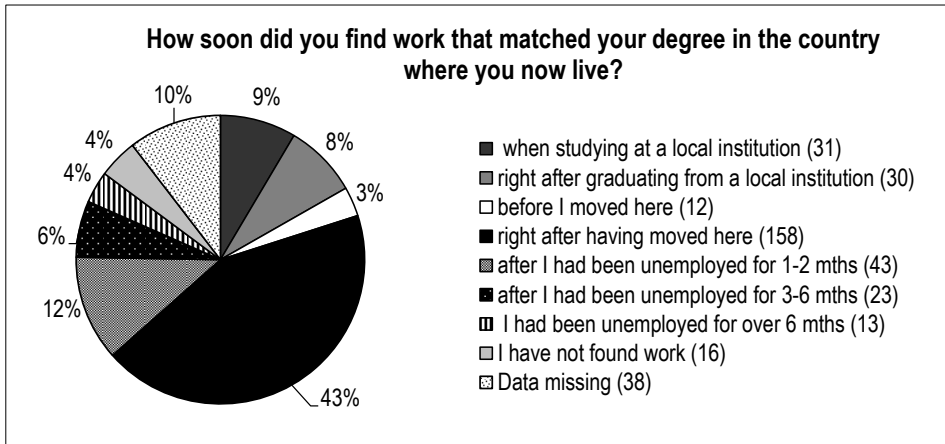


CHART 21: Finding a job that matches one's degree in the country of destination in 2008

The experienced success in the labour market is often evaluated in terms of the present situation, and even long processes of looking for employment can later be seen as only a temporary learning phase. Also the respondents' views on how their careers are likely to proceed in the future are based on their analyses of the current situation that may of course change. Even though initial difficulties in finding a job that matches one's degree may have consequences for the whole of one's career, a prolongation of the status passage does not necessary signify a dead end, as this female respondent explains:

“In London in 2001 I applied for more than thirty jobs after graduating from the university. It took me six months to find a job that matched my degree. After that I have worked in the same company and have only applied internally. It is easy in a big multinational company.”⁷⁰ (Survey respondent 326, b. 1977, BA (Hons) European Business Studies from Germany.)

Several of the interviewees talk about the difficulties in finding skilled employment in the destination country. In retrospect, that period is seen as a difficult one, and the time spent looking for either the first job in any field or a good job in one's own field is described as laborious or difficult. Mika (b. 1976, UK) looks back to the time he first moved to London: “The first couple of years were really tough before I got my income level even to a very basic minimum, I think there were a couple of Christmases when I did not buy any presents to anyone, so it was really difficult

70. *Hain Lontoossa vuonna 2001 kolmeakymmentä työtä. Kesti puoli vuotta saada koulutusta vastaavaa työtä yliopiston jälkeen. Sen jälkeen olen ollut samassa firmassa eli en ole hakenut kuin firman sisäisesti toita. Helppoa se isossa kansainvälisessä firmassa*

(...)“⁷¹ Other interviewees, too, tell with a certain sense of personal achievement how difficult the initial months or years were: it may have been hard in the beginning, but going through a difficult period of adjustment paid off. As Pauliina (b. 1980, Denmark) explains in connection of a possible relocation plan from Denmark to a third country due to her husband’s job:

“(...) it was pretty rough to start one’s life afresh at the age of 27–28. Looking back now I’ve got to be proud of myself that I managed it, as I might not have the strength to go through it again.”⁷²

Mika and Pauliina had moved to the UK and Denmark with degrees from abroad⁷³ and were hence faced with possible status passage problems with their institutionalised cultural capital, as well as an adjustment period to the new environment and working culture. However, having credentials from the country of destination does not necessarily guarantee access to the kind of job one is hoping for, and some of the interviewees with local degrees tell similar stories of perseverance and personal achievement against the odds. Marko (b. 1977, UK), who works as a corporate lawyer in London, is an example of how it may take time and patience to achieve one’s career goals. He completed his Bachelor’s degree in Scotland in 2003, but his career only took off in the desired manner after he had worked in a series of short-term administrative jobs, completed a post-graduate degree in management and corporate governance in 2006, and applied for jobs in London. He explains:

“You know how Britain is a multicultural country, but Scotland is not (...) especially the white-collar jobs like lawyers and accountants and such, it is difficult to get into an interview with a foreign name. My friends from law school with similar CV’s were getting interviews while I got nothing (...) Now in London it makes no difference if you are British or not, everyone is from out of town anyway.”⁷⁴

The way in which the interviewees evaluate their own work careers is obviously affected by their current employment situation. For those clearly satisfied with how

71. *Sit oli niinkun pari vuotta tosi rankkaa ennen kun niinkun sai tulotason ees semmoselle minimitasolle, että kyllä siinä meni pari jouluu, että ei oikeen lahjoja ostettu kellekään, et se oli tosi vaikeeta (...).*
72. *(...) on se aika hurjaa pistää koko elämä uusiks 27–28-vuotiaana, et nyt kun kattoo taaksepäin, niin täytyy ihmetellä, olla ylpee itestään, et sen on tehny, koska ny mä en välttämättä ehkä jaksais sitä samaa.*
73. Mika has a degree from Sweden and Pauliina from Finland.
74. *Et kun tiät kuinka Britannia on monikulttuurinen maa, niin Skotlanti ei ole monikulttuurinen maa (...). semmoset valkokaulustyöläisimmatit niinkun juristit ja kirjanpitäjät ja sen suuntaset, niin kyl se hankala on päästä haastatteluun jos on ulkomaalainen nimi, et ihan että sillon multa samaan aikaan oikiksessa olleilta kavereilta, käytännössä samanlainen CV, niin be kyllä saivat haastatteluita, et mä en saanu mitään. (...) Nyt Lontoossa se on ihan yhdentekevää et ootsä britti vai muualta, et kun tääl on kaikki muutenkin muualta.“*

things presently are, the time spent looking for work or working in low-skilled, short-term jobs is described as a natural, temporary phase of adjustment. If the individual is still stuck in that situation, it may be more problematic to stay confident that a better job will at some point be available. Five female interviewees – Helena (b. 1968, Austria), Emilia (b. 1981, Germany), Anneli (b. 1967, Italy), Sari (b. 1969, Portugal), and Johanna (b. 1974, Belgium) – all talk about the time spent looking for qualified work and compare their own skills against the demands and functioning of the local labour markets of their new home countries. They all conclude that the employment prospects in the particular country or area where they live are somewhat challenging for a person with their mix of skills and attributes. Helena, for example, thinks that her job prospects in the IT-sector could have been better: “As things have not been as easy as I expected, I do feel that it might have been different elsewhere, and adjusting could have been easier. This place is just so conservative⁷⁵.” Emilia, an interviewee with a degree in agriculture and forestry, also feels that her degree was a poor match for the city where she lives:

“(…) it is difficult to find work with my degree in Berlin. (...) I decided that I want to stay here [after a student exchange and a traineeship], so I did not give in but continued to look for work and finally I got a job. It was kind of ... I had to accept the job I was offered, I did not have much choice at the time.”⁷⁶

The job Emilia (b. 1981, Germany) finally got after sending out over one hundred job applications was that of a customer support advisor in a mobile phone company that serviced Finnish-speaking customers. The job did not match the field of her degree, but she was happy to find the job anyway. During the interview, she explained that relocation was not on the agenda, as because of her husband’s profession and the general likable atmosphere of Berlin, moving somewhere else in Germany to find a job in the forestry sector was just not worth the sacrifice. It is clear that the life situation as a whole influences one’s experience of happiness: there is simply so much more to life than just work or career. This was the case also with Sari (b. 1969, Portugal), who did eventually manage to find work that she was relatively happy with, but not in the field that she was hoping for. Despite her problems during the status passage, Sari is still happy with her life in Portugal:

“I’ve often thought about it. Here I had no job, but felt good about my life, and even though it was financially a bit difficult for some time, it was more impor-

75. *...mulla on sellanen tunne että se kun se ei sujunu niin kivuttomasti kun mä kuvittelin ni ehkä se jossain muualla vois olla vähän helpompi se sopeutuminen että tääl on kuitenkin tämmöstä konservatiivista.*

76. *(...) mulla on semmonen tutkinto [metsäala], sillä on vaikea saada töitä varsinkin Berliinissä (...) olin jo päättänyt, että haluan jäädä tänne ja sit vaan sitkeästi etsin töitä ja sitten lopulta sain sen paikan. Sekin oli tietysti vähän semmonen... pakko ottaa se työ mitä silloin tarjottiin, että mulla ei ollu kauheesti valinnanvaraa siinä vaiheessa.*

tant for me that I felt good. Had I returned to Finland I would surely have gotten a job and a better salary, but my life conditions would have been different.”⁷⁷

For Anneli (b. 1967, Italy) having completed a degree in languages has proven to be a good choice, because she has observed a rather constant demand for speakers of foreign languages in Italy. Thanks to her language skills, she has worked in diverse jobs ranging from a cruise ship hostess to translator and from secretary to language teacher. For her, the problems in career progress have been related to the particularities of the Italian labour market rather than the weak demand for her skills:

“It has never been an issue [that I am from abroad]. Here the problem can be that you are not married to the right man, or your father has not recommended you, or that you are not a member of the right party. I have not felt that my nationality has ever been the only factor making it difficult [to find work].”⁷⁸

The lack of skilled jobs in general, or of skilled jobs in one’s particular sector in the city where one lives, can thus be challenging for the highly skilled migrant. On the other hand, in some locations there are plenty of job opportunities, but the competition may also be on a different scale. Marika (b. 1976, UK), who has studied and worked in the UK since 2000, explains: “It is true that there is more competition here in England, there are so many more people living here (...). The sheer existence here is more competitive.”⁷⁹ In such environments finding the right kind of job may take a lot of effort. As one male respondent, who was working as a graphic designer at a record company at the time of the 2008 survey, explains:

“There is a lot of competition in London and the mentality is aggressive! I responded to hundreds of job advertisements and went to about four interviews before I found my current job, but I think this was certainly due to me not being sure about what I wanted to do.”⁸⁰ (Survey respondent 99, b. 1974, male, BA in art and design from the UK.)

77. *oon usein miettiny sitä, että kun oli kauan, ettei ollu töitä, mut sit kumminkin oli itsellä hyvä olla että vaikka sitte keplotteli siinä taloudellisesti muutaman vuoden, niin kyllä mulle itselle oli tärkeempi, että oli itellä hyvä olla, että jos Suomeen oisin tullu, niin varmaan ois saanu erilaisen työpaikan ja palkallisesti, mutta sit taas nää muut olosuhteet, ni ei ois ollu samanlaiset.*

78. *Et se [ulkomaalaisuus] ei oo ollu ikinä mikään haitta... täällä voi tietysti olla työelämässä haitta se, että sä et oo oikeen miehen vaimo tai et sun isä ei oo sua suositellu tai sä et oo oikeessa puolueessa, et mä en ainakaan koskaan... et tää mun kansalaisuus ois yksinään vaikeuttanut [työn saantia].*

79. *Että totta se onkin että täällä on enemmän kilpailua siis Englannissa on enemmän, täällä on niin paljon enemmän väkeä (...). On se minusta, on se kilpailuluontoisempaa tää olemassaolo täällä.*

80. *Lontoossa kilpailu on kovaa ja mentaliteetti aggressiivinen! Vastasin satoihin ilmoituksiin ja menin ehkäpä neljään haastatteluun, ennen kuin löysin nykyisen työpaikan, mutta varmasti oli myös kyse siitä, etten ollut varma mitä haluaisin tehdä.*

London offers highly skilled migrants so many possible career paths that it may become stressful to keep a constant eye on the job market. In the words of a female respondent: "...you have to be at the right place at the right time and follow all possible sources with relevant information (...) your dream job may be open somewhere, but you just never hear about it"⁸¹ (survey number 349, b. 1975, MA in information sciences from Finland). London is not the only city with plentiful job opportunities that are sought after by a multitude of young graduates. As Favell (2008b) confirms, London, Amsterdam and Brussels are the kinds of bustling Eurocities that attract numerous migrants and offer job-opportunities for the mobile, young and educated youth of Europe. Johanna, who has a degree in Finnish history, tells about the competition on the Brussels job market:

"Brussels is very competitive especially in the jobs that Finns would apply for, like the EU civil servant career and lobbying agencies and so forth. Every single person here is fluent in at least four or five languages, has a master's degree from three different foreign universities and has done 7–8 internships (...)"⁸²

These experiences testify to the fact that the match between one's *location* and the *nature of one's qualifications* plays an important role in how easy it is for the mobile European to get a job abroad. Capital cities and other large European cities do offer a wider range of job opportunities in sectors such as law, business, finance, consultancy, media or accountancy, but the competition for these highly skilled jobs can be tough. If one is looking for a career in a more specific field, the best opportunities might be found elsewhere in smaller cities that host companies, research institutes or other skilled jobs in that particular field. If the mobility decision is based only on career planning, it is therefore important to examine the local circumstances in detail before making the decision on where to move. But as many of the survey respondents and interviewees stressed, also highly skilled migrants can be willing to adjust their career goals and settle with a job in a different field for a chance to live where one is happy with one's life in general.

81. *Pitää olla oikeassa paikassa oikeaan aikaan ja seurata kaikkia mahdollisia lähteitä (...) jossain saattaa olla unelmapaikka avoinna, mutta ei ole saanut tietää siitä.*

82. *Brysselissä on tosi kova kilpailu nimenomaan niissä paikoissa, joita suomalaiset hakis, just se EU-virkaura ja erilaiset lobbaustoimistot ja muut, täällä joka ikinen ihminen puhuu vähintään neljää tai viittä kieltä sujuvasti ja on opiskellu maisterin tutkinnon kolmessa eri ulkomaaisessa yliopistossa ja tehny 7–8 harjottelua (...)*

Chapter conclusions

The focus of this chapter was on the experiences of highly skilled Finns of finding work abroad. At the beginning of the chapter I briefly explained the kind of educational backgrounds the participants of the study had. Transferring institutionalised cultural capital in the form of educational degrees and other qualifications can be problematic for migrants. However, in light of the results gained in this study this does not seem to be a major problem for intra-European migrants. Only a handful of the study's participants complained about problems in getting their foreign degrees recognised. Lack of skilled jobs in one's own field or competition for the best and most interesting jobs are noted as more important obstacles in progressing in one's dream career. In my reading of the status passages that the study participants progressed through in their countries of destination, one's educational qualifications may be only one part of the attributes that are required in getting a job. One needs to have a higher education degree to apply for skilled jobs, but having a degree is no guarantee of success. The results suggest that the institutionalised cultural capital in the form of a degree is rarely enough, if the embodied cultural capital of the job applicant does not match the expectations of the potential employers. This process is further discussed in the next chapter, where I focus on the kinds of jobs the WiE respondents found abroad, and pay attention to some factors that many of the respondents had in common, even if they represented very different fields. At the same time also the role of embodied cultural capital is discussed.

6. On working abroad⁸³

The respondents of the WiE survey have taken their life into their own hands and looked for job opportunities and adventure from abroad. They did not move to another EU country because they were pushed abroad by unemployment, for example, but rather chose to move because it was possible and because they were interested in experiencing something different. For the majority of the respondents, finding employment had been relatively easy and the status passage into the destination country labour market was short in duration. Most of them were content with the life choices that they had made, and in that respect they do not differ from results gained in other studies: all groups of intra-EU movers express a higher level of life satisfaction than comparable samples of nationals of their country of origin (Recchi 2008, 218).

This chapter continues to explain the ease of the transition into the country of destination and focuses on the third empirical research question of the study: *What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in?* In the following, I first examine the work situation in the country of destination and then proceed to analyse four interrelated themes that are relevant for the labour market situation of this diverse group of highly skilled Finns. First, I look at language as embodied and institutionalised cultural capital; second, their experiences as foreign/Finnish employees; third, the careers they have found in international workplaces, and last, the importance of finding added value from their language skills and connections to Finland. The theoretical focus of this chapter is on the embodied forms of cultural capital: what happens to this capital when a highly skilled individual moves abroad? How do embodied attributes such as identity, language skills and socialisation into a particular place influence her possibilities of finding work? Is a foreign habitus always a negative factor – or can it sometimes be an advantage?

Employment in the country of destination

In their study on highly skilled migrants in Canada, Great Britain, and Germany, Karin Schittenhelm and Oliver Schmidtke (2010–2011, 132) identify three main barriers to employment: lack of language skills, non-recognition of foreign educa-

83. Parts of this chapter have been published earlier as Koikkalainen 2009b.

tional titles, and lack of country-specific knowledge and job experience. Also other factors may slow down the process of finding work at the qualification level one had in the country of origin. In some fields, the local professional associations or licensing boards may act as “gatekeepers” that can determine access to certain regulated professions (Zikic et al. 2010, Bauder 2003). According to Zikic, Bonache, and Cerdin (2010), the three major obstacles a highly skilled migrant has to overcome are the lack of specific local capital, the lack of local resources, and having to learn how to navigate the new structural and institutional context (Zikic et al. 2010, 670). Also local labour market rules, such as workplace conventions and hiring practices as well as one’s foreign habitus have been identified as barriers to labour market integration (Bauder 2005b). In short, the highly skilled migrant is faced with a new and unfamiliar context, where the rules of the game are different, and where her cultural capital may become precarious during the initial stages of the status passage (Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010–2011, 136).

The status passage into the labour market of the country of destination was mostly easy for the respondents of the WiE survey, as 76 per cent of them were in full-time employment and only 3 per cent said they were unemployed when they responded to the survey in 2008. A majority of them had found work quickly upon entering the country of destination, or during their studies there, while only 4 per cent reported that they had looked for work for longer than 6 months. The factors listed above had therefore not been major barriers for the WiE survey participants. Below are two graphs on the employment situation of the survey respondents: the first from the original survey in 2008 (n=364) and from the follow-up survey in 2010 (n=194)⁸⁴.

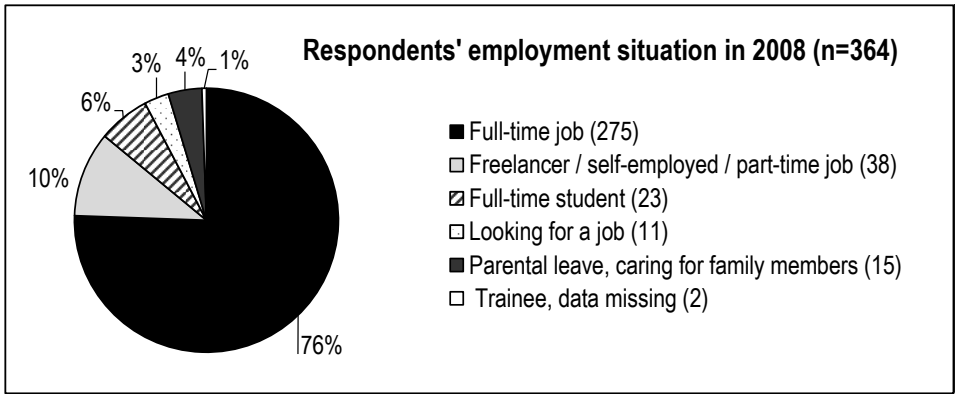


CHART 22: Respondents’ employment situation in 2008

84. For a comparison of how the situation of those who took part in both surveys (n=194) has changed from 2008 to 2010 see chapter three.

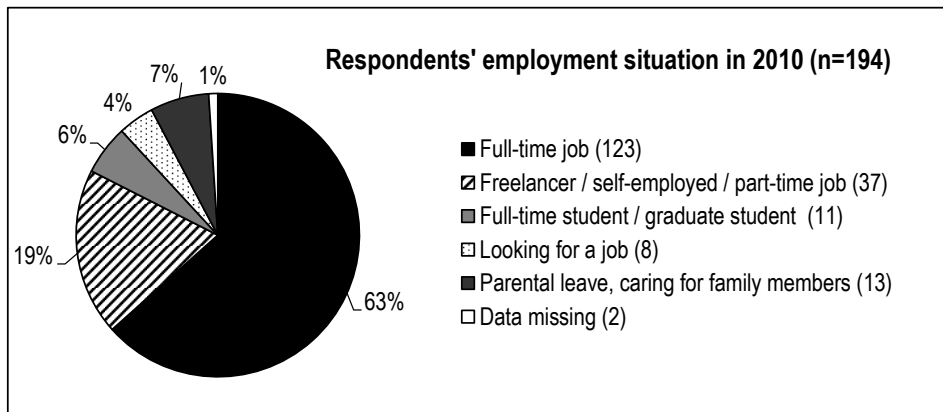


CHART 23: Respondents' employment situation in 2010⁸⁵

The overall labour market situation of the WiE respondents was good during both of the surveys. The overwhelmingly high number of those in paid employment, either as employees, freelancers, or self-employed professionals, makes it difficult to try to look for explanations of labour market success or failure based on this data. Comparisons between those unemployed in different countries, or with different educational backgrounds, for example, would not be fruitful, as the share of those currently looking for a job was less than 10 respondents in each case. The rest of this chapter is therefore dedicated to examining certain factors that facilitate labour market entry, and to understanding why there is a rather general consensus among the participants of this study that things are better in the new country. The focus is thus on the subjective understanding of one's career as opposed to any objective measurement of career progression (for a discussion on how subjective and objective careers differ, see Zikic et al. 2010, 668–669). A clear majority of the WiE respondents felt that at time of the 2008 survey, their degree (77%) and previous job experience (77%) were recognised and that they were in a job that matched their degree well (79%). Being foreign had not been a major obstacle in finding work, as only 11 per cent reported having faced discrimination. Their responses are too consistently positive for any major comparisons to be made between different professions, gender, career stages, destination countries, or different fields of study, so I have to be content with trying to understand why moving abroad apparently was a good decision for most of these highly skilled migrants.

The EU has regulations on degree recognition, and it also regulates against discrimination based on nationality. The *institutionalised cultural capital* in the form of academic degrees may be recognised and officially accepted in a relatively trouble free

85. Please note: This chart was already presented as Chart 13 in chapter three under the section "Working in Europe survey: the follow-up in 2010", where the situation of those respondents who took part in both surveys (n=194) was discussed.

fashion, but this does not mean that individual employers in the destination country labour market recognise the *cultural capital of an individual job applicant*. As already discussed in the previous chapter, the Finns of the study had not faced difficulties in having their degree recognised abroad. Yet what about those *embodied* components of the cultural capital that can be perceived as foreign? As the individual's habitus evolves through a long socialization process in the country of origin, it cannot be easily changed (Nohl et al. 2006, paragraphs 17, 33.) As a female respondent with a social science degree puts it: "In every country, they favour primarily their own country nationals. This has been my experience in all the countries that I have lived in: Greece, Iceland, and France" (survey respondent 355, b. 1983, France, MA in social sciences from Finland)⁸⁶. Yet in some cases, one's embodied cultural capital may be the significant factor that opens doors in the labour market, while one's institutional cultural capital in the form of the higher education degree itself is less significant. As in the case of Minna (b. 1976, Ireland), who has worked in four different countries:

"Well it [my degree] really has no value. Philology is a little like a Mickey Mouse degree, like my studies in the French language, when there are so many native speakers around. So if I am being hired for my language skills, it is in principle always because of my knowledge of Finnish or Swedish."⁸⁷

The last open-ended question of the 2008 WiE survey asked the respondents whether they thought the move abroad had been beneficial for their career. The responses were roughly classified into three categories. *First*, those who thought the move had clearly been beneficial; *second*, those for whom the move had caused a downturn in their career; and *third*, those who were ambivalent about the effects of the move or stated that they did not care or know because they did not move for career reasons. The responses of those in the first category who saw the move in a positive light ranged from simple statements such as "Absolutely!" or "Definitely yes" to longer analyses of why the move had been a good decision. A female respondent living in Belgium since 2007 explains: "Yes it was definitely the right choice to make. I get better experience from exactly the things that I studied. On top of that, Brussels is a lovely city (survey respondent 256, b. 1982, MA in social sciences from Finland)."⁸⁸ This positive outlook on life was shared by many respondents, despite the fact that they might have had to look for work in a different field than what they had originally studied. Like

86. *jokaisessa maassa suositaan ensisijaisesti maan omia kansalaisia, tämä on ollut kokemukseni kaikissa maissa, joissa olen asunut (Kreikka, Islanti ja Ranska)*

87. *No ei sillä [tutkinnolla ole arvoa] oikeesti oo, et se on vähän semmonen mikkibiiritutkinto toi filologia, koska... vaikka mulla on ne ranska ja muut, niin niitä sen maalaisia on kuiteski natiiveja puhujia ihan tarpeeks... jos on periaatteessa pelkästään se kielen takia ku palkataan, niin kyllä se on sit ollu se suomen tai ruotsin kieli.*

88. *Oli, ehdottoman oikea vaihtoehto. Saan parempaa kokemusta, juuri niistä asioista mitä olen opiskellut. Lisäksi Bryssel on ihana kaupunki!*

this female respondent who has been living in Italy since 1999: "I've ended up in a totally different field than what I studied. But this feels like the right field to me, so I guess everything turned up fine (survey respondent 301, b. 1975, MA in geography from Finland).⁸⁹" These respondents formed a clear majority: 301 respondents (83%) were happy about their decision to move abroad. Mikael (b. 1976, Luxembourg), who works in the banking sector, is an example of such positive career advancement:

"... it was a big step for a 29-year-old boy, but this is a position that I can stay in until I retire, unless I want to change my employer. (...) When one is a director here, it is a very interesting job to have."⁹⁰

The second category responded that the move had negative consequences for their career. Only 18 respondents (5%) were of the opinion that their career had suffered from the move. The female respondent from France, who was quoted earlier in this chapter explaining that employers naturally favour their own co-nationals, writes: "The move abroad was a catastrophe for my career, because my degree has little value here (survey respondent 355, b. 1983, MA in social sciences)." However, she too finds something positive about her choice as she continues: "On the other hand if I ever return to Finland, my experience of working abroad is surely advantageous."⁹¹ Also another respondent explains that the move was disastrous for her career ambitions as a teacher, because she was not able to finish her degree in Finland. Having lived in France since 2006, she concludes: "To be sure I do not regret my decision, as I have a really good relationship with my boyfriend. The weather in France is also nice throughout the year"⁹² (survey respondent 182, b. 1979, MA in philology/English language, France)." For some, the move signified a clear end to a previous work career, as the possibilities of continuing work in the same field proved impossible. Sari (b. 1969, Portugal) had a long work history in the tourism, catering and hotel sector, but failed to find any work related to that in Portugal: "...looking for work here has been really difficult for as long as I remember (...) I thought that I will work as a cleaner if nothing else, but that I didn't get anything... that was the worst negative surprise here."⁹³

89. *Olen ajautunut ihan eri alalle kuin mitä varten opiskelin. Mutta kyllä tama tuntuu ihan omalta alalta, joten eikohan kaikki ole mennyt parhain pain.*

90. *... oli se iso harppaus 29-vuotiaalle pojalle, mut et sitte tää on sellanen tehtävä, että tässä ollaan sitte vaikka eläkkeeseen asti, ellei sit vaihda työnantajaa (...) että jos sijoitusjohtaja täällä on, ni on se mielenkiintoinen tehtävä.*

91. *Työuran kannalta muutto ulkomaille oli katastrofi, sillä tutkinnollani ei ole paljon arvoa täällä. Toisaalta jos joskus palaan suomeen, on kokemukseni ulkomailla työskentelystä varmasti hyväksi.*

92. *Tosin en kadu päätöstäni, koska minulla on todella hyvä subde poikaystäväni kanssa. Ranskassa on myös siedettävämmät kelit ympäri vuoden.*

93. *... se työnhaku ainakin täällä on ollu niin kauan kun mä tiedän ja tulee varmaan jatkossakin olemaan bankalaa, (...) mäkin aattelin, et kylhän mä vaikka siivoojaks meen, mutta ei siis ei... ei mihinkään, että se oli ehkä semmonen pahin yllätys täällä negatiivisesti.*

The move signified a change of direction also for Johanna (b. 1974, Belgium), who left a promising career behind:

“If I wanted to work in the field of culture [moving abroad] was a disaster. I had a good start to a career in the museum sector in Finland. Then again, one reason I left was that I was fed up with all the fixed-term contracts (...) In here I got a permanent contract practically straight away, after a six-month trial. And the salaries are better, there is no getting around it, so there are many sides to the matter.”⁹⁴

The respondents who had negative experiences and were disappointed by their position in the labour market of the destination country wrote longer answers in response to the survey’s open-ended questions than those who were happier and more content with their life and work situation. As it was possible to take the survey online anonymously and without direct personal contact with the researcher, one might conclude that the tendency to display one’s life situation and choices in the best possible light would not necessarily apply to this case. Namely, several respondents who were disappointed with their life did take the opportunity to complain about the negative treatment and discrimination. As one female respondent from Italy, who had not found any paid employment that would correspond to her university degree, analysed her situation: “Statistically, my situation is the worst possible combination: Southern Italy, educated, woman, foreign⁹⁵” (survey respondent 174, b. 1970, MA in architecture from Finland). As her analysis suggests, some common denominators can be found among those respondents who were disappointed with their labour market position. The situation of these highly skilled Finns who could not continue their career in their own fields in the destination country is further discussed in chapter seven under “the strategy of adaptation and re-orientation”.

