

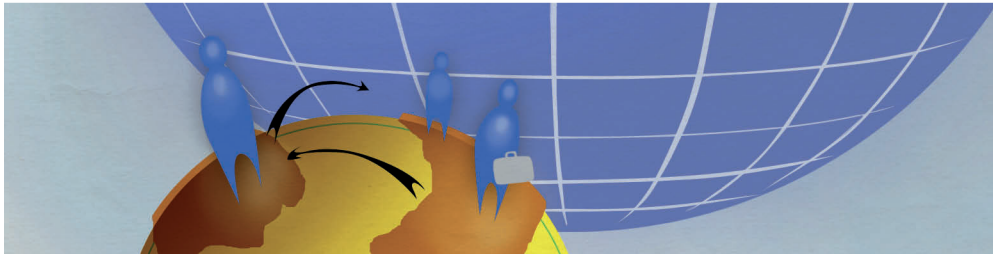
DISSERTATIONS IN
**SOCIAL SCIENCES
AND BUSINESS
STUDIES**



DRISS HABTI

*Highly Skilled Mobility
and Migration from
MENA Region to
Finland:*

A Socio-analytical Approach



PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND
Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies



UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND

*Highly Skilled Mobility and Migration from
MENA Region to Finland:
A Socio-analytical Approach*

DRISS HABTI

*Highly Skilled Mobility and Migration
from MENA Region to Finland:
A Socio-analytical Approach*

Publications of the University of Eastern Finland
Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies No 43
Itä-Suomen yliopisto
Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja kauppätieteiden tiedekunta
Joensuu
2012

Kopijyvä Oy

Joensuu, 2012

Editor in chief: Professor Kimmo Katajala

Sales: University of Eastern Finland Library

Cover photo: Eetu Haverinen

ISBN: 978-952-61-0862-9 (nid.)

ISSN: 1798-5749

ISSN-L: 1798-5749

ISBN: 978-952-61-0863-6 (PDF)

ISSN: 1798-5757

Habti, Driss

Highly Skilled Mobility and Migration from MENA region to Finland: A Socio-analytical Approach. 248

P.

University of Eastern Finland

Faculty of Social Sciences and Business Studies, 2012

Publications of the University of Eastern Finland,

Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies, no 43

ISBN: 978-952-61-0862-9 (nid.)

ISSN: 1798-5749

ISSN-L: 1798-5749

ISBN: 978-952-61-0863-6 (PDF)

ISSN: 1798-5757

Dissertation

ABSTRACT

The career path of a highly skilled person (HSP) is full of transformations driven by different factors that impinge on their aspirations, expectations and full-fledged satisfaction at personal and professional levels during their local or international mobility experiences. The globalization of goods, knowledge, education and labour market has refashioned the scale and trends of international highly skilled mobility and migration (HSM) that new questions of interest in the field have recently been raised, distancing discussion away from macro-economic approach into more relational and sociological approach that grapple with the experiences of these individuals. The approach considers the interplay between micro-, macro- and meso-level factors that shape their spatial (geographical) mobility, their career advancement, and identity and personality development, which are deemed influential in the degree of their social inclusion in a host society. The study looks at a recent but slowly increasing trend of HSM from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) to Finland, a traditionally unconventional destination for this group. It examines new theoretical and analytical developments in the area, particularly exploring the relational aspect between the occupational, socio-economic, socio-cultural, spatial, and life course cycle dynamics that impact on their career and life paths.

The methodology approach pursued for the task rests on socio-analysis to *understand* and *explain* the life circumstances and social mechanisms intervening in their career paths and mobility experiences. The study aims to examine their experiences and their conceptions of these experiences. It delves into five questions and dimensions. Career decision-making processes show the complexities and individual differences in the pressures and drives in their career and spatial mobility as various factors actually affect their decisions. These decisions consequently have effects and shape patterns of mobility/migration with specific and idiosyncratic characteristics among this group. Here, discussion will stir the proclaimed *brain drain*, *brain gain* and *brain circulation* theses. Discussion then touches on the dimension of gender and skilled mobility. Reference is made of dual career situation of women and the characteristic patterns of their mobility. Further, the philosophy of social inclusion and the factors influencing it in Finland as members of specific social group in the social space and as international HSPs in labour market are examined. Last, but not least, a significant dimension that captured research interest lately concerns self-identification and acculturation process, and personality development is examined considering theoretical concepts of trans-nationalism,

cosmopolitanism, self-achievement and satisfaction. The main results of the study indicate the drives for their mobility/migration family-related and serendipitous beside human capital development. They mostly plan to stay in Finland for family reasons and career pursuits. Female HSPs are triggered by tied-mobility and prioritise both career mobility and family role. The majority of respondents are integrated in the labour market, and they see themselves as integrated rather than assimilated in the social spaces. Their main identities are career and family-related and they identify themselves as transnational HSPs, Finnish nationals and natives from countries of origin.

Keywords: Socio-analysis, relationality, highly skilled mobility/migration, career mobility, spatial mobility, career path, social inclusion, identity, social space, MENA (Middle East and North Afric

Habti, Driss

Korkeasti koulutettujen henkilöiden liikkuvuus ja maahanmuutto ns. MENA-maista Suomeen:

Sosioanalyttinen tarkastelutapa. 248 p.

Itä-Suomen yliopisto

Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja kauppatieteiden tiedekunta, 2012

Publications of the University of Eastern Finland,

Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies, No 43

ISBN: 978-952-61-0862-9 (nid.)

ISSN: 1798-5749

ISSN-L: 1798-5749

ISBN: 978-952-61-0863-6 (PDF)

ISSN: 1798-5757

Väitöskirja

TIIVISTELMÄ

Korkeasti koulutetun henkilön urapolku on täynnä transformaatioita. Niitä aiheuttavat erilaiset tekijät, jotka hankaloittavat heidän pyrkimyksiään, odotuksiaan ja täysimittaisen henkilökohtaisen ja ammatillisen tyytyväisyyden saavuttamista liikkuvuus- ja maahanmuuttokokemusten aikana. Tätä aihetta on tutkittu useilla tieteenaloilla, mm. taloustieteen, kulttuurimaantieteen, sosiologian, kansainvälisen muuttotutkimuksen, sosiaalipsykologian ja kansainvälisen politiikan piirissä. Tavarantoiminnan, tiedon, koulutuksen ja työmarkkinoiden globalisaatio on uudistanut korkeasti koulutetun väen kansainvälisen liikkuvuuden ja maahanmuuton (HSM) mittakaavan ja kehityssuunnat, jonka vuoksi alan tutkimuksessa on viime aikoina nostettu esiin uusia kiinnostuksen kohteita, jotka etäännyttävät keskustelua makrotaloudellisesta lähestymistavasta kohti relationaalisempia ja sosiologisempia lähestymistapoja, jotka painivat näiden yksilöiden kokemusten kanssa samalla kun tarkastelevat niiden mikro-, makro- and mesotason tekijöiden välistä vuorovaikutusta, jotka muokkaavat heidän spatiaalista (maantieteellistä) liikkuvuuttaan, heidän urakehitystään sekä identiteetin ja persoonallisuuden kehitystä ja joiden katsotaan merkitsevästi vaikuttavan siihen, missä määrin he integroituvat uuteen yhteiskuntaansa ja sen työmarkkinoihin. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan melko uutta mutta vähin erin lisääntyvää korkeasti koulutetun väen liikkuvuuden ja maahanmuuton trendiä Lähi-Idän ja Pohjois-Afrikan maista (ns. MENA-maista) Suomeen, joka on perinteisesti ollut tälle ryhmälle epätavanomainen kohdema. Tutkimuksessa käsitellään alan uusia teoreettisia ja analyttisiä kehityssuuntia tarkastellen erityisesti tämän ryhmän ura- ja elämänpolkuihin vaikuttavien ammatillisten, sosioekonomisten, sosiokulttuuristen, spatiaalisten ja elämänkulkuaan liittyvien muutosvoimien välisiä suhteita.

Metodologisesti tutkimustehtävän pääasiallisena lähestymistapana on sosioanalyysi, jossa on tarkoitus *ymmärtää* ja *selittää* niitä elinoloja ja sosiaalisia koneistoja, jotka sekaantuvat tämän ryhmän urapolkuihin ja liikkuvuuskokemuksiin. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan heidän kokemuksiaan ja heidän

käsityksiään näistä kokemuksista. Se syventyy viiteen kysymykseen ja ulottuvuuteen. Urapäätösprosesseista näkyvät ne monimutkaisuudet ja yksilöidenväliset erot koetuissa paineissa ja tarmokkuudessa, joita he uraan ja paikkaan liittyvässä liikkuvuudessaan osoittavat kun heidän päätöksensä joutuvat monenlaisten vaikutusten alaisiksi. Heidän päätöksillään on näin ollen vaikutusta heidän liikkuvuutensa/maahanmuuttonsa muotoihin, joita he muokkaavat ryhmälleen ominaisilla idiosynkraattisilla piirteillä. Tässä kohden herätellään aiheen käsittelyssä tunnetut teesit aivojen viennistä, tuonnista ja kierrosta (*brain drain, brain gain, brain circulation*). Sitten käsitellään sukupuolen ja korkeasti koulutettujen liikkuvuuden ulottuvuutta. Esiin tuodaan naisten kaksinainen uratilanne ja heidän liikkuvuutensa tunnusomaiset piirteet. Lisäksi tarkastellaan ”sosiaaliseen sisäänpääsyyn” liittyvää ajattelutapaa sekä sitä, miten siihen Suomen sosiaalisessa tilassa voisivat vaikuttaa tietyn sosiaalisen ryhmän jäsenet ja Suomen työmarkkinoilla kansainväliset korkeasti koulutetut henkilöt. Viimeisenä vaan ei vähäisimpänä käsitellään tärkeää minäkuvan ja akkulturaation prosessia koskevaa ulottuvuutta, joka on viime aikoina herättänyt tutkijoiden kiinnostusta. Siinä persoonallisuuden kehittymistä tarkastellaan teoreettisten käsitteiden valossa: monikansallisuuden, kosmopoliittisuuden, itsensä löytämisen ja tyytyväisyyden.

Tutkimuksen päätulokset osoittavat, että MENA-maista tulevien korkeasti koulutettujen henkilöiden liikkuvuuden/maahanmuuton motivaatiot liittyvät henkisen pääoman kehittämisen ohella perheeseen ja onnekaaseen sattumaan. Pääosin heillä on aikomus jäädä Suomeen perhesyiden ja uratavoitteiden vuoksi. Naispuolisia korkeasti koulutettuja ajaa sidottu liikkuvuus, ja heillä on tärkeällä sijalla sekä uraliikkuvuus että perherooli. Useimmat vastaajat ovat integroituneet työmarkkinoihin, ja he pitävät itseään integroituneina enemmän kuin assimiloituneina sosiaaliseen tilaansa. Heidän pääasialliset identiteettinsä liittyvät uraan ja perheeseen, ja he identifioituvat kansainvälisiksi korkeasti koulutetuiksi, suomalaisiksi sekä alkuperämaansa kansalaisiksi.

Avainsanat: Sosioanalyysi, relationaalisuus, korkeasti koulutettujen liikkuvuus/maahanmuutto, uraliikkuvuus, spatiaalinen liikkuvuus, sosiaalinen sisäänpääsy, identiteetti, sosiaalinen tila, MENA (Middle East and North Africa).

Acknowledgments

The doctoral research on which this dissertation is based could not have been undertaken without the funding provided by two doctoral graduate schools: Graduate School of Social Sciences (SOVAKO) for three academic years 2007-2009 and the Finnish Doctoral Programme in Education and Learning (FiDPEL) for the two academic years 2009-2011. I especially would like to thank the coordinators of the two schools for their assistance during the research process and organizations of the annual programs activities of the two schools.

Grateful thanks are due to my supervisor Prof. Mhammed Sabour for his academic guidance and advice all along the making of this research work. Next, my thanks are due to Leena Koski, head of the Department of Social Sciences, and Minna Paronen, Amanuenssi, for their administrative assistance during my working period on the research study until its completion. Also, my regard to the pre-examiners of this dissertation Mr. Jean-Baptiste Meyer and Mr. Östen Wahlbeck for their patience in the process of evaluation and pertinent critique and insightful comments for the improvement of the work.

With deep gratitude, I acknowledge my parents and family members for their influence on my life and on my thinking, for their emotional support along the years of my stay in Finland. My warm-hearted thanks go to my beloved Nathalie for her support and unbeat affection. Particularly, thanks are extended to my friends (colleagues) around in Finland namely David Hoffman, Saara Koikkalainen, Mirka Räisänen, Anna-Mari Vierimä, Laura Hirvi and Jarmo Houtsonen for their support and encouragement in the competitive world of academia. I'd like also to take this opportunity to thank my friends in Morocco Aziz, Monaim, Youssef and Faysal, and the small network of old university friends from Morocco located in England, Germany, US and Canada, who always show overt or covert symbolic and emotional support to me. I would like to thank Eija Fabritius, the special editor for dissertation publications in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Business Studies for her patience in looking at the final version of the manuscript. Last, I express my gratitude to all the respondents in the study for their cooperation, patience and contributions in providing the data that form the foundation of this research project.