Of all individual countries the WiE survey had the highest number of respondents from the United Kingdom. Of the 143 UK respondents only 2 (1%) described the move abroad as negative for their career. The share of negative responses in the other countries with more than 20 respondents was higher in Belgium (1 negative response out of 40, i.e. 3%), Germany (3 negative responses out of 72, i.e. 4%) and in France (7 negative responses out of 38, i.e. 18%). However, because an overwhelming majority of all respondents (83%) saw the move abroad as beneficial for their career, no conclusions should be drawn on how the countries of destination differ

94. *No sen kannalta, että jos mä haluaisin kulttuurialalla tehdä töitä, niin sehän [ulkomaille muutto] on ollu ihan katastrofi, ku mulla oli Suomessa hyvä museoalan työura alussa, toisaalta yks syy minkä takia mä lähdin, oli se, että mä kyllästyin siihen, että kaikki ne työpaikat mitä avautu, oli aina määräaikaasia ...et täällä mä sain suurin piirtein heti pysyvään työsuhteen, et mä alotin puolen vuoden määräaikasena, mut sit se oli heti pysyvä, palkka on täällä parempi, siit ei pääse mihinkään, et siin on edelleen puolensa ja puolensa.*

95. *tilastollisesti huonoin mahdollinen yhdistelmä: Etelä-Italia, koulutettu, nainen, ulkomaalainen*

from each other based on these results. Yet it seems clear that it is risky to step outside the beaten track of graduates heading for London, Brussels, or the other large European cities that host many international job opportunities. Looking for work in the smaller cities of France, Italy, Spain or Austria, for example, makes you compete for a smaller number of highly skilled jobs with the local graduates, who have the benefit of having a degree that is automatically recognised, perfect language skills, and the necessary local networks for finding employment. As Helena (b. 1968), one of the interviewees from Austria wrote in her survey response:

“The move abroad was certainly not a good decision for my career and possibly not for anything else either. I believe I am in the wrong country and in the wrong place. The Austrians are very conservative and prejudiced and think they are the centres of the world. A woman in the corridors of an information technology firm is automatically a cleaner.”⁹⁶

The question of careers was difficult for the 12 WiE respondents who were classified to the third category of “neither positive nor negative” according to their responses to the question on how beneficial the move was to one’s career. A typical response in this category was something like: “The move was not related to my work (survey respondent 267, b. 1972, female, MA in translation/German language, Spain)⁹⁷”, even though some respondents did reflect on how the move may have been either beneficial or not depending on whether one returns to Finland or stays abroad permanently. The importance of factors outside the actual work or career was also often emphasised. As this female respondent from France concludes: “I do not think of things based on my career, but on experiences gained. I thus cannot say whether the move abroad was beneficial or not for my career”⁹⁸ (survey respondent 319, b. 1972, MA in translation/French language).

Language skills as embodied and institutionalised cultural capital

The level of one’s knowledge in the language(s) of the country of destination is crucial for highly skilled migrants because most professional jobs require at least some level of written or spoken communication in that language. For workers who cross borders to work at building sites, as nannies, housemaids, or as agricultural workers or

96. *Muutto ulkomaille ei taatusti ollut järkevä ratkaisu työuran kannalta, eikä ehkä paljon minkään kannalta? Uskon, että olen väärässä maassa ja siellä väärässä paikassa. Itävaltalaiset ovat konservatiivisia, ennakkoluuloisia ja uskovat olevansa “maailman napa”. Nainen tietotekniikkayrityksen käytävällä on automaattisesti siivooja.*

97. *muutto ei liity työhön*

98. *En ajattele asioita uraltaoisesti vaan saatujen kokemusten kannalta. En siis osaa sanoa oliko ulkomaille lähtö uran kannalta “järkevää”.*

in other manual jobs, good language skills may be less important. I argue that in the case of highly skilled migrants, language skills are important because they represent both *embodied* and *institutionalised cultural capital*. Bourdieu divided cultural capital into three types: embodied, institutionalised and objectified (Bourdieu 1986). Institutionalised cultural capital is easily defined as one's "academic qualifications" (Bourdieu 1986, 50). On embodied cultural capital Bourdieu notes: "The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor" (Bourdieu 1986, 48). Erel (2010, 643) notes that embodied cultural capital is "best expressed in the concept of habitus, which includes bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction." I thus conclude that while one's skills in the *mother tongue* are *embodied cultural capital* as they represent not only language proficiency, but also and cultural and social knowledge, *one's skills in other languages* learned during one's education are *institutionalised cultural capital*. Language skills of both types can be valuable, marketable skills in the labour market.

The WiE survey respondents were asked to evaluate their own skills in the main language of their country of residence both at the time when they moved to that country and at present. While 46 respondents (13%) had no knowledge of that language prior to moving there, it was more common to evaluate one's skills as "basic" (66 respondents, 18%), "intermediate" (68 respondents, 19%), "good" (113 respondents, 31%), or even "excellent" (71 respondents, 20%). According to their own estimates, the skills in that language were even better during the time of the survey in 2008. Only 6 respondents (2%) had no knowledge of the main language of their country of residence, and 19 acknowledged to still having only "basic" (5%) and 33 "intermediate" (9%) skills. 81 respondents (22%) said their skills were "good" and 223 "excellent" (61%)⁹⁹. While very few of those who had migrated to an English speaking country (United Kingdom or Ireland) complained about their poor language skills, it was more common with those responding from France, Germany, and Austria, for example. As this female respondent explains: "When I first applied for a job in France (Cannes) after moving there to be with my boyfriend, I did not speak the language well and looking for work was humiliating because I could not express myself well enough, and it affected my self-confidence"¹⁰⁰ (survey respondent 180, b. 1975, BA in tourism and hotel management from France). Despite a difficult start, she did later learn the French language better and managed to find first part-time and then full-time employment.

99. In this question data is missing from 2 respondents. It is good to note that as the largest proportion of respondents came from the United Kingdom, for nearly 40 per cent of the respondents this language would be English.

100. *Kun ensimmäisen kerran hain työtä Ranskassa sinne silloisen poikaystäväni luokse muutettuani (Cannes), en osannut kieltä hyvin ja työnäkö tuntuu noyryyttavalta koska en kyennyt ilmaisemaan itseäni riittävän hyvin ja se soi itsetuntoa.*

As the language competence of the respondents was so high, no major conclusions can be drawn from the relationship between language skills and labour market performance. Making such conclusions would also require some form of test to evaluate the real competence of the participants, as the understanding of what constitutes excellent or good skills naturally varies between individuals, careers and perhaps even countries. The conclusion that can be drawn from this survey question is, however, that a majority of the respondents felt confident in their own ability to speak and understand the language of the country where they lived. Poor language skills were not perceived as a major barrier for labour market success for most of the respondents, but language difficulties did feature in the open-ended answers of those respondents and interviewees, who had difficulties in finding work. Maria (b. 1977, France), an interviewee living in Paris, comments on her language skills when she first moved to France: “I had studied French three years at senior secondary school, but when I moved here I realised that it did not help much (...) I had to learn how to discuss and all from the basics. In the beginning it was really hard to learn the language and integrate here¹⁰¹”. The shock of realising the limits of one’s language skills, and the effort it takes to build up the skills in a new setting, can be stressful. Also Sari (b. 1969, Portugal) remembers the difficult times she had:

“...it took time, the language was the main problem, when I just did not understand anything (...) for the first six months I was hesitant if this was going to work out, we were not really going out yet [with her future spouse] (...) so I kept my apartment back in Helsinki so that I could leave easily if need be.”¹⁰²

For some respondents, on the other hand, the knowledge of several foreign languages has been an asset, as this female migrant living in London writes: “(...) being foreign has not been an issue when applying for work in England; I am highly educated, have good language skills and have many years of work experience, so I feel I am easily employable”¹⁰³ (survey respondent 173, b. 1976, MA in strategic marketing communications from the UK). Language competence is also among the key skills highly skilled migrants use to communicate their cultural capital: the work experience from previous jobs, what one learned during higher education, and what one knows of how to interact with fellow workers and clients. Language is needed in the

101. *Lukiessa luin kolme vuotta, onks se nyt sitten lyhyt ranska, mut se sitten kävi heti ilmi, että kun mä tänne muutin, että... et siitä juurikaan hyötyä, et ihan melkein piti alusta kaikki keskustelutaidot ja muut opiskella, et kyl se oli aika vaikeeta sillon se kielen oppiminen ja sitä kautta integroituminen.*

102. *... kyl siinä aikaa meni...että kieli oli mun mielestä se kaikkein pahin nyt, ku ei ymmärtäny mitään, (...) ni se oli semmonen puol vuotta että tuleeks tästä nyt mitään ja me ei sillon oikeen seurusteltukaan vielä, (...) mul oli asunto Helsingissä, että jos tästä nyt tulee ihan, niin äkkiä täältä pois pääsee.*

103. *... en ole Englannissa toita hakiessani kokenut minkaanlaista ongelmaa tyonhaussa ulkomaalaisuuteni takia. Olen korkeasti koulutettu ja kielitaitoinen ja omaan monen vuoden tykokemuksen joten koen olevani helposti palkattava.*

process of negotiating the value of these skills and expertise with potential employers (Csedö 2008). Language can also be used as a tool for exclusion and show of superiority: choosing not to understand what the foreign employee says, or switching the language of the discussion, are ways in which the linguistic competence of the newcomer can be effectively undermined (Favell 2008b, 144–147). The native workers of the workplace can either include their foreign colleagues into the everyday conversations that take place during the working day, or silence and exclude the newcomers to the margins (Katisko 2011). The subtleties that languages can convey in the form of accents and vocabulary are also ways in which power structures within the workplace can be made visible. Like this female respondent explains:

“I work at a very conservative German bank so even the fact that I am young and female is sometimes a barrier. Sometimes I occasionally hear offending comments about my language skills (I speak good German, but with a heavy accent, mainly I speak English because I work with management of international projects).”¹⁰⁴ (Survey respondent 300, b. 1984, MA in industrial engineering and management from Finland.)

The stereotypic image of Finns as first class migrants

Many respondents of the WiE survey reply to questions on “What is it like to be a foreign employee?” and “Have you been discriminated against?” that Finns are perceived to have a good work ethic, high quality education, and good language skills. As a result of this reputation, the respondents feel that Finnish workers are a valued group among the applicants competing for the same jobs. Several respondents from Germany, for example, write that: “Finns are first-class migrants”. The Finnish educational system is valued, as the good results gained by Finnish pupils in the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment PISA (OECD 2007) evaluations are well known. Statements like “To be foreign is generally a disadvantage in Germany, but being a Finn almost qualifies as an advantage”¹⁰⁵ (survey respondent 20, male, b. 1970, MA in international marketing from Finland) and “The Finn is a curiosity that everyone here wants to learn to know”¹⁰⁶ (survey respondent 178, male, b. 1970, MA in engineering/IT from Finland), reveal that the respondents have found ways of making use of the positive stereotype. In comparison with other immigrant groups the Finns are perceived to be closer to the natives:

104. *Olen töissä erittäin vanhoillisessa saksalaisessa pankissa joten pelkäättää jo se että olen erittäin nuori ja nainen ovat joskus esteenä. Joskus kuulen loukkaavia kommentteja kielitaidostani (pubun hyvää saksaa mutta vahvalla aksentilla, pääasiassa kylläkin englantia kun työskentelen kansainvälisten projektien johtamisessa)*

105. *ulkomaalaisuus yleensä on saksassa häittä, mutta suomalaisuus on melkein pä etu.*

106. *lähinnä suomalainen on kurioositeetti ja kaikki haluavat oppia tuntemaan*

“Being Finnish has been an advantage, as is the fact that as a Finn I can speak Swedish. Finns are not really considered foreigners here. The “Ausländer” come from the South.”¹⁰⁷ (Survey respondent 110, male, b. 1976, university of applied sciences BA degree in technology from Finland.)

Ethnic discrimination and labour market exclusion have been shown to be related to having a foreign habitus (e.g Bauder 2005b). However, in the experience of the participants of this study, having a foreign habitus may not necessarily be a negative thing or a barrier to labour market entry. As Maria (b. 1977, France) explains: “I like being foreign... or slightly different, and when I say I am from Finland, then people seem to have a rather positive understanding of the place.¹⁰⁸” Presenting yourself in the best possible light might also include stressing the fact that you are different because the fact that you are foreign makes you stand out from the crowd. As a female respondent with a psychology degree tells about her job-interview experiences in London:

“The fact that I am Finnish has been seen as a very positive and interesting thing. At a job interview I am frequently asked about my accent, and when I say that I am from Lapland we usually have a conversation about cold weather, snow and Santa Claus, so they definitely remember me.”¹⁰⁹ (Survey respondent 118, b. 1980, PhD in clinical psychology from the UK.)

Also Mika, one of the interviewees working in the United Kingdom says he likes to stress the fact that he is not British:

“...I don't want people to think I'm British. When people see my passport or know that I am Finnish, they know its a very neutral country, and even though they might not know much about Finland, they immediately think that all right, Finland is pretty ok, that country up there that is a little bit strange, and it is rather cold there.”¹¹⁰

107. *Suomalaisuus on ollut etu ja se, että suomalaisena osaan ruotsia. Suomalaista ei varsinaisesti pidetä täällä ulkomaalaisena. “Ausländer” tulevat etelämpää..*

108. *Must on ihan kivaa olla ulkomaalainen... tai sillain vähän erilainen ja just ku sanoo että on Suomesta (...) ni ihmisillä näyttää olevan aika positiivinen käsitys Suomesta*

109. *Suomalaisuus on nähty erittäin positiivisena ja mielenkiintoisena. Haastattelijat yleensä kysyvät ihmisseen mistä aksenttini on peraisin. Kun kerron että lapista, yleensä kaymme keskustelun kylmyydestä, lumesta ja joulupukista, joten taatusti jaan haastattelijoiden mieleen.*

110. *...mä en halua, että ihmiset pitää mua brittinä, kun ihmiset näkee mun passin tai tietää et mä oon suomalainen, ni se on hyvin neutraali maa ja vaikka ei ihmiset välttämättä tiedä Suomesta paljon mitään, niin kuitenkin niille tulee että aijaa, Suomi on vissiin kai ihan ok, se maa siellä jossain mikä on vähän ihmeellinen, siellä on vissiin aika kylmä.*

The United Kingdom has attracted highly skilled workers to its health and nursing sector from Finland. Some Finns working as nurses, physiotherapists and dental hygienists, for example, took part in the WiE survey. They have also noticed that being Finnish is an advantage, because Finns have a good reputation in the health sector: “Our expertise, working morale and good professional skills are well known”¹¹¹ (survey respondent 105, female b. 1974, UK, university of applied sciences BA in nursing from Finland). Being interestingly different can also be useful at the workplace, as this survey respondent writes:

“In my work with customers (patients) the fact that I am foreign is an ice-breaker. They are honestly interested in learning about my exotic accent. When I explain that I am from, Finland and Swedish is my mother tongue, their interest just increases. We have a theme to discuss and it sometimes helps to relax the tense atmosphere.”¹¹² (Survey respondent 25, female, b. 1982, UK a university of applied sciences BA in nursing from Finland.)

Finland is a sparsely populated country that lies in the Northern European periphery, so it is natural that not all employers in the more distant EU countries know what to expect from a Finnish job applicant. Yet if being Finnish does not make the job-seeker stand out in a positive manner, there is an alternative way of identifying with a region that generally tends to have a positive image in Western Europe: Scandinavia. Scandinavians are appreciated for example in France: “There are so many immigrants (both legal and illegal) in Paris that a blonde, Finnish, hardworking, educated Scandinavian with good language skills is quite a good candidate for a job”¹¹³ (survey respondent 126, b. 1975, MA in German language). Another female marketing executive working in London explains:

“The fact that I am from Scandinavia has been noted on several occasions. Finland as a country is not well known, but Scandinavians are appreciated as workers and I have only positive experiences from the working life here.”¹¹⁴ (Survey respondent 73, b. 1983, BA in international marketing from the UK.)

111. *Suomalainen ammattitaito ja huippuosaaminen, sekä hyva tyomoraali tunnustetaan eteenkin sairaalaymparistossa.*
112. *Ulkomaalaisuus on työssäni asiakkaiden (potilaiden) kanssa “jäänmurtaja”. Asiakkaat ovat rebellisen kiinnostuneita eksoottisen ääntämistapani taustasta. Kerrottuani että tulen Suomesta ja äidinkieleni on ruotsi, niin usein asiakkaiden kiinnostus vain nousee. Täten meillä on keskusteluteema, joka vapauttaa joskus hieman jäykän tunnelman.*
113. *Pariisissa on niin paljon siirtolaisia (sekä laillisia että laittomia), että vaalea suomalainen työetiä, kielitaitoinen, koulutettu skandinaavi on ihan hyvä työnhakija-kandidaatti.*
114. *Pohjoismaalaisuus on noteerattu useampaan otteeseen. Tuntuu ettei Suomi ole kovinkaan tunnettu, mutta Pohjoismaalaisia arvostetaan työntekijoina ja kokemukseni tyoelamassa ovat olleet pelkastaan positiivisia.*

Roland Verwiebe and Klaus Eder (2006) analysed migrant labour market integration by looking at the relative income levels of Europeans from the United Kingdom, France, Denmark, and Poland in Berlin. They conclude that transnationally mobile Europeans do not automatically occupy positions in the lower classes of German social structure, even though traditional migration research has often found that a “sub-stratification” process is common in the destination country (see e.g. Bauder 2005a). While in their initial analysis the migrants from Denmark and Britain appeared to be doing better than those from Italy or Poland, further analysis revealed that the composition of these groups explained most of the differences in how well they were integrated. Verwiebe and Eder (2006, 158) thus concluded that in the Berlin labour market the social-structural qualities, such as age, gender, education, work experience, and position in the occupational structure can be more important in explaining wage differences than national origin.

Yet it is good to note that Verwiebe and Eder’s study is based on a survey conducted already in 2002, and thus their data refers to the period when the EU only had 15 member states. Ettore Recchi and Anna Triandafyllidou (2010), on the other hand, note that at least in the years following EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007, the mobile tertiary educated workers originating from the old European Union member states (EU15) tended to end up in highly skilled jobs, while workers originating from the Eastern and Central European new member states often had to accept low-skilled jobs in the country of destination. Also highly skilled migrants may thus place themselves into a rather precarious position when crossing European borders: national stereotypes, prejudices, and employer attitudes may influence their careers, and an initial positive reception may turn negative over time.

Quite a few of the survey respondents did compare their situation to that of other migrant groups that they think are facing difficulties. The following three quotations are all from respondents from the United Kingdom, where the general openness and flexibility of the labour market is often highlighted, but this is not necessarily true for all immigrant groups: “The immigrants from the new member states have generated protests because of their great numbers, but I have never noticed that I as a Finn would be classified in the same category with the Polish, for example¹¹⁵” (survey respondent 4, b. 1982, completing a Msc in European Political Economy). Such self-evaluations have an ethnic undertone, suggesting that the respondents are aware of the existence of discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity, or race, as one of the interviewees Marko (b. 1977, UK) wrote in his survey response: “I do not differ ethnically from the majority population and I speak English fluently. Being foreign has not even been an issue in my work or social environment”¹¹⁶ and as this

115. *Uusista jäsenmaista vrranneet siirtolaiset ovat saaneet suuren määrnsä vuoksi myös vastalauseita, mutta en ole koskaan huomannut, että minut suomalaisena liitettäisiin samaan “kastiin” esimerkiksi puolalaisten kanssa.*

116. *En erotu etnisesti valtavaestosta ja puhun sujuvasti englantia. Ulkomaalaisuus ei ole ollut edes puheenaihe tyo- tai sosiaalisissa ympyryissani.*

female respondent also notes: "I have not been discriminated against, but sometimes I think that perhaps it is because I am Finnish / Scandinavian / Western European. I believe that for example Africans or Asians may experience discrimination"¹¹⁷ (survey respondent 219, b. 1974, BA in business from a polytechnic, UK).

The Finnish nationality of the WiE survey respondents does not therefore play a big role as a barrier to labour market access. The embodied cultural capital that they possess may be foreign, but it is similar and understandable enough to retain at least some of its value, and at times even give some comparative advantage. Finns may be perceived as first class migrants because the one's that migrate to other European countries tend to be rather young and well-educated, thus matching the image of the desirable highly skilled and economically independent migrant, and especially as there are only very few of them around. Next I will examine the kinds of careers the participants of this study have found abroad and analyse which kinds of skills have helped them in finding highly skilled jobs.

Careers in international workplaces

A total of 299 respondents replied to the open-ended questions of the WiE survey of 2008 (see Appendix 1 or Table 4 in chapter three for a list of the open-ended questions). Out of this number, 96 respondents (32%) wrote that they worked in an international environment, in a multinational company, or with international clients or colleagues. For many seeking adventure and learning languages and new cultures were major parts of the attraction of moving abroad in the first place, making it understandable that they should prefer jobs that can offer at least some of these qualities. Many found such jobs in large multinational companies with an international staff. As this female respondent describes her work experience in the human relations field in London:

"Jobs that I have enjoyed have all been with large, international companies that employ many foreigners, and so everyone is used to foreigners. I did work for a year in an environment where I was the only foreigner and I did not like it."¹¹⁸ (Survey respondent 206, female, b. 1976, BA Hons. in applied languages from the UK.)

117. *En ole kokenut syrjintää, mutta joskus on tullut mieleeni, että ehkä syynä on suomalaisuuteni / skandinaavisuuteni / lansiurooppalaisuuteni. Uskon, että esim. afrikkalaiset ja aasialaiset saattavat kokea syrjintää.*

118. *Työpaikat joissa olen viihtynyt ovat olleet suurissa kansainvälisissä yhtiöissä, joissa on runsaasti ulkomaalaisia - nainollen kaikki olivat tottuneet ulkomaalaisiin. Vuoden olin kyllä toissa ymparistossa jossa olin ainut ulkomaalainen enka viihtyynyt.*

Fitting in with the workplace culture can be easier in an environment where one is not the only one who is different or the only one who has to adjust to a dominant local culture. International companies are thus perceived as relatively welcoming environments to foreign workers. One's foreign nationality may not be the only cause for a possible disadvantage, as other factors such as gender, age, and career stage do also play a role. A female respondent from London notes on her dilemma: "In my current job being foreign has mainly been a disadvantage, because integrating into a male-dominated, very English workplace as a foreign woman has been at times difficult"¹¹⁹ (survey respondent 69, b. 1980, MA political science from Finland.)

Many of those respondents who write more about the importance of work, rather than focusing on other reasons for moving, such as relationships or quality of life, are making a career in a highly competitive field such as banking, finance, or consultancy. They work in large multinational companies that, at least according to the experiences of these respondents, strive to recruit the best possible people regardless of nationality. Being foreign and speaking languages that are rare can give them a certain competitive advantage: "Our company is very international. In my current team there are 18 members who represent 9 different nationalities. Language skills matter, so the more languages you can speak the better"¹²⁰ writes a female respondent who is working in London (survey respondent 123, b. 1978, female, MA in social sciences). Susanna (b. 1978, UK) is perhaps the most prominent example of a person on a highly international career path among the interviewees, as she has lived and worked in four different countries during her time as a consultant. Her attitude to travel is very straightforward:

"Before I moved to Italy, I had already had a boyfriend there for two years, so I flew to Milan each weekend first from London and then from the Netherlands, visited friends in Germany, and was on the move all the time. Europe seemed pretty borderless then. (...) People asked me if it was not tiresome, but when you get used to it, is not a big deal."¹²¹

Adrian Favell (2008b) defines the classical model of migrant integration to the new society as follows: international migration -> integration -> renationalization -> membership of host society. Based on 60 interviews of Europeans resident in Brussels, London, and Amsterdam Favell argues that the mobile Europeans who

119. *Nykyisessä työpaikassani ulkomaalaisuudesta on ollut enimmäkseen häiättävää sillä ei-englantilaisena naisena integroituminen miesjohtoiseen, perienglantilaiseen työympäristöön on ollut paikoin jopa hankalaa.*

120. *Meidän yritys on hyvin kansainvälinen. Nykyisessä tiimissä on noin 18 jäsentä jotka edustavat 9 eri kansalaisuutta. Kielitaidolla on merkitystä ja mitä enemmän kieliä puhut, sen parempi.*

121. *... ennen kun mä muutin Italiaan ni olin kaks vuotta sen italialaisen kaa, lensin joka viikonloppu ekan vuoden Lontoosta ja sitte tokana vuonna Hollannista Milanoon ja sit kävin kavereita kattoon Saksassa ja et tuntu että sitä vaan koko ajan meni ympäriinsä ja sitten Eurooppa tuntu aika rajattomalta. (...) ja sitten että eikö se oo raskasta, mut ei siinä sitten kun siihen tottuu ni oo mitään.*

have left their native country in search of “denationalized freedom” (Favell 2008b, 9) are not likely to follow this classical model. They rarely define themselves as *migrants* or their move abroad as *migration* (see also Koikkalainen 2013a). If what they were looking for was freedom in the first place, it is not likely that they would happily accept renationalization as the main goal of living in a certain society. By choosing to remain unattached and non-integrated, many of the Eurostars do in fact remain marginalised in their new home countries, and easily end up spending their free time mostly with other foreigners and newcomers. Yet Favell notes that even if these intra-European migrants would be interested in integration, the national mechanisms of exclusion that tend to stress the differences rather than the similarities between European nations leave the Eurostars feeling like outsiders. He concludes: “Nationalizing relations with foreign European residents has the predictable outcome; they renationalize themselves, folding back into their core national identities” (2008b, 140).

Working in international companies and workplaces offers the Finns of my study the charm of meeting people of different nationalities and backgrounds; of interacting with others who share their life situation and are also somewhat detached from the constraints of the host society. This can of course be both a blessing and a curse: gaining a job in a multinational company may initially be easy, but if the social network built through the workplace only includes other foreigners, it may make permanent settlement into the country of destination difficult. The description by this male information technology consultant from Austria highlights the dilemma:

“In my workplace being foreign is a strength, as I have a very international employer. In the destination country they are not that friendly outside the workplace, and the area where I live is anti-immigrant. (...) If you speak the local language poorly, you get worse service. At work, the atmosphere is great, and very different from Finland. We meet together outside office hours all the time and have all kinds of joint activities.”¹²² (Survey respondent 9919, b. 1979, MA in technology and knowledge management from Finland.)

The situation is similar with also skilled migrants working in Finland as Ödül Bozkurt (2006) has noticed in her study of the telecommunications sector: settling in the office of a large multinational company is easier than trying to integrate into a more national working place, regardless of the other attributes of the workplace or job (Bozkurt 2006, 238–240). Integration into Finland is not only difficult for those moving from outside Europe, but also highly skilled migrants originating from “pre-

122. *Työpaikalla ulkomaisuus rikkaus, kun erittäin kansainvälinen työnantaja. Kohdemassa ei olla kovin-kaan ystävällisiä työpaikan ulkopuolella ja alue jolla asun on ulkomaalaisvastainen. (...) Jos puhut huonosti paikallista kieltä saat huonompaa palvelua. Töissä työilmapiiri mahtava ja hyvin erilainen kuin suomessa. Työyhteisön kanssa harrastetaan ja tavataan myös vapaa-ajalla jatkuvasti.*

ferred” countries of origin in the West often feel excluded from the Finnish society and find it difficult to find work (Koskela 2013, Clarke 2013, Lulle & Balode 2013).

Respondents working in London often comment that “everyone is foreign in London”, so one’s national background does not necessarily play a major role in succeeding in job interviews – at least if you are a representative of a small European minority. Finding the right employment opportunity is also about other things than mere nationality. In fact, the university you were educated in and the kinds of networks you made during your student years may have a much bigger impact on the career, as this male respondent concludes:

“In an expert organisation nationality does not really play a role, except in the top ranking jobs. To those jobs the glass ceiling will most likely prevent access especially in English firms, unless you graduated from Oxford, Cambridge, or one of the famous business schools in London. In addition, there are immigrants of varying ‘classes’, an educated Scandinavian is accepted easier than a Pole or a Pakistani.”¹²³ (Survey respondent 98, b. 1973, MA in economics, UK.)

In addition to offering an abundance of work opportunities for highly skilled workers, the lively London cultural scene with pubs, clubs, art exhibitions, museums, music and sporting events provides an exciting balance to the long hours at the office. Life in a metropolis where everyone is foreign also requires little effort in integrating into the local society. Tapio (b. 1977, UK), one of the male interviewees, displays such a denationalised (Favell 2008b) attitude towards integration:

“...at work you have to kind of integrate to Britain, but London as a city is such, that there is no need to integrate to the society at any deeper level, you pay your taxes and perform a couple of bureaucratic duties, that is it. The number of expats and immigrants is incomprehensible; there are more immigrants here than Finland has residents.”¹²⁴

123. *Asiantuntijaorganisaatiossa kansallisuudella ei ole juurikaan merkitystä ylinta johtoa lukuun ottamatta. Mutta aivan ylimpaan johtoon lasikatto enimmäkseen estaa edelleen paasyn varsinkin englantilaisissa yrityksissa, ellei ole Oxfordin, Cambridgen tai maineikkaan lontoalaisen business schoolin kasvatti. Lisaksi Lontoossa tuntuu olevan monen “luokan” maahanmuuttajia. Koulutettu skandinaavi hyväksytään paremmin kuin puolalainen tai pakistanilainen maahanmuuttaja.*
124. *... duunin puolesta sun on pakko tietyllä tavalla integroitua Britanniaan, mut Lontoo on kaupunkina sellanen, että ei tääl oo mitenkään pakko hirveen syvällisellä tasolla integroitua tähän yhteiskuntaan, et sä maksat verot ja täytät muutamat muut byrokraattiset jutut, niin sä pärjääät sillä aika näppärästi, se expattien ja siirtolaisten määrä on täällä niin tajuton, täällä on enemmän siirtolaisia kun mitä Suomessa on asukkaita.*

Jonathan Beaverstock and Joanne Smith (1996) argue that global cities¹²⁵ are important locations for skilled migrants because of the concentration of banking and specialist employment opportunities of corporate headquarters with their fast-track careers and high salaries. London is Europe's main global city for accountancy, advertising, management consultancy, law and many other business sectors. Skilled migration has focused on cities like London because of three interlinking processes: the globalisation of financial capital, the labour practices of investment banking and the individuals' opportunities to accumulate personal wealth. "The magnetism of London as a working and a living space must not be underestimated – it is where corporate professionals want to work", they underline. (Beaverstock & Smith 1996, 1378–81, see also Ryan & Mulholland 2013). Also Ulf Hannerz identifies the presence of these highly educated, highly professionally skilled, and highly mobile individuals engaged in transnational business and management as a sign of London being a true contemporary world city (Hannerz 1996, 128–129). As this female respondent concludes:

"Finland feels like a stagnant society, especially when viewed from here, and I do not feel like returning, at least not right away. London is a lively metropolis, things happen here and people have a positive outlook on life. Here young professionals are valued and sought after."¹²⁶ (Survey respondent 39, b. 1982, MA in International relations from the UK.)

London is not the only city in Europe to boast a highly international labour market. As Adrian Favell concludes: "Brussels offers an extraordinarily open range of short-term jobs and long-term career opportunities for free-moving EU nationals" (Favell 2008b, 50). WiE respondents writing from Brussels explain that almost everyone that they work with are foreign and there are many jobs available that do not require neither knowledge of the local languages French or Flemish, nor particular integration into the Belgian society. Apart from the work opportunities offered by the EU institutions, also multinational companies, lobbying organisations, law firms, and non-governmental organisations offer jobs that require international expertise and language skills rather than any deeper knowledge of the local labour market. As a male respondent concludes: "I work in the head office of a multinational company in Brussels, where being foreign is more a rule than the exception. 80% of my colleagues come from somewhere else than Belgium¹²⁷" (survey respondent 998, b. 1974, MA in organisations and management from Finland).

125. On a critique of the "global cities" debate which promotes the specificity of cities such as London as capitalist centers of production and wealth see Smith 2001, 48–71.

126. *Suomi tuntuu varsinkin täältä katsottuna pysähtyneeltä yhteiskunnalta, johon ei tee mieli palata ainakaan ihan heti. Lontoo on elävä metropoli, täällä on menemisen meininki ja ihmisillä valoisa asenne. Täällä tuntuu, että nuoria professionaaleja arvostetaan ja heistä kilpailaan.*

127. *Monikansallisen yhtiön pääkonttorissa Brysselissä ulkomaalaisuus on enemmän sääntö kuin poikkeus. 80% kollegoistani on muualta kuin Belgiasta.*

Yet all stories of how the WiE respondents were treated when applying for work were not positive, and there were barriers to labour market entry, especially with those WiE respondents who have tried to compete with local graduates in more nationally based jobs. They write about the experiences of not being taken seriously, or their skills in the local language or the validity of their degree being put into question. Maarit (b. 1964, France), one of the interviewees from France, had serious problems in finding work when she first moved to France back in 1989:

“Finland was not seen as a European country. When I as a job-seeker said I was Finnish, I realised how they treat Arabs, how they treat Russians and other migrants from Eastern Europe, that I was regarded as one of them. I was told the same thing as I now hear being said to many of these migrants that why do you come here, we have enough unemployed people here already.”¹²⁸

Paris is also a European metropolis, but perhaps less accessible for foreigners than London or Brussels. Applying for a job in a big Anglo-American company in Paris proved to be the solution for this respondent who had faced discrimination and felt that she will never be hired in a French company because she was treated like “scum”¹²⁹:

“In my current job it’s easy to be foreign in the company of the other foreigners (there are only a few local employees). I have not faced any discrimination here. Being foreign is not an advantage, other than for the language skills; the language skills of the locals are much worse and that’s why they are not hired in this company.”¹³⁰ (Survey respondent 343, b. 1977, MA in civil engineering from Finland.)

The perceived or real inability to communicate perfectly in the local language can be a barrier for employment. Choosing to work in an international environment is one way of overcoming this shortage at least until the language skills improve. As this female respondent working in Germany with a social science degree writes:

“It has been relatively easy to find work, but if I would want a job that would correspond to my degree, it is nearly impossible. (...) There is no demand. I

128. *Suomea ei koettu eurooppalaiseks maaks, kun sano työnhakijana, että on suomalainen, niin tajus, että millä lailla kohdellaan arabeja ja venäläisiä ja muita tuolta Itä-Euroopan maista olevia, että minut semmisiin luettiin ja samalla lailla sanottiin kun olin kuullu heillekin sanottavan, että mitä tänne tuutte, että kyllähän täällä on ihan tarpeeks työttömiä omasta takaakin.*

129. *pohjasakkaa*

130. *Nykyisessä työpaikassani on helppo olla ulkomaalainen muiden ulkomaalaisten joukossa (yrityksessä vain muutama paikallinen työntekijä). Syrjintää työssä en ole kokenut. Ulkomaalaisuudesta ei ole ollut varsinaista etua muuten kuin kielitaidon osalta (paikallisten kielitaito on huomattavasti heikompa ja siksi heita ei nykyiseen työpaikkaani palkata).*

work in the tourism business in an English language firm, as my writing skills in German are not perfect.”¹³¹ (Survey respondent 217, b. 1975, MA in international relations from Finland.)

Choosing to look for employment in international workplaces has helped WiE respondents to succeed well in negotiating the value of their institutionalised cultural capital with prospective employers. They are rather content about their work situation abroad and generally seem to be linguistically and socially able to communicate their skills and also their embodied cultural capital in a satisfactory manner. Yet integration into the local, more national labour market may be a different matter, especially if one lives outside the country’s capital or the other major cities that have many highly skilled jobs. The next section identifies one particular element in their embodied cultural capital, which has been an advantage in finding employment.

Finnish language experts wanted across Europe

Anja Weiss (2004) argues that the social position of highly skilled migrants is in many respects situated beyond the framework of the nation state. Migration usually means devaluation of the migrants’ original cultural capital when they look for work in a new country. Country-specific knowledge, acquired in the early years of life, is usually depreciated also with skilled migrants when they move abroad. This does not necessarily weaken their career prospects, if the transcultural capital is valued enough. Also the country-specific knowledge can sometimes give them a competitive advantage. (Weiss 2004, 719–724.) For the WiE survey respondents this seems indeed to be the case. Many of them are employed because they have skills in rare languages that have real, even though quite limited, labour market value abroad.

The importance of language skills was already referred to in the two previous sections of this chapter that focused on the relative position of Finnish migrants in comparison with other migrant groups and noted that many had found work in international companies. The good language skills of the respondents seem to have worked for their advantage, even though there are differences in how the respondents estimate their fluency in the local language. Lack of competence in the local language is not a significant problem for those working in the United Kingdom or Ireland. At least in the test result statistics of the TOEFL test of English as a Foreign Language Finns regularly score high marks and rank among the best in

131. *Töitä on ollut kohtuullisen helppo löytää, mutta jos haluaa opintojansa vastaavaa työtä, muuttuu tehtävä lähes mahdottomaksi. (...) Kysyntää ei siis ole. Teen töitä turismi-alalla, englanninkielisessä firmassa, koska saksan kielen kirjoittamiseni ei ole täydellistä.*

Europe (TOEFL 2008).¹³² Respondents living in Germany, France, Italy and Spain, however, comment more frequently on the poor knowledge of the local language as a hindrance in their job search. As Anneli (b.1967), an interviewee living in Italy, concludes on the importance of learning the local language:

“I know many young people who have been to Finland on Erasmus exchange and they say that everyone there speaks English quite well, the young and even older people, but in Italy (...) You cannot think that you would get by with just English (...) it is the same as in Spain or Greece, you need to know the language of the country... at least when you apply for a proper job for the first time.”¹³³

Language skills in the main language of the country of destination are important, but so is the knowledge of other languages: out of the 299 respondents who replied to the open-ended questions, a total of 51 (17%) write that they use the Finnish language at work, or were even employed because of their skills in the Finnish and/or Swedish language, which all Finns also study at school. An easy explanation for this would be that most of those who need Finnish at work were sent abroad by a Finnish company. However, when asking for the reasons of moving abroad, only 23 respondents wrote that they were “sent abroad by a Finnish employer”. Calculating together these seconded employees and those who wrote that they need Finnish at work makes up a group of 67 respondents. This means that 18 per cent of all the 364 respondents of the 2008 WiE survey work abroad in an environment where the Finnish language is useful. What kind of jobs have they found that requires the knowledge of such a minor language?

The responses can be roughly classified in four categories. *First*, there are respondents who work for Finnish companies, either as employees seconded abroad or recruited locally. Many of them work in banks in London, Luxembourg, or Frankfurt, or with telecommunications or forestry related businesses. This group also includes a variety of jobs otherwise related to Finland or the Finnish language, such as working in the European Union institutions, as an assistant to a Member of the European Parliament, or for some of the Finnish lobbying organisations in Brussels, for example. Mikael (b. 1976, Luxembourg) one of the interviewees was headhunted to work for a Nordic bank in Luxembourg. He finds his job rewarding and exciting, as it entails more variation than a job at the similar career level in Finland. While his work thus

132. See also the EF English Proficiency Index –ranking list compiled by the EF Education First language training company at <http://www.ef.fi/epi/>. In this list Finns rank on the 4th place according to their proficiency in English. Swedes, Danes and the Dutch are at the top of the ranking list.

133. ... paljon nuoria kavereita, jotka on ollu ERASMUS-vaihdossa Suomessa ja muualla, niin kaikki sanoo, et teillä Suomessa kaikki puhuu aika hyvin englantia, nuoret ja vähän vanhemmatkin, mut Italiassa on kans sit se, että (...) et sillä englannilla ei niinkun pärjää täällä, et kyl mä sanon, et kuka lähtee töitä hakeen Italiasta, niin täällä... ihan sama mun mielestä niinkun jossain Espanjassa ja Kreikassa, niin siellä tarvitsee maan oman kielen... ensimmäisen kerran kun haluat kunnon töitä...

is about much more than mere communication back to Finland, it would however be difficult to do his job without some knowledge of the Finnish language. He explains:

“This environment is international; this is by no means a Finnish bank (...) we operate under the banking law of Luxembourg and our co-operation with [bank name] in Finland is limited. (...) In this organisation where I work there are around 400 employees, and approximately 20 Finns.”¹³⁴

Second, some respondents have found work as translators or teachers of the Finnish language. “It was easy to find work, as there is demand for the Finnish language¹³⁵” (survey respondent 348, b. 1978, Germany, MA in German language from Germany), writes one respondent, who is working as a teacher of the German and Finnish languages in Leipzig. Many of the major European cities have Finnish schools for children of migrant Finns that generate at least some job opportunities, be they often part-time and temporary. *Third*, there are respondents who work for companies that are doing business with Scandinavian countries, as this female respondent working in international sales in Germany states: “Being a Finn (and having knowledge of the language, country and its economy) is an advantage, as the company that I work for has Finnish and Nordic clients”¹³⁶ (survey respondent 898, b. 1984, university of applied sciences BA in business administration from Finland).

Fourth, there are respondents who work in businesses that service Finnish clients in help-desks, call-centres, or virtually via the Internet. “I work in a multinational company in a role where I need my language skills to do my job. I get to use Finnish at work every day!”¹³⁷ (survey respondents 275, b. 1982 BA in international relations and BA in art history from the UK), writes one female respondent from Ireland. Even if the actual work would not involve advising Finnish consumers on problems related to information technology over the phone, there are also other jobs available in this sector. One of the interviewees living in Brussels, Johanna (b.1974, Belgium), who has a degree in Finnish history, got a job in a personnel recruitment office of a multinational company because her language skills were needed in recruiting workers from Finland and Scandinavia. She explains:

“When I applied for the job they were looking especially for someone who speaks Finnish and one of the Scandinavian languages – that is the reason they hired me,

134. *Sit tietenkin ympäristö on kansainvälinen niin tää ei missään nimessä oo suomalainen pankki (...) tää on Luxemburgin pankkilain alainen (...) meidän yhteistyö sitten [pankin nimi] kanssa on aika pientä (...) ja tää organisaatio missä mä oon, meit on noin 400, niin meit suomalaisia on vajaa parikymmentä.*

135. *Helppoa löytää töitä, koska suomen kielellä on paljon kysyntää.*

136. *Suomalaisuuteni (kielitaitoni, maan ja elinkeinoelämän tuntemukseni) on etu, koska yrityksellä on suomalaisia ja muita pohjoismaalaisia asiakkaita.*

137. *Minulle kansallisuuteni, enemmän kuin ulkomaisuus, on ollut hyöty koska toimin multikansallisessa yrityksessä roolissa jossa tarvitsen kielitaitoani tehäkseni työni. Saan käyttää suomea joka päivä töissä!*

I had no experience of recruitment whatsoever. (...) This I started with and then moved on to recruiting personnel to other projects, working mainly in English and French, it was just at the beginning that I mainly used the Nordic languages.”¹³⁸

Many of the global multinational and large European companies have concentrated their accounting, administration and marketing departments in certain countries. A search for jobs in any of the international job search portals with the word “Finnish” generates a list of jobs in these shared service, administrative and finance centres, where competence in this language is the main prerequisite. As Minna (b. 1976, Ireland) who lives in Dublin explains on the job market there: “It [her employer] is an administrative centre, an IT company. There are a lot of European centres for IT-companies, and other large companies, such as *Google* and *Facebook* and *Microsoft* and all the other IT companies have their European administrative headquarters here.”¹³⁹ From among the 18 interviewees of this study also Juhani, Emilia, and Pauliina have at some point in their career abroad found a competitive advantage in their language skills in Finnish.

On the other hand, the remaining interviewees (13) had not found the Finnish language the least bit useful anywhere, so while there is “demand for the Finnish language”, it is within a limited section of the job market, and only in certain geographical locations. A job search with the keyword “Finnish” from one of the largest online job search engines www.monster.com resulted in the following results in October 2013: the United Kingdom site had 48 vacancies which listed knowledge of the Finnish language as a prerequisite for the job (e.g. credit controller, sales and account manager, and team leader), the Irish site 18 (e.g. accountant, business development consultant, and Nordic team manager), and Belgium 10 (e.g. credit collector, help desk agent, accountant). Such language-related jobs are concentrated in specific countries, as the same search (“Finnisch”, “finnois”, “fins”, and “finlandese” in the respective languages) only provided a handful of jobs in Germany (7), Austria (3), and The Netherlands (1). No jobs requiring the Finnish language were advertised in the [monster.com](http://www.monster.com) sites of France and Italy.

For young, well-qualified, transnationally mobile individuals the Europeanisation of the labour market provides new opportunities. The WiE survey respondents had, according to their own estimations, integrated well in the destination labour market and were satisfied with their position. The survey respondents had found several ways

138. *...sillon kun mä hain sitä työpaikkaa, ni he haki nimenomaan ihmistä, joka puhuu suomea ja jotain skandinaavista kieltä eli se oli oikeestaan se ainut syy minkä takia mut palkattiin, et mulla ei ollut mitään aikasempaa kokemusta rekrytoinnista sitä ennen (...). Et sillä alotin ja siitä se levis et mä sitten rekrytoin myös muihin projekteihin myöhemmin, et työskentelin pääasiassa englannin ja ranskan kielellä, et se oli ihan sillon alkuun vaan ne pohjoismaiset kielet pääosassa.*

139. *Se on ihan hallintokeskus, joo, et IT-yritys, täällä on tosi paljon just noita Euroopan keskuksia IT-firmoilla ja isommilla niinkun Googlella ja Facebookilla ja Microsoftilla ja kaikilla muilla IT-firmoilta on täällä Euroopan keskushallinnot.*

in which to communicate their skills and cultural capital in the destination country labour market. They are making the best of being foreign, as being Finnish does not form a barrier to employment but can be more a matter of curiosity or something that makes their CV memorable. They use the abilities that they have, and seek international workplaces where speaking more languages than the average university degree holder in the UK, France, and Germany is an advantage. Many, like this male information technology professional based in London, say that they “work in a team of 30 people with 14 nationalities¹⁴⁰” (survey respondent 120, b. 1974, MA in computer science from Finland). Multinational companies that look for diversity may appreciate Finns as there are not that many of them around. The key to success can also be working with tasks that are related to the special understanding and language ability connecting them to Finland, Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia¹⁴¹. Yet as Verwiebe & Eder (2006, 159) write: “Transnational mobility creates new career chances in the upper segments of the labour market, but, on the other hand, also increases the risks of having to integrate oneself into the lower end of the income hierarchy.” This was equally true for some of the WiE respondents for whom finding employment that would match their education in their current country or city was challenging.

Chapter conclusions

This chapter focused on the kinds of jobs the highly skilled Finns of my study had found abroad. It further underlined the intertwined nature of the different forms of cultural capital. As noted in the conclusions to the previous chapter, one’s academic qualifications, i.e. institutionalised cultural capital, can be fairly unimportant if also all other job-applicants have a degree at the similar level. Then the choice of who gets the job will naturally be influenced by other factors, such as previous experience, suitability, language skills, and as was the case with the international companies mentioned in this chapter, aiming for maximum diversity in the national and educational backgrounds of the employees. Interestingly many of the Finns of this study had found a small niche, where parts of their embodied cultural capital were more important than their educational background or field of study. Especially the importance of speaking many languages and having skills in rare European languages was an asset: it is easier to find work if only few other applicants possess this particular skill. In the following chapter I will dig deeper into the cultural capital of the study participants and continue to examine the labour market strategies they have used to make the best of what they have to make it abroad.

140. *Meidän tiimissä reilut 30 henkeä ja 14 eri kansalaisuutta.*

141. It is quite common that in meetings of Scandinavian organisations, for example, the different, and related Scandinavian languages are used instead of English. Being fluent in Swedish can therefore be a valuable skill, even though in reality the business communication might be done in English.

7. On transferring cultural capital¹⁴²

Transnationally mobile highly skilled migrants cannot influence the general situation in the labour market of the country of destination. Factors such as unemployment levels, demand for labour in certain professional fields, ethnic discrimination, or employer preference for credentials obtained in that particular country, do influence the labour market position of any individual migrant, even though she has little control over these matters. Apart from carefully studying the situation prior to the move and selecting a destination country that has demand for one's skills, an individual migrant can only adapt to the situation on the ground. In this final substantive chapter I discuss migrant agency in finding work, draw together the theoretical conclusions of the study, and propose that highly skilled migrants can use certain strategies to make the best of their situation abroad. The aim of this chapter is to examine the ways in which individual highly skilled migrants can influence the evaluation of their cultural capital when looking for employment in the country of destination. How does the active agency of highly skilled migrants affect the ways in which both their institutional and embodied cultural capital is valued? This chapter therefore focuses on understanding *how the cultural capital of highly skilled migrants transfers across intra-European borders*.

Migrant agency in the country of destination

The status passage into the new country's labour market was mostly easy for the WiE survey respondents: 76 per cent of them were in full-time employment in 2008 when the survey was conducted, and only 3 per cent said they were unemployed. Of those respondents who also took part in the second survey in 2010, 63 per cent were in full-time employment and only 4 per cent unemployed.¹⁴³ On the question of how long it took to find employment that *matched their degree* in the new country, only 4 per cent reported in 2008 that they had not found such a job, and a further 4 per cent said that they had been unemployed and had looked for work for longer than 6 months. 76 per cent had found work within weeks: either

142. Koikkalainen 2013b is a version of this chapter.

143. See the two charts in the beginning of chapter six for the full breakdown of the employment situation of the survey respondents.

before or immediately after moving or before or immediately after graduating from a local institution. Being foreign had not been a major obstacle in finding work, as only 11 per cent report having faced discrimination (see also Koikkalainen 2009b).

The respondents of the survey had university degrees from a great variety of fields and they were working in diverse professions: as engineers, lawyers, nurses, secretaries, bankers, media analysts, journalists, IT professionals, teachers, researchers, and project managers in 12 different countries. Despite this diversity in their backgrounds and countries of residence, the overwhelming majority of the respondents were engaged in fulltime employment in a job that was a good match for their degree. In addition, more than 80 per cent of those who replied to the open-ended question on whether “moving abroad was a good decision for their career” regarded the move abroad as beneficial. Due to this overall positive situation and the diversity of the data gathered, it was not possible to nominate simple factors, such as specific fields of study or educational background, which would make one more likely to succeed in the destination country labour market.

It is evident from the open-ended responses of the WiE survey participants that the very concept of labour market success is subjective, and cannot be separated from the other aspects of one’s life. As many respondents explained, they do not really know or care if the move was a positive event for their working life situation, as career was not the reason they moved in the first place. As this female respondent living in Austria writes in her response to whether moving was a good decision for her career: “I cannot say. I have gained a lot of personal experiences and have grown as a person. I believe that my work experience from abroad will be appreciated in the future in Finland”¹⁴⁴ (survey respondent 284, b. 1980, MA in education from Finland, a diploma in pedagogy from Austria). The importance of gaining interesting experiences while working abroad is crucial also for this male respondent: “Moving abroad was good for my career, but perhaps more importantly it was definitely a good decision for my general life experience”¹⁴⁵ (survey respondent 9912, b. 1975, UK, MA in business from Finland).