Joensuu, June, 2012

Driss Habti

Contents

1. INTERNATIONAL HIGHLY SKILLED MOBILITY, SPACE AND CAREER MOBILITY: AN INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Global mobility, career mobility and space	1
1.2. International highly skilled mobility and career mobility.....	3
1.3. Highly skilled mobility in the Nordic Context.....	4
1.4. Rationale and research objective.....	7
1.5. Research question and theoretical framework	11
1.6. Methodology: Socio-analysis and relationality	17
2 DECISION-MAKING IN CAREER AND SPATIAL MOBILITY	24
2.1. Rethinking career decision-making	24
2.2. Career mobility, cultural capital and rationality	29
2.3. Family, social contacts and professional networks	37
2.4. The presence of children and their future	46
2.5. Serendipity, rationality and unexpectedness	52
2.6. Conclusion: Roots and routes in decision-making process	56
3 PATTERNS AND EFFECTS OF MOBILITY: CONCEIVING LINEARITY AND CIRCULARITY.....	58
3.1. The inside-out of mobility patterns and effects	58
3.2. Highly skilled mobility: trends and perspectives	60
3.3. Patterns and characteristics of mobility	62
3.4. Mobility from below: effects on native countries	76
3.5. Mobility from above: effects on the host country	88
3.6. Conclusion: Rethinking mobility, brain drain and circulation	95
4 FEMALE MOBILITY, SPATIALITY AND DUAL CAREER CONTEXT.....	98
4.1. Introduction: International female skilled mobility	98
4.2. Female mobility and dual-career situation	103
4.3. From self-initiated to tied-migrants	112
4.4. Employability, Vulnerability and Deskilling	116
4.5. Family life, social welfare and women's status	119
4.6. Conclusion: From career role to family role	124

5 MOBILITY, SPATIALITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION	127
5.1. International mobility, inclusion and space	127
5.2. Rethinking inclusion and social space	129
5.3. Employability, opportunities and vulnerabilities	134
5.4. Social capital, trust and inclusion	152
5.5. Space, inclusion or socio-cultural self-exclusion	168
5.6. Conclusion: Social inclusion and cultural diversity	174
6 MOBILITY, IDENTITY AND PERSONALITY	179
6.1. Mobility, identity, and personality	179
6.2. Mobility, space and acculturation	180
6.3. Identity, trans-nationalism, cosmopolitanism and belongingness	187
6.4. Conceiving mobility and personal growth	196
6.5. Expectations, self-Satisfaction and self-realisation	200
6.6. Conclusion: identity and acculturation	203
7. RETHINKING CAREER AND SPATIAL MOBILITY: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	206
SOURCES	216
APPENDICES	235
Appendix 1: Synoptic Biography of Respondents	235
Appendix 2: Initial communication to respondents	243
Appendix:3: Letter of Consent for Interviewing	244
Appendix 4: Interview questions	245
Appendix 5: Table and Figures	248
Table 1: Background information on the respondents.....	23
Figure 1: The Percentage of North African migrants with tertiary education in Finland between 1990 and 2000	248
Figure 2: The largest foreign-language groups in Finland between 1997 and 2007.....	248

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EC	European Commission
EU	European Union (referred to in the study as EU-15 rather than EU-27).
EUMC	European Union Monitoring Center
Expats	Expatriates
FEMIPOL	Integration of female immigrants in labour market and society
GDP	Gross domestic product
HD	Human development
HDI	Human development index
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher education institution
HRD	Human resource development
HRM	Human resource management
HRST	Human resources in science and technology
HSM	Highly skilled mobility/migration
HSP	Highly skilled people/person/professional
ICTs	Information and communication technologies
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MIPEX	Migrant Integration Policy Index
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization of Economic and Cooperation Development
R&D	Research and Development
RELEX	European Commission External Relations
S&T	Science and Technology
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

1 International Highly Skilled Mobility, Space and Career Mobility: Introduction

Mobility is described as a combination of highly diversified, fluid movements, capable of metamorphosis, which reflect individual trajectories of movements over the span of one's life cycle and professional career (Ackers & Gill, 2008, p. xii).

1.1 GLOBAL MOBILITY, CAREER MOBILITY AND SPACE

The increasing global mobility is one outcome of globalization of information, goods, capitals and movement of people. This has contributed to researching and understanding its effect at the micro- and macro-level on the development of individual life courses in societies as temporal and spatial dynamics. Mobility¹ entails the freedom to seek opportunities to improve living standards, health and education outcomes, and/or to live in safer, more responsive communities (UNDR 2009, p. 1). Individuals move under different conditions and for different causes. Thus, it is important to distinguish between different forms of mobility and fathom how they are caught in different power geometrics of daily life (Massey 1991, p. 317). Individuals move freely while others are forced 'to stay on the move, bound to be on the run' (Bauman 1993, p. 240). Mobility is undertaken by different people and appear in different forms to the point that it turns into a 'most coveted and contested value' in international and societal structures (Bauman, 1998b, p. 206). With the development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and transport, the globe is shrinking physically, socially and imaginatively (Axhausen *et al.*, 2008), the globalization of market and economy with rising international competition, changing demographic structures, values, attitudes and expectations has instigated the burgeoning of new spatial settings.

¹ 'Migration' and 'mobility' as terminologies in the current literature of HSM are referred to and used in different ways. In some works, they both are used interchangeably, and in others they have different meaning. The former usually entails movement from one country or location to another for necessity or with enforcement while 'mobility' infers free and self-initiated move for other reasons than forced move or necessities in pursuit of an international career experience. Al Ariss (2010) refers to the differences in the terms 'migrant' and 'self-initiated expatriate' (SIE) based on four features, geographical origin and destination of international mobility, the forced/chosen nature of this move, duration of stay abroad, and symbolic status of a 'migrant' as compared to a "self-initiated expatriate" in a host country. These aspects seem to be relevant to the study here in discussion of main questions related to HSPs from MENA in Finland. The first aspect of the departure and destination indicates that not all HSPs come directly from developing countries to Finland, as it is generally inferred in the use of 'migrant' or 'migration.' The geography of the sample indicates that majority of respondents lived and worked in European countries before entry to Finland (see Doherty & Dickmann, 2008). The term 'migration' and 'mobility' tend to differ with the inference that the former is forced or for necessity (Al Ariss, 2010) for various reasons whereas the latter is matter of volition and free will (Tharenou, 2010). Again this characteristic is not always valid as migrants may choose to remain abroad for career, cultural experience and economic reasons (Carr, 2010). Third, while migrants are supposed to "find permanent jobs overseas, and would decide to stay in the more developed economies" (Carr *et al.*, 2005, p. 387), SIEs are seen to have more 'temporariness' in their choice of country of residence (Agullo & Egawa, 2009). Many scholars argue that SIEs embark on international mobility often "with no definite time frame in mind" (Tharenou, 2010). Furthermore, many SIEs stay in the new home country on a permanent basis and thus become permanent migrant workers (Al Ariss & Ozbilgin, 2010).

All these factors have contributed to the appearance of new area of research study on mobility in sociology, geography, economy and international politics. The field revolves around the principles of mobility in modern society and the interplay between the structure and size of social networks (Castells, 2000b). It deems relevant when discussing international mobility of individuals to refer to space and spatial mobility,² the structure and size of social network geographies. Spatiality has become a new research paradigm in social sciences (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2007). Geographical space has become much relevant in sociological theory. For instance, Löw (2006) considers space as an important notion in sociology and seen as a socially constituted relational concept, formed by its social, economic, cultural and political conditions. At a micro-sociological scale, individuals are actively constructing space, seeing space as a 'relational ordering of living beings and social goods' (Löw 2005, p. 2). Social networks form and reform social grouping, belongingness and social spaces. Research studies have analyzed the possibilities for organizing one's life around the workplace, education institution, and family ties. Bourdieu (1989) also introduced the concept of *social space* in his sociological work to describe social reality (see section 1.6 and 5.2). Social space is an objective and, at the same time, a subjective space structure which is partially an outcome of incorporation of objective structures (Bourdieu, 1990b).

The influence of an individual's mobility on social networks is significant and studies have analyzed physical space and social influence such as the possibilities of social inclusion in a social context different than the individual's. The individuals may experience various degrees of mobility and a kind of 'spatialisation' of social relations in their career paths. International mobility and migration of highly skilled persons³ (HSPs) from a specific geographical, social and cultural space different than their destination countries is deemed relevant nowadays at the economic, social, and policy levels of many countries. The ability to move is a capital for this group as it can be transformed into other forms of capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic). Acquiring qualifications and skills, transforming cultural capital into a socio-economic one and building social and professional networks are effects of and are affected by global mobility and migration. The concept of spatial mobility in the present study is used to designate 'geographical' mobility but with a meaning of space as a socially constructed structure, forming and reforming social relationships and positions, and emphasizing the relational constitution of space (Massey, 2005; Löw, 2006). The second important conceptualization of mobility in the study concerns the basic assumption that international HSPs look for centers of excellence where career advancement and human capital accumulation take place. Indeed, this trend of

² *Spatial mobility* is concerned with the quantitative aspects of moves made by individuals in geographical space. The distinguishing characteristic of migration is that it involves a change in *usual place of residence* and implies movement across an administrative boundary. In general, spatial mobility does not include short-term trips which involve no change of usual residence, even though such moves may deserve study because of their economic and social importance. Spatial mobility can be a barrier to social mobility because spatial mobility segregates and divides individuals and groups into segments causing what Bauman calls a 'fragmented' society (1998a) and Bourdieu socially 'stratified society' (1990a; 1990b).
http://en-ii.demopaedia.org/wiki/Spatial_mobility.

http://wiki.answers.com/O/How_is_spatial_mobility_a_barrier_to_social_mobility#ixzz1ed5eVQ4T

³ A *highly skilled person* has been defined in different ways in migration literature but it generally denotes an individual with at least tertiary education qualification or its equivalent (Millar & Salt 2008), with at least three years of training or work experience.

mobility/migration has caught attention around the globe in what Castles and Miller (2009) call *the age of migration*, global economy and competitiveness.

1.2 INTERNATIONAL HIGHLY SKILLED MOBILITY AND CAREER MOBILITY

International highly skilled mobility and migration (HSM) is considered a major drive for knowledge production and transfer, a country's economic productivity and competitiveness, a part of transnational and trans-local connectivity HSPs fuel in their mobility experiences (Favell *et al.* 2006, p. 17). The link between this mobility and dynamics of labour markets can be fathomed in relation to the characteristics of migrant HSPs and the socio-economic conditions of the host country. This explains the rise in mobility of HSPs around the world in last two decades and its characteristic differences from one country to another (Williams 2010, p. 42). This category is thought to fuel much flexibility within labour markets ranging from short to long-term moves. Undoubtedly, economic development in developed and emerging economies has taken up the new face of global economy with the race for high-skills talents and the increase in their global mobility. Traditional immigration countries such as US, UK, Canada and France have changed legislations concerning the attraction and retention of this category of migrants coming from around the globe to develop these countries' human resources, especially in Research and Development (R&D) and ICTs sectors. The result is an increase in the number of foreign HSPs to those countries with considerable variation between host countries and also the sending countries, from EU zone or from beyond.

Besides, some countries follow strict selective immigration based on human capital criteria, while some EU countries have lost a significant proportion of its HSPs expatriating to US, Canada or Australia. For instance, the net loss of tertiary educated population is still very large in such small countries as Finland, Ireland and Slovakia (Williams, 2010, p. 46). Yet, the majority of OECD countries benefit from the increasing global mobility of HSPs. A number of studies demonstrate the concentration of international HSPs in few developed countries (Solimano, 2008, p. 10). The main determinants of their flows are not yet fully singled out, though a number of studies by OECD (2007b, 2008a) depict some major push-pull factors and effects at international level. Their mobility is seen as asymmetrical between countries and regions in the world. The mobility of human capital within the OECD countries follows the pattern of *brain circulation*⁴ involving largely temporary workers, whereas the flow from developing to developed countries generally takes the form of *brain drain*⁵ usually for a permanent stay (Vlasceanu & Barrows, 2004) (see chap 3). The corollary of the situation is *brain drain* for the sending countries and *brain gain* for the host countries (Williams, 2010, p. 43). The push/pull factors have grown in strength for students, academics, engineers, IT professionals, medical doctors and business managers. An important factor inciting a growth of this mobility is the individual's strife

⁴ *Brain circulation*: a given source country may exchange highly skilled migrants with one or many foreign countries. Brain exchange occurs when the loss of native-born workers is offset by an equivalent inflow of highly skilled foreign workers (Lowell & Findlay, 2001, p. 7).

⁵ *Brain drain* is when highly skilled persons emigration for permanent or long stays abroad attains high levels and is not balanced by the "feedback" effects of remittances, technology transfer, investments or trade. It decreases economic growth through loss return on investment in education and depletion of the source country's human capital assets (Lowell & Findlay, 2001, p. 7). "Brain waste" is when developing country labour markets cannot fully employ native-born workers. This can be the case if there are few jobs for mathematicians.

for a climate of innovation and better conditions of work and remuneration available in developed countries (Mahroum, 2001).