Anja Weiss (2004, 712–716) has noted that there are forms of cultural capital that are transnationally recognised. Its holders constitute a “transnational upper class”, the members of which are typically characterised by having internationally valued education, right (western) habitus, and labour market skills that are not country-specific. They have considerable spatial autonomy, as they can move globally after better career prospects. For them migration can be a way of upward social mobility. This was surely true for at least some of the WiE respondents, and in addition, the survey data showed no traces of significant *brain waste* where tertiary educated

144. *En osaa sanoa. Olen saanut paljon henkilökohtaisia kokemuksia, jotka ovat kasvattaneet minua ihmisenä. Uskon, että työkokemusta ulkomailla tullaan arvostamaan myös tulevaisuudessa Suomessa.*

145. *Ulkomaalle muutto on ollut myös uran, mutta ehkä enemmän yleisen elämäkokemuksen kannalta ehdottomasti järkevä ratkaisu.*

Finns would be working as cleaners, housemaids, or in the low-paid service sector. In this respect, the labour market paths of these Finns do differ from what has been observed of the career prospects of the post-accession migrants from Central and Eastern Europe. As Recchi and Triandafyllidou (2010, 132) note, there are two different migration streams in operation within the EU:

“While EU-15 citizens who relocate in another EU member state are more likely than those who stay at home to get jobs at the upper end of the socio-economic hierarchy, A8 and A2 movers’ occupational fate in Western and Southern Europe is less stellar than that of their sedentary co-nationals.”¹⁴⁶

Harald Bauder (2008, 326) argues that citizenship is also a form of capital; of making a distinction between those who are entitled to rights and belonging, and those who are excluded and, to a degree, can be exploited in the labour market. However, rather than being discriminated against for being migrants and possessing the wrong kind of identity capital, the Finns of this study seem to fall within the group of privileged and widely accepted *Western European freemovers*. For these freemovers foreign citizenship is not a significant barrier to employment, and for them a work period abroad can be “an exciting experience” and “a valuable chance of opening one’s horizons”, as many of the WiE survey respondents wrote. The logic of mobility resembles that found among the mobile Europeans who Adrian Favell interviewed in his study *Eurostars and Eurocities*. Favell (2008b, 66) concludes: “Many apparently saw the move as a short-term ‘shot in the dark’, rather than a long-term investment; and they were willing to take risks different from most of their peers, in choosing to go abroad.”

Internet-based surveys, such as the WiE, which was based on participant self-selection rather than on a random sample drawn from a representative population, cannot be used to make categorical conclusions about the *types of degrees* or *work experience* that transfer easily across the intra-European borders. Moreover the 364 WiE respondents had obtained altogether 423 degrees, so many of them had several degrees, some even from very different disciplines, and from several different countries. Simple survey questions cannot thus reveal which parts of this institutionalised cultural capital were the most valuable in the new context, and only focusing on the highest degree, for example, would simplify the picture too much. Marika was applying for work with a MA degree completed in the UK, but still had to get her Finnish university of applied sciences BA certificates translated in English: “They did want to look at both [degree certificates]. I had to get the English language versions of the degrees from Finland (...) I remember it even cost me something to get them from

146. A8 refers to migrants from the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia that joined the EU in 2004 and A2 refers to migrants from Bulgaria and Romania that joined in 2007. Malta and Cyprus also joined the EU in 2004, but are due to their small size and different migration trajectories often considered separately from the new Central and Eastern European member states.

my old institution.”¹⁴⁷ Recruiters and employers examine the job applicant’s educational background and work experience as a whole, and do not only focus on the fact that she has a university degree from a certain field. In some cases, the employee’s personality and her suitability may even play a bigger role in the recruitment decision than the educational background (see e.g. Valkonen et al. 2013).

In addition, because the share of those who felt disappointed or discriminated against was so low, there was not much point in trying to explain differences between countries in that respect either. However, the data of the two WiE surveys and the 18 interviews proved fruitful in terms of focusing on individual agency: what can the highly skilled migrants *themselves* do to manage in the new context – be that context a global city such as London, a Nordic capital such as Copenhagen, or a small town in Italy or Portugal. The analysis of the data revealed that highly skilled Finns use three kinds of strategies to negotiate the value of their cultural capital abroad: *adaptation*, *distinction* and *re-orientation*. These strategies are somewhat overlapping and the skilled migrants can either utilise one, two, or all three of them at the same time or consecutively.

The strategy of adaptation includes the concrete steps necessary in applying for jobs in ways that are in line with the local system, such as using the correct CV formats and the right channels to contact potential employers, for example. I also classify the larger scale choices of what kinds of skills to promote and acquire as belonging to this strategy. For some interviewees, adaptation to the local system had been enough, and they were thus able to continue with their chosen profession or career in the destination country rather easily. *The strategy of distinction*, on the other hand, refers to tactics of using one’s skills, education, and experiences to gain a competitive advantage. These can include knowledge of rare languages or contacts to Finnish businesses and financial sector, for example. If continuing on a career in one’s own field is not possible in the destination country, *the strategy of re-orientation* can help one gain labour market access in another field or as a freelancer, for example. These three strategies are presented below in more detail.

The strategy of adaptation

All interviewees had used the strategy of adaptation because they – as any job applicant in any context for that matter – had to adapt to the realities of the labour market that they participate in. They have to use the correct job application formats and acceptable language; they have to look for work through the correct channels; they have to behave in the expected manner in the interview and know what kind of references to ask for. In short, they have to be able to present both the embodied

147. *Kyl ne katto molempia [tutkintotodistuksia], et kyllä mä jouduin pyytämään Suomesta englanninkieliset (...) muistan että jotain se maksoi kun jouduin pyytämään ne sieltä vanhasta oppilaitoksesta,*

and institutionalised cultural capital in the best possible light. This is what Krisztina Csedö (2008) also underlined in her research findings on Eastern European migrants in London: only those who managed to influence the evaluation of their cultural capital were able to secure highly skilled jobs. She concludes: “Since employers have limited information on the value of foreign credentials and work experience of migrant applicants, being skilled also depends on the ability of migrants to signal the value of their general and specific skills to potential employers in the destination labour market” (Csedö 2008, 820). Among my interviewees, adaptation was the main type of strategy used by those migrants whose qualifications were obtained in the country of destination. If one’s institutional cultural capital from Finland was limited to having a senior secondary school diploma, carrying its value across the border is not significant for the future direction of one’s professional career. Studying in the country of destination paves the way into the labour market of that country, because it increases local social capital and in part minimises the importance of the foreign aspects of one’s embodied cultural capital.

Also some of those educated in Finland (or in some third country) managed to continue in their profession or start working as freelancers in their country of destination rather easily. Finding the first job may have taken quite a lot of effort, but they nonetheless ended up in jobs matching their education. Nohl et al. (2010, 10–11) use the concept of *status passages* to describe the multidimensional school-to-work transition in the new country. They also differentiate between migrants, who were educated abroad (*bildungsausländerinnen*), and migrants who were educated in the country of destination (*bildungsinländerinnen*), because from the perspective of the labour market, the source of the qualifications influences the status passage (Nohl et al. 2010, 14, see also Friedberg 2000). Under the current competition in the labour market, and especially for migrants in a new country, this passage is not automatic, but requires efforts and struggle to claim a place for oneself. Mika, one of the interviewees from London explains:

“I just kept on sending my CV (...) then I went to this graduate fair where people from a finance company were giving a talk (...) so after about a month I got my first job there, and from then on I worked as a tax advisor for about three to four years (...) Until I was headhunted to a totally different kind of business.”¹⁴⁸

Having arrived to the country with a foreign degree from Sweden, Mika had to adapt to the rules of the game in the United Kingdom. He describes the start of his

148. *..piti vaan pistää CV:tä koko ajan, mutta sit mä olin tämmöessä graduate fair, siis työnantajamessut missä kaikki oli, niin siellä sitten oli yks finanssifirma, josta oli porukkaa puhumassa (...) siitä joku kuukaus eteenpäin, niin mä sain ensimmäisen paikan... mistä sitten kaikki lähti rullaamaan eteenpäin (...) päädyin semmoseen pienempään veroneuvontaputiikkiin, jota mä sitten jatkoin kolme-neljä vuotta (...) mut headhuntattiin ihan eri alalle.*

career there as a difficult time. This process of adaptation required Mika, and other highly skilled migrants like him, to learn the correct channels of finding employment in a highly competitive city: how to write a convincing CV, where to meet potential employers, how to deal with recruiters, and how to behave in a job interview. In Mika's case this gradually paid off and he explains that after the rocky start his career has since progressed in a more than satisfactory manner: at the time of the interview in 2011 he was just about to relocate to Hong Kong. The process through which Susanna, who also lives in London, found her first proper job is somewhat similar. She has stayed with the same employer since the beginning of her career, and has also worked in the Netherlands and the Italy branches of the company. She talks about how she initially applied for jobs in three leading consultancy firms:

"When I realised I want to become a consultant I applied to three companies (...) With [company X] I did not even get past the first phase (...), and with [company Y] I got until the third phase of interviews. But with [company Z] I got through all the phases, and it was in fact my top choice as I had already spoken with their people in Finland. (...) Now I get calls from [company X] all the time; they beg me to come work for them."¹⁴⁹

In addition to these concrete steps in applying for jobs, such as using the correct CV formats and writing style in one's applications, or connecting with employers at the right place, the strategy of adaptation is also involved in the longer term planning of one's employment path. Many WiE respondents tell how the first or even the second educational degree was not enough to get them into the kind of career or job they were aiming for. Thus also highly skilled migrants have to make choices of what kinds of new skills to promote and what kind of education or training to acquire to obtain one's career goals. Maria (b. 1977, France) clarifies the hierarchies of the French educational system: "...there are these business schools (...) and for the business field jobs the graduates from them are always employed first and universities are seen as second rate (...) so because I only have a university degree, I am now continuing my studies in business¹⁵⁰. Further education may be needed not only to be able to compete with other job-seekers, but also to be able to find the kind of work that one is really interested in. For example, for Marko (b. 1977, UK),

149. *Kun mä päätin että haluan konsultiksi ni bain kolmeen firmaan [konsulttifirma X] (...) jostain syystä mä en päässy ees ensimmäisestä vaiheesta eteenpäin... [konsulttifirma Y] mä menin jobki kolmanteen vaiheeseen ja sit mä en päässy eteenpäin, mut [konsulttifirma Z] mä menin sit kaikki läpi ja itse asiassa se olikin mun top choice kun mä olin jo käyny Suomes niitten kaa puhun viä (...) nyt ne [konsulttifirma X] kyllä soittelee koko ajan että voisiko sinne mennä töihin.*

150. *täällä on noita kauppakorkeakouluja, joista ihmiset suuntautuu kaupallisille aloille töihin (...) ja jos sieltä on saanu paperit, niin ne on etusijalla aina työmarkkinoilla, kun taas sitten yliopistot on vähän toisarvosia (...) että kun mulla on vaan yliopistotutkintopaperit (...) et sen takia mä sitten niin teen sitä jatkokoulutusta just kaupalliselta alalta.*

his first degree was not enough to get him on the career he wanted, even though the degree was obtained from a respected university in the UK:

“I graduated in 2003 for the first time and in 2005 I returned to the UK and worked in all kinds of short-term jobs in Scotland and in Oxford trying to get to the field where I am now, but it was not really working out (...). Then when I finally completed a postgraduate degree, I got hired.”¹⁵¹

All migrants use the strategy of adaptation during the status passage from education to the labour market, and from the labour market of one country to that of another. Depending on the country, the correct way to look for work may vary from going to *graduate fairs*, contacting *temp agencies*, compiling *application packages*, filling in *online application forms*, or soliciting *recommendations* from one’s social network, former university teachers, or from other local people with influence. Applying for work with a foreign degree in a country where one has few contacts to local employers requires effort in presenting one’s institutionalised as well as embodied cultural capital in the best possible light. As I discussed in the previous chapter, looking for work in international companies and organisations can make getting a job as a foreigner easier. Some types of cultural capital have value regardless of the national context, and these kinds of skills may travel across borders easier. Therefore for some interviewees adaptation was enough and they were able to continue with their chosen profession in the destination country. According to my analysis of the career paths of the participants of this study, for six interviewees (table 7) adaptation was the key to labour market entry.

TABLE 7: Interviewees whose labour market entry matches the strategy of adaptation

Adaptation (6)
Anna (b. 1980), degree in business communication from Finland, has lived in Spain, and then moved to Iceland. She works as a freelance journalist and runs her own business.
Marko (b.1977) has degrees in law and in management from the UK, works as a corporate lawyer, UK.
Marika (b. 1976), has degrees from both Finland and UK, latest a PhD from UK. She works in public administration, UK.
Mika (b. 1976), has an economics degree from Sweden, and he has had career as a financial consultant in the UK. He relocated to in Hong Kong in 2011.
Susanna (b. 1978) has business degrees from the UK and from Finland, has a job in consulting and has been on company assignments in the Netherlands and Italy. She returned to the UK in 2011.

151. ... 2003 valmistuin ekaa kertaa ja 2005 menin uudelleen [Iso-Britanniaan], et olin puoltoista vuotta duunissa ja yritin erilaisii pätkäpuubii Skotlannissa ja sit Oxfordissa Englannissa ja yritin päästä tälle alalle millä mä nyten olen, mut siitä nyt ei vaan tullu mitään, (...) sit mä tein viimein ton jatkotutkinnon josta mut sit palkattiin.

The strategy of adaptation and distinction

Using the strategy of adaptation was not enough for all interviewees, however. In addition to learning the rules of the destination country labour market, many of the WiE respondents had used the *strategy of distinction* to find work. For such mobile Europeans as the Finns of this study the fact that one is *different* from other job applicants can be an advantage, as long as there are only a few people with similar sets of skills around. As Recchi and Favell (2011, 71) note on intra-European migrants: “Their difference is valued in the new location, as long as they are relatively scarce.” One example of such an international career path is Minna (b. 1976, Ireland), who has a university degree in Nordic philology (Swedish language) from Finland. With this perhaps a little surprising educational background she has been able to create a mobile lifestyle that she enjoys. Her career moves have been based more on location, than on career planning, as she has worked in diverse jobs ranging from a traineeship in *EuroDisney* to a call centre, and to the administrative offices of IT companies that have concentrated their European operations in shared service centres in the United Kingdom and Ireland. She has had to adapt to the situation in whichever country she was living in, as the jobs on offer differ from what she thought her options would be when she was still studying. She explains:

“Whatever jobs I have had, none of them have felt like that this is exactly what I always wanted to do, its more like I just drifted there... especially because I have changed countries so many times... so I’ve mostly drifted to the jobs that I found, and I do not have a dream career yet, so I am still looking.”¹⁵²

The strategy of distinction has also worked in her favour: the knowledge of rare languages, especially Swedish and also to a lesser extent Finnish, has given her a steady income for ten years, as well as the opportunity to live in four different countries. She has no regrets for moving abroad, as she has managed to use her language skills to give her a competitive advantage, even though for her the languages come so naturally that she hardly recognises them as *special skills* at all. She was single at the time of the interview in 2011 and had no definite plans to integrate into a particular country or start a family. She is confident that her cultural capital offers her the possibility of moving again:

“[I live in Ireland] for the time being, it is the same always with me... that it is not permanently, nor for a little while, but it is for now, so that when the wind

152. ...mitä on ikinä täs tebný, niin ei ne oo ollu semmosia, että tätäpä olinkin toivonut tekeväni, vaan niihin on ajautunu... varsinkin kun on vaihtanu maata niin paljon... niin niihin on yleensä ajautunu sen mukaan mitä on löytyný, et ei mul oo semmost unelmauraa vielä löytyný, että täs vielä etsitään.

blows again, when I begin to feel restless again and think where should I go now...”¹⁵³

Another participant of the study, Antti (b. 1973, Germany), has also used these two strategies, but somewhat differently. He has a degree in engineering from a Finnish university of technology and he moved to the United Kingdom in 2000, after having realised that his career in a large telecommunication company in Finland was not going anywhere. Having a specific type of experience from his previous employer was the fact that made him highly employable in the new country labour market. Antti explains:

“The British company needed someone to build an automated testing environment for cellular phones and my work experience was the ace up my sleeve that got me in. (...) The company was launching a new technology at the time and I thought that if I want to get to the top, I have to take the risk now and see if it works, but I have to get in before it becomes common knowledge.”¹⁵⁴

The type of strategy of distinction Antti used was that of highlighting the relevant aspects of the previous work experience and his skills from a relatively narrow field for which there was demand in his country of destination. Also, the reputation of his previous employer played in his favour. Antti also explains that “I have been able to sell myself in the job interview by saying that whatever new task I have been faced with, I have learned it in two months.” His career trajectory in the UK did not, however, prove to be straightforward, and he had to rely on the strategy of adaptation to *stay* in the job. He was asked to make another important career choice only after two months, as the company was looking for someone to specialize yet in another type of technology:

“The boss came to me on one fine day and asked if I had heard of ... or what do I think of something called [abbreviation for a cellular phone technology]? I thought about it for one and a half second... I had learned a little about the

153. [Asun Irlannissa] *toistaseksi, et mulla on aina tää, että ei pysyvästi eikä vähän aikaa vaan se on toistaseksi, et siinä vaiheessa kun alkaa tuuli taas puhalttaa, et nyt vähän vipattas jalkaa, että mihin sitä menisin...*

154. ... *he [brittiläinen yhtiö] tarvitsivat jotakuta tekemään heille automatisoitua kännykän testausympäristöä, ja mun työkokemukseni oli se valtti millä päästiin sisään. Se oli operaattori ja heillä oli työn alla justiinsa tämä [teknologian nimi] sisäänajo seuraavana vuotena, se oli mullekin motivaationa todeta, et tässä tulee uutta teknologiaa, jos haluaa ampasta kärkeen, ni nyt on otettava riski ja katottava tuleeks tästä teknologiasta yhtään mitään, mut sinne on mentävä sisään ennen ku se on koko kansan huvia.*

English mentality and knew that if I say that I am not interested, I am let go and if I say I am interested, then I have to learn a new field on the spot.”¹⁵⁵

Having invested in learning these new technologies, but being dissatisfied both in his employer in the UK as well as the general atmosphere in the country, he found a new job in Germany in 2002. Again the gamble, as he calls it, in learning very specific technologies in a rapidly developing field paid off, as his particular cultural capital had value regardless of the national context:

“By going through these... internet job sites it turned out that hey, they are looking for a consultant in Germany who has one year’s experience of [abbreviation] and also [abbreviation] was mentioned in the so-called sacred combinations of letters, so I went to the interview via an agency and after a couple of phone calls and two weeks later I had a contract in my hands: welcome to Germany.”¹⁵⁶

Antti first thought that his stay in Germany might only be temporary, because he worked as a freelancer with contracts lasting only three months. Yet, at the time of the interview in 2011 he had already worked for the same company for nine years. Still, he describes himself as a “Gastarbeiter” who will most likely return back to Finland at some point, even though this will require him to learn a totally new trade, because he does not think Finnish employers will value his international work experience.

The strategies that the job applicant uses may change as his or her career advances. While the first job may have been gained through having some distinctive skills, this knowledge may later become less significant. This is natural, as the work experience begins to weigh more in the person’s competence than does the educational background. The case of Juhani (b. 1977, Spain) is illustrative. He got the first job he ever applied abroad because the company needed a Finnish speaker. His subsequent jobs have no longer been limited to one language or geographical area, and his career path follows a somewhat typical progression of a company career. In his 2008 response to the survey question on what it was like to look for work abroad, he writes:

155. ... *pomo tuli yhtenä kauniina päivänä kysymään, että mitäs mieltä sä olet tämmötteistä kun [teknologian nimi]? Ja siinä mietin sen yks ja puoli sekuntia... mä olin oppinu vähän englantilaisia tuntee, että jos mä sanon tähän kohtaan, että ei kiinnostaa, niin se on ulos ja jos mä sanon kiinnostaa, ni sit täytyy opiskella uus ala silleen hätpikaa.*

156. ...*näitä avoimia työsaiteja selaamalla kävi ilmi, että hei, Saksassa haetaan konsulttipaikkaan henkilöä, jolla on vuoden kokemus [teknologian nimi] ja [teknologian nimi] oli siellä mukana niin sanotuissa pyhissä kirjainyhdistelmissä ja sitten vaan agentuurin kautta haastatteluun ja pari pubelua ja kahta viikkoo myöhemmin mulla oli sopimus kädessä, että tervetuloa Saksaan.*

”I got my first job [in Ireland] through the career service of my Finnish university already before graduating. (...) In the country where I live now, the Netherlands, I have passively looked for work from Internet sites and the local agencies. I have also been approached by headhunters. I found my new job through an internal call of our company.”¹⁵⁷

After his first language-related job, Juhani has worked in the same company, a big electronics manufacturer, for several years. His corporate career has taken him from Ireland to the Netherlands, and later to Spain. He is no longer looked at as *the Finnish speaker* and his career advancement is no longer dependent on this particular type of distinction.

To summarise: the strategy of distinction refers to tactics of utilising one’s skills, education and experiences to gain a competitive advantage over other job applicants. Distinction based on rarity only works well as long there are only few people on the job market with similar skills. As Adrian Favell (2008b, 229) has noted,

”... the numbers of Western Europeans living and working outside their home countries have remained low. In part, those that have successfully moved around Europe have been successful because they were only pioneers.”

In the case of highly skilled Finns working in Europe this distinction that has made them special and employable in a certain niche of the labour market include skills and expertise of the following types, for example: language competence, especially the knowledge of rare languages, contacts to Scandinavian businesses and the financial sector, experience of new technologies, international reputation of previous employer and contacts in the ICT-sector. It is good to stress that all types of cultural capital do not lose value in migration. Some parts of the embodied cultural capital, for example, may only be recognised as real, marketable skills in the new context. In my analysis of the career paths of the participants of this study, for six interviewees (table 8) the strategy of distinction was important for their labour market entry.

157. *Sain ensimmäisen työpaikkani oppilaitokseni [name of university] urapolvelun kautta jo ennen varsinaista valmistumistani. (...) Nykyisessä asuinmaassa Hollannissa olen hakenut toita passiivisesti internetin ja työnvälitystoimistojen kautta, ja viime aikoina headhunterit ovat ottaneet yhteyttä minuun suoraan. Uuden työpaikkani löysin kuitenkin yritykseni sisäisessä haussa.*

TABLE 8: Interviewees whose labour market entry matches the strategy of adaptation and distinction:

Adaptation and Distinction (6)
<p>Juhani (b. 1975) has a degree in economics and business administration from Finland. He got his first job in Ireland because of Finnish language skills, worked for the same company in the Netherlands in a job that was no longer related to Finland. In 2011 he was living in Spain.</p>
<p>Maria (b. 1977) has a degree in English language from France and she was completing a business administration degree there. She has worked in a company with Finnish language clients, France.</p>
<p>Mikael (b. 1976) has business administration degree from Finland. He was headhunted to work in a large bank in Luxembourg in 2005 to a job where knowledge of Finnish and Scandinavian languages was a prerequisite, Luxembourg.</p>
<p>Antti (b. 1973) has degree in technology from Finland, moved to UK where found work thanks to expertise in certain cellular phone technologies, then moved to work as freelance telecommunications consultant in Germany.</p>
<p>Minna (b. 1976) studied Nordic philology (Swedish language) at a Finnish university. Most of her jobs in France, UK, Sweden have been connected to knowledge of rare languages, especially Swedish, in 2011 was living in Ireland.</p>
<p>Tapio (b. 1977), has a law degree from Finland. Was approached by two headhunters while still in Finland, got both jobs but chose London over Luxembourg. Works as an in house council in a major bank, moved to Singapore in 2011.</p>

The strategy of adaptation and re-orientation

The third type of career strategy that emerged from the WiE survey and interview data is that of combining adaptation to career re-orientation. Any individual who contemplates crossing borders in search of work stands at a crossroad: staying at home would signify choosing the familiar path, while deciding to migrate leads to a future that is more unpredictable. One part of the appeal of taking the unknown road as a *Eurostar* is that it can lead to “*denationalized* freedom: in both the spatial (economic) and cosmopolitan (cultural) sense” (Favell 2008b, 9, italics in the original). Stepping out of the beaten track of your peers back home may signify facing challenges in finding work, but for some that may be exactly why they wanted to move in the first place. Choosing to work in the destination country in a different field than what one studied at university might appear as skill downgrading, but from the point of view of the mobile individual, the situation may not be perceived in such negative terms. The words of this female WiE respondent living in France exemplify this outlook on life and one’s career:

“I am definitely of the opinion that I found an interesting field by accident, but you can pave the way for such accidents, and I am not sure if I would have

done so well in Finland. There it would have been easy to drift to some classical career path, while as an expatriate Finn I made my own fortunes, and all my choices had long-term consequences.”¹⁵⁸ (Survey respondent 12, b. 1967, MA in communication and public relations from France.)

The three employment strategies that I identified are not mutually exclusive: job applicants can use different strategies in different contexts and at different stages of their working career. A good example of the overlap between the strategies can be found from the case of Pauliina (b. 1980), who has a degree in plant biology from Finland. After graduation she looked for work in Finland, but as she did not find a job in her own field, she decided to look for work in Denmark, the home country of her boyfriend. There she used the skills that made her stand out, and the parts of her embodied cultural capital that distinguished her from the other job applicants. As Copenhagen is the home of the accounting departments of several major Nordic chains, such as her Norwegian employer which sells household electronics in all the five Nordic countries, there is demand for the Finnish as well as for Swedish and Icelandic languages. She explains:

“I found work via the Internet. They did not really ask for anything else beside knowledge of the Finnish language and that was enough. In a situation where I had been looking for work in Finland for three months and had not found anything, it was wonderful that I got the first job I applied for here.”¹⁵⁹

The move abroad signified a clear change of direction in Pauliina’s career. When she was finishing her studies in Finland in 2006, she wrote her master’s thesis on a topic that was related to the botanical gardens. Since then, she has not really worked in any job related to biology and she has not found work that would match the field of her degree in Denmark. She thinks that it is increasingly less likely that she would find such jobs in the future either, as more and more time passes since her graduation. “As I have not worked in the field, I no longer remember even the names of plants in Latin. Unfortunately one forgets these things, especially when focusing on new issues and studying new things¹⁶⁰”, she explains. However, Pauliina is rather happy about her new career in accounting and has started studying business

158. *Olen ehdottomasti sitä mieltä että löysin mielenkiintoiselle alalle sattuman kautta, mutta sattumaa voi avittaa enkä ole varma olisiko pärjännyt yhtä hyvin kotimaassa. Kotimaassa olisi ollut liian helppoa ajautua johonkin klassiseen uraputkeen, kun taas ulkosuomalaisena oli täysin oman onnensa seppä ja kaikki valinnat olivat kauaskantoisia.*

159. *...se oli netin kautta nimenomaan, siinä ei oikeestaan vaadittu mitään muuta kun suomen kielen taitoa ja se sitten riitti, ja siinä tilanteessa mä olin kolme kuukautta hakenu töitä Suomesta ja mikään ei ollu tärpänny, niin se oli sit ibanaa kun ensimmäisellä yrittämällä sai täältä töitä.*

160. *...et kun sen kans ei oo tehny töitä, niin en mä muista enää mitään kasvien latinalaisia nimiäkään enkä... et kyl se unohtuu valitettavasti ja varsinkin kun keskittyy uusiin asioihin ja opiskelee uusia asioita*

administration and economics at the Open University in Finland to increase her competence in the field.