Developing countries suffer the outflow of their qualified 'brains'(OECD, 2008a), but gain from their mobility/migration through formal remittance transfer to their native countries which, according to IMF, amounts to about 160 billion dollar in 2005 and 200 billion in 2006 (Williams, 2010, p. 49). The emigration of HSPs causes decrease in stock of human capital and output in departure countries and an increase in receiving one, which can increase remuneration of this factor of production and thus rise supply of educated people in the sending countries, which often creates a surplus of qualified individuals, with a decrease of welfare services due to externalities (i.e. loss of scarce skills) (Solimano 2008, p. 11). However, circular and virtual mobility as other forms embodied by circulation and exchange at global or trans-local level are highlighted in late research literature, with their positive effects for source countries of expatriate HSPs (Meyer, 2001, 2007; Williams & Balaz, 2008). There is knowledge and expertise transfer invested for growth (e.g. networks, new technologies, innovative ideas, cooperation and exchange of knowledge and techniques). International HSPs can invest in native countries by transferring knowledge, *savoir-faire* and technologies. For instance, students and researchers usually move to developed countries but not all of them stay therein, as in the examples of China and India (OECD, 2008a). The Nordic countries are no exception within this global development of HSM for their strong economic competitiveness, good R&D sector and knowledge-based economy.

1.3 HIGHLY SKILLED MOBILITY IN THE NORDIC CONTEXT

It is widely assumed that international skilled mobility/migration is driven by socio-economic reasons. However, new research studies suggest that other motivations are also important, such as family reasons or political and cultural discomfort (Ackers & Gill, 2008; Solimano, 2008). HSPs may seek new lifestyle different from those of their country of origin or they wish to work in more flexible and well-conditioned environment, mostly not found in their countries. Florida (2005, p. 16) maintains that the *creative class* moves to destinations providing more attractive lifestyle. Destination countries have implemented what is called 'soft' policies which set better conditions for attracting foreign HSPs such as access to labour market. These policies depend largely on the openness of this labour market. The Nordic countries are known with strong welfare regime, economic performance, social security and education system, good quality of life, flexible labour market policies and enjoin commitment to developing innovation system and ICTs (Veggeland, 2007, p. 92). This might make the region a strong lure worldwide for this category from overseas. The three countries Finland, Sweden and Denmark were second, third and fourth position respectively as best in business operating environment and competitive economies in 2006 (Porter & Schwab, 2006). This year, Sweden is positioned third, Finland fourth and Denmark eighth (Schwab, 2011). They showed effective flexibility in times of global economic recession or financial crisis due to their economic flexibility, democratic corporatism and political stability in contrast to other industrialized economies (Kangas & Palme, 2005).

In Finland, the commitment of the state to strengthen a more knowledge-based society has contributed to the economic transformations since mid-1990s, while Finnish citizenry trusts state

apparatus and policies which tend to enhance values of social solidarity and equality (OECD, 2010a, p. 48). The characteristics and policy approach of Finland share major commons with other Nordic states which enjoy high competitiveness, successful social and economic growth. The country has seen large policy measures targeting social and economic spheres with the increasing changes in global economic context and the internal demographic and social transformations, mainly on question of quality and equality of public services and surpassing the economic crisis of the 1990s and the current one. The major features of the Nordic model has been the combination of openness and adaptability to globalization through economic policies to achieve high economic growth (*ibid.*, 49). Thus, the success of the model involves important components, namely openness to trade and competitiveness, labour market institutions and policies, social security, welfare state, and fiscal policy. Because of the significant importance of the subject at national level, previous research works on skilled and knowledge mobility tend to be basically intra-national making empirical analysis on the stocks and flows of knowledge, at national level (Graversen, 2001) or differences in the inflow of job-to-job mobility rates for the Nordic countries (Graversen *et al.*, 2001). Yet, it is important to note the gradual increase in an international community of HSPs choosing Finland as a destination for career⁶ mobility⁷ and spatial mobility in the last two decades. This occurs concomitantly with major policies targeting internationalization of HE and flexibilization of labour market in some fields such as R&D, health-care and social services while significant regulatory restrictions are kept in others (Ahmad, 2005).

A complex relationship exists between the welfare state, competitiveness, and productivity in knowledge-based economies. Finland, according to Castells (2000a, p. 314), managed to become the most competitive economy worldwide and to rise its productivity in late 1990s, and, at the same time, preserve its social welfare regime. This was essential in enhancing productivity by fuelling knowledge economy with the necessary human resources in terms of education, health-care, capacity building in innovation and social wellbeing (*ibid.*, p. 315). There has been an encouraged development in Higher Education (HE) and R&D investment within a joint cooperation with business and innovation (Habti, 2010). The Finnish model generally invests in national human capital while improving the living standards which buttress social sources of productivity in knowledge economy (Castells, 2000a, p.

⁶ Super (1976, p. 4) defines career as, “the course of events which constitutes a life; the sequence of occupations and other life roles which combine to express one’s commitment to work in his or her total pattern of self-development; the series of remunerated and non-remunerated positions occupied by a person from adolescence through retirement, of which occupation is only one; includes work-related roles such as those of student, employee, and pensioner together with complementary vocational, familial, and civic roles. Further, Herr, Cramer & Niles (2004) indicate that career is unique to each person, created by the person’s choice and decision-making, dynamic and unfold throughout the individual’s life course, an integrated entity of pre-vocational and post-vocational considerations, and interconnected with the person’s life roles in family, society and activities. Chen (2006, p. 7) suggests to replace the term by ‘life career development’ to reflect the nature of a comprehensive and complex self-development throughout the individual’s life course.

⁷ *Career mobility* denotes here career advancement and career upward mobility. It is based on transitions and sequence of occupation-related roles. While development and changes are enacted either by the individual himself or the organization where he works, the most important change might be the one between roles when an individual changes his occupation probably in a new organization, locality or country. Thus, the forces of structures, either societal or organizational (e.g. the changing labour markets or organizational restructuring) influence such transitions or, else, the individual as an agent might plan and enact them as part of his career advancement (see Inkson & Thorn, 2010).

315). The welfare regime has been required to face a fierce competitive and productivity-driven global economy to persevere in developing social welfare and economic growth. One important factor in triggering this development is the implementation of new national policy directives intended to attract international HSPs through internationalizing HE and R&D sectors (Habti, 2010). The role of state is deemed important in connecting local economy with the global context, reforming local policies within the frame of global competitive forces. Finland is ranked in top countries with equality and opportunity, quality of life, life expectancy and equality of income, gender equality, low rate of crime and corruption, good education and technological development as other Nordic countries. *Newsweek* (2010) considered it the best country in the world in 2010 based on an analysis of the above mentioned factors. These characteristics of the country might be among the reasons which make it attractive for immigrants, in general, and for a growing number of foreign of HSPs.

The loss local HSPs in Finland (OECD, 2008c) creates counter effect on the goal of boosting international sourcing. Additionally, immigration rate in Finland is one of the lowest among OECD countries and the rate of international researchers and students is still low (*ibid.*), while researchers' mobility is decreasing (Ministry of Education 2009, p. 55). Policies to attract this category would boost innovation as subsidizing internationalization services that target firms (*ibid.*, p. 58). In the past decade, Finland has attempted to make proactive and long-term immigration policies through process of implementing some major EU supra-national regulations and following international migration transformations. However, these policies strengthened control and administrative practices while legislation has been loosened (Salmenhaara, 2004). In 2006 and 2010, the Government introduced a new immigration program meant to encourage inflow of qualified foreign-born labour force 2010. A noticeable increase of diverse flows has made a gradual diversity of 'high-skills' workforce, though small compared with low-skilled immigrants in the country (Kyhä, 2011).

International mobility of HSPs has culminated in the breaking of national borders and the nation-state under the pressure of global economy and the needs of international 'talents' (Hoffman, 2007, p. 86) for competitiveness, increasing labour productivity and efficiency mainly in such areas as R&D, S&T and health-care sectors. This tremendous change in global mobility has raised debates at the political and scholarly levels in both developed and developing nations. Global mobility is usually seen as a space of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism for HSPs and the best that the new connecting world could ever give (Favell *et al.*, 2006). Their 'freedom of extraterritoriality' (Bauman 1998a, p. 28) renders them a renowned elite class and globetrotters. HSM has less regulations and restrictions as other forms of mobility/migration of human capital in which "human" is assessed as globally acknowledged qualifications, experiences and talents (Borjas, 1989). Mobility is linked with choice, professional career and educational opportunities, provided with human capital that enables the building up of global lives in new national objectives (Favell *et al.*, 2006, p. 7-8). Undoubtedly, the interest in attracting international highly skilled workforce is one reason why Finland wants to keep up with increasing human capital assets. This group has gradually become diverse and visible in the country, coming from different parts of the globe. Among the foreign-born HSPs that have started to grow in the last 20 years is a community originating from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Statistical data from Docquier and Marfouk (2006) on highly educated immigrants from MENA region

show their rate is around a quarter of the total immigrants in Finland (see figure 1, in appendix 5). This might stir questions on the circumstances, conditions, dynamics and effects of their spatial and career mobility experiences.

1.4 RATIONALE AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The works of Favell & colleagues (2006) and Meyer (2001; 2007) recognize human agency in the conceptualization of globalization and transnationalism *from below*. Indeed, it is agency of HSPs as individuals which forms the contours of their mobility, and hence their career paths, which are affected by their personal life and circumstances alongside professional experience and expectations. The mobility of these individuals affects and are affected by the family, kin, and other social groupings linked to them. Yet, the economic theory of international skilled mobility assumedly takes a more rational account in the process of HSPs global labour market integration and mobility through global networking (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Much of knowledge workers' moves are triggered by more than human capital and knowledge economy development if we consider the nature and power of those networks. The mobility of this category might be significantly driven by ethnic, cultural and national ties as the instance of Silicon Valley shows with the Chinese and Indian social networks which shape this mobility (Saxenian *et al.*, 2002). The aspiration for cultural and career capital where opportunities exist is another pull factor for these foreign HSPs. However, important triggers to international mobility might be social ties and serendipitous events more than rationalized choice for career mobility (Ackers & Gill, 2008).

The tendency in previous international HSM studies to focus analysis on trans-national organizationally-driven mobility is due mainly to the rising integration and interdependence of global economy and the development of a global labour market (Raunio, 2003, 2007). Generally, these studies have focused mainly on the macro-economic feedbacks and the economic drives of skilled mobility and the reification of organizations in the increase of this mobility. A bulk of empirical studies of the field, in the past, dealt with the question in reference to microeconomic theoretical grounds⁸ (see Borjas, 1999). Beside research interest in mobility and transnationality in social sciences (Castells, 2000b; Sassen, 2000), a sociological, mainly phenomenological, approach has caught attention lately on international mobility and career research (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011) in the sense that the individual and social nature of the HSPs' mobility is complex, multifaceted and that more than economic factors could drive and shape their mobility (Harvey 2011). Despite their small number compared with low-skilled migrants, they have important national and transnational economic effects, stirring governments and organisations to attract and retain them (Saxenian, 2006). As individuals, HSPs have been the target of research with emphases on processes and patterns of their

⁸According to *neo-classical theory*, migrants look for areas where the economic returns on their educational attainments are greatest. Yet, the relationship between propensity to migrate and the status of professionals and technicians in the salary scales in the country of origin is inconclusive and different situations are found, depending on which sectors are studied. Yet, *new growth theory* evaluates positively the additional availability of "imported" human capital. An inflow of human capital might produce positive externalities that spill over to other sectors and regions of the host economy. Thus, regions should *apriori* be interested in becoming the targeted destination of mobile qualified labour force (Straubhaar, 2000, p.7).

mobility/migration in areas such as human geography, sociology of migration and economy, sociology of work and economic geography.

A number of previous studies on HSM are approached from meso- and macro-levels through the lenses of economic and human capital theory perspective, with emphasis on productivity and efficiency as primary matters (Regets, 2001) while the connection between knowledge/skills transfer and these HSPs as social agents are basically cleared from their idiosyncrasy and contextuality, and seen rather as production machines (Beaverstock, 2005). These HSPs usually do not have means to gauge the costs of their moves abroad than their stay in a country (Harvey, 2011, p. 34). Research studies need to consider the changing modes of their mobility/migration experiences due to social and structural factors more than human capital, with the underlying assumption that these individuals consider their career mobility in economic terms. Recent literature studies have dealt with issues related to the important influence of social factors such as family, social networks and happenstance in their career paths as international HSPs. Recent works approach the subject from a relational perspective, considering the importance of various intervening factors in their trajectories (Syed, 2008; Al Ariss & Syed, 2011; Harvey, 2011). Beaverstock (2002, 2005) deals with British HSPs in North America, Xiang (2003) studies Chinese HSPs and Harvey (2009, 2010) examines British HSPs in America, while recent works analyse international HSM from a transnational perspective (Millar & Salt, 2008; Faist, 2008; Kobayashi & Preston, 2007; Patterson, 2006).