Pauliina does not have second thoughts about her migration choice even though, in a sense, she wasted the skills and competence gained through her university education in the natural sciences. Had she stayed in Finland, she would have pursued her chosen field of study also in the working life. Yet, in her current career, the fact that she does have a university degree, regardless of its subject matter, is important. When she was transferred to a new job she noted that “they were not interested in the fact that I studied biology: it mattered more that I had a university education, as it tells them about my ability to learn new things.”¹⁶¹ There were a group of approximately 20 young Finnish women working in the same company with her when she moved to Copenhagen. Pauliina notes on their career progress: “those who stayed here have learned the [Danish] language and they are beginning to be in a position similar to mine... so the job does not necessarily have to be linked only to Finland anymore.”¹⁶² Hence, even though the entry into the labour market may be facilitated by the knowledge of rare languages, other jobs come available when the employee has accumulated local cultural capital in the form of work experience (on the importance of languages, see Henkelman 2010).

Interestingly, all those interviewees who had chosen the strategy of re-orientation were women, who often lived in a particular country or city because of reasons that were not primarily linked to their own career. Women migrating for love are often seen as “marriage migrants” or as “tied migrants” even though such tertiary educated women are also highly skilled migrants themselves (Kofman 2013, Leinonen 2012, Aure 2013). For those living in a particular location due to love or family reasons, getting a job in one’s own profession may prove harder than for those who are able to choose the country and town or city based on the job opportunities available. As Marit Aure (2013, 283) notes: “These love migrants’ goals are also connected to households and love, while access to the labour market in the migration country may not be their primary consideration. The tied migration channel thus places migrants in a ‘random’ labour market (...).”

One of the interviewees, Helena (b. 1968), an IT-professional, was looking for work at the time of the interview in 2011. She had previously worked in her field in Austria, but was having difficulties in finding a new job after a period taking care of her children at home. While she was certain that in Finland she could easily find a job¹⁶³, she explained that

161. *mulle sanottiin täs uudessa paikassa, että... et ei heit kiinnosta, että mulla on bilsan koulutus, vaan niit kiinnosti vaan se, et mul oli yliopistokoulutus, et se kertoo heille enemmän mun kyvyistä oppia asioita*

162. *ne jotka on jääny tänne, niin ne on kyllä opiskellu kielen, että... et niillä rupee kans olee sama tilanne ku mulla, että... et ei [työn] enää tarvii olla välttämättä Suomi-liitännäinen.*

163. This later proved to be true as she has since returned to Finland and is working in her own field.

“I’ve applied for jobs in my own field, I follow the job advertisements in the papers and apply for every one (...) but I have no networks here, or people working in my field (...) they do not know me, so I have to do it on my own and just rely on my certificates (...) I do not even know what companies there are that I could approach.”¹⁶⁴

The town where she lived lacked the openness and international atmosphere of larger cities, as well as large multinational companies that would see a Finnish IT-engineer as an asset. At the time of the interview she was still hopeful of her chances of finding a job in the field she had studied and gained work experience in, and had thus not started to re-orientate towards a new career or seeking further education.

Many female survey respondents whose partner was not Finnish had engaged in long discussions on where the couple should live. Choosing the husband’s home country was somewhat typical. Many respondents explained that this was the best decision to make because “finding work in Finland for him would be even more difficult.” One example of such a migrant is Maarit (b. 1964, France), who was the oldest interviewee. Having migrated prior to the Finnish accession to the EU and thus being of a somewhat different migrant generation, her story still resonates with the experiences of those participants of this study who moved later. For her, moving to France signified both an opportunity and a necessity to rethink her field of study and future career. She had applied to study medicine at a university in Finland twice without being accepted,¹⁶⁵ and started studying nutritional sciences and French language instead. After having met her future husband in Finland, they decided to move to his native country France in the late 1980s. Maarit found her chances of finding work to be non-existent, as she had not yet completed her university degree in Finland:

“I came to France and realised the kind of chances I had in finding work here without a professional training. So I thought I had nothing to lose, I might as well give medical school one more try (...) And even if I had returned to Finland to finish my studies as a teacher of the French language, then what good would that have done, they do not need them here.”¹⁶⁶

164. *Joo siis alan töitä mä oon hakenu niin et oon lehdestä vaan kattonu ja oon hakenu kakkiin paikkoihin, (...) mä en oo vielä onnistunut saamaan täällä sosiaalista verkko joka esimerkiks sais ihmisiä jotka tekis näitä samoja hommia (...) mä joudun tälleen tyhjistä kenenkään tuntematta vaan pelkkien papereitten avulla (...) en ees tiedä minkälaisiin yrityksiin kannattais bakea.*

165. All Finnish universities are largely funded by the state and have strict entrance examinations. For some fields, such as medicine, the competition is very tough, so only less than 20% of the applicants are offered a study place each year.

166. *... tulín tänne Ranskaan ja buomasin minkälaiset mahdollisuudet on yrittää saada töitä minkäänlaisista ammattikoulutusta, niin sitten mä aattelin, et eibän mulla oo mitään menetettävää, että kyllä mä voin yrittää vielä täälläkin lääkkiseen (...) vaikka olis jäänykin Suomeen ja ois sitten opiskellu oman opiskelunsa loppuun (...) niin siitä nyt ei ois hirveesti ois hyötyä ollu, jos ois sitten ranskan kielen opettaja, että täällä tuskin semmosia ois tarvittu*

As finding employment based on her existing qualifications and cultural capital proved impossible, she thus decided to give medicine one more go and got accepted to a French university. The fact that there was a shortage of medical doctors in France also influenced her decision, as after the disappointing experience of failing to find work, she wanted to study towards a degree that would guarantee a job. The decision proved to be a good one, and even though studying in French was hard at the beginning, she has had a steady career and now has a successful private practice in the countryside with her husband, who is also a doctor. She is convinced that in France, the name of the country that reads in your qualifications makes a big difference: “I think that (...) once you have any kind of French certificate or diploma, then [being foreign] does not matter anymore, but before you obtain that piece of paper, you have to be really persistent [to succeed].”¹⁶⁷

Maarit’s life situation differs from the other interviewees with families, because her children are already grown-up. Considering her family obligations, she would therefore be free to return to Finland for a while to practice medicine. Even though she thinks it is unlikely that she would go through the trouble of realising the plan, she did get her French degree evaluated by VALVIRA, the agency that grants the right to practice medicine in Finland to those with foreign degrees. Settling into France has taken so much strength that she no longer wants to experience moving again. Transferring her French cultural capital to Finland would signify another process of negotiations and adaptation. Yet she explains:

“I just kind of wanted to know if Europe exists for the common person, to see if they would accept my degree there. And they did, and apparently I could work there, but I do not know if I can bother with such a leap [that I would really make the move].”¹⁶⁸

Sari (b. 1969, Portugal) is another example of the necessity to re-orientate one’s career when finding work in one’s own field in the country of destination proves impossible. Sari lived in Germany for eight years in the 1990s working in the tourism and hotel management sector. After staying in Finland for a while and working in her friend’s catering business, she decided to move to Portugal. Unlike many Finnish women who move to the Mediterranean countries, her mobility decision was not based on love, but rather on a desire to move away from Finland and experience something new. She had visited Portugal often because her parents had a holiday home there and she had always liked the people and lifestyle. When she

167. *että siinä vaiheessa ku on saanu jotkut ranskalaiset paperit, kun on saanu sen diplominsa, niin ei enää siinä vaiheessa kyllä [ulkomaalaisuus] vaikuta mitään, mutta että sitten... ennen kun sen saa, niin saapi olla aika sinnikäs kyllä.*

168. *että katsoin ihan noin katsoakseni, että onko tosiaan Eurooppa olemassa tavallisellekin ihmiselle, että hyväksyykö ne minun tutkinnon siellä, mutta kyllä ne sen hyväksy, että ilmeisesti pääsisin sinne töihin, että en tiedä sitten vaan, että jaksaa semmosta harppausta tehdä*

wanted to live somewhere warm, she moved to there to study the language in 2007. Because of her professional background and previous experience of working abroad, she was fairly certain that she would find some work in a country so reliant on tourism. The reality was, however, different:

“The first two-three years went by just like that, wondering what I could do, I did some small translation jobs at home, but it was really sluggish. (...) I once counted for fun that I must have sent over a hundred job applications. I would not even get invited to interviews: it was quite a shock.”¹⁶⁹

Sari thinks the main reasons for her difficulties in finding work were that there was quite a lot of unemployment in Portugal, her town had no international businesses interested in hiring foreigners, and the local employers preferred hiring Portuguese applicants and considered anyone around the age of 40 as too old to be hired. Despite the difficulties in the working life, Sari liked living in Portugal, found a husband, and decided to stay. Sadly, her success in finding work in the tourism sector did not improve even after she had completed a local decree in tourism and was getting better at speaking Portuguese: she did not get employed even as a cleaner. The idea to try a different career came from her friend:

“...this language thing started from the suggestion of my friend [who is a Portuguese language teacher] (...) we studied together in the tourism school and thought that we are just spending time here, we’ll never get any work anyway (...) and then she said that why could you not start teaching, being the positive person you are, so I laughed and said: me as a teacher, you have got to be kidding!”¹⁷⁰

After giving the idea some thought Sari realised that it made sense: she had always been good at languages and gets easily on with people. At the time of the interview in 2011 she was working as a freelance language teacher, teaching English, German, and Swedish at three different language schools. It has required a lot of work and self-promotion to find enough clients in her new field, but at the time of the interview, she was relatively happy with her current work situation. She gets paid by

169. *et mul meni kyl ne ekat pari-kolme vuotta iban silleen ihmetellessä, että mitäs tässä oikeen tekis, sitte mä tein tosiaan sillon tällön jotain näitä kielijuttuja, et käännöshommii kotona... jotain tämmöst pientä, mut siis tosi tosi nihkeetä...et mä kyl niinkun siis... mä joskus huvikseni laskin, ni varmaan siis... toistasataa työhakemusta (...)* En ees haastatteluihin asti päässy, et se oli aika semmonen shokki.
170. *tää kielijuttukin lähti iban siis mun ystävättären [portugalilainen kielenopettaja] kannustuksesta, (...) me opiskeltiin turismikoulussa ja molemmat sit sitä, että eihän me mitään töitä saada täs kumminkaan, että kujan nyt tultiin vähän tänne jotain tekemään, niin... hän sit sano, et mikset sä vois alkaa opettaa, kun sä oot tommonen positiivinen... mä nauroin sille, et hab, minäkö muka opettajana, älä nyt naurata!*

the hour, but as she has a small son, she enjoys the freedom and flexibility of working as a freelancer. Teaching English and using her language competence in various different types of jobs has been the solution also for Anneli (b. 1967, Italy). She has looked for job opportunities in a wide range of fields, and now she dreams of one day getting a permanent position as a teacher in a state-funded school. She stresses the importance of learning the local way of doing things:

”Many people tell me that when you have lived in Finland for 20 years, and in here for another 20, you become much more broad-minded and accept difference (...) what I have learned here is that you need to open your mouth, use your contacts (...) take care of yourself and make noise, otherwise nothing happens.”¹⁷¹

The experiences of these Finns testify to the fact that entering the labour market in a new country often requires active agency, flexibility, and an open mind. A higher education degree or long work experience in a certain field is by no means a guarantee of a highly skilled job. As Marit Aure (2013, 283) stresses: “It is still useful to remember that labour markets are not in fact ‘markets’ but rather place-specific, cultural, relational and gendered social systems.” If the education, experience and skills one has do not match the demands of the local labour market, or if the local employers simply do not recognise them as valuable assets, a total re-orientation may be the key to labour market entry. In my analysis of the career paths of the participants of this study, the strategy of re-orientation was important for six interviewees (table 9) in gaining a job in the country of destination.

171. *...monet ihmiset sanoo mulle, et silloin kun on asunu 20 vuotta Suomessa ja toiset 20 vuotta täällä, niin on huomattavasti avarampikateisempi, et hyväksyy kaikki erilaisuudet (...) et mä ainakin oon oppinu et suu pitää saada auki, subteita pitää käyttää (...) et ittestään ja omista asioistaan on pidettävä huolta ja hirveesti meteliä, muuten ei tapahdu mitään*

TABLE 9: Interviewees whose labour market entry matches the strategy of adaptation and re-orientation:

Adaptation and Re-orientation (6 + 1)
<p>Maarit (b. 1964), studied food sciences and French language in Finland, then studied to become a medical doctor, France.</p> <p>Sari (b. 1969), has a degree in tourism from Portugal, has also lived in Germany. She now teaches English, Portugal.</p> <p>Anneli (b. in 1967), has a degree in Italian language from Italy. Has worked in the tourism business, in a company selling agricultural equipment, and done telephone interviews. She now teaches English, Italy.</p>
<p><i>Used also distinction:</i></p> <p>Emilia (b. 1980), degree in forestry from Finland. Has worked as a customer support advisor to Finnish-speaking customers. Then she moved on to a job as a project assistant in a research institute, Germany.</p> <p>Johanna (b. 1974), degree in the field of Finnish history from Finland, has worked as a recruiter in a company hiring Finnish and Scandinavian employees. Now works in the office of a humanitarian NGO, Belgium.</p> <p>Pauliina (b. 1980), degree in plant biology from Finland, but is working in the business sector at an accounting department. Is studying business administration in the Open University, Denmark.</p>
<p><i>Returned to Finland:</i></p> <p>Helena (b. 1968), degree in computer science from Finland, experience of working and being unemployed in Austria. Was taking care of kids at home in 2011. She has since returned to Finland and is working in her own field.</p>

The question of return

In the 2008 WiE survey (n=364) 86 per cent of the respondents indicated that they would stay in their current home country for at least one to two years, and 71 per cent had plans to stay also for the next three to five years. On the possible reason for returning to Finland, “retiring” had the highest share of “likely/very likely” responses (52%), followed by “work” (47%) and “family reasons” (45%). However, future migration behaviour is difficult to predict, as situations change and sudden job opportunities or major life course events such as finding a partner, divorcing or experiencing some family tragedy may change one’s plans unexpectedly. Maria (b. 1977, France), one of the interviewees living in France with her Asian husband discusses their future migration plans: “Well, [we could move] anywhere else except India at this point at least, perhaps to Finland, or because my husband works for an

international company, then perhaps to the USA, but these are just some possibilities, we'll see what comes up.”¹⁷²

Despite that the participants of the study felt predominantly Finnish and primarily identified themselves as expatriate Finns (Koikkalainen 2013a), Finland does not feature very prominently in their career plans: the share of respondents who considered returning to Finland because of work is equal to those who considered relocating to some other EU country. As Friberg (2012) has noted, labour migration within Europe is not necessarily a one-time event, but a dynamic social process that evolves over time. The interest in return migration is related to the time one has spent in the destination country and on the kind of success one experiences there: “decisions about length of stay, settlement and return are dependent upon the migrants’ desires for the future and upon their opportunities to realise these desires” (Friberg 2012, 1603).

The ease of transnational mobility connected with an adventurous outlook on life shows in many of the open-ended responses on the question concerning their future plans in the two WiE surveys. Some individuals do manage to maintain an ultra-mobile lifestyle. A good example is this clothes designer, who first moved to France to work as an au pair, then moved to the UK to study, and continued to China for student exchange. After completing a degree in France, she moved to London for a year, and after that returned to work in Paris in 2007. During the survey in 2008, she explained that her future plans were connected to her boyfriend’s career development:

“My boyfriend is a business consultant who now lives in London, but looks for project work globally. If he continues in London, I’ll stay in Paris, but if he finds a project elsewhere, I will most likely follow him. Where we will live the next few years is therefore completely open; we dream of Asia. We have talked about moving to Finland for a couple of years (not permanently), but as long as we have no children that is unlikely.”¹⁷³ (Survey respondent 226, b. 1980, MA degree in art from France.)

The ease of mobility within the European free movement area is visible in the future plans of many of the participants of this study. Rather than investing in local social networks or integrating into the country of destination, a sense of “denationalised freedom” (Favell 2008b) is visible in the mobility plans of this male respondent who at the time of the 2008 survey was living in the United Kingdom:

172. *No ihan minne vaan muualle, mutta ei Intiaan ainakaan tässä vaiheessa, kenties Suomeen tai sitten mun mies on kansainvälisessä firmassa töissä, niin ehkä mahdollisesti USA:han, mutta nää on ihan vielä semmosia suunnitelmia, et katsoo et mitä nyt sitten avautuu.*

173. *Avomieheni on bisneskonsultti, joka tällä hetkellä asuu Lontoossa, mutta etsii projekteja ympäri maailmaa. Jos hän jatkaa Lontoossa, jään Pariisiin, jos hän löytää projektin muualta, muutan todennäköisesti hänen mukanaan. Lähivuosien asuinmaamme on siis täysin auki, haaveilemme Aasiasta. Suomeen muutosta muutamaksi vuodeksi (ei pysyvästi) on puhuttu, mutta se tuntuu epätodennäköiseltä ainakin niin kauan kuin meillä ei ole lapsia.*

“I’ll stay a few years, at least, here in the UK, and then I could transfer to some other country. At least for now I have no desire to return to Finland, because I can easily visit Finland to meet family and friends. Europe is your Oyster!”¹⁷⁴ (Survey respondent 8, b. 1974, MA in technology from Finland.)

In the second WiE survey in 2010 (n=194) the respondents were asked about their background and life situation, including the country in which they currently lived in. When comparing this data to their responses of the previous survey in 2008, I noted that 48 respondents (25%) had changed countries during the previous two years. 30 of them had returned to Finland, 9 moved to another EU country, and 9 outside the EU borders. For some, the return was planned as their secondment in Brussels or London for example, ended. Yet a third of these return migrants had in 2008 indicated that they would probably be living abroad also during the following three to five years. Thus it is possible that some of them returned as spontaneously as they left Finland in the first place. For them mobility within Europe is “not such a big deal”. As Anna (b. 1980, Iceland) explains:

“... I don’t think it is worthwhile to be too stressed about whether I find work that matches my degree here immediately or not (...) you get paid for other kinds of jobs, too. And if I want, I can always go back to Finland if it really starts bugging me (...) you just move, that is it, why make such a big deal of it.”¹⁷⁵

Many of the WiE survey respondents compare their working situation in their current home countries to that of Finland, especially when asked about their plans for the future. The question of return gathers a diverse response on how one’s skills and knowledge would transfer to Finland. Some are confident that they can return to Finland and get a highly skilled job in their own profession because of their valuable experience from abroad. This is the case with Tapio (b. 1977, UK), a lawyer with a degree from Finland. During the interview he concludes:

“... I get a call from Finland about once a month on whether I would like to start working there. Having worked abroad, especially in London, carries a lot of weight (...) the advantage for the Finnish employer is that someone knows

174. *Muutama vuosi nyt ainakin taalla UK:ssa ja sitten voi vaihtaa vaikka johonkin toiseen maahan. Ainakaan toistaiseksi ei ole halua palata Suomeen, koska Suomessa on kuitenkin ihan helppo kayda sukua ja kavereita katsomassa. Europe is your Oyster!*

175. *...mun mielestä kannata stressaa liikaa sillä et no löydänks mä nyt mun koulutusta vastaavaa työtä täältä heti vai en (...) saahan sitä palkkaa muustakin ja sit jos haluun, ni sit palaan takasin Suomeen, jos se alkaa oikeen kaivertaa mieltä (...) ni sit vaan taas muuttaa, et eihän se sit, ei se liian iso asia saa olla.*

the culture in London, and how things are done, because Finland is so tied with what happens in London, so it is an asset.”¹⁷⁶

Yet the particularities of one’s experience and background do play an important role in how the possible return may actually work out. Another interviewee, Marko (b. 1977, UK), who has a British law degree, has a very different view on how his particular cultural capital is appreciated in Finland. Despite having a successful career at a company ranked as a “top-5 employer” in his field globally, he has doubts on how easy it would be to find a comparable job in Finland: “I would rather live in Helsinki, because I am from there and it is my home town (...) but I have no noteworthy job options in Finland. That is why I live in Britain, and London is the best place for me in terms of my profession¹⁷⁷.”

The perceived closed nature of the Finnish labour market and the prejudices of Finnish employers are seen as a barrier against return. As Mikael (b. 1976, Luxembourg), banker working in Luxembourg, contemplates: “I have experience and skills that you cannot find in Finland, but then again the circles in Finland are so small and people have preconceptions of what kind of guy this is, and who does he think he is.”¹⁷⁸ Antti (b. 1973, Germany) is the most certain of all the interviewees that his “final destination”¹⁷⁹ will at some point be in Finland. Over the years he has applied for a couple of jobs in Finland that required the exact skills and work experience he has from the UK and Germany, but because he did not even receive a thank-you note for his application, he concluded that the Finnish labour market does not need his services. In terms of transporting the cultural capital back to his native country, his specialization in a narrow field of technology has signified a “professional and career dead-end.”¹⁸⁰ Due to recent restructuring of the telecommunication sector in Finland, he concludes that “the market is saturated with old Nokia engineers. When I do return, my only option is to go back to school, perhaps a vocational school. A training with something to do with automation might be quite good.”¹⁸¹

176. ...mä saan melkein kerran kuussa soiton Suomesta, että haluatko tulla tänne töihin, et sil ulkomailla, varsinkin Lontoossa töissä olemisella on hirvää painoarvo Suomessa (...) et se etu minkä työnantajat Suomessa saa, on se, että joku tuntee sen lontoolaisen kulttuurin ja miten Lontoossa näit juttuja tehdään, koska Suomi on niin sidoksissa siihen Lontoon meininkiin, niin se on se asetti,

177. ...mieluummin mä Helsingissä asuisin, koska Helsingistä olen ja se on kotikaupunki (...) Mulla ei oo vartenotettavia työvaihtoehtoja Suomessa, siis mä asun Britanniassa, ja Lontoo on sieltä paras paikka mulle asua tän ammatin kannalta.

178. ...kokemus, on osaamista mitä Suomesta ei löydy mut sit Suomessa on taas se ja siellä on piirit suht pienet, niin ihmisillä voi olla ennakkokäsitteitä sit et minkäläinen heebo täältä tulee, et no se luule olevansa jotain...

179. loppusijoituspaikka

180. mähän olen itseni ajanut ammatilliseen ja uralliseen umpikujaan erikoistumalla hyvin kapeeseen teknologiasektoriin

181. ...markkinat on niin saturoitunu vanhoista Nokian insinööreistä, että kun mä tuun takasin, niin mun ainoa vaihtoehto on mennä takas koulun penkille, luulen, että ammattikoulu ja joku automaatiolinja vois olla aika hyvä.

Surprisingly many of the survey respondents reported discrimination when they tried to return back to the Finnish labour market. “I just did not realise that after a while there is no coming back”¹⁸² (survey respondent 136, b. 1972, MA in social sciences from Finland), writes one female respondent who had failed to find a suitable job in Finland after returning from abroad. She was forced to move out again, this time to Belgium. Returning to Finland with a degree obtained from abroad may not be easy, as also Saarikallio, Hellsten, and Juutilainen (2008, 106–109) found when they compared the labour market positions of Finnish graduates with foreign degrees to a reference group of graduates from Finnish universities. Graduates who had returned to Finland from abroad faced prejudices from the Finnish employers, because they were seen as “outsiders” compared to their colleagues who had studied in Finland. It took somewhat longer for them to find employment, they had a more problematic start for their career, and they had more often experienced unemployment.

The transnationally mobile individual has to leave most of her resources and networks behind, in particular her social capital, and she is forced to renegotiate the value of her cultural capital. She also has to find ways to ensure that the loss of the symbolic capital does not signify a loss of status in the working life. The process is similar whether one moves from one’s native country to abroad, or returns to the original home country after an extensive stay abroad. As Louise Ryan and Jon Mulholland (2013, 14) note on their research participants, highly skilled French, who are fairly settled in London:

“Our data point to the complexity of migratory trajectories. Considerable geographical mobility early in a person’s career tended to be followed by a period of settlement during which people became aware of the risks associated with onward movement.”

A more thorough examination of the experiences of those highly skilled Finns who return to Finland after a stay abroad is beyond the scope of this study. Because of the importance placed on gaining international experience in Finnish discussions since Finland joined the European Union in 1995, it is, however, clearly something that should be investigated in a future research project. Universities, employers, politicians, and the media frequently urge Finnish university students and professionals to internationalise and work abroad, but little is known of how the Finnish labour market may benefit from their experiences, and of how their international expertise is valued upon return. Does Finland welcome them back as highly skilled return migrants, or do they have to struggle to find a place among those who never left?

182. ... en vaan tajunnut ettei takasin enaa jonkin ajan jalkeen ole tulemista.

Chapter conclusions

This chapter was the final substantive chapter of the study and focused on the process of transferring cultural capital across borders. Intra-European migrants are privileged in their mobility rights, and ideally should not face discrimination in the country of destination, nor have to accept jobs below the level of their qualifications. This has not been the case for many of those originating from the new member states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007. For the Finns of this study, however, the fact that they are rather rare has given a slight advantage. Looking for work with a Finnish degree and institutionalised cultural capital is not a problem, and having a Finnish habitus is not necessarily a negative thing, but can in certain circumstances even be an advantage.

Based on the experiences of highly skilled Finns working abroad I proposed that migrants can use three different but overlapping strategies to find work. *Adaptation* to the conditions of the local labour market is necessary for all migrants. *Distinction* may offer a way to compete successfully with other job-seekers. *Re-orientation* may be necessary if continuing with the original career is not possible. This approach stresses the active agency of the highly skilled migrant herself: when you cannot change the overall situation or rules of the labour market you encounter, it is better to try to adapt and find ways in which your own cultural capital gets the best possible value in the eyes of those making the recruitment decision. The participants of the study were all voluntary migrants who had chosen to move to a particular location. Some of them were quite willing to make sacrifices in their own career to continue living there. There are many ways of making it abroad: happiness with the life choices one makes can be based on progressing one's professional career, but also on living in a sunny or exciting environment, finding love and starting a family, or simply being free to move on when the wind changes again.

8. Conclusion

In the last decades international migration has reached unprecedented levels. The United Nations estimates that in the year 2013 the number of international migrants is 232 million, i.e. 3.2 per cent of the world's population (United Nations 2013). The number consists of labour migrants, refugees, students, family members, and retirees, as well as irregular migrants, who cross national borders in clandestine ways in search of a better life. This study focused on one form of contemporary migration that has in recent years increased in volume and importance, namely highly skilled migration. The reasons for the increased interest on this particular migration type are both economic and political: immigrants who arrive with higher education degrees and valuable professional skills are “not only economically advantageous, but also politically acceptable” (Boeri 2012, 1). Highly skilled migrants can reduce skill shortages, improve the overall skill levels of the population of the destination country, and contribute to economic growth in innovative ways, but only if they manage to enter the labour market and find jobs that match their qualifications and expertise. The process of transferring one's skills, education, and work experience – i.e. one's cultural capital – across borders is therefore a vital question for both the highly skilled migrant and for the receiving state.

The aim of this study was to understand the process of transferring cultural capital across borders from the viewpoint of tertiary educated Finns who have moved to work in other European Union member states. The paths leading abroad from Finland are much more diverse today than in the 1960s and 1970s, when it was common that whole families from certain Finnish towns and villages moved to work in the industrial towns of Sweden. Many of those leaving today have higher education degrees and are free to choose their workplace from a variety of destinations, as the participants of this study have done. Based on the labour market experiences of the research participants scattered across 12 different EU countries, the study asked: how does the cultural capital of a highly skilled migrant, in the form of her various skills, educational degrees and work experience, transfer across national borders? And further, is Europe or the EU in particular a field where the cultural capital of an intra-European migrant is easily recognised?

Most of the participants of this study were fairly recent movers and thus part of a new intra-European mobility trend. Finns living in other European countries are a small group in terms of their numbers, but in many other respects they are similar to the *pioneers of European integration* (Recchi & Favell 2009) originating from the

larger EU15 states. All intra-EU movers are not highly skilled, nor do they all come from elite backgrounds. Groups facing discrimination, such as the Roma from Eastern Europe, are on the move along with the well-earning retirees, exchange students and young professionals. Yet all European citizens are privileged when compared with migrants originating from outside Europe: they are entitled to equal treatment regardless of where they live, and in principle they should face no discrimination. At least on paper, the EU is beginning to resemble a single state and the harmonization of national policies can be seen as steps leading towards a European society. An analysis of how highly skilled migrants, such as the Finns of my study, manage to build their lives and careers abroad can shed light to how the EU works as a transnational space in practice.

In this concluding chapter, I first present a summary of the results related to the three empirical research questions, and then discuss the fourth, more theoretical research question of the study. In the second part of the chapter I note the limitations of the study and describe the contribution the study makes to wider research on mobility of labour in Europe and on highly skilled migration in general.

Research questions revisited

Why do highly skilled Finns move abroad? (Chapter 4)

This study has examined the personal experiences of highly skilled Finns in the EU15 countries, so the main focus was on the *micro* level of international mobility. Yet this mobility is not a phenomenon that is born out of nothing: various historical processes, cultural phenomena and economic developments outside the control of individual migrants also influence the reasons *why* particular individuals decided to move, *where* they moved to and *when* they moved. At the background influencing such mobility lie different *macro* and *meso* level processes and factors (Castles & Miller 2009), or as O'Reilly (2012) calls them: *external structures*.

Using the meta-theoretical model explaining international migration developed by Karen O'Reilly (2012), I classified these external structures into two interrelated types. *First, processes related to economic and cultural globalisation.* Globalisation played a role in how highly skilled Finns in the 1990s – along with their peers in many other Western countries – began to imagine their personal futures and working careers spanning outside of their country of birth. The concentration of professional jobs in key nodes of the global economy, and the new career opportunities in multinational companies, offered the promise of a prosperous and exciting life abroad. At the same time, technical advances, such as the Internet, have also made the world feel “smaller”. The ease of communication, affordable travel, and increased global inter connectedness did influence the kinds of career choices that were available for Finnish university graduates. *Second, processes related to Europeanisation.* The unique

European area of free movement was already fully in place when Finland first joined the European Economic Area in 1994 and the European Union in 1995. As European citizens the young graduates from Finland were able to freely look for their fortunes abroad and the numbers of those who did so rose after Finland recovered from the economic recession of the early 1990s.

The mobility of intra-European migrants, such as the highly skilled and relatively young Finns of my study, is aided by a specific, European version of what has been called the *migration industry*. To better reflect the fact that in many ways intra-European population movements are *mobility*, rather than *migration*, I choose to call it *the European mobility industry*. This mobility industry consists of two branches: *The first branch* is heavily supported by the European Union itself, as well as the respective national governments and higher education institutions that support and encourage intra-European mobility. Private companies, consultancy firms, and job search portals that both recruit workers and promote mobility as the career-enhancing choice of the global professional form *the second branch of the mobility industry*. Some of them target mainly Europe while some operate globally. Many of the participants of this study had benefited from information and opportunities offered by both of the branches of the mobility industry when moving abroad. Following the model of Karen O'Reilly (2012) in understanding the different level processes that influence international migration, the mobility industry would be classified as a *more proximate structural layer*.

Yet while the increased mobility from Finland takes place within the larger context of external structures, and traditions of migration, there is room for considerable individual agency. My study also produced results that pertain to the *micro* level (Castles & Miller 2009), or to use the concepts of Karen O'Reilly's (2012) meta-theoretical approach, *habitus* and *the conjecturally-specific internal structures* of the highly skilled migrants. For the Finns of my study, the possibility of mobility was in a way written in their habitus and conjecturally-specific internal structures: many of them had studied in Finnish universities during the internationalisation boom of the 1990s and had internalised the importance of gaining international experience frequently repeated in the media. They had knowledge of possibilities for internationalisation and transnational mobility, and an awareness of how to grasp the opportunity when it presents itself. Finland has been a member of the Erasmus from the year 1992, and thus far 70,000 Finnish students have studied or completed a traineeship period in another European country via this mobility programme (CIMO 2013a). Also the numbers of those completing degrees abroad have been rising. Ten years ago, approximately 4,600 Finnish students were enrolled in degree studies abroad. During the academic year 2012–2013, their numbers were nearly 6,300 (CIMO 2013b).¹⁸³

183. The Finnish Social Insurance Institution Kela gives financial aid to students who complete degrees in either Finnish or foreign higher education institutions. The figures refer to the numbers of students who have received student aid abroad. Apart from these figures there are no official statistics on degree students abroad.

The explanations that the WiE respondents gave for their move abroad varied considerably. Often the reasons related to work and career progress were combined with, love and personal relationships, or desire to see the world. Simple categorizations into *career migrants* or *marriage migrants* should therefore be avoided. Finns who move within the European free movement area do not have to apply for visas or residence permits in their destination countries. As European citizens, they do not have to endure being classified into a particular migrant type by the bureaucracy of the destination country either.¹⁸⁴ In the open-ended responses many explained that they wanted to move abroad to encounter new things, get a better quality of life, or live in the home country of their spouse. Some explained that they ended up abroad as if by accident, when they took on a job opportunity that suddenly presented itself, while others said they had always known that they would one day move abroad. All participants of this study had lived, worked, studied, or at least traveled abroad before moving to the country where they lived during the first WiE survey. They thus had *mobility capital* (e.g. Findlay et al. 2006), which has been shown to increase the likelihood of further transnational mobility.

Economic theories of migration stress the importance of wage differentials and standards of living as the causes of human mobility. However, even though 70 per cent of the WiE respondents estimated their wages in the destination country to be higher than in Finland, a closer look at their motivations reveals that money was not the main or only incentive for migration. For these educated Finns moving abroad is a possibility, not a matter of survival, or of maximizing the family's income, as it may be for many of those who cross national borders to work in the Global North to send remittances back home to the Global South. Based on his study on mobility within Europe Hubert Krieger (2004, 36) argues that "increasing national wealth goes hand in hand with an increase in personal and family motives for migration." This conclusion resonates also with Finnish migration history: while in the 1960s and 1970s those who moved to Sweden were perhaps mostly attracted by higher salaries and standard of living, the Finns who move today may do so more for adventure or lifestyle reasons. For the internationally-minded, relatively young and well-educated European citizens presented in this study, mobility in the EU area is one possible path among many, and experimenting with living abroad is a choice that may or may not lead to longer term settlement. This is also in line with recent research that has stressed the diversity of motivations for intra-European mobility (e.g. Santacreu et al. 2009, Recchi 2013, Favell 2008b, Verviebe 2011).

184. On how the residence permit bureaucracy classifies non-EU/EEA migrants arriving to Finland as family members see Leinonen & Pellander 2013.

Non-recognition of foreign educational degrees can be an important barrier for migrant labour market integration. Education from abroad has been found to correlate with the difficulties of labour market entry, as it tends to be less valued than local degrees (e.g. Friedberg 2000, Saarikallio et al. 2008). Nearly half of the participants of this study had completed their higher education degree in Finland. Still for them finding employment in the country of destination with this foreign institutionalised cultural capital had not been a particular problem. The European Union's aim of harmonising the higher education degrees of its member states through the so-called Bologna process seems to have worked in that respect, at least according to the experiences of the WiE survey respondents.

The concept of *status passage* (e.g. Nohl et al. 2010) is useful in describing the paths taken by the Finns of my study into the destination country labour markets. In my understanding the status passages are the transitional periods that are spent doing low-skilled jobs, studying, in unemployment, or continuing to work in Finland while applying for high skilled jobs in the destination country. Therefore the status passage can begin while still living in the country of origin. Unemployment or poor economic and career prospects for newly graduated workers can be important push factors (e.g. Castles & Miller 2009) encouraging emigration. In the case of most of the participants of this study, this was, however, not the case. Of those research participants who completed their degrees in Finland, only a handful had been unemployed after graduation, while close to seventy per cent had found work already while studying. A clear majority of the study's participants were also satisfied with their career prospects in Finland, had jobs that matched their degree and skills, and were not afraid of losing their jobs. Based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that educated Finns who choose to take advantage of the European free movement regime are not escaping from poor status positions or career dead-ends. Mobility is one possible step on their career and life course, not a necessity for obtaining a highly skilled job. International mobility has thus emerged as a possible option available to those undergoing a transition from either school to higher education, or from higher education to the working life.

I divided the actual methods that the participants of the study used to look for work abroad into five larger categories: *contacting employers, using agencies, using social networks, being headhunted, and making an independent initiative*. While all these ways were used to look for work, the rather conventional way of sending applications to employers in response to vacancies advertised was still the main form of looking for work, even though the role of the Internet as a source of information on jobs available has increased. The importance of understanding how the local system in the country of destination operates was highlighted in the participants' descriptions of what it was like to look for work abroad: one must understand the *kind of channels* one has to use to access information about vacancies and know *the kind of*

application one is supposed to hand in to be considered a serious applicant. Learning to understand the local context is an important part of the strategy of adaptation, which is described in more detail below.

I examined the status passage in the destination country in two dimensions: *as the effort required* in finding a job, as exemplified by for example the numbers of applications sent and interviews attended, and *in terms of time*, of how long it took to find a satisfactory job. Obviously, the transition was easiest for those moving from one country to the next as intra-company transferees, as well as for those who were either headhunted from Finland to a job abroad, or had found a job abroad while still living in Finland. At the other end of the spectrum, finding work was most difficult for those respondents who could not find a skilled job in their own field before they had spent years in studying or acquiring a new profession in the destination country. While the ease of finding work varied, a majority of participants of the study belonged to the former rather than the latter group. It is good to note that the possible loss or gain caused to the career of the highly skilled migrant by transnational mobility is not something that is determined immediately upon arrival to the destination country. The possible up- or downgrading of the career is rather a process that takes place over time (Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010).

The transition to the destination country labour market had mostly been easy for the participants of this study: only four per cent stated that they had not found employment that *matched their degree* in the new country, while another four per cent said that they had been unemployed and had looked for work for longer than six months. Nearly eighty per cent had found work within weeks: either before or immediately after moving or before or immediately after graduating from a local institution. The respondents were also asked to compare their current country with Finland on a number of claims related to their labour market position. The respondents were rather content with their situation in the new country, as the share of “agree completely/somewhat agree” replies to “I get a better salary than in Finland” was 70 per cent, to “I have a job that fits my qualifications” 79 per cent, “My degree is recognised” 77 per cent and “My previous job experience is recognised” 77 per cent. Being foreign had not been a major obstacle in finding work, as only 11 per cent report having faced discrimination.

What kinds of skills and qualifications ease or impede labour market access and what kinds of jobs do these Finns work in? (Chapter 6)

Previous research into the labour market integration of highly skilled migrants has identified several barriers to finding employment in the country of destination: lack of language skills, non-recognition of foreign educational titles and lack of country-specific knowledge and experience (Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2010–2011), lack of specific local capital, of local resources, and the difficulty of navigating in a new structural and institutional context (Zikic et al. 2010, 670), and unfamiliarity with

local labour market rules, and having a foreign habitus (Bauder 2005a). For the participants of this study, however, these factors had not been major obstacles to labour market entry in the country of destination. While the transition through the status passage had been slow for some, a clear majority of the respondents had found a satisfactory job rather quickly. At the time of the first survey in 2008 (n=364), nearly eighty per cent of the respondents were in full time employment, and only three per cent were currently unemployed or looking for work. During the second survey in 2010 (n=194), over 60 per cent of the respondents were in fulltime employment, while only four per cent were looking for work. At both times, a sizeable number¹⁸⁵ of respondents were also working as freelancers, self-employed, or in part-time jobs alternating between family duties, studying, and work.

The respondents of the survey were also asked to evaluate the impact of the move abroad on their work career. The responses were roughly classified into three categories. *First*, those who thought the move had clearly been beneficial, *second*, those for whom the move had caused a downturn in their career and *third*, those who were ambivalent about the effects of the move and stated that they did not care or know as they did not move because of their career. About 70 per cent of the participants belonged to the first category. In opposition to the standard version of human capital theory that states that higher wages and living standards are the main motivators for migration, only few of the Finns of the study mentioned higher income earned abroad as proof of career success. New experiences, increased language and intercultural communication skills, interesting job assignments, and the sheer amount of different employment opportunities were much more common reasons in their interpretations of labour market success. Those respondents who stated that the move had negative consequences for their career shared some common characteristics. It seems risky to step outside the beaten track of graduates heading for London, Brussels, or the other large cities that host many international job opportunities. Looking for work in the smaller cities of France, Italy, Spain, or Austria, for example, makes you compete at a more restricted and national labour market with the local graduates, who have the benefit of having a degree that is automatically recognised, perfect language skills, and local networks and social capital that are useful for finding employment.

I noted four interrelated themes that were relevant for the experienced labour market success of the internally diverse group of highly skilled Finns that took part in the study. *First*, I examined language competence as a representation of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. Language competence is among the key skills highly skilled migrants use to communicate their cultural capital, and the level of knowledge in the language(s) of the country of destination is crucial because most professional jobs require at least some level of written or spoken communication in that language.

185. 10 per cent in selected one of these options in the 2008 survey, and 19 per cent in the 2010 survey.

Second, I looked at their experiences as foreign/Finnish employees. Only few respondents wrote about discrimination, while many more explained that Finns are perceived to have a good work ethic, high quality education and good language skills. As a result of this reputation, the respondents feel that Finnish workers are a valued group among the applicants competing for the same jobs, and many were doing their best to benefit from the relative advantage given by the positive stereotype.

Third, the ease of finding work had for many of the study's participants been based on applying for jobs in international workplaces, such as multinational companies, European Union institutions, or non-governmental organisations that also have other foreign employees. The *fourth* factor explaining labour market success is the advantage gained from belonging to a rather rare type of foreigners: it is easier to stand out of the crowd of international applicants, if there are only a few people of your own nationality around. Many participants of the study had found a competitive edge from their connections to Finland, and especially in their skills in the Finnish and Swedish languages. Skills in these rare languages are forms of embodied and institutionalized cultural capital, the value of which may increase after migration. In the globalised economy, multinational companies centralize their accounting, marketing, administrative, and human resource services to shared service centers, which thus offer jobs for workers with knowledge of different languages and cultures.

How does the cultural capital of the highly skilled migrants transfer across intra-European borders? (Chapter 7)

International migration often signifies a transitional phase in the work career of the migrant. The mobile individual may have to make a fresh start in her career, and the situation can be perceived either as a crisis or as an opportunity. Especially those who have to make the migration decision without any prior knowledge of a job in the destination country have to take the risk of a possible downturn in their career if they are unsuccessful in finding work that would match their degree and work experience. All types of knowledge are not equally valued: some are more mobile and easier to transfer and translate than others, and the valorisation of different types of knowledge and skills is often linked to occupations, status positions and gender (Kofman 2013). An individual's cultural capital is not a static entity, but migrants also create new cultural capital in their new country of residence and find ways in which to validate their capital in the new context (Erel 2010, 649–650). The migration experience itself may also contribute to one's cultural capital: crossing borders and managing in changing circumstances as a student or as an employee gives one *mobility capital* (Murphy-Lejeune 2003a), and can be an important element in enhancing one's *career capital* (Jokinen et al. 2008, Habti 2012, 31, 92).

The European Union has regulations on degree recognition, and transnationally mobile European citizens should ideally not be discriminated against when moving within the EU. However, while the institutionalised cultural capital in the form

of academic degrees can often be recognised and officially accepted in a relatively trouble free fashion, this does not mean that individual employers in the destination country labour market recognise the cultural capital of an individual job applicant. National differences in degree structures and fields of study still prevail despite efforts to harmonize the European higher education system. Therefore, individual migrants are still faced with the task of defending the value of their education. In addition the individual's habitus cannot be easily changed because it evolves through a long socialization process in the country of origin. Thus, the embodied components of the cultural capital can be regarded as *foreign* (Nohl et al. 2006).

Transnationally mobile individuals, however highly skilled and educated they are, must be willing and able to adapt to the situation in the local labour market. Intra-European highly skilled migrants are privileged in their status in comparison with refugees or seasonal labour migrants, for example, but they too have to adapt to the labour market conditions of the country of destination. Based on the results of this study I argue that highly skilled Finns use three kinds of strategies to negotiate the value of their cultural capital abroad: *adaptation*, *distinction* and *re-orientation*.

These strategies are somewhat overlapping, and the skilled migrants can either utilise one, two or all three of them at the same time or consecutively. *Adaptation* varies from very concrete steps in applying for jobs, such as using the correct CV formats and channels to contact potential employers, to larger scale choices of what kinds of skills to promote and acquire. For some interviewees, this adaptation had been all they needed and they were able to continue with their chosen profession or career in the destination country. *Distinction*, on the other hand, refers to the tactics of using one's skills, education and experiences to gain a competitive advantage. These skills can include knowledge of rare languages or certain technologies, previous work experience, or contacts to Finnish businesses and financial sector, for example. For others, the move abroad signifies a change of direction, as they must rely on the strategy of *re-orientation* to gain entrance to the labour market. While this could be seen as *skill downgrading*, *de-skilling* or even *brain waste*, the participants of this study do not interpret their situation in that way. The other positive aspects of the move, such as finding love, having children, living in a warm climate or being able to enjoy life in an exciting global city may be more important than the fact that the job may not be in the field that one had originally studied.

Based on the results of this study it can be concluded that the highly skilled intra-European migrants' *institutional cultural capital* transfers across national borders rather smoothly, at least when the mobile individual originates from a Scandinavian country such as Finland. The prevailing differences in higher education systems and the importance placed on different types of degrees and education may, however, require the active agency of the mobile individual herself in the negotiations of the value of her degree and other qualifications. The *embodied cultural capital* of the intra-European migrant also retains most of its value when crossing borders and in some cases may even increase and be the key to labour market entry. The

habitus of the intra-European migrant is not perceived too *foreign* and in the interpretation of the participants of this study, Finns and Scandinavians are privileged job seekers in comparison to those originating from outside Europe. While it would not be realistic to state that there is a “common European labour market” where nationality or the origin of one’s cultural capital is insignificant, there are, however, grounds to argue that the transfer of cultural capital across intra-European borders is easier than the transfer of such capital from other more distant geographical regions. While the European citizens who live and work abroad in other EU member states are still the exception, living a transnational life in Europe and engaging in various cross-border practices is becoming an accepted way of building one’s career and planning one’s future, as maintaining contact across borders is increasingly easy (see e.g. Favell et al. 2011).

Most of the WiE survey respondents were content with the life choices that they have made, and in that respect, they do not differ from the results gained in other studies: all groups of intra-EU movers express a higher level of life satisfaction than comparable samples of nationals of their country of origin (Recchi 2008, 218). The Finns of my study had found several ways in which to communicate their skills and cultural capital in the destination country labour market, and were thus satisfied with their situation, even if considerable adaptation was required when they first moved to the new country. Even though finding a better job was not their main reason for mobility, a clear majority of the survey’s respondents were happy about their labour market situation in the host country and saw the move as a beneficial decision for their career.

Those respondents who had bad and disappointing experiences and who narrate their experiences in a negative light share some common characteristics. Several of them had ended up in a particular country or location because of their spouse’s career or because they followed a loved one abroad to his or her home country. Many of them live in smaller cities and in regions with high unemployment and no jobs for foreigners, and especially not for educated foreign women. Regardless of being disappointed with their career aspirations, many of them still regard the move abroad as a good decision for their life in general, as career is not the main motivation in life. There are numerous ways in which to *make it abroad*; to find a good life and a new home for oneself in Europe, where national borders no longer restrict one’s choice of place of residence.

Reflections on the results of the study

Why do people decide to move abroad is one of the most fundamental questions of migration research. Migration theorising has proposed several explanations to this question and empirical research has tried to unravel the logic behind particular migration phenomena (see e.g. Samers 2010, de Haas 2011, O’Reilly 2012). The

classic push-and-pull model still dominates much of the everyday reasoning of why individuals decide to leave their home and look for a brighter future abroad. Migration research has two standard approaches: it often either focuses on the macro level and pinpoints international differences in salaries and the standard of living as factors that draw migrants from economically disadvantaged regions to the wealthier parts of the globe, or it examines the micro level and listens to the reasons that individual migrants state as their motivation for moving. Yet in most cases various individual and contextual factors together with historical processes influence the mobility decision: an individual may make the choice to move abroad, but the decision is always made in the context of the social fabric of the era.

International migration can be analyzed through a spectrum of personal choices available for the individuals concerned. An imaginary line can be drawn that starts with the least possible freedom of choice and ends with the greatest possible freedom. At the beginning of the line there are refugees who have had to leave their homes because of a severe ecological disaster or war. Moving an inch towards freedom, we find forced labour migrants or modern day slaves who may have made the decision to migrate, but no longer control their own lives. Next to them are refugees who have left regions plagued by political instability or economic distress, and even if they could leave, some of their family members may have stayed behind. Another step towards freedom brings us to bound labour migrants who have sold their labour for a number of years to compensate for the costs of the migration itself. The first category of voluntary or free migrants is the traditional labour migrant who has chosen to migrate for better economic opportunities. The freedom experienced by this group is, however, relative, and great diversity exists between different types of labour migrants, depending on their country of origin and their destination. The most privileged group of all, at the end of our scale, are the free migrants who have decided when to depart and where to go according to their own desires and life-projects. (Adapted from a migrant typology by Harzig et al. 2009, 66–67.)

Mobile Europeans originating from the 15 member states that formed the EU from 1995 to 2004 belong to the very last group on the spectrum.¹⁸⁶ As a specific migrant group, they are globally so unique that they have been referred to as “post-migrants” (Recchi 2013, 12). Some move abroad to study, some for family reasons or love, and others for career development, or simply for the sake of a life-style choice (Benson & O’Reilly 2009; King 2002). The PIONEUR project collected *The European Internal Movers Social Survey* (n=4,901) data in 2004, and noted four migrant types that describe the diverse forms of intra-European migration. Migrants from Germany, Spain, Italy, and the United Kingdom were classified as *late traditional migrants*, *pre-retirement movers*, *Eurostars*, or *pure retirement movers*, depending on their age at the time of migration and the duration of stay in the destination coun-

186. How mobility from the 10 states that joined in 2004 and 2 in 2007 differs see Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010, Recchi 2013, or Koikkalainen 2011a.

try. Of these migrant types, the highly skilled Finns of my study mostly resemble the Eurostars. According to the PIONEUR data, the Eurostars moved abroad at the age of 28 and had so far stayed in their current country for 8 years. A clear majority (81%) of the Eurostars had worked in their destination country and they were more educated than the other migrant types listed above. Yet apart from work, they also list love and studying as important motives for migration, as they are “characterized by individualistic motives and migration strategies” (Braun & Arsene 2009, 47–49, quote on p. 50, see also Favell 2008b)¹⁸⁷.

The education levels of transnationally mobile Europeans have improved in the past 15 years. In 1995 14.3 per cent and in 2005 already almost 25 per cent had completed a tertiary level degree (Recchi 2008, 208). These individuals are among the main beneficiaries of the European project, as described by Neil Fligstein in his book *Euroclash* (2008). Fligstein argues that economic integration has offered opportunities for interaction to a large but significant minority of managers, professionals, the young, the educated, and those with high income. They have benefited materially and culturally from this interaction and feel “more European” than the average EU citizens. (Fligstein 2008, 210–211, 249.) This is true also of the participants of this study: they have benefited from the ease of transnational mobility that the European free movement regime has guaranteed. Living abroad in other European countries has not changed their primary identification, as they continue to mainly identify with Finland. Nearly 60 per cent of the Finns of the study also identified with Europe, while only a third identified with their country of residence. Adding a dimension of Europeaness to their existing national identity is thus a way of belonging to a greater collective when the localized identification to the country of residence is not required. (Koikkalainen 2013a.)

Finns who move abroad follow the lure of London, go to study in Berlin, seize a job opportunity at the Euro-city Brussels, or start their career as a trainee in Paris. Finns also move to many other cities in Europe, depending on their motivations, family situations, and sometimes even pure coincidence of being offered a job in a particular country. Such relatively small and scattered migrant groups are a challenging population to study with survey methodology. Creating a random and statistically representative sample is not possible, as there are no updated registers of current addresses of mobile Finns abroad. On the other hand, using the traditional ethnographic approach with focus on one location could not capture the diversity of the target group, nor the variation in their experiences in different countries. In this study, the research participants were contacted via the Internet by using various networks of expatriate Finns. In such a research design, geographical distance is less important than before, as the Internet enables communication between the migrants and the researcher, each physically located in a different place.

187. For a comparison of how the WiE survey respondents and the EIMSS survey respondents differ in terms of their national identity and identification with Europe see Koikkalainen 2013a.

This study aimed at identifying some key factors that are common to the experiences of Finns living and working abroad in *Europe*, rather than examining any national or professional context in greater detail. The WiE surveys and the Skype interviews provided valuable data on how mobile Finns see their own position in the destination country labour market. The participants of the study share the experience of looking for work or working in a situation where they belong to a minority and have to operate by the rules of a labour market that is largely unknown. To avoid losing out on their career they have had to try to negotiate the best possible value for their credentials and previous work experience. Many had chosen to underline the fact that they are different from the local job applicants, so that their foreign habitus can be seen as an asset, and not an obstacle for finding employment. Working in a foreign language in a multicultural context has demanded adaptation and flexibility from all the participants regardless of their educational background or profession.