Forsander (2002) indicates that the population rate of those in labour markets would be similar to that of dependents by the year 2015. Moreover, Wallenius (2001, p. 12) estimates that around 2,1 million international workforce are needed around the year 2020 to keep up with the present rank of welfare state and its support allotment. The present condition indicates immigration is still seen negatively in public debates and immigrants as unwelcome (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011). Another recurrent debated issue is the presence of a largely visible number of humanitarian and low-skilled immigrant communities. Finland had problems attracting international HSPs such as engineers, managers and other high-skills professionals (Raunio, 2007). For instance, Finland, though developed in some sectors, attracts nearly the same number of HSPs as Greece and Portugal (Forsander & Raunio, 2005). According to Heikkilä & Pikkarainen (2008, p. 1), between 5 to 10 % of total immigrants entered Finland for work reasons with rate of 1.6 of total employed workers in labour market in 2000. Employed immigrants' rate increased in 2002 with 25% among total immigrants. Lately, work-related immigration to Finland is estimated to be around 10% of the total immigration flow (Forsander *et al.*, 2008). This situation may be correlated and justified by existing periodical economic fluctuations. Moreover, the majority of employed foreigners is highly educated and originates especially from Britain, Sweden, Germany, Estonia, China and India, while the less employed are from Yugoslavia, Iran, Somalia and Iraq (Heikkilä *et al.*, 2008, p. 2). More than two third of the foreign-born workforce in Finland are from European countries in 2005, however, the inflow of HSPs from Asia and Africa is slowly increasing for reasons such as internationalized HE and family reunion (*ibid.*, p. 7).

Despite their small number in Finland (Heikkilä *et al.*, 2008; Kyhä, 2011), the particularities of foreign-born HSPs, as minority groups, are apparently as important to examine as the potential economic and

trans-cultural value-laden attainments and contributions they might bring forth. For instance, in academic field, according to Raunio (2003) and Hoffman (2004), academic mobility, its drives and its potentials have a double bind, that of different socio-cultural and socio-economic realities these as social groups' members undergo. International researchers and students represent the largest category among HSPs in global economy for increasing knowledge flows (Regets, 2001), with the largest number moving from developing to developed countries for better educational and occupational opportunities (Xiang, 2003; Saxenian, 2006). The statistics available give broad information about the rate of international academics and other HSPs as comparable minority groups in Finland (see Kyhä, 2011). Finland suffers from brain drain of its HSPs towards other developed countries while it has not fully succeeded to retain those entering the country (Dumont & Lemaître, 2005). This situation poses a double threat for a country expecting future labour shortage. Finnish government has been criticized for being late to react to the need to attract skilled immigrants (Forsander, 2003, p. 56). The question that comes to mind is what made Finland an attractive destination for this group categorized as international 'high-skills' workers, is it the advantages in Finland or some other factors that shape their career and spatial mobility to Finland? What are the processes, patterns and impacts of this mobility and migration?

From this angle, it is interesting to examine the specificities of the targeted group in this study, first because of their specificities and the second because the trend of skilled mobility and migration from their countries of origin until destination of Finland, a non-traditional immigration country for this group, is slowly in increase. Looking at the variations between HSPs in OECD, the foreign-born population in Finland, for instance, around 50% have less than upper-secondary education (Williams, 2010, p. 47). At regional level, empirical works on knowledge mobility have considered intra-national context as in the EU zone. While vertical mobility from developing to developed nations still remains under-researched for structural reasons (Gonzalez & Maloney, 2005; Peri, 2005; Docquier & Marfouk, 2006), only recently research interest turned to specific mobility of international HSPs, especially with particular focus on international academic and managerial mobility (Raunio, 2003; Hoffman, 2007). There is a substantial amount of theorizing about the determinants of HSPs' mobility/migration with relatively limited empirical evidence relating to the importance of the interplay and interconnection between the micro-, macro- and meso- layers in influencing their career paths, rather than microeconomic approach (Harvey, 2011).

Research on HSM in Finland has lately burgeoned along the structural changes the country undergoes and target theoretical and empirical examination in relation to international policy changes and increasing globalization of knowledge and skills (Raunio, 2003; 2007; Raunio *et al.*, 2009). Research literature in the past has mostly focused on the immigration conditions and dynamics of humanitarian and low-skilled migrants since its increase in the 1990s (e.g. works of Ismo Söderling, Elli Heikkilä and Annika Forsander), while employment-related mobility and migration has not been of particular research focus (Volmari *et al.*, 2009, p. 8). Research works on Finns abroad or foreign-borns in Finland has burgeoned since the new millennium in different fields (*ibid.*). For instance, some studies in Human Resource Management appeared on cross-cultural training and other company practices (e.g. Tahvanainen & Suutari, 2005), Finnish expatriation and international managerial career (Suutari,

2003), highly skilled Finns in the EU-15 labour market (Koikkalainen, 2009; 2011), Finnish knowledge expatriates in Russia or India (Foulkes, 2010), High-Tech Finnish workers in Silicon Valley (Kiriakos, 2010), Nordic students mobility abroad (Saarikallio-Torp *et al.*, 2010), development of student mobility within Nordic or European countries (Carlsson *et al.*, 2009). Significant research interests have burgeoned on foreign-born experts in Finnish organizations (e.g. Raunio, 2002, 2003, 2007), academic career of immigrants (Hoffman, 2007), academic mobility, identity and interculturality (Dervin, 2008, 2009), transcultural capital of highly skilled migrants in Finland (Tikka, 2010) or the integration process of international HSPs in Finland (Ahmad, 2005; Koskela, 2010).

The present study calls into question the assumption that mobility of this category is as ideally easy as it is pictured in international migration/mobility literature (Dervin 2011, p. 2). The contention and contestation turn out to be platitudes for some HSPs when facing the realities lived throughout their career path, seeking the attainable and unattainable. The author seeks to explain how a breakdown between rhetoric and reality may occur sometimes in career and spatial mobility of HSPs and how these HSPs construct their own realities and reconstruct a potential alternative future to meet a successful professional career and a desirable personal wellbeing in a changing world that touches both their native countries and host country. The assumption adds to the drumbeat of the need for this workforce for economic growth and competitiveness, pushing their career mobility and social mobility in a geographically unconventional destination for them, with a homogeneous society. The objective of this study is not to undertake a comparative and contrastive analysis on their international mobility and migration. It does not cover those HSPs experiencing short-term mobility abroad. Moreover, the study does not account for their outputs at macro-economic level. At the empirical level, it is hard to gauge knowledge and skills outcomes of this population (OECD, 2008a), and human capital and macro-level approach are proved deficient in describing and analyzing the real processes and patterns and effects of their mobility/migration (Williams & Balaz, 2008).

This study involves an interplay of micro-, macro- and meso-level analysis since they all would be profitably used to the overall goal of the study. This research feat would be eased by taking on the conceptions and dispositions of the respondents as the second angle of importance in this research beside their description of their spatial and career mobility experiences. The unit of analysis is not the 'agent' alone as in rational choice theory, and not 'context' alone, as in constructivist approach, and not even 'structure' as in structuralist approach, but the relation between these. Thus, a relational approach is reckoned relevant at the analytical level while undertaking a socio-analytical endeavour. This would provide an empirically grounded approach based on socio-analysis, coupled with supporting theoretical reconstruction of the three levels in the constituting five chapters of the study. The aim to use different theoretical dimensions in the five chapters is to validate the results and locate the underlying patterns and draw inferences and elaborate relations between determining variables and related dimensions to career and spatial mobility experiences extracted from collected data. The study may seem to take an *avant-garde* bearing at the methodological level, but the strategy behind is its substantive payoffs at the analytical and interpretive level (see 1.6 below). The work is modest in its aspiration though the issue at stake is much important and complex at the individual, social, national

and international scales. However, it seeks to introduce to the readers a recent interest in research field of skilled mobility/migration and national policy-making.

The methodological assumption is generally related to link the object of research with relevant empirical indicators. A thorough study requires testing different aspects of the researched phenomenon. Few empirical dimensions are necessary in research practice, but without excluding critical aspects so as to capture the nature of the phenomenon. For this reason, the author has recourse to five dimensions and aspects in the research enterprise as a logical imperative, neither chosen arbitrarily nor on merely theoretical basis, to examine core themes grounded in the data. The aim is to attempt a thorough analysis of the object of research. Following the afore-mentioned, international HSM requires a multi-dimensional rather than a uni-dimensional approach, under an integrative socio-analytical approach by pointing at the importance of the core constructs that make up these five dimensions in the experiences of the subjects, namely, the processes, patterns and effects of mobility and migration, gender and skilled mobility, social inclusion, acculturation and identification processes, and personality development). Career, mobility and space are multilayered and multi-dimensional concepts (Löw, 2005; Favell *et al.*, 2006; Collin and Patton, 2009). An approach involving individual, contextual, and structural variables is needed, while supporting analysis with other theoretical constructs and units of analysis and their interaction (Bailey, 2005; Mayrhofer *et al.*, 2007a).

The methodological and theoretical constructs the study is built on are partly based the social theory of Bourdieu. His major sociological work rests on the contingent relation between agency, context and structures in studying reality of the social world (see section 1.5 and 1.6 below and 5.2.). In his *The Weight of the World*, Bourdieu (1999) questions how is it possible to give readers means of understanding the researched interviewees except by giving theoretical tools to see their life experiences as important through a systematic search for the reasons they have for being *what* they are and *who* they are. The interviewer's task, that of *socio-analysis*, is as much difficult as it is necessary in which she/he outlines how the practice of theory at the empirical level could be more efficient and objective. It is in fact a sociological transformation that 'carries over' daily lives of people into an understanding of the social world in which they live. The respondents would profit from the occasion of open-ended interviewing to articulate and explain their experiences and thoughts, allowing one to see the crux of the particularities, complex conditions and dynamics of these experiences (*ibid.*, 618).

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Arthur and colleagues (2005), career theory has generally looked at the *subjective* and *objective* career. A question that might be posed is whether these are considered here. *Objective career* involves objectified external aspects such as the work individuals do, the kind of organization they work for and the status they have, socio-economic position in job hierarchy and social status. These are the public view of career that the public usually recognize. *Subjective career* is also significantly relevant to consider as it concerns mainly the perceptions of, and feelings about, career path (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). It involves an individual rhetoric of success such as degree of satisfaction, motivations, self-realization and recognition. It augurs important to probe into both these aspects of career dimensions which are objectified and subjectified in the experiences of the respondents as

foreign HSPs. Their experiential perceptions as personal views are taken as units of the socio-analysis of data, through the instruments and support of some theoretical concepts from sociological and socio-psychological fields which appear in the dimensions of study. Bourdieu (1990a, p. 130) speaks about the importance of 'a sociology of perception' which examines social reality as constructed in the subjective and objective social world. Social science, he argues, needs to consider both reality and the perception of this reality, the perspectives and the views agents have on this reality owing to their position in objective social space.

From such an approach, the research's departure point is whether theory depicts reality and whether reality appears relative to context that any formal description of its actuality is bound to fail in capturing its rationale. To what extent does the theoretical represent what actually occurs and on what evidence is it based? The initial concern the author had was how to capture the objective and subjective aspects of the respondents' experiences, operating as individual subjectivities, as forms of knowledge within the realm of objectivity and generalisability in such qualitative research task. The outcome of such endeavour would give objective and generalisable accounts of individual subjective perceptions, actions and reality (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990b). An interdisciplinary approach at the theoretical level throughout the chapters informs us of the importance of considering society in epistemological terms to be multidimensional and relational.

Epistemologically, Bourdieu's sociological theory tries to overcome the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism, subjective reasons and objective causes (Wacquant, 1990), in that he refuses flat positivist empiricism as well as naïve idealism and emphasizes the relational aspect of social reality in research process (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Therefore, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts lay an emphasis on the relationship between social structure and individual agency and social context. The relational aspect of his theory has been used in career research (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Some concepts of Bourdieu such as *capital* in its different forms, *social space*, structure and agency can be instrumentalised in the theoretical and analytical approach as determinants influencing the actions and reactions of the subjects to conditions and events in their international mobility/migration experiences. A multi-level relational perspective provides an alternative considering agency of HSPs and the structural factors shaping their realities. It must be emphasized that the study does not take Bourdieu's *theory of practice* as the main theoretical ground, but rather using theoretical concepts as tools in analysis of the research question. His theory is a multilayered framework conceptualizing individuals as producers of social practices in social space while following specific logics of practices. They are using their respective capitals (economic, cultural, and social) that are acknowledged as symbolic capital in specific context, or social space. For a HSP, *social capital* could be resources that are accumulated through one's relationships such as family, colleague or professional networks. *Cultural capital* can be formed by virtue of competences and experience such as education, linguistic skills and cultural knowledge, while economic capital might be accrued as financial support or income resource from occupational activities, yielding further symbolic capital.