Maintaining a transnational relationship to the Finland they left behind is relatively easy. Affordable airline connections facilitate visits during the holidays. Finnish friends in the new home country, Finnish online newspapers, Facebook contacts, e-mail messages, and Skype calls help in keeping in contact with the old home country and getting the best of both worlds. For some, labour market success has been based on the knowledge of the comparatively rare languages of Finnish and Swedish, and thus much of their daily work is also somehow connected to Finland. The existence of certain shared background characteristics and key experiences makes these expatriates a sort of *community of practice* (O'Reilly 2012), even though they have never met each other. I resemble the participants of the study: I am within the same age group and I have lived abroad in four different countries, on three different continents. In this type of research, sharing some of the experiences of the group one is interested in is an advantage. If the expatriate Finns are said to form a community, than I myself have also been a part of that community.

This study broadens our understanding of the migration motivations and labour market experiences of highly skilled Finns in Europe and takes part in the debates concerning the formation of a European society and the functioning of the European labour market. For well-off and educated Europeans, experimenting with living abroad has never been as easy as it is today: the European mobility industry offers study and training possibilities and summer jobs, and more serious career opportunities for those willing to consider longer stays abroad. Even though most Europeans still live their lives within the borders of one nation state, free movement is becoming a natural part of the life course possibilities open to the young and educated; it is becoming entwined to the habitus of young Europeans. Europe as an area where *international migration* resembles *internal mobility* (e.g. Favell 2008a, Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010) does therefore seem to exist for at least some Europeans. The idea is echoed also with the participants of this study: moving abroad was on the whole not understood as a *final* decision, as return to Finland was always a possibility if things did not work out in the destination country. Up to a third of the WiE survey

respondents had already lived in three or more countries outside of Finland. Some of the respondents had taken every possible opportunity at internationalisation: going on student exchange while still at school, studying abroad with the Erasmus programme while at university, and working at *Disneyland Paris* or as an au pair in London during the holidays. Such mobile Europeans can at least superficially blend in the new country of residence and take their mobility rights for granted.

Many of those who decide to move abroad enjoy taking risks and choosing the adventurous option rather than following the roadmap laid in front of them back home. While some participants of the study did resemble traditional migrants for whom migration is a one-time event, there were also many of those who had already lived in several countries and were thinking about moving again. This study offers a glimpse to their lives and careers at one particular moment, but it cannot reveal how long they can maintain this sense of freedom and detachment. An ultra-mobile lifestyle may be possible when one is 25 or 35, but may be less appealing when one is older and has a family. Will the Finnish Eurostars of the study be forced to integrate and start living their lives according to the local rules at some point? Because the participants of the study lived in 12 different European countries, this study could not examine the labour markets of each country in detail. In addition, the study also misses another important viewpoint: that of the recruiters and employers. While one of the main conclusions of the study is that highly skilled migrants can influence the way in which their cultural capital is valued abroad by their own active agency, it tells us nothing about how those who are making the recruitment decisions are interpreting the situation. Without a longer-term follow-up not much can be said about the possibilities for career advancement either: is the Finnish nationality really an insignificant factor, or, do the Finnish migrants on successful company careers meet a glass ceiling later on? Can the strategies of adaptation, distinction and re-orientation guarantee success for an entire career in changing economic and labour market conditions? And what about return migrants – how are they able to transfer their cultural capital back to the Finnish context?

It has been claimed that there is a global competition to attract human capital, because it is seen as an important driver of innovation and economic growth. Attracting human capital from abroad is also perceived as a way of ensuring flexible labour in changing economic conditions (e.g. Kuptsch & Pang 2006). Yet some researchers, such as Brown, Lauder and Ashton (2010) argue that the global “education explosion” and especially the rising numbers of tertiary-educated workers in some of the developing nations, such as India and China, is cutting into the value of education as a route to higher earnings. Instead of a *battle for brains*, they predict that a *battle for jobs* for tertiary-educated workers might be on its way. Instead of taking part in a war for talent, all affluent nations will be faced with growing numbers of highly skilled, yet low-salaried employees. Despite the fact that most countries are ready to welcome highly skilled migrants as the only truly accepted migrants of today (Raghuram 2004), tertiary education is no guarantee for a trouble-free entry

to the destination country labour market even for the European citizens exercising their right to free movement. As the results of this study demonstrate, highly skilled Finns do not face insurmountable barriers when they enter the labour market of another EU country, but they are also not welcomed with open arms as *brains gained*: finding a highly skilled job in the country of destination demands adaptation, perseverance and sometimes even a total re-orientation of one's career.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: English translation of the questionnaire of the Working in Europe Survey (2008)



1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Welcome!

The study Working in Europe (Työntekijänä Euroopassa) focuses on the experiences of educated Finns in the European Union labour markets. Over 12.000 Finns move abroad each year, but your experiences are not known in Finland. So let us know is grass greener on that side of the fence!

This questionnaire is aimed at Finns who live abroad, in one of the European Union countries. It has 27 questions and 4 pages. The space reserved for answering the open-ended questions is not limited, so you can write as long answers as you like. The last page contains information on the study and contact details to the researcher Saara Koikkalainen. The information you give on this questionnaire will be treated confidentially and used only for scientific study, mainly for a post-graduate research at the University of Lapland. Individual respondents cannot be identified from the study.

This first page collects background information relevant to the study.

1. Are you

- Female
- Male

2. What year were you born in?

Year of birth

3. Which of the following best describes your current situation?

- Single, no children
- Single, with children
- In a relationship, no children
- In a relationship, with children
- Married / in a registered partnership, no children
- Married / in a registered partnership, with children

Do you live in the same country with your familymembers?

4. What is the citizenship you and your familymembers hold?

My citizenship

Citizenship of my mother

Citizenship of my father

Citizenship of spouse

Citizenship of children

Are you planning to change your citizenship?

5. In which country do you live?

Country

Current city or town where you live (or closest town if you live in the countryside)

6. When did you move to the country where you now live?

Year when I moved to this country YEAR

7. Where did you live in Finland before you moved abroad?

Previous place where you lived in Finland
Cities where you studied in Finland
Place of birth
In which other Finnish cities have you lived in?

8. List the degrees you have completed in FINLAND. Add name of the degree, major subject and name of the university (E.g. DI, tuotantotalous, Oulun yliopisto).

Degree from a university of applied sciences
Bachelor
Master
Licentiate
PhD
Other, what?
Degree I did not finish
Degree that I am studying now

9. List degrees you have completed ABROAD. Add name of the degree, major subject and name of the university (esim. BA Econ, Politics, University of Manchester).

Degree from a university of applied sciences
Bachelor
Master
PhD
Other, what?
Degree I did not finish
Degree that I am studying now

10. What kind of education and occupation do/did your parents have?

	Mother	Father
grammar school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
matriculation examination (senior secondary school)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vocational education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
higher vocational	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
polytechnic degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
university degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
do not know	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What are the occupations of 1. your mother and 2. your father?

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2. MOBILITY HISTORY

50%

11. What kind of international experience do you have? Tick all the choices that fit your experiences. Have you been abroad...

- at a language course
- at a summer or seasonal job
- at a short exchange organised by your school or a team
- as an exchange student when at school
- as a trainee
- as a voluntary worker
- as an exchange student when at university
- as a tourist in 1-9 countries
- as a tourist in 10-20 countries
- as a tourist in more than 20 countries
- living in 1 country (other than Finland) at least for 3 months
- living in 2 different countries (other than Finland) at least for 3 months in each
- living in 3 or more countries (other than Finland) at least for 3 months in each

Other (please specify)

12. Why did you move to the country where you now live? Tick all the choices that fit your reasons for moving. I moved abroad to...

- look for work
- as an employee sent by a Finnish employer
- work in a job I got when still in Finland
- get a better salary
- get a more interesting job
- add valuable work experience to my career
- be with my spouse who works abroad
- join my foreign spouse abroad
- study
- see the world
- get away from Finland
- better my language skills
- get a better quality of life
- be adventurous
- be a part of global network of skilled professionals

Other (please specify)

13. Evaluate your skills in the main language of the country where you live?

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | No knowledge | Basic skills | Intermediate skills | Good skills | Excellent skills |
| Prior to moving here | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Now No knowledge Basic skills Intermediate skills Good skills Excellent skills

What language is this?

14. Which of the following best describes your situation now?

I am...

- working full-time
- working part-time
- freelancer
- full-time student
- part-time student
- post-graduate student
- job-seeker
- on parental leave
- at home taking care of children / family members

Other (please specify)

15. How likely do you think it is that you will....

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Very likely
STAY in the country where you are living for 1-2 years	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
STAY in the country where you are living for 3-5 years	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
STAY in the country where you are living for more than 5 years	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
RETURN to Finland to work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
RETURN to Finland because of family reasons	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
RETURN to Finland to retire	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
MOVE to work in another EU country	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
MOVE to a another EU country because of family reasons	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
MOVE to a non-EU country to work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
MOVE to a non-EU country because of family reasons	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
LIVE part of the year abroad, and part of the year in Finland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Tell more about your future plans: why are you planning to stay where you now live, move to another country or return to Finland?

16. What country or region do you identify with?

I am... firstly secondly In addition I am...

Would you like to comment on the above?

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3. WORK CAREER

75%

17. How soon did you find work that matched your degree in Finland? If you have not worked in Finland after graduation, please proceed directly to question 19.

	already when studying	right after graduation	after having been unemployed for 1-2 months	after having been unemployed for 3-6 months	after having been unemployed for over 6 months
I found work in Finland...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
List your job titles in Finland					

18. What kind of experiences did you have while working in Finland?

In Finland...

	I agree completely	I somewhat agree	I do not agree or disagree	I somewhat disagree	I disagree completely
I worked at a job that was well suited to my skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I worked at a job that was well suited to my degree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
my career prospects were good	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I could change jobs if I wanted to	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was satisfied with my salary	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was afraid of being unemployed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How long did you work in Finland?					

19. What methods have you used when looking for work in the country where you now live? Tick all the methods you have used.

- Replied to an employers add
- Contacted employers directly / sent an open application
- Employer contacted me
- Enrolled at the employment office
- Consulted the EURES network or EURES adviser
- Consulted job search pages in the internet
- Consulted a private recruitment agency
- Through the career's office of my university
- Through contacts from jobs I had while studying
- Through teachers at my university
- Through the networks of Finns living abroad
- Through parents, family or relatives
- Through friends or acquaintances
- I set up my own company
- I advertised my skills in a newspaper
- I have not looked for work in the country where I now live

Other (please specify)

20. What was it like to look for work abroad? Tell about, for example, what kind of positive or negative experiences you have had? How many jobs did you apply for before finding work?

21. How soon did you find work that matched your degree in the country where you now live?

	already when studying at a local institution	right after graduating from a local institution	right after having moved here	after having been unemployed for 1-2 months	after having been unemployed for 3-6 months	after having been unemployed for over 6 months	I have not found work
I found work in this country...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

List your job titles in the country where you now live

22. Reply to the following statements regarding your experiences in the country where you now live. In the country where I now live...

	I agree completely	I somewhat agree	I do not agree or disagree	I somewhat disagree	I disagree completely
I get a better salary than in Finland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a job that fits my qualifications	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
my degree is recognised	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
my previous job experience is recognised	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
my language skills are sufficient	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
my workweek is longer than in Finland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have longer holidays than in Finland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
being foreign has helped when looking for work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
being a Finn has helped with my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have been discriminated against for being foreign	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Would you like to comment on these statements?

23. What is it like to be a foreign worker in the country where you live? Have you felt any discrimination? Has being foreign been an advantage?

24. Evaluate your financial situation in Finland and in the country where you live.

	In Finland	In the country where I live	No difference between the two countries	I do not know
My gross income is higher	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My net income is higher	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My disposable income is higher	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The taxes I pay are higher	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Food is more expensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Housing is more expensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Childcare is more expensive

In Finland In the country where I live No difference between the two countries I do not know

Would you like to comment on this question?

25. Was moving abroad a good decision for your career? If you have not found work, why do you think that is?

You can also tell more of your experience working abroad.

26. Where did you hear about this survey?

- A friend, acquaintance or relative told me
- A friend, acquaintance or relative sent me an e-mail
- From Facebook
- From a newspaper
- From a website for Finns living abroad
- Through an e-mail list of Finns living abroad
- Through an organisation of Finns living abroad

Other (please specify)

27. If you are willing to perhaps take part in an interview later, please leave your e-mail address to the researcher. All those who leave their address will be sent a summary of the research results once they are available. The address will not be given to any outside party.

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4. THANK YOU AND INFORMATION ON THE STUDY



Thank you for your replies! You can still edit your replies by clicking to previous pages of the questionnaire.

When you are finished, please click the SEND MY REPLIES button below.

The research material being collected through this questionnaire will be used for a doctoral dissertation, Young educated Finns in the European Union Labour Markets, in the discipline of sociology. The study is a part of a research project Spatial Citizenship in European Labour Markets 2008-2011, which is funded by the Academy of Finland Future of Work and Welfare -programme. The leader of the project is professor Asko Suikkanen.

If you know other Finns who have moved to EU countries to look for work, please ask them also to fill in this questionnaire. You have important experiences that we here in Finland do not know about, so every reply is valuable!

You can find more information on the research from the following University of Lapland website:

www.ulapland.fi/EUtyö (or EUtyo).

You can also contact the researcher directly:

M.Soc.Sc. Saara Koikkalainen, saara.koikkalainen@ulapland.fi
Department of Social Studies
University of Lapland, P.O.Box 122, 96101 Rovaniemi, Finland
+358-45-112 8670

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Appendix 2: English translation of the questionnaire of the Working in Europe Survey (2010)



1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Welcome!

In 2008 you kindly responded to the Working in Europe -survey, which collected the experiences of young, educated Finns in the European Union labour markets. Over 550 Finns living abroad responded to the survey. This message is being sent to the 269 of you, who volunteered to give your e-mail addresses for a possible future interview.

The responses of the first survey were collected before the world economic crisis in the autumn of 2008. It would be excellent, if you had the time to respond to nine additional questions to supplement the first survey. In addition, during the year 2010 ~30 telephone/skype interviews will be made - I will contact those considered for the interview personally. Taking part in it is of course completely voluntary.

It takes about 15 minutes to complete the current questionnaire. Please write as long answers to the open-ended questions as you like.

Your responses will only be used for academic study, mainly for a doctoral thesis at the University of Lapland. Information pertaining to the identity of the respondents will be presented in a way that individual respondents cannot be identified from the study.

Thank you for taking part in this - it is great to hear about your experiences abroad!

Saara Koikkalainen

P.S. You will find a link to my journal article "Europe Is My Oyster - experiences of Finns living abroad" -from the last page of the survey. There is also a link to a short magazine article about the study titled "Vihreampi ruoho aidan takana". (The greener grass on the other side of the fence)

1. Give some details about yourself

Gender	Year of birth	Life situation
Gender, year of birth and family situation		

2. Which country do you currently live in?

In which country do you live now?	What kind of a city/town do you live in?	Where did you live in 2008 when you responded to the first survey?
Current country		

3. Your educational background

Degree	Where did you complete that degree?
What is the highest degree that you have completed	

4. Which of the following best describes your current work situation?

working full-time	working part-time	freelancer	self-employed	full-time student	graduate student	looking for work	on maternity, parental leave
I am...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Has your job situation changed since 2008, for example due to the downturn of the world economy? How would you describe your labour market situation now?

5. The majority of respondents in the Working in Europe -survey were happy about their work experiences abroad. Why do you think that is so?

6. Think back to the time when you decided to move abroad. How did you make the decision? Tick the choice that best describes your decision-making process.

- I thought about moving for more than a year
- I thought about moving for more than 6 months
- I thought about moving for some months
- I thought about moving for a month
- I moved quickly without giving it much thought

7. While still in Finland, did you imagine yourself in concrete events or places in your destination country?

- I imagined such events or places endlessly
- I imagined such events or places a lot
- I sometimes imagined such events or places
- I did not imagine any such events or places

8. What kinds of things in your future life abroad were you imagining prior to moving? Tick all the relevant choices.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> your journey to that destination | <input type="checkbox"/> your current or future children in that context |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your room, flat or house | <input type="checkbox"/> your freetime (sports, hobbies etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your workplace | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will shop for food |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your colleagues | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will go to the movies, theatre, art galleries etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your friends | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will eat out in restaurants or go to cafe's, bars or nightclubs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your neighborhood | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will meet new people |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your current or future partner in that context | <input type="checkbox"/> I did not think about any of these |

Can you describe with as many details as possible a typical place or event that you imagined?

9. Where do you think you will live in the future?

It is likely that I will live... In 3 years In 10 years

10. Are you thinking about moving now? If yes, what aspects of life in the new destination are you thinking about? Tick all the relevant choices.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> our journey to that destination | <input type="checkbox"/> your current or future children in that context |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your room, flat or house | <input type="checkbox"/> your freetime (sports, hobbies etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your workplace | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will shop for food |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your colleagues | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will go to the movies, theatre, art galleries etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your salary or standard of living | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will eat out in restaurants or go to cafe's, bars or nightclubs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your friends | <input type="checkbox"/> places where you will meet new people |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your neighborhood | <input type="checkbox"/> I am not thinking about moving |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your current or future partner in that context | |

Describe, with as many details as possible, what you imagine your typical day in that destination to be like.

11. Please give your e-mail address again if you are available for a future interview. It will not be given to any outside party.



2. THANK YOU AND FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE STUDY

	100%
--	------

Thank you for your time!

You can still edit your replies by clicking to the previous page.

When you are finished, please click the SEND MY REPLIES button below.

The research material being collected will be used primarily for a doctoral dissertation, Young educated Finns in the European Union Labour Markets, in the discipline of sociology. The study is a part of a research project Spatial Citizenship in European Labour Markets 2008-2011, which is funded by the Academy of Finland Future of Work and Welfare -programme. The leader of the project is professor Asko Suikkanen.

You can find more information on the study from www.ulapland.fi/EUtyö (or EUtyö).

Or contact the researcher directly:

Saara Koikkalainen M.Soc.Sci

Fulbright Visiting Student Researcher, University of California, Davis, USA (January-June 2010)
Researcher, University of Lapland
saara.koikkalainen@ulapland.fi

LINKS TO PUBLICATIONS ON THE STUDY

Koikkalainen, Saara 2009: Europe is My Oyster. Experiences of Finns working abroad, Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration 2/2009, pp. 25-38. <http://www.etmu.fi/fjem/downloads.html>

Koikkalainen, Saara 2010: Vihreampi ruoho aidan takana (The greener grass on the other side of the fence) KIDE magazine, University of Lapland <http://www.ulapland.fi/Suomeksi/Ajankohtaista/Kide-lehti.iw3>

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Appendix 3: Guidelines sent to the interviewees (2011)

Saara Koikkalainen

THE WORKING IN EUROPE –STUDY INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

The interview will be made online with Skype and recorded with a programme called Call Recorder. The interviewee can choose whether s/he wants to record only the audio or also the video image (if her/his computer has a camera). A copy of the interview recording will be sent to the interviewee if s/he wants a copy.

The interviews will be transcribed into text files and interview quotations may be used in the doctoral study or other scientific publication written based on the interview material. The text file will include the survey number of each interviewee and a pseudonym invented specifically for this purpose. In the research text this pseudonym will be used (for example, Jenni 29, London or Kimmo 40, Germany).

Only the interviewer will know the identity of the interviewees, and the research text will not reveal any facts, based on which individual interviewees could be identified. The interview transcript files will be stored at the *Finnish Social Science Data Archive* if the interviewee grants her/his permission. In that case also other researchers may in the future use the data for scientific research. The text files stored at the FSD archive will not include the actual names of the interviewees.

The interview will begin with an examination of the background information of the interviewee (such as country and city where one lives, life situation) based on the earlier survey responses. In addition the following themes will be discussed

- o International mobility, move abroad to the current country
- o Language, culture and identity
- o Work experience and career abroad
- o Family, social networks and quality of life
- o Future

Thank you for agreeing to the interview!

Best wishes,

Saara Koikkalainen

Skypename: SaaraKoi (skoikkal@ulapland.fi)

Saara Koikkalainen, researcher, PhD candidate

Spatial Citizenship in European Labour Markets, Academy of Finland www.aka.fi/work
Department of Social Studies, University of Lapland, P.O.Box 122, 96101 Rovaniemi, Finland

Gifford Center for Population Studies Visiting Scholar 2010-2011
University of California Davis <http://gifford.ucdavis.edu/about-us/staff>

saara.koikkalainen@ulapland.fi, +358-45 112 8670, www.ulapland.fi/EUTYO

Saara Koikkalainen

TYÖNTEKIJÄNÄ EUROOPASSA – TUTKIMUKSEN HAASTATTELUOHJEET

Haastattelu tehdään Skypen välityksellä ja nauhoitetaan Call Recorder – ohjelmalla.

Haastateltava voi valita nauhoitetaanko keskustelussa pelkkä ääni vai myös videokuva (mikäli haastateltavalla on tietokoneessa kamera). Haastateltava voi halutessaan saada kopion omasta haastatteluvideostaan.

Haastattelut translitteroidaan myöhemmin tekstitiedostoiksi, joista voidaan lainata otteita väitöstutkimukseen tai muuhun aineiston pohjalta tehtävään tieteelliseen tutkimukseen. Tekstitiedostoissa haastateltaviin viitataan vain lomakevastauksista saadulla koodinumerolla sekä heille tutkimusta varten keksityllä nimellä. Tutkimustekstissä mahdollisten haastattelusitaattien yhteydessä käytetään tuota keksittyä nimeä (esim. Jenni, 29, Lontoo tai Kimmo, 40, Saksa).

Haastateltavien henkilöllisyys jää vain haastattelijan tietoon, eikä haastateltavista tutkimustekstissä paljasteta sellaisia seikkoja, joiden perusteella yksittäisiä henkilöitä voisi tunnistaa. Mikäli haastateltava suostuu, voidaan haastattelusta tehdyt tekstitiedostot säilöä Tampereella toimivaan Yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tietoarkistoon, jotta ne ovat myöhemmin myös muiden tutkijoiden käytössä. Noihin tiedostoihin ei kirjata henkilöiden oikeita nimiä.

Haastattelun aluksi käydään läpi haastateltavan taustatietoja (kuten asuinmaa, kaupunki, elämäntilanne) aikaisempien lomakevastausten perusteella. Haastattelussa käsitellään lisäksi seuraavia teemoja:

- o Kansainvälinen liikkuvuus: muutto ulkomaille ja/tai nykyiseen asuinmaahan
- o Kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti
- o Työkokemus ja ura ulkomailla
- o Perhe, sosiaaliset verkostot ja elämänlaatu
- o Tulevaisuus

Kiitos lupautumisesta haastatteluun!

Terveisin,

Saara Koikkalainen

Skypenimi: SaaraKoi (skoikkal@ulapland.fi)

Saara Koikkalainen, researcher, PhD candidate

Spatial Citizenship in European Labour Markets, Academy of Finland www.aka.fi/work
Department of Social Studies, University of Lapland, P.O.Box 122, 96101 Rovaniemi, Finland

Gifford Center for Population Studies Visiting Scholar 2010-2011

University of California Davis <http://gifford.ucdavis.edu/about-us/staff>

saara.koikkalainen@ulapland.fi, +358-45 112 8670, www.ulapland.fi/EUTYO

Appendix 4: Short life and labour market histories of the interviewees

I shortly present each interviewee below to highlight the diversity of the group of highly skilled Finns that took part in this study. To protect the anonymity of the interviewees their names have been changed. I used the most common names given to Finnish babies during the years when they were born, according to the records of the name service of the Finnish Population Register Service.

Some parts of the data, such as the name of their employer, name of university where they studied, or the name of the town where they live, have been obscured to avoid recognition. In the cases where the career profile and migration history of a particular respondent is so unique that it may be recognizable, this possibility was discussed during the interviews. Possible recognition was not seen as a major problem, as the interviewees felt that the themes of the interviews did not contain sensitive personal information. In fact many of the participants said that they would be happy to be presented with their actual names, but for consistency pseudonyms are used in each case.

The descriptions were sent to the interviewees for approval, so that they could correct possible mistakes or add more recent information if they wanted to do so. Each interviewee is also identified by their survey number, which refers to the random number they were assigned when responding to the first survey in 2008. Two respondents Anna (survey 9918) and Juhani (survey 9925) responded to the survey through a link in an e-mail from SEFE, The Finnish Association of Business School Graduates. The other interviewees were found via websites servicing expatriate Finns, via their blogs on life abroad, or by e-mail sent via expatriate networks. The key characteristics of the interviewees are first listed below in the two tables.

Summary of interviewee characteristics: male interviewees

	Year of birth	Degree(s) by the field of study and the countries where obtained	Profession / employer in 2011	Country of residence in 2011
Antti	1973	instrumentation engineering (Finland)	consultant in the telecommunication field	Germany
Juhani	1975	economics and business administration (Finland)	senior controller in a multinational company	Spain (2008: the Netherlands)
Marko	1977	law and management (UK)	corporate lawyer	United Kingdom
Mika	1976	economics and business administration (Sweden)	financial consultant	United Kingdom (relocated to Hong Kong)
Mikael	1976	business administration (Finland)	investment director	Luxembourg
Tapio	1977	law (Finland)	in-house council in a bank	United Kingdom (relocated to Singapore)

Summary of interviewee characteristics: female interviewees

	Year of birth	Degree(s) by the field of study and the countries where obtained	Profession / employer in 2011	Country of residence in 2011
Anna	1980	business communication (Finland)	freelance journalist	Iceland (2008: Spain)
Anneli	1967	Italian language (Italy)	English teacher	Italy
Emilia	1980	forestry (Finland)	project assistant in a research institute	Germany
Helena	1968	computer science (Finland)	taking care of her kids at home	Austria
Johanna	1974	Finnish history (Finland)	office of a humanitarian NGO	Belgium
Maarit	1964	medicine (France)	doctor in her own practice	France
Maria	1977	English language (France), business administration degree (France)	works in a company with Finnish language clients	France
Marika	1976	business administration (Finland), social research methods (UK), and urban planning (UK)	public administration	United Kingdom
Minna	1976	Nordic philology, i.e. Swedish language (Finland)	administration department of a multinational company	Ireland (2008: UK)
Pauliina	1980	plant biology (Finland)	accounting department of a Nordic company	Denmark
Sari	1969	tourism (Portugal)	English teacher	Portugal
Susanna	1978	business administration (UK and Finland)	consultant at a multinational company	United Kingdom (2008: the Netherlands)

Anna (survey number 9918)

During the first survey in 2008 Anna (b. 1980) lived in Spain and in 2010 she had moved to Iceland. She has a master's degree from a Finnish school of economics in the field of business communication. During her student years she lived in Greece and in Iceland for six months. Her husband is Icelandic and they have one child who was one year old in 2011. She is a Finnish citizen and her child has Finnish-Icelandic double citizenship. They moved to Spain in 2007 because they wanted to learn Spanish, live somewhere where it is warm and where living expenses are relatively cheap. They chose Spain because they both could find work as freelancers and because they wanted to live in a "neutral" country that was not the original home country of either spouse. She did not look for work in the local labour market in Spain, but continued her career as a freelance journalist writing for mainly Finnish clients. In 2011 she was studying part-time for a bachelor's degree in Icelandic language and also, mainly as a hobby, for a second master's degree in literature in Finland. In Iceland she continues to work for her own company writing books, selling newspaper and magazine articles and doing communication consultancy work to Finnish clients. She has also done some market research and translation jobs for various clients in Europe. At the moment she also runs a Finnish design store in Reykjavik. Because of the state of the Icelandic economy, being paid mostly in Euros is a good deal. She thinks her family might consider moving again either to Finland or to some third country for some time, but they will most likely keep a home base permanently in Iceland.