Bourdieu, to overcome the dialectics between objectivity and subjectivity, introduced the concept *social space* to describe social reality. Bourdieu's social reality is double-structured (see 5.2.). An objective *structuring structure* occurs through social relations that are involved in distribution of

different material and non-material resources (see Bourdieu, 1977; 1990b). Social reality is structured through agent's conception of these relations, different social institutions and generally the social world, thus affecting initial structuring. Bourdieu's social space (1990a) is not only the 'realization of social distribution' but also is the space of the 'vision of this distribution'; not only taking certain positions, but also shaping these positions. Therefore, social space is an 'objective' and at the same time 'subjective' space structure which partially is an outcome of incorporation of objective structures. By this concept, Bourdieu fosters a relational and analogical mode of reasoning which illuminates particularity within generality and generality within particularity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 75).

The study takes HSPs from MENA region as a specific case of what could be possible, universal to any international HSP but with unique historical, social, and academic particularities in a propitious spatiality. The aim is to unravel specific and universal structures that regulate the working of their career paths in a specific 'social world.' The accumulated capitals for spatial, social and career mobility to these HSPs are both weapons and stakes in their experiences. Depending on their individual conditions, their position within this structure defines the strategies they adopt to pursue their goals in social and professional positioning. The professional strategies, political proclivities and intellectual output of these HSPs seem to be much defined by their positioning and trajectories in the social and occupational space. The study takes on a journey through a multi-dimensional conceptual foundation that constitutes the core study involving decision-making processes, patterns and effects of mobility, gender and mobility, social inclusion, acculturation, self-identification and personality. The component chapters depict in detail these dimensions with supporting theoretical perspectives in each so as to enrich analysis of the research sub-questions. Substantively, the study speaks to a topic that is interdisciplinary and constitutes a conceptual support allowing new questions and answers in the field of skilled mobility/migration through an integration of supporting theoretical concepts from related disciplines. This would allow thick description, in-depth interviews and multi-dimensional exploratory analysis of the themes that are grounded in and extracted from the interviews.

According to Bourdieu (1989), an 'experience' can be defined as the intersubjective medium of social interactions in a contextualized social world, an outcome of socio-cultural categories and social structures interacting with socio-psychological processes, identified by Bourdieu as *habitus*, that build up the mediating world (see 5.2.). An individual HSP strives to improve for career and social mobility, prestige and recognition as shared structures in one's social group or society at large. The research interest lies, not in class stratification, but in the forms of power manifested in the different forms of capital these respondents earn and utilize in their career paths. The specificities of the socio-cultural, economic and political contexts of the respondents' departure countries undoubtedly are influences in their career and spatial mobility and migration experiences. The research work analyses solely the sample's experiences, namely their career paths, professional positions and status (objective career) and their perceptions on these experiences (subjective career) in such a way that they are clearly identified within the framework of international HSM.

The study, though, does not take on a combination of methods as the methodological approach is socio-analytical. It is a *socioanalysis* that takes as the major unit of inquiry the externalized life-stories

of the respondents in their mobility/migration experiences (see 1.6. below). It is mostly personal study reaching the innermost experiences of the subjects set at the core of research endeavour. Socio-analysis in the study would consider the everyday situations, historical particularities and the specificities of the social spaces related to these HSPs' social and professional conditions as they have lived and perceived in their career paths. This would permit a thorough analysis of the social and occupational dynamics of their experiences in Finland. For this purpose, the respondents are asked before the interviewing process to grant permission to use anonymously the detailed personal information provided in interviews as the foundation of the research study. Recourse will be made in the analysis to the theoretical concepts of career path and career mobility, presuming that these respondents are in constant negotiation and assessment of their career paths, career mobility and dual career situation.⁹ Côté and colleagues (2001) state many international migration studies tackle questions of minorities, focusing on their lived experiences while developing a relational interpretation. Qualitative approach in research provides generalizations on the interaction of different variables about a small sample, though it seems not an easy empirical task to fulfill in theory and practice (Powers & Knapp, 2005).

As mentioned before, the Nordic space constitutes a new and different destination, with different aspects, drives, contours and conditions for this group than traditional immigrations countries of Europe and North America (see OECD, 2008b; 2010b). They seem to have started moving to new destinations, which implies new factors affect the processes and patterns of mobility with unique and universal effects on their career paths. This is the main reason why the choice of Finland as an example of Nordic countries has been made as a context of study. It considers interrelated questions, forming five chapters with theoretical dimensions pertaining to their experiences as international HSPs and as social agents:

- What are the processes (factors) of decision-makings for geographical and career mobility?
- What are the patterns (forms) and effects of their mobility experiences on the native and host country?
- What are the characteristics of female skilled mobility for this group?
- Do they think they are fully integrated in local labour market, in formal and informal social space? Do they make full utilization of their capitals for social inclusion?
- Do their international (or transnational) experiences affect their personality and identity? (self-identification, their expectations, aspirations and achievements).

These are the main questions that the study seeks to grapple with in each core chapter. It is deemed important to analyze the five dimensions excavated from their interview accounts. Inkson & Thorn (2010, p. 261) believe that the connection between mobility as a concept and career is justified by the connotation given to career as a journey, defined by the nature through which individuals go and their tendencies, aspirations and abilities, while they move through various dimensions. The work

⁹ *Dual career situation* is the context where married couples or partners have career work outside the household. *Dual-career family*, a term introduced by Rapoport & Rapoport (1976), denotes a family structure in which husband and wife simultaneously pursue active careers and family lives. Some definitions describe *dual-career couples* as two individuals who both have a career and a shared relationship (Arnold, 2005). *Career* differs from the term *job*, since career involves a high level of commitment, specialized training, and involves a developmental sequence (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976).

looks at the meaning of the transformations involved. Waldinger and colleagues (1998) advances many HSM studies generally examine job market segmentation or assimilation as a result of HSPs' occupational adjustment in local labour markets. Yet, it is also important to analyse the intersectionalities of their experiences with social and career identities (see Ho, 2006). It might not only be human agency that is the drive in their mobility, but rather relational dynamisms in their career paths and international mobility that explain the nature, processes, patterns and outcomes of their experiences in Finland.

Each chapter in the study deals with a core question with an elaboration of some relevant supporting theoretical constructs and dimension according to its empirical objective and thematic issue that supports the socio-analysis enterprise. Each handles a theme on its own, while related to the main thesis question. However, the themes and sub-questions discussed remain interrelated and sometimes overlapping. In this respect, mention needs to be made that these interrelationships require connectivity and sometimes emphasis and re-emphasis for the sake of explanation and elaboration, and do not infer redundancy. From this angle, in the theoretical and analytical context of the study, it is necessary to highlight the role of the various factors in the respondents' mobility experiences at the personal (family) and professional (occupational) levels. Moreover, it is crucial to avoid undue generalizations or give emphasis on any of the theoretical tools used because every individual case, as Bourdieu (1999, p. 608) maintains, has their 'emblematic' and 'idiosyncratic' character of their experience, making an assessment of and a self-assessment in their career path. Starting from the afore-mentioned, this research work takes a fresh look at the phenomenon with respect to this category of immigrant group with social and academic specificities through spatial and career mobility to Finland. Hence, this research work touches on a new perspective in the field of international HSM and provides some new empirical and theoretical developments in the area. The objective intended is to showcase interdisciplinary and relational aspects of global skilled mobility and migration. This would provide a space for debate and the formulation of a new approach and directions for research. I attempt to widen a sociological understanding of global HSM, career paths of the specific subjects of study and their social practices as workers and as members of society within a specific geographical and social emplacement.

After the introductory chapter, the second chapter revolves around the different factors that influence in the decision-making processes of career and spatial mobility of the respondents. In their narratives, they give their views on the complexities and individual differences in the pressures and drives they meet in their paths. This requires a socioanalysis with a relational and contextual perspective in an attempt to examine these factors. Some theoretical concepts are highlighted such as human capital, rational choice and serendipity. Different career decision-making theories have grappled with the developments HSPs experience through their career paths, in the context where they live and how different factors in those contexts interact with the individual and contextual characteristics influencing these paths. Most of studies have examined the positive impacts of foreign HSPs in local labour market but little has been discussed on the factors influencing their moves (Harvey, 2011, p. 35). The effects of both internal subjective and external objective factors of their mobility processes are

important (Williams & Balaz 2008; Syed, 2008), which would eventually yield effects and patterns along the career paths of global HSPs.

Chapter three examines another dimension related to patterns and effects of the mobility experiences and characteristics among the respondents. The study involves discussion of the largely proclaimed *brain drain*, *brain gain* and *brain circulation* theses. Discussion surrounds trends and characteristics such as circularity, linearity, return, and permanency as they have experienced and conceived them. The question of the existence of transfer of skills and knowledge is actually taking place is brought to the fore in their accounts. The plethora of earlier studies and researches undertaken on the phenomenon usually tackle issues associated with national policies and immigration status. Interest is laid on quality of their moves (who moves, at what career-stage and for how long) and their effects at the personal and professional levels on their respective countries of origin and Finland (e.g. knowledge production and transfer, networking). The chapter gives insights into the significance of their impacts in relation to the mobility trends of circularity (or *brain circulation*) and *brain drain*.

Chapter four further discusses some of the questions stirred in the previous chapters but from a gender perspective. It looks at female mobility and migration and the specific characteristics of their patterns. Gender questions have been significant drive for research in the past, but theorizing and empirics in analysis of international HSM have been shadowed and not sufficiently examined (Preston 2003; Raghuram 2004; 2008; 2009) except in recent studies. International mobility of HSPs and their professional participation can have various motives, mainly academic career, family reunification and refugee immigration. Discussion touches on mobility/migration and dual career situation of female HSPs and the importance of the processes of negotiations and compromise between couples in family circle, the characteristic patterns of their mobility (self-initiated or tied-move), the question of female employability in local labour market considering the possible opportunities or constraints they face in the process, and last brief discussion is given about the possible influence of socio-cultural factors which impede their social and occupational integration such as patriarchy and reproduction which might reinforce their invisibility in the social and professional spaces.

Chapter five examines the interviewees' perceptions on the philosophy of social inclusion¹⁰ (e.g. labour market integration, social integration, social participation) and the factors which influence the process for them as individuals and as members of foreign-born HSPs in the social space. It should be reminded that both the respondents' subjective and objective career aspects are discussed here. The importance of different forms of capital, in the understanding of Bourdieu, is important in the process of social inclusion within the context of international HSM. Important theoretical concepts such as trust and social capital are examined. These individuals use strategies at this level whether they see themselves as ordinary immigrants or a 'creative class' within the local and international social

¹⁰ *Social inclusion*, the converse of social exclusion, is affirmative action to change the circumstances and habits that lead to (or have led to) social exclusion. The latter refers to processes in which individuals and communities are systematically facing constraints in rights, opportunities and resources (e.g. housing, employment, healthcare, civic participation, democratic participation).

constructs. The question of categorization and process of acculturation are also brought into examination in this chapter.

Finally, Chapter six is tightly related to the previous one as it handles the issue of social identity and belonging as individuals and as a community of foreign-born HSPs. Important theoretical concepts stirred are transnationalism and cosmopolitanism within their social and professional space. Transnationalism depicts the social and professional ties these HSPs across international borders (Faist 2000). These HSPs might experience transnational or cosmopolitan identity formation or transformation through their experiences along different layers in society (Portes *et. al*, 2005). Personality and self-identification process occur in international mobility/migration experience of an individual at a personal and professional scale through acculturation process. This part of the study considers the prominent kind(s) of identity the respondents cherish (e.g family, career, social, cultural). Their personality growth (e.g. national, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism) and rhetoric of success as expected achievements along their career paths are examined at both the social and professional levels. It is important to look at this level within the context of global HSM and transnational social spaces. In sum, a theoretical outline of the major perspective was drawn from themes revolving around the mobility/migration experiences of the HSPs. This has been done after preliminary readings in the literature on international skilled migration/mobility. Yet, there is always a dynamic process in this regard concerning the theoretical ground in the research as new themes and theories emerge. In a qualitative research, theoretical constructs are often used to explain phenomena (Moore *et al.*, 2003), and the emerging themes following data collection and analysis might be highlighted as salient determinants and features of the interviewees' experiences. This explains the presence of five theoretical dimensions and empirical sub-questions in each of the five chapters that build up the core of the study. Initially, some pilot interviewing was done with easily accessible interviewees to draw the main lines of the research data to be collected and adjust the interview questions to more specific ones into a cohesive and coherent framework. The number of questions intended for the interviewing was large initially. Then, a process of reducing the questions into more specific and clearly stated ones has been made.

1.6 METHODOLOGY: SOCIO-ANALYSIS AND RELATIONALITY

As outlined before, this study intends to develop an understanding of international experience of HSM of individuals with cultural and ethnic specificities. Because of the respondents' specificities in the Nordic context, it is thought important to use the intersections of different variables as processes of social practice. The major argument is grounded on the fact that such factors are predominant in different processes in the theory of mobility and migration in identifying, untangling and transforming processes and effects in social practices in what Löw calls *dual spaces* (Löw, 2005). A socio-analytical approach might provide understanding about the dynamics of their experiences at social and occupational levels. Bourdieu (1988; 1990a; 1990b; 1999; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) has been dedicated to what he refers to as *socio-analysis*, on how to get involved in scientific research by applying criteria of scientific objectivity, rigour and ethics, which he advocated in his early writings, by looking into his own career path and a sociological analysis of his 'social world.' Many of his

empirically engaged projects have constructed socio-analysis as a mode of critique, which self-consciously equals, at the social level, the epistemological model of psychoanalysis.

Bourdieu refers to his methodology as *reflexivity*, based on a 'sociological feel or eye' which allows a researcher to see and master, during interviewing, the impacts of social structure within which it is taking place (1999, p. 608). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 63) parallel socio-analysis to a *labour of anamnesis*, a researcher's enterprise to consider the subject of objectivation is being objectivised. Socio-analysis, then, seems a dynamic approach that hinges on subjective and objective assessment of the experienced 'social world.' It concrets objectivised life stories and the perceptions of experiences of the respondents. The validity of the methodological approach in the study seems to provide instruments of analysis that explain the career paths of these individuals to unveil their career paths and their underpinnings and to locate practices and structures governing these paths at the social and professional levels. The task of reflecting sociologically on the social world wherein these HSPs live, through their mobility/migration experiences, is meant to see whether similar reasoning applies for global experiences of HSPs in different regions of the world.

Bourdieu's (1999) socio-analysis intends to create a social relation based on open and free conversations. The approach basically necessitates a kind of *connaissance* (Knowledge) about the objective conditions of the respondents. Bearing in mind the similar cultural belongingness and affinity of mobility experience as qualified individuals, a kind of social communion emerge through the interviewing that creates a trust required for this genre of individual narrative of career path. Bourdieu contends 'we should try to establish a methodical and active relation of listening which is far from the pure *laissez-faire* of the non-directed interview and also from the directiveness of the questionnaire' (Bourdieu, 1999; in Sabour, 1999, p. 228). In his methodology, the interviews convey the experiences of the interviewees, of opportunities and vulnerabilities, and the specificity of their social and academic settings. The interviewing process, in his theoretical framework, is set within an interpretive framework, to present a sociology that constructs the emblematic from the idiosyncratic (*ibid.*). This might explain the reason for undertaking a qualitatively-based study rather than a quantitative one. In fact, Bourdieu (1988) contends a single in-depth qualitative case study with a small specific group would allow an analytical examination with the particular selected theorization in the study within a specific context. For him, a socio-analytic endeavour requires the researcher to 'rewrite' the text that brings two opposing goals: (i) discussion needs to reach an objective analysis of the subjects' positions and to understand their perceptions, and (ii) it needs to adopt a viewpoint as close as possible to the interviewee's without identifying with the *alter ego* and turning into the subject of this worldview (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 1-2).

A sociological research needs to explicate how the operations which make the search on the reality of practices possible, while demonstrating (*démontrer*) and displaying (*montrer*) these practices (Bourdieu, 1975, in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 66). In the study, the apparent aim is to describe the social fabric of the mobility experiences of the respondents, that is, the reality as they *live* it and *perceive* it. Second, the author examines *structured* structures and *structuring* structures (see section 5.2) of their career paths as a way of objectivation of the research question (their mobility experiences as

individuals coming from a different social context and as international HSPs with different academic and professional backgrounds. The respondents are asked to recount their personal stories and articulate their experiences, aspirations, successes and failings in their career path. These stories somehow reflect a form of self-representation and self-examination of their career paths whereby they give meanings to their life experience and ideas (e.g. family, 'home', 'self-achievement, personality and identity development, professional success, social inclusion). They have diverse social and educational backgrounds, family situation, motives, expectations and aspirations.

The interview structure in the study was meant to spot inductive (generated) data themes that pertain to their mobility experiences and career paths (see appendix 4). Thus, the study nuances an understanding of the complexity in framing a conceptualization of the overall theoretical background since every individual is believed to have unique intrinsic motives and conditions, beside generally extrinsic ones, impacting on their experiences. The results of these interviews are complemented by important informational data on family and educational background. The implications based on the results will shed some light on the characteristics and intricacies of their experiences in Finland and their experiential conceptions as HSPs and a minority group. One problem that exists in the context of study is the absence of specific statistical data on the category of Arab HSPs in Finland (e.g. country of origin, ethnicity, education gender, age, date of entry, status, duration of residence). In fact, gauging statistical generalizations on career paths and mobility of a sample require important variables. Availability of such statistics might benefit theoretical and empirical analysis as well as policy analysis at national scale. In the course of the fieldwork, the author gathered and validated contacts information of potential respondents through the snowball scheme. The reason for making use of snowball strategy is due to the small number of HSPs from MENA countries located in Finland and their invisibility. He had recourse to social network and connections in the process of spotting candidates for interviewing. At another level, the undertaking of qualitatively-based research can be explained by the nature of the socio-analytic approach that is grounded on a specific case study of individual experiences of the sample studied through interviewing scheme, which would eventually provide a close and thorough *understanding* and *explaining* of their experiences. A quantitative survey might inevitably support further the empirical analysis and findings. Yet, the experience of qualitative researching was quite rich in the sense that a true objectivation of the respondents' mobility experiences and career paths and knowledge of the 'social reality' expressed in these experiences are brought out and recorded in the interviewing.

In an attempt to reflect generalisability and representativeness, 26 respondents are selected for the analysis. A general criticism of qualitative research case study involves the value of its reliance on a small sample, thinking it unable to generalize conclusions (Yin, 2009). Yin stresses general applicability comes from the methodological qualities of the study, which is here socio-analytical, and the rigor with which the study is built. While the methodological values of interviewing in socio-analysis have been outlined earlier, its redeeming traits remain highly valuable in the study of career paths and experiences of a small sample with partial generalizations to the category of HSPs. The knowledge generated from in-depth semi-structured interviewing is important, bearing in mind the overall objective of the study. At the analytical level, it is possible to generalize findings on the basis of

theoretical body and assumptions, though the question of how representative and generalisable the 26 respondents could be as a case study from MENA region. Their experiences from different professional fields and sectors might have commonalities and particularities.

What is typical about the sample is a high number among this group of researcher/engineers and managers in ICTs, and due to the increasing attractiveness of the fields lately. Many work, or worked, in academic institutions or multinationals and experienced international education and training before entry in labour market, mainly in academia, health-care sector, engineers and managers in some fields, and workers in social and cultural services. The duration of their residence in Finland varies between 8 to 40 years. Finland is much reputed for hard and pure-applied sciences such as ICTs and HE. The prominent remark on selection of the sample is that it was not easy to find respondents who belong to different fields. One possible reason for the representativeness of engineers is the internationalization policy followed in Finland to attract HSPs in some specific fields more than others (Puustinen-Hopper 2005). Yet, a growing number of academics are situated within middle ground areas such as social sciences, economy, language and business. The respondents are distributed as 17 males and 9 females, aged between 30 and 72 with a mean age of 45, having various duration of expatriation ranging between 11 and 42 years, with uni- and multi-directional mobility schemes. The gender dimension is important here since the trend and number of female HSPs is low compared to men in general. Hypothetically, their situation as female migrants coming from MENA might look different from its male counterpart. The research tackles three categories: (i) engineers, managers, and technical experts; (ii) academics which involve scientists, scholars and international postgraduate students; and (iii) social and cultural service which involve medical-care sector, engaged in providing social and health service (i.e. doctors and nurses, social workers).

The interviews were carried out in two different phases in the year 2009 in major cities of Finland. The sample have different occupational positions and statuses and are distributed as follows: 4 professors, 5 post-doctorate researchers (some engineers with senior position), 7 health-care professionals (doctors, nurses and pharmacist), 2 project managers, one project director in a multinational, one engineer in a multinational, 4 employees in social and cultural service, one PhD student (also freelance translator), and one multi-media program director. Overall, the majority of them are well settled down that they can be referred to as immigrants. Socio-analytical approach is important theoretically and empirically in what their professional and personal life career consist of as foreign-born HSPs in a specific context. The career histories depict variegated educational and occupational paths and the role regulations, policies and employers play in attracting HSPs to work and live in Finland. The majority entered Finland as spouses of Finnish nationals or as university students. There is a range of trajectories for these individuals from their departure countries to Finland as final destination. A large number of these entered Finland through their studies in Russia, France, Belgium, Sweden, or Germany, while the rest came directly from their countries of origin as students. This correlates with recent studies indicating the number of foreign academics who graduated in Finland and got employed is gradually increasing (Hoffman 2004) beside those who obtained qualifications within EU. Common themes are recurrent throughout their accounts, though they have different experiences and perceptions of these experiences around the *social world*. Yet, they do not reflect overall universal

experience of this category originating from a similar country. The countries of origin of respondents range from North African and some Middle-Eastern countries located in the southern and eastern bank of the Mediterranean Sea.

The choice and selection of respondents emanate from their characteristic specificities as Arabs, non-Arabs and/or Muslims¹¹ with what all these components carry of symbols, values and character. These denominators are important for the selection beside their categorization as HSPs living and working in Finland. The study provides some comparative conclusions in relation with other social groups of HSPs in Finland from other regions of the world. The results will show whether there are some distinctive characteristics in the case study or they somehow show similar trends and tendencies. During the request for interviewing, the majority responded positively to participation while some had doubts and questions about its intent. Only few have declined to be interviewed from the outset. The major problems encountered through the process of accessing candidates and the practice of qualitative research is the difficulties to reach and convince candidates probably because of their reticence to unveil their personal life histories or any personal information they consider untouchable. Nine candidates didn't respond at all from first contact or refused to be interviewed or showed disinterest in participation by either verbalizing this refusal or by not answering the request for participation. Most of initial contact was done through emailing and sending official request for participation in the interviewing along interview questions (see appendices 2, 3, 4).

Few respondents showed reluctance during the interviewing to answer some questions which they considered as 'too personal' or 'irrelevant' to the main purpose of interview. The assumption about this unresponsiveness might be the possible personal experiences some of these individuals went through in their countries of origin which imbued their personal dispositions with a tendency of discreteness or mistrust to 'strangers,' or fear of disclosure of 'private' information. Negotiation about the language to use and location for the interviewing was done following the convenience of the respondents due to many reasons for them (e.g. café, university campus, home). The interviewing was done mostly in Arabic and others in English. The translation of the interviews from Arabic to English was made by the author himself. Scientific objectivity is of priority by making precise transcription of data obtained at the interviews. After transcription of the data, the respondents were notified by sending the interview manuscript was sent to each interviewee for review and suggest any possible changes they might see fit according to their own belief and views. The goal here was to get the most accurate assessment of their experiences as they see them rather than immediate and impulsive responses of the questions. Most of the texts were amended by them to varying degrees with additions and deletion of some parts. Overall, the subjects were very responsive to the process of data collection and the final form of the content, and later returned them by email. Some interviews were longer than others spanning from one to two hours duration. Some respondents were more informative than others, more eloquent and daring than others. Recording as a way of registering data was seen as

¹¹ Most of the MENA countries are constituted of different ethnic and religious communities. These communities might be Arab-muslim, Arab-christian, arabized aborigine such as Berber-Muslim or Coptic Christian. These communities are represented in the study by the sampled, and it should be borne in mind that these variables of ethnicity and religion among the sample are not highly influential in their experiences and perceptions of their experiences in general.

unacceptable by some, bringing it into their mind confidentiality of information. The author mapped the schedule of interview process into 4 phases according to geographical regions of Finland where respondents are located. Their socio-demographic characteristics were completed after each interview to help controlling the sample (see Table 1 below and appendix 1).

Defining the object of study actually proved to be complex in initial stage. The attempt began with seeking to understand the participants' professional and educational background and career paths, having assumed that other studies were right to simply claim this was an important object of study in its own right. It was thought initially the subject of HSM to be an eminent and interesting research field, particularly relevant to the practices of this category in global migration/mobility. They tend to be *knowledge* and *skills carriers* with a range of educational and professional experiences. An important point worth-mentioning here is the way in which I started with initial theoretical tools which were seen as inadequate for the task in hand and which required an altered direction to overcome some fundamental methodological and theoretical questions related to the object of study, shifting the direction from researching their educational and occupational attainments to their experiential conceptions related to different interrelated issues in their career paths. Yet, working within an interdisciplinary and interpretive framework, the departure point was with two seemingly, but not necessarily, contradictory assumptions: that there was no such thing as an external truth to be discovered, for the researcher is inevitably related to the topic and people investigated; but that what the researcher know and understand through research enterprise is, to a certain extent, determined by the subject studied, and that 'truth' is not a subjective construct of the researcher. The present shape of the research parts looks quite different than its beginning with consideration of different but important theoretical and analytical constructs in the study.