Anneli (survey 313)

Anneli (b. 1967) moved to Italy in 1988 to study and she has a master's degree in the English and German languages from an Italian university. She also passed an exam that qualifies her as a teacher in the year 2000. Finding work to match her degree has been challenging, and she has worked in a variety of fixed-term jobs, e.g. as a secretary, hostess at a cruise ship, telephone interviewer, and in different projects that required knowledge of the German and English languages. In addition she has worked as a translator (working in the Italian, Finnish and English languages) and has taught English at private schools and as a substitute teacher in state schools. Her professional goal is to get a permanent job as a language teacher in a state school. In her opinion being foreign has not been a barrier for employment, and she has benefited from her good language skills. The Italian labour market system, where many jobs are distributed via unofficial networks and recommendations, has made finding the right kind of a job difficult. She is a Finnish-Italian double citizen and is married to an Italian husband whom she met already during her university studies. She has three children, two girls (aged 7 and 11) and a boy (aged 9 in 2011).

Antti (survey 27)

Antti (b. 1973) has a degree in the field of engineering from a Finnish university of technology. He worked in the telecommunication field in Finland and moved to the United Kingdom in 2001. He was not entirely satisfied with his employer nor felt ready to settle into the UK, so he moved to Germany in 2002. Since then he has worked as a freelance consultant, working for the same telecommunication company on consecutive 3-month long contracts. He says he lives in Bonn, Germany as a "gastarbeiter" with a permanently for now attitude, as he plans to return to Finland someday. However, he believes this means that he will most likely have to learn a new trade, as the market will be saturated with former Nokia engineers. He does not see the possibilities of return in a very positive light, as he once applied for three jobs in Finland, without getting any reply, even though one of the job descriptions was a perfect match for his expertise. At the time when he moved to Germany he was still married to his former non-EU wife, and despite being a European Union citizen, had to apply for a work permit also for himself to secure a permit for her to work there. At the time of the interview in 2011 he had a steady relationship.

Emilia (survey 316)

Emilia (b. 1981) has a master's degree in the field of agriculture and forestry from a Finnish university. She moved to Germany in 2005 to work as a trainee at the Finnish Embassy in Berlin. During her studies she had already been on student exchange in Germany. During the latter stay

she found a German boyfriend. She decided to stay, did another internship at an international NGO and managed to complete her master's thesis in parallel to working there. She and her boyfriend got married in 2011 and are planning to start a family and stay permanently in Berlin. For her deciding to move abroad has meant a compromise in her career ambitions, as she knows she would have had better employment opportunities in her own field if she had stayed in Finland. She has not found any work that would have matched her degree, even though she sent over 100 job applications after graduating. She says one reason for this was that she had little prior work experience and her skills in the German language were not perfect. Yet she has not regretted moving abroad because she likes living in Berlin. In 2008 she worked as a customer support advisor in a mobile phone company that serviced Finnish-speaking customers. In 2010 she had changed to a new and more interesting job working as a project assistant at a research institute. The job is not in her field, but matches the level of her education better and she enjoys working with her international colleagues at the institute.

Helena (survey 308)

Helena (b. 1968) has a bachelor's degree in natural sciences and a master's degree in computer science, mathematics and education from a Finnish university. She has started graduate studies in computer science in the same university, but has not pursued them actively. She moved to Austria in 1999 for student exchange and decided to stay, as she found an Austrian boyfriend. They got married and had two children who were aged 2 and 4 in 2011. Both children are double citizens of Austria and Finland, and she speaks Finnish to them at home. She has looked for jobs in Austria three times, in 2000, 2002 and 2004-5. During the first two times she found work relatively easily, but in 2004 she sent dozens of applications, but still did not find a job in her own field. Because of this she returned to Finland to work for nearly a year to a job that matched her qualifications. Since having children she has not been so stressed about finding a job and has taken care of them at home. She was confident that she would find something sooner or later, even though her lack of contacts to colleagues in her field made it a challenge. After the interview she continued to look for work and did get invited to some job interviews both in Austria and in Finland. She has since returned to Finland and is working in her own field.

Johanna (survey 193)

Johanna (b. 1974) has a master's degree in Finnish history from a Finnish university and a university of applied sciences degree in the field of social sciences. During her student years she lived in Paris, France for six months as an au pair. She moved to Brussels, Belgium in 2005 to do a traineeship at one of the European Union institutions because she did not believe she would find a good, permanent job in Finland. After the traineeship she returned to Finland for the four week period that is required before it is possible to transfer one's unemployment benefits to another EU member state. She found work within a month as a recruiter at the human resources department of a multinational company that was looking for a person who could speak Finnish and Scandinavian languages. Finding work was relatively easy, but it was a poor match for her degree and previous work experience in the museum sector in Finland. In 2011 she changed jobs and started working as an administrator in a humanitarian aid non-governmental organization that lobbies the EU. Her spouse is originally from Latin America and his nine year-old son lives with them. They also have a daughter who was three years old in 2011. The daughter is a Finnish-Belgian double citizen. Because of the family situation it is likely that they will stay in Belgium, especially as Johanna has no specific desire to return to Finland.

Juhani (survey 9925)

Juhani (b. 1975) has a master's degree in the field of economics and business administration from a Finnish university. As a student he went to exchange to St Petersburg, Russia for six months. When he graduated from Finland in 1999 he moved to Ireland to work in a major international company that manufactures household appliances and consumer electronics. The company was looking for someone with Finnish and Swedish language skills to work with Finnish and Scandinavian clients in their service centre. It was the first job he applied for abroad, and he

applied also to a couple of places in Finland at the same time. Since then his career has advanced within the same company and he no longer works only with Finnish businesses and clients. In 2002 he transferred to the Netherlands where he was living during the first survey in 2008. By the second survey in 2010 he had transferred to Spain, the original home country of his wife. They are pretty settled to Spain, but could consider moving somewhere else if they both lost their jobs or if an excellent career opportunity came along. They have two children, boys who in 2013 were 4 and 1 years old. The boys are Spanish citizens, but they are planning to apply for the Finnish citizenship for them later, so that they would have double citizenship. In 2012 Juhani was headhunted to work as a finance director of another company specialising on the marketing and sales of consumer electronics in Spain and Portugal.

Maarit (survey 347)

Maarit (b. 1964) has studied French language (Romance philology) and food sciences in Finland. She moved to France for the first time already in 1986 to study French at a university there. She then returned to Finland for roughly two years and then moved to France permanently in 1989. She met her future husband in Finland and when they were considering where they would live, they decided to choose France as he was studying to become a medical doctor there and transferring to a Finnish university seemed impossible. Maarit had trouble finding any meaningful work in France and decided to give her lifetime dream of studying medicine one more go, especially as it seemed that there are plenty of jobs available in that field. She had already applied to study medicine in Finland twice but had not been accepted. She completed the degree in France and is now working as a successful private entrepreneur in a small village in the Aquitaine region in south-western France. The family has two adult sons aged 20 and 22 in 2011 who are French-Finnish double citizens, as is Maarit herself also. She recently obtained a certificate to prove that she is qualified to practice medicine also in Finland, but thinks it unlikely that she would actually decide to move to Finland. She has lived abroad for so long that the Finland she left behind no longer exists, but she likes to visit her childhood hometown once a year.

Maria (survey 243)

Maria (b. 1977) has lived in the United Kingdom twice: first for a year as an au pair after graduating from senior secondary school and then again in a summer job. She then moved to France in 2003 to live with a French boyfriend whom she had met in Finland. She has completed a bachelor's degree in English philology in Paris and is completing a master's degree in the same field. She decided to stay and finish her studies even though she later broke up with her French boyfriend. Now she is married to a man who is originally from India, and whose business career sometimes takes him to Finland on work-related trips. She found a job as an assistant with an international company that deals with Finnish businesses already when she was studying. She is now completing a professional development course in business and will start applying for other vacancies once the degree is finished. As many educated French graduates still have poor language skills, she believes her degree in English combined with other language skills is an asset. In 2011 their future is open: it is possible that they move temporarily to Finland or to some third country, possibly the United States depending on the husband's career development. On the other hand they are thinking about buying a flat from Paris, so they might stay there too.

Marko (survey 1)

Marko (b. 1977) was in student exchange in Montreal, Canada during the senior secondary school. He comes from a rather cosmopolitan family, as his father worked in the Persian Gulf states and Asia as an expatriate for decades. In 1999 Marko moved to Scotland, United Kingdom to study law. After completing a bachelor's degree in Law (with honours) in 2003 he briefly returned to Finland to the summer job he had had during his studies with a view to looking for work. His experiences with Finnish employers were very negative, as he would not be considered as an applicant. Moving abroad to study he had suspected that returning might be difficult, but had not realized it would be impossible. Having returned to the UK and worked in a series of short-term administrative jobs he completed a post-graduate degree in management and corporate governance

in 2006 and has been working as a successful corporate lawyer since. He now lives in London, where the nationality of the job applicant does not play a role as it did while he looked for work in Scotland. He might consider returning to Finland in the future for family reasons, as, for example, schools are better in Finland, but is not optimistic about finding a comparable job. During the interview in 2011 he was single and thought that the nationality of a future spouse would most likely influence the choice of where to live, as he knows how difficult Finland can be for foreigners.

Marika (survey 56)

Marika (b. 1976) has lived in Manchester in the United Kingdom since 2000. She has a public law degree from a university of applied sciences in Finland. During her studies she went to the UK as an exchange student for six months and after qualifying to France for three months as a trainee. She has always known that she wants to live abroad so she continued her studies in the UK and completed a master's degree in social research methods. After that degree she worked in short-term jobs before finding her first job in the public sector, where only a few other expatriates work. After about four years she found a position in a PhD programme funded by the research council and she completed a doctoral degree in urban planning. Since completing that degree she has worked as a research fellow in a think tank, a job that is interesting and fits well with her qualifications. She has since moved to work in a post-doctoral research position in a UK university. At the time of the interview in 2011 she was single after a long-term relationship.

Mika (survey 232)

Mika (b. 1976) moved to United Kingdom in 2001 from Sweden, where he completed his master's degree in economics and business administration. At that time his family was also living in London, where he and his family had already lived when he was a child (from the age of six to the age of nine). Choosing to move to Britain was therefore a natural option for him. He has also been to France for six months at a student exchange when he was still at university. At the beginning finding a suitable and interesting job was a bit difficult, because London has so many talented and highly educated people competing for the same jobs. Also the range of options available is much higher than in Finland so it may take time to find a field that one is really interested in. After he found his first job at a company offering tax advice, his career has progressed well. After around four years he was headhunted to a different company where he has specialized in his current field as a financial consultant. After the interview in 2011 he was moving to Hong Kong with his girlfriend who is British, but whose family originates from Hong Kong. They were both lucky enough to be offered interesting career advancement opportunities at the same destination at the same time.

Mikael (survey 250)

Mikael (b. 1976) lived in the United Kingdom for seven years and in Denmark for a year when he was a child. Thanks to his childhood spent in Southern London, English is his strongest language. He completed a business administration degree in a university of applied sciences in Finland and worked in a Finnish bank. He was headhunted to work in a large bank in Luxembourg in 2005 to a job where knowledge of Finnish and Scandinavian languages was a prerequisite. He feels his work in private banking and wealth management is more interesting and rewarding abroad compared with similar jobs in Finland. He moved across the border to Germany in 2010 and he commutes to Luxembourg daily. He has a Finnish wife and two young children, aged four and two during the interview in 2011. They are all Finnish citizens. They live in their German home with a 'permanently for now' attitude, thinking about the choice of location one year at a time. Mikael feels that at the moment their life situation is ideal for a family as his salary is good enough to allow her to stay at home while the children are young. Yet a move back to Finland might be back on the agenda when the daughter starts school.

Minna (survey 52)

Minna (b. 1976) studied Nordic philology (Swedish language) at a Finnish university. After graduating in 2001 she moved to France to do a traineeship at Disneyland Paris, because she

had also studied French at the university and liked different languages. She worked there for over a year before returning to Finland to 'grow up' and look for a proper job. Return to Finland was a shock: she was overeducated for the jobs that she applied for and as she did not want to become a teacher, she did not find a job. She decided to try out her luck in the United Kingdom where she moved with some friends in 2003. She has not been back to Finland since, but enjoys changing the scenery every once in a while: she has lived in three different places in the UK and transferred to Sweden for a year within her company. Most of her jobs have been connected to knowledge of rare languages, especially Swedish, so she has in a way found work that matches her degree. She was single at the time of the interview in 2011 and had moved to Ireland, where many multinational companies such as Google, Yahoo, eBay, Microsoft and Facebook have their European headquarters. After having been unemployed for two months, she found work in the compliance department of a major international IT company, and later progressed to work in the sales department of the same employer.

Pauliina (survey 237)

Pauliina (b. 1980), moved to Copenhagen, Denmark in 2007. She has masters' degree in plant biology from Finland. She did her master's thesis in co-operation with a botanical garden and was trying to look for work in that field in Finland. After finding work as a biologist in Finland proved difficult she decided to apply for jobs in Denmark. Finding work in Denmark was remarkably easy. She contacted the human resources department of a company that required Finnish speakers to their financial administration department and after two weeks started working there. After that she has moved to another job, which is also in the field of business and accounting. To increase her competence in the field she is learning to speak Danish better and studying business administration at the Open University. She is married to a Danish man and believes that they will most likely stay permanently in Denmark.

Sari (survey 135)

Sari (b. 1969) lives in Porto in Portugal since the year 2007. She has also lived in Germany for eight years (1991-1999) where she worked in the hotel sector. She has always liked languages, and is fluent in English, German as well as Finnish and Swedish, having grown up in a bilingual home. Even though she liked living in Germany she felt that the pace of working life there was too hectic. So she returned to Finland when a friend offered her an interesting job. However, Finland no longer felt like home so she decided to try living in Portugal, a country she had liked a lot when she had visited her parents' vacation apartment in Algarve. At first she studied the Portuguese language and was confident that with 16 years of international work experience she would surely find a job in one of the large hotels in Porto. She also completed a degree in tourism in Portugal to increase her competence. After sending some 200 applications without even being invited into an interview, she decided to try a new career as a free-lance translator and language teacher. She lives with her Portuguese partner and their son. Her partner's two teenage children also regularly visit their home. She is settled in Portugal, and enjoys her current profession as a teacher, even though getting enough clients has taken a lot of self-promotion and marketing.

Susanna (survey 95)

Susanna (b. 1978) lives in the United Kingdom, where she moved for the first time in 1997 to spend a gap-year working at a hotel and later study for a bachelor's degree in the field of international marketing. After her degree she worked for a year in events marketing in London and then decided to continue studying for a master's degree in information management in Finland. After having completed the degree she returned to the UK and applied for a job in three large management consultancy companies. She still works for the same company that recruited her at the time. She has also lived in Germany (2000-2001) for a year and been seconded from the London office of her employer to the Netherlands (2007) and Italy (2008-2010). Her career has progressed well and she now gets regular recruitment calls from headhunters, so she could easily change jobs if she wanted to. At the time of the interview in 2011 she was single and thought that the nationality of her possible partner would also play a role in where she will settle

more permanently. She might be interested in trying out living in Finland on a secondment if the opportunity came along, but then again is also happy being back in London - a city that she both loves and hates.

Tapio (survey 145)

Tapio (b. 1977) moved to London, United Kingdom in 2008. He has a law degree from a university in Finland and he has also studied in Australia (1998) and been to Singapore as a trainee for four months (2003-2004). After completing his degree in Finland he contemplated the possibility of going abroad to complete a LLM degree, a one-year post-graduate degree for lawyers. However, when he still worked for a law firm in Finland two different headhunters offered him a job, and he chose to move to London over Luxembourg because it is the de facto capital of Europe in the finance sector. He has been successful in his career and because of his London experience headhunters have tried to get him to accept a job in Finland. At the time of the interview in 2011 he had a girlfriend in London. He had changed jobs a few months earlier and as a part of his new job he was moving to Singapore to work as an in house legal counsel in a major bank.

Appendix 5: Respondent job titles in Finland and in the country where they lived in 2008

The below table includes job title information for the 121 respondents who replied to both the 2008 and 2010 surveys and who had given the information on their titles both in Finland and in the destination country.

Resp. No.	Sex	Year of birth	Job titles in FINLAND	Job titles ABROAD	Country in 2008
288	F	1979	Accounting specialist, accounting assistant	Financial assistant	The Netherlands
187	F	1978	Teacher of Finnish language and literature	Order Management Representative, Contract Administrator, Secretary	The Netherlands
9935	F	1975	Project co-ordinator, research professor	Senior Consultant	The Netherlands
294	F	1973	Civil servant, project worker, kindergarten teacher	Trainee, substitute teacher, teacher of Finnish language	The Netherlands
304	M	1977	Part-time lecturer, researcher	Visiting researcher	The Netherlands
164	F	1972	Sales secretary	Assistant	Belgium
10	F	1978	Legal trainee, assistant lawyer, lawyer,	Associate lawyer	Belgium
209	F	1981	Elementary school teacher, part-time teacher at a music conservatory	Au pair, elementary school teacher, call centre assistant	Belgium
299	F	1975	Application Engineer	Business Analyst	Belgium
340	F	1980	Communications officer	Communications Coordinator	Belgium
281	F	1983	Director, project worker	Financial Market Responsible	Belgium
138	F	1977	Tracking analyst	EU Policy Officer, Assistant for social, employment and health sector, communication trainee	Belgium

245	F	1981	Freelance-translator	Trainee, political assistant, account executive, special advisor	Belgium
159	F	1966	Assistant to management, export secretary,	Human resources assistant	Belgium
298	F	1968	Translator	Translator	Belgium
287	F	1977	Communications officer, general secretary	Programmes and policy officer	Belgium
193	F	1974	Museum guide, museum amanuensis, substitute museum director	Recruitment agent	Belgium
9924	M	1967	Accountant	Financial officer, head of sector	Belgium
998	M	1974	Consultant, project manager, systems manager, development manager	Head of inspections	Belgium
122	F	1974	Research engineer	Team leader	Belgium
199	F	1976	Communications secretary	Web editor	Belgium
130	M	1970	System designer, amanuensis	Sound designer, system designer, product director, technical director, regional director	Spain
125	F	1970	Teacher	Marketing communications manager	Spain
234	F	1982	Cleaner, ticket sales agent, assistant, office worker, worker at a sales event	Telemarketer	Spain
9918	F	1980	Journalist, managing editor, PR consultant,	Journalist, managing editor, PR consultant, associate editor	Spain
9922	F	1979	Project secretary, research assistant, doctoral candidate, researcher, project manager	Researcher	Spain
265	F	1982	Paymaster	Fund accountant	Ireland
58	F	1980	Waitress, DJ, office worker	Waitress, customer service advisor at a call centre	Ireland

297	F	1968	Project assistant	Consultant	Italy
279	F	1978	Conference assistant	Commercial assistant	Austria
308	F	1968	Program designer, programmer, planner, team leader	Programmer, program designer	Austria
284	F	1980	Project coordinator, substitute teacher	Teacher of German and Finnish as a foreign languages	Austria
9919	M	1979	IT Specialist	SAP consultant	Austria
188	F	1975	Associate lawyer	Trainee, lawyer-linguist	Luxembourg
253	F	1976	Tax secretary	Private banking assistant	Luxembourg
252	M	1981	Portfolio analyst, portfolio manager	Senior analyst	Luxembourg
250	M	1976	Investment advisor	Investment director	Luxembourg
9921	M	1966	Finance manager, consultant, project development director	Civil servant	Luxembourg
106	F	1968	Sales assistant, architect's office trainee	Architect	Portugal
135	F	1969	Restaurant manager, customer manager, financial assistant, receptionist	Language teacher	Portugal
166	F	1978	Customer advisor in a bank, tax assistant	Assistant, marketing & communication	France
129	F	1970	Budget secretary	Conseiller	France
126	F	1975	Technical writer, project manager	Designer/information development, technical writer, project manager	France
169	F	1967	Researcher, planner of international aid	Head of sector	France
324	F	1974	Material planner, senior material planner, business analyst, project manager	IT project manager	France
112	F	1978	Leaflet distributor, telemarketer, sales person, assistant to photographer	Sales assistant, assistant to office manager, office manager, regional manager	France

157	F	1977	Researcher, doctoral candidate, teacher	Post-doctoral researcher	France
161	F	1977	Sales assistant	Receptionist	France
896	F	1974	Research assistant, researcher, doctoral researcher	Visiting researcher	France
331	F	1974	Vocational school teacher	Customer service engineer, product development engineer	Germany
296	F	1977	Project assistant	Assistant, consultant, project co-ordinator, researcher	Germany
40	M	1973	HW design engineer, project leader, project manager, business segment manager	Business developer, project leader, senior specialist	Germany
27	M	1973	HW-Designer, graduate student	Consultant	Germany
186	M	1980	Pharmacist, head dispenser	CRA	Germany
37	M	1971	Trainee, brand activity manager, key account manager, account director	European marketing director	Germany
175	M	1969	Researcher, chief actuary, applications specialist, technology consultant	IT architect	Germany
16	F	1966	Speech-to-text interpreter, translator	Translator	Germany
337	F	1976	Teacher of the English and German languages	Coordinator, freelance teacher of the German language, translator	Germany
898	F	1984	Production assistant	Mitarbeiter international sales	Germany
335	F	1968	Researcher, patent attorney	Patent attorney	Germany
198	F	1979	Research assistant, doctoral candidate	Post-doctoral researcher	Germany
48	F	1978	Registering assistant, registering co-ordinator	Regulatory affairs manager	Germany

101	F	1975	Travel agency worker	Sales agent for an airline, customer support specialist for IT company	Germany
192	F	1975	Marketing assistant, customer supply operator	Scandinavia & UK sales responsible, Information management specialist	Germany
45	M	1973	Testing engineer, system specialist	Senior System Specialist	Germany
23	M	1979	Family care-taker	Substitute teacher, part-time teacher of English	Germany
218	F	1977	Journalist trainee, journalist (TV and radio)	Journalist, marketing co-ordinator PR consultant	Germany
323	F	1976	SW quality engineer	SW quality engineer, product manager, senior product manager, director product management	Germany
330	F	1977	Medical doctor, researcher, assistant	Post-doctoral researcher, visiting researcher	Germany
334	F	1975	Waste management advisor, project planner, researcher	Visiting younger EU researcher	Germany
293	F	1972	Research director, development director of marketing, research director, project leader, concept designer	Account director, senior research consultant, strategist, innovation programme manager	UK
6	F	1975	Analyst	Analyst	UK
107	M	1970	Teacher, analyst	Associate (global residential research co-ordinator)	UK
145	M	1977	Assistant corporate researcher, claims officer, trainee	Associate lawyer	UK
191	M	1978	IT support, doorman at a restaurant	Business intelligence engineer	UK
19	F	1976	Insurance claims assistant, insurance claims manager, system expert	Business support analyst	UK

236	F	1970		Buyer	Buyer	UK
205	F	1977		Assistant	Clinical scientist	UK
993	M	1968	Financial analyst, assistant tax advisor, project analyst		Commercial analyst, associate, senior executive (manager), manager financial analysis, director financial analysis and modelling	UK
261	F	1975	Dental nurse, dental hygienist		Dental hygienist	UK
9920	M	1981		Stockbroker	Derivatives sales	UK
102	F	1979	Graphic designer, producer, freelance journalist, guide at a music festival,		Designer, intern, producer, director, media planner, associate producer	UK
9932	M	1972	Marketing director, bank manager		Director	UK
89	F	1978	Assistant at the university, translator, freelance journalist, researcher		Editor	UK
28	F	1975	Customer advisor, assistant to management		Editorial assistant	UK
5	F	1977		Project assistant	Research specialist, team assistant, marketing assistant	UK
9927	M	1972	Chief analyst, manager		Executive director, vice president	UK
349	F	1975		Librarian	Fitting consultant, library assistant	UK
881	F	1979	Sales assistant, physiotherapist, cantor		Health care assistant, physio assistant, physiotherapist	UK
128	M	1965	Web chief operator, director of IT		IT-manager, associate director (IT)	UK
302	F	1963	Part-time teacher, area secretary, trainer, officer		Learning project worker, learning centre manager, project manager	UK
82	M	1980		Officer	Manager	UK

59	F	1963	Marketing officer	Marketing co-ordinator, marketing development manager, marketing director	UK
221	F	1979	Cleaner, nurse, service advisor	Midwife	UK
22	F	1971	Nurse, midwife	Midwife	UK
272	F	1975	Auto dealership secretary	Office manager	UK
87	F	1977	back office coordinator	Office manager, personal assistant, analyst, consultant	UK
120	M	1975	Research assistant, program designer	Program designer	UK
197	M	1979	Programmer	Programmer	UK
72	F	1970	Communications officer, PR consultant	Senior advisor	UK
219	F	1974	Education secretary	Personal assistant to MD, team secretary, Personal assistant to CEO	UK
75	F	1984	Printer	Print finisher, art worker	UK
202	F	1974	Customer service agent, shift manager, department director	Receptionist, shift leader, night manager, divisional director	UK
78	M	1974	Market researcher, research director, director of research and insight	Research manager, EMEA area	UK
123	F	1978	HR assistant, junior consultant	Resource Specialist, principal resource specialist, service delivery manager	UK
276	F	1973	Nurse	Nurse	UK
109	F	1971	Nurse, practical nurse	Nurse	UK
76	F	1980	Restaurant manager	Sales assistant, sales manager, nanny	UK
98	M	1973	Stockbroker	Sales trader	UK

71	M	1976	Marketing director	Senior account manager, sales operations manager EMEA&APAC	UK
15	F	1979	Secretary	Senior executive assistant	UK
53	M	1968	Program designer, senior software engineer, chief engineer	Senior software developer, software development team leader	UK
8	M	1974	Software engineer, sr. software engineer	Sr. software engineer	UK
115	F	1981	Technical writer	Technical author	UK
90	F	1983	Journalist	Journalist	UK
67	F	1976	Media assistant, production manager	Traffic manager (in the TV business)	UK
96	M	1976	News photographer	Producer, production assistant	UK
68	F	1974	PC support, software engineer	UI graphics designer, user experience designer, Delivery engineer	UK
9	F	1980	User interface planner	User interface designer	UK
241	F	1973	Trainee at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs	Photographer	UK
131	F	1974	Product specialist, international account manager	Voice trader	UK