	Year of Entry	Gender	religion	Level of studies	Credentials prior to entry	Current Field	Current Position	Married or was with a Finn, & Kids
Sabah **	1990	Female	Muslim	Master's	Engineer	Management	Project manager	No, 1
Amal ***	1981	Female	Christian	Master's	Bachelor's	social service	Cultural counselor	Yes, adopted 1
Safaa **	2005	Female	Muslim	PhD	PhD	Biomedicine	Senior researcher	No, no
Nabila **	2002	Female	Muslim	PhD	Master's	HE translation	researcher, Freelance Translator	Yes, No
Meryem **	1995	Female	Muslim	Bachelor's	Master's	Health-care	Midwife	No, 2
Malak *	1999	Female	Muslim	High school	Master's	Health-care	Nurse	Yes, no
Warda **	1992	Female	Muslim	Bachelor's	Master's	Health-care	Nurse	Yes, no
Amina **	1992	Female	Muslim	Master's	Master's	Social service	Cultural teacher	No, 2
Hanane ***	1992	Female	Muslim	Master's	Master's	Social service	Freelance translator	Yes, 2
Redouane**	1997	Male	Muslim	PhD	Master's	Pharmacy	Pharmacist	No, 2
Idris **	1987	Male	Muslim	Bachelor's	Master's	Engineering, management	Project Manager	Yes, 1
Mounir*	2001	Male	Muslim	Bachelor's	PhD	Engineering	Postdoctorate	No, 3
Ahmed***	1995	Male	Muslim	PhD	PhD	Engineering	Principal Lecturer	Yes, 4
Chafiq**	1996	Male	Muslim	Master's	Master's	Engineering	ICT's engineer	No, 2
Toufiq***	1990	Male	Muslim	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	Social service	Immigrant service	Yes, 2
Ali **	1999	Male	Muslim	Bachelor's	PhD	Engineering	ICT's Engineer	No
Monaim ***	1984	Male	Christian	PhD's	PhD	Education	Docent	Yes, 2
Mohamed **	2002	Male	Muslim	MD	MD	Health-care	Health doctor	Yes, 3
Hassib **	1998	Male	Muslim	PhD	Bachelor's	Engineering	ICT's Engineer, lecturer	No, 3
Nabil ***	1990	Male	Muslim	PhD	Bachelor's	Engineering	Senior researcher	Yes, 2
Kamal ***	2002	Male	Muslim	Master's	Bachelor's	Multi Media	Program director	Yes, 2
Jawad ***	1990	Male	Muslim	MD	MD	Health-care	Health Doctor	No, 5
Khalid ***	1972	Male	Muslim	Master's	Master's	Education	Docent	No,
Abid ***	1966	Male	Muslim	PhD	Master's	Education	Emeritus Professor	Yes, 4
Mourad***	1984	Male	Muslim	MD	MD	Health-care	Health doctor	Yes,
Yussef **	1997	Male	Muslim	Master, MBA	Bachelor's	Engineering, Management	Project manager	No,

Table 1. Background information on the respondents. Note: *Early-career stage; ** Mid-career stage; *** Late-career stage

2 Decision-making in Career and Spatial mobility

This [career] mobility is typically the result of the interplay, and often conflict, between institutional and individual forces (Inkson & Thorn, 2010, p. 259).

Migration starts with imaging the new destination, continues with balancing benefits and costs, and ends with an actual move (Hadler, 2006, p. 114).¹²

2.1 RETHINKING CAREER DECISION-MAKING

Various career decision-making theories have grappled with the developments HSPs experience through their career-life trajectories, in the context where they live and how different factors in those contexts interact with the individual and contextual characteristics. These theories examine issues from sociological, psychological, socio-psychological and economical, views trying to explain the ways decisions are made or need to be made. The literature in sociology of work stresses the predominance of socially-structured pathways while theories in psychology of work underscore the assumptions of individual freedom to make career choice (Brown, 2002). Research literature handles socio-psychological (Astin, 1984) or psychological aspects (Blustein *et al.*, 2005) in career research. One converging point in psychological theories is the emphasis on individual agency, mainly in rational choice theory, as the main drive in the decision-making process, disregarding organizational and contextual factors (Özbilgin *et al.*, 2005). Yet, major career choice theories remain partially deficient in the ways decision-making is actually made by international HSPs in relation to the individual, organizational and contextual levels (Mignot, 2000; Al Ariss & Syed, 2011).

The literature on HSM has moved from an economically-bound analysis, usually focusing on limited analysis of the merits of source and host countries and various motivational dynamics of mobility as an atemporal process, to a larger concern with the degree of complexity of these dynamics (Ackers & Gill, 2008; Harvey, 2011). The career path of HSPs puts much pressure on their moves through various structures and personal developments to attain better opportunities and advances in career. The nature of the process is not always driven by recruitment agencies (i.e. corporate mobility) but it can be *self-initiated* through individual agency, motivations, and networks (Thorn, 2009), or they might be triggered by external drives (Al Ariss, 2010). The complexities and individual differences in the pressures and drives they meet in their paths require a relational perspective in an attempt to examine the various factors impinging on the processes and patterns of decision-making for career and

¹² Hadler, Markus (2006): Intentions to Migrate within the European Union: A Challenge for Simple Economic Macro-Level Explanations. *European Societies* vol. 8 (1), 111-140.

geographical mobility of these HSPs within the confines of the context wherein an individual HSP is located (see chap 5). The effects of subjective and objective factors of the respondents on mobility processes are important (Williams & Balaz, 2008; Syed, 2008).

In general, theorizing on career decision-making process hinges on three main socio-psychological approaches (Brown *et al.*, 2002): (i) developmental and postmodern theories (e.g. Gottfredson's theory, contextualist theory and career constructivist theory), (ii) career development theories (e.g. social cognitive career theory), and (iii) trait-factor theories (e.g. Holland's theory on person-environment). These theorizations consider socio-psychological, more than a sociological, explanation of decision-making processes. In this chapter, the theorizing takes on a sociological relational approach that considers different angles ranging from individual and structural factors influencing the career and geographical decision-making processes. Özbilgin and colleague (2005) suggest a three-level approach which covers a study of influences on career and spatial mobility decision-making at the *micro-individual level* (e.g. individual agency, dispositions and different forms of capital), *meso-organizational level* (the processes that mediate and negotiate career choices in the light of individual desires, capital and contextual circumstances), and *macro-contextual level* (structural conditions that inhibit or enhance career choice) (Syed, 2008). The socio-analytical approach provides a useful way to examine decision-making processes in career and spatial mobility as a constantly negotiated process, which is socially and historically situated, where a complex interaction between individual rationality, opportunity structures and various forms of capital and serendipitous events affect the respondents' career paths. To mention few recent international studies on career decision-making processes, Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) examine Lebanese self-initiated skilled mobility to France, Harvey (2011) studies British HSPs to Canada and Ackers & Gill (2008) study HSPs from central Europe to UK.

Sociological theorists like Blau & Duncan (1967) and the psychological theorist Holland (1997) stress the important influence of the environment on the individual and the cultural context in which occupational choice occurs. Blustein and Ellis (2000) produce recommendations for making more culturally-bound study analysis. Many social scientists favour social constructionism stating that individuals construct their own reality and they are not passive recipients of it. Wilber (1989) reveals that the knowledge we acquire cannot be reasoned and studied in the way of logical positivism which tends to exclude purpose, values and meaning from the sphere of knowledge because these cannot be empirically determined (Brown, 2002, p. 13). Yet, the difference in research interests has waned when psychologists began to consider the social settings which affect and constrain the individual's action, especially in the contextualist (Young, *et al.*, 2002) and constructivist schools (Savickas 2002). Similarly, sociologists have underlined the importance of psychological orientations beside educational and occupational aspirations and plans in tracing occupation trajectory and the capacity of occupational achievement, including occupational values (i.e. preference with respect to intrinsic, extrinsic and people-oriented rewards; work ethic; personal sense of efficacy or performance) (Mortimer, 1996). Sociologists are keen on examining the various orientations to an individual personal and occupational life course. Decision-makings on career and spatial mobility are a dynamic process all through career paths. The institutional settings and the context wherein individuals live and are engaged in educational or occupational pursuits provide opportunities, challenges and constraints

during their life career paths. Structures and agency, associated to goals, preferences and values, determine structural opportunity and furnish different patterns.

To meet this end, the approach here involves theoretical and analytical concepts from Bourdieu's theoretical work (1977; 1986) on forms of capital, field and the different structures that enhance or undermine human agency (see also 1.5 and 5.2). Bourdieu's interrelated concepts might prove a powerful heuristic device in giving meaning to the processes of making decisions. They also might explain the interrelation between the inner compass and external forces which affect the individual's behaviour and thus explains why a relational approach is necessary in examining the question here. It indicates why each individual is unique for various reasons. The concepts of *capital and field* are very significant in study because they cannot be detached from the individual's career experience. Besides, focus on external objective factors without internal subjective drives seems analytically flawed because decision-making is not an isolated action by an isolated 'agent' (Al Ariss & Syed 2011). Within a *field*, everyone influences the *relations de force* but influences are not equal with processes of mediations and negotiations with different forms of capital (see chap 5). The respondents' accounts show differentiations in decision-making processes. It can be observed that they are not always the real influences in the process of choices when they have new experiences in career path or geographical moves. Thus, when new experiences are acquired, dispositions are developed and adjusted and hence the individual's knowledge of the social world also develops. Within this dialectic, their career paths develop and are developed by their own *practice*, which is the outcome of an interaction between activity, dispositions and situation. The HSPs, when experiencing spatial or career mobility, use their dispositions in the process of making decision as an action, through self-assessment and assessment of the situational conditions from different angles.

The individual's dispositions are in constant development through time (see Bimrose *et al.*, 2008). The differences between the actions, activities and situations of individuals contribute to variations of *habitus* between them whether HSPs are members of the same social group or not. The individual's deep-rooted, partly tacit dispositions towards career decision-making can be categorized into four styles of decision-making (see Bimrose *et al.*, 2008, p. 5), *evaluative, aspirational, strategic and opportunistic*. The first two types are more rational and deeply embedded and positioned than cognitive. In the *evaluative* style, the individual consider and assess one's situation and needs, values and capabilities, which usually involves long process of self-reflection and self-assessment. In an *aspirational* style, one focuses on future career objectives in relation to the personal conditions and priorities (*ibid.* p.10). The *strategic* type involves analyzing, assessing and synthesizing of the advantages and disadvantages and making plan to attain the aspired objectives (*ibid.* p. 8). Bimrose and colleagues (2008) indicate this can be only cognitive and confined within their embodied and tacit dispositions. *Opportunistic* style is similar to *restricted pragmatic rationality*. Decision-making is linked to positions, dispositions and fields, and career decisions are embodied because of the tacit dimension that practical and physical aspects cannot be separate from affective ones. Besides, other theoretical concepts, namely *turning-point* and *routine* are used here since decisions are located within some unpredictable patterns which make up the mobility schemes in the life path of an

individual (Hodkinson, 2008). The HSPs, as a specific immigrant¹³ group with distinctive socio-cultural and ethnic background may have their own unique habitus, and possess distinct perceptions and ways to respond to the impetuses and challenges faced during their career and life path.

Decision-makings for the HSPs are not a separate process taking place in a separate context (Syed, 2008; Hodkinson, 2008). For instance, the choice of moving to Finland and doing HE studies, or undertake multiple moves with one's spouse in a bi-national marriage can be part of a long complex process of constructing their career or position, which entails actions of thinking, searching and deciding for an option, beside the spouse's involvement in the process. Thus, the process of career construction commences before coming to Finland for a better work placement and living conditions, and continued long afterwards. The career path of an individual normally may have progressive, transformative, sporadic and serendipitous nature since occasional events and actions might come across the career path in the form of what Strauss (1962, p. 71) calls turning-points. The individual's life course and *habitus* develop on occasions at these turning-points, sometimes in sudden and dramatic way involving personal, social, political and professional factors. There are three categories of these turning-points: (i) *structural*, which are determined by external structures of the institutions involved; (ii) *self-initiated*, where a person is instrumental in making a transformation as a result of a range of factors in his personal and professional life in the field; and finally (iii) *forced* turning-points on individuals by external events and /or actions of the others. There are also careers which stay unchanged through longer span of life course. An individual undergoes significant transformations at turning-points and the connection between various experiences and identities would differ between individuals. Most researches on turning-points focus on turning-points rather than the '*chaining together of different discontinuity experiences*' as periods called *routines* which people can then cope with in different ways (Alheit, 1994; West *et al.*, 2007). Indeed, turning-points are closely linked to the routines which follow and precede them, and those routines are as much critical as the influential factors to the individual's career path (Alheit, 1994).

Alheit (1994) identifies various kinds of routine in life transitions in the education of an adult, though sometimes more than one type are involved in a period of time. The conceptual theory can be used here in discussing career and spatial mobility of the sample. He categorizes four major routines. The *confirmatory* routine strengthens a career decision already made, so that the habitus develops largely in the way in which the subject hoped and intended for (e.g. moving abroad for academic career). A routine might be *contradictory* when the individual's experiences undermine the original decision when dissatisfied or regretting an original change, or when one decides the current experience is inadequate or inappropriate. The result is either a self-initiated turning-point (e.g. undertaking a spatial move or change in career field), or the development of coping strategies (e.g. developing cultural and social capital for better opportunities, or a focus on family life, or commitment to associative activities to deflect attention away from the dissatisfaction with either social or professional life). Hence, some personal life events may have tremendous repercussions in

¹³ Since most of the HSPs in the study opt for permanent or long-term stay in Finland, they can be considered as immigrants.

an individual's career trajectory that are antithetical to internalized objectives (e.g. divorce, underemployment, *glass-ceiling*, financial constraint). Once unexpected events occur, their immediate demands to recover from them precede any other steps in an individual's career's needs. Unexpected circumstances can have positive and negative effects on an individual's career mobility.

Furthermore, Alheit (1994) categorizes routine as *dislocating* in the sense that the individual lives with an identity they do not like, neither becoming socialized to accept it, nor feeling able to initiate a development, maybe because they long for a previous identity which is not accessible to them anymore. This might occur when the individual continues seeing the past lifestyle or work experience as desirable despite being unattainable (e.g. different socio-cultural setting for the former and labour market constraints for the latter). Many combinations of *compromise* are possible and only sometimes it is obvious what the priorities in compromise will be. People usually decide for a good choice, not the best possible one. If individuals are unsatisfied with the available choices within their alternatives, they might avoid becoming committed to any (Hodkinson, 2008). This can take the form of searching for more alternatives or persevering with an untenable choice. Satisfaction with one's occupation would depend on the degree to which the compromise allows one to implement a desired social identity and personality, either through the occupational activity itself or the lifestyle it allows the self and family (see chap 4 and 6).

It is important in career research to explain the actual process of decision-making and to account for the complex social world involved (see chap 5). Different forms of capital, individual dispositions, and external structures can either enhance or restrain career and spatial mobility. The chapter examines here the various factors at the individual-micro level, in relation with the contextual level, which affect the subjects in the process of making decisions. The meaning of career mobility, selecting a destination for enhancing it, the value placed on it, and the expectations about the individual's choice involved and the kind of career chosen are defined by society (Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2005; Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Usually, when a HSP is making decisions, he uses individual rationality on the basis of their cultural capital (institutionalized or objectified), personal experience (e.g. past work experience, marriage), through accumulated social capital (social contacts, family, and different network) or economic capital (organizational financial support, family support). Forced or serendipitous factors, the socio-cultural context with the practical challenges of occupational opportunity structures within a broader social, economic, political and individual context might also affect their decisions, while sometimes some of these factors interplay in the processes (see chap 4 and 5). The informants in this study live within a specific socio-cultural, geographical and historical context constituting much more than just these determinants. These HSPs from MENA countries might experience benefits and drawbacks as effects of their mobility experience at the personal and professional levels (next chap). The aim of this chapter, however, is to delve into the factors influencing their decision-making processes, while the following chapter looks at the patterns and effects of their mobility and migration.

2.2 CAREER MOBILITY, CULTURAL CAPITAL AND RATIONALITY

The category of HSPs usually aspires for quality in educational and occupational experiences which would set them on track for their future careers. Career research studies try to explain the ways actual processes of decision-making occur while assumptions hold that decision-making is completely rational. Human capital has a key role in the career pursuits and future of mobile HSPs because occupational achievements have a positive connection with various levels of productivity (Becker, 1993). Related to this assumption is the notion of *career capital* which refers to the motivation, *savoir-faire* and network connections which HSPs accrue all along their career path, turning into a kit of repository of expertise and experiential performance (Inkson & Thorn, 2010, p. 261). Detractors of human capital theory¹⁴ think that, instead of offering in-depth insights into the issues and challenges faced by these 'globetrotters,' studies tend to relate employment outcomes to human capital attributes, with success stories, which presupposes that their human capital is equally rewarded in labour market (Ho & Alcorso, 2004; Ho, 2006). They argue that a human capital emphasis does not adequately encompass the opportunities and challenges faced in their personal and professional life path while its research simplifies much complex realities encountered in the career path of international HSPs.

Human capital, quality infrastructures, and good work environment

It is argued that HSPs are attracted to institutions with high quality infrastructures, good work environment, facilities and human capital, which are a pull factor to especially young HSPs (Mahroum 2001; Favell *et al.*, 2006; Williams & Balaz, 2008). The majority of respondents feel very satisfied with the work conditions in their institutions or organizations in Finland. These conditions are basically a strong rational, deeply embedded factor for early- and mid-career stage individuals in their mobility from native country to Finland. It is noteworthy here that the content and importance of all these factors may change through time in life career course, may differ between individuals and be gendered mainly for women since parenting has a role to play. Indeed, the stage of life (family status) and native or host countries (culture and dispositions) affect the way people respond to motivational determinants, whether personal or professional (see also chap 5, 6). It is important to fathom the individual-contextual framework within which HSM takes place as its actors meet various pressures and opportunities in their career paths in mobility and migration process. For instance, Hassib speaks about the reasons why he prefers to stay in Finland for his current position as head of department of Telecommunications in his university:

When I see it [return] from the academic perspective, my situation here is much better [compared to Egypt] if we consider scientific publications and occupation and the ease of getting scientific knowledge and access of important facilities.... (Hassib).

¹⁴ Advocates of human capital theory contend employment in HSM economy is a transitional trend because labour markets generally function as an integrative institution, selecting the 'best and brightest' workers regardless of ethnic background (see Nee *et al.*, 1994; Ho, 2006).

He also represents the many HSPs of early and mid-career stage academics whose first move was self-initiated and selective (e.g. Mounir, Idris, Redouane, Chafiq, Yussef, Safaa, Ali, Nabila, Mohamed, Nabil). He indicates that the primary motive for mobility was 'studies only' and also refers to his making a decision about his choice from the possibilities of countries and under the state sponsorship:

When the grant was given by the state for 5 years and the student has the choice to select a place of our interest.... I selected the four countries very meticulously which are university of Delft, university of Tampere, university of Ottawa and university of Manchester. It was my choice in the beginning for the four and sent applications to them. I knew about Finland because of the company of Nokia and its mobile phones and also as one of the developed countries in telecommunications. My move to Finland was not totally a coincidence. It was built on choice, but a choice of priority (Hassib).

His decision-making for the best choice is based on the quality of education and advanced resources and conditions of the host country. Ahmed, an engineer in the area of energy, currently holding a professor position in a University of Applied Sciences, speaks about his early choice of moving to Finland in 1995 from Russia for a permanent position with the same Finnish-Russian company he previously had worked for few years. He actually represents one of the few cases in the sample whose move was not a self-initiated but a corporate one. Yet, his decision, as he conceives it, is pragmatically rational, evaluative and aspirational for better opportunities in the prospect of his future career:

After I got my degree and began my doctorate and opportunities were offered, I started thinking there is no reason to go back. I knew three Tunisians who studied with me and worked in Tunisia and I saw how their situations were. I don't regret my decision. The road I have taken is extraordinary, the choice of culture and languages and so on (Ahmed).

Autonomy at work and freedom to work effectively are highlighted as major concerns for the majority of subjects, as Malak, a female medical nurse reports, 'The positive thing is that I feel independent in my work within an orderly system where everyone is doing their job as required, punctuality and respect of autonomy at work. Thus, hierarchy is not really apparent and no one gives orders on what you should do or not if you know well your job within the limits of duties...' Ahmed expresses the same position concerning autonomy, trust and flexibility as he mentions, 'Here in Finland, you do your job and people trust in you, you are not obliged to make reports but you do your work as it should be, that's the important thing...'. Beside work conditions and infrastructures, meritocracy and respectability of academic achievements are strong impetuses of HSPs that go concomitantly with the progression system and value systems of scientists practiced in host countries (van de Sande *et al.*, 2005). The respondents in academia, especially in early-career stage, accentuate the importance of the symbolic and cultural capital imbued and accumulated by such an international experience in Finland and underlined these factors shaping their decision-making. Important social factors inciting decision for their mobility/migration are openness, flexibility, informality and transparency linked to work environment, in the word of Malak as she contrasts it with the situation in her native country, 'If only people respect one's own limits, duties and role at work, then they would be in much better a situation there in Algeria.'

However, a major issue that is raised by many respondents is the prioritization of career mobility, accumulation of cultural capital and professional achievement over financial incomes in terms of

living expenses, though they recognize the largely developed system of social security and benefits in the Nordic countries. For instance, Monaim, an academic in late-career stage, mentions that his initial move to Finland alongside his Finnish wife and children was meant for one year, for other reasons than professional, because his standard of living was better in the Emirates than in Finland:

I hadn't any idea to stay long here ... because I also enjoyed other jobs which I had. I could get work in other country. My salary in Emirates was twice what I got here. I had a very good apartment... I had a chance to move to the US and get professorship in 1992. But, I didn't accept the offer because, at that time, I was involved in some important national project.... To develop mathematical curricula, methods of teaching, and textbooks in Finland was more important for me than title of professor (Monaim).

Hassib reports the same observation as he believes that the salary for similar position in his native country is almost double than the one he gets in Finland due to the high taxation and cost of living in Finland (see details in chap 5):

... Considering the social life and material situation, my native country is better; I mean by 'material situation' the standard of living. Maybe, you see here the salary three to four times higher than in Egypt, but when you consider the expenses of housing, and other bills and daily expenses, you notice that you could not save up much money by the end of the month. But in my country of origin, the socio-economic situation is much better.

International mobility, economic capital, career capital and symbolic capital:

For young HSPs, the pressure to have international mobility experience is chiefly linked with those in early-career stage (Van de Sande *et al.*, 2005) as it provides them with cultural capital and symbolic capital necessary for their career advancement and success. Therefore, one needs to consider a kind of continuum of choices and constraints changing over time and space through the HSPs' life-career path (King, 2002, p. 92). The frequency of moves for career mobility depends on the context and the individual's view of that. For many respondents, income and living standard are not the sole governing factors in their decision to move to Finland. Yet, the level of importance given to these can differ between individuals and over the life course as decisions are under regular assessment with spectra of turning-points (international and external factors) and routines along their career paths. The category of Academics generally give less regard to personal financial situation but rather to research funding, as major economic capital and its effect of boosting career capital and upward mobility. Safaa and Nabil, respective senior researchers in Bio-medicine and electrical engineering, underline the importance of working conditions and funding in research career especially the costly one:

I really like what I'm doing and my job. I know I can do it in the same way in Morocco. This research field is money consuming and you need to have a lot of funds. This is the best place where to do it. I want to continue in that direction so my career continues. I like building my career here (Safaa)

When I left my country there was about many thousands of doctorates who were unemployed and there were a lot of demonstrations... but there is not enough financing to mobilize them in research, not enough available jobs. The work that needs to be done is available but how to finance it; that is what's missing, at least in Tunisia (Nabil).

At the meso-level, employability is an important factor which attracts international HSPs (see chap 3, 5). The opportunities and openness of labour markets and recruitment processes normally encourage international inflows especially in early- and mid-career stages at international scale, with the post-doctoral system in developed countries. The accounts of many respondents emphasize the link between contractual status and funding in Finland and their length of stay or mobility schemes. The cases of Safaa and Nabil concretize this relationship. Chafiq, a telecommunications engineer, is another case which shows how his plans for future career are uncertain and open after the expiry of fixed-term position. This situation depicts how early-and mid-career HSPs' positions rest on local, national or supranational funding. This situation is an important factor in his stay and continuity in his career path. The above-mentioned accounts portray the freedom and uncertainty the symbiotic relationship between these HSPs and their employer produces in terms of decision for career future's position and location. Chafiq recounts the process in shifting his career field from mechanical engineering to ICTs for work opportunity in France, his home country, and working based on short-term contract of 6 months and later on a permanent contract as system engineer with an IT company:

I was ready to change the field, that's why I [shifted to IT]... because I just looked for opportunity... It was an international recession in the 1990s ... Then I had to find some kind of traineeship program and *hamdulillah* I got the opportunity to get here in Nokia [as a trainee] ... I think in the beginning of 1996... After that, I tried to change it into a normal contract but it did not work. Then, I came back to France after the traineeship in the end of 1996. I started to look for jobs. I got a job as GSM operator.... I was working for two years in my hometown. But still, I was interested in working with multinational company. After two years, I started to apply for job and then I joined Nokia again. I think it was 1998 in a special group in international support engineers ... in the field of Telecom with Nokia starting the end of 1998 with a permanent contract (Chafiq).

What Mahroum (2000b) calls the expectation of HSM is an important factor that has encouraged early-career HSPs to move to Finland for better work conditions and opportunities than in their countries of origin. Harvey (2011), in his study of decision-making process of British HSPs to move to Canada shows job opportunities as a major drive for their outflow to and stay in Canada. Many respondents here consider this as significant for their process of career mobility and securing a permanent position in contrast with the situation in MENA countries. Mounir, a post-doctorate researcher, mentions the possibility that a doctoral student could have a worker status in Finland. Secure employment is also important for other early-career HSPs such as Ali, a post-doctorate in ICTs, who reports that while doing his doctoral research he had 'researcher status' as 'this helped financially, and did my research in the field.' Funding is a major factor in the availability of positions and research opportunities. However, work status is not always available for native as well as international community of students. In this respect, it is important to distinguish between those HSPs moving with their employment as an organizational 'corporate mover', such as Ahmed, moving from Russia to Finland within intra-company transfer, Idris, a project manager in Nokia who moved from Canada to Finland, or Khalid, a Linguist in Arabic who used to make shuttle moves between universities in Sweden and Finland for short-term academic teachings. Yet, the majority of subjects moved through self-initiated turning-points as 'free agent labour migration' (Williams, 2006). These HSPs are characterized by their aspiration for securing long-term employment with best work conditions. Mobility represents the

practice of agency as a self-initiated and planned strategy of career pursuits and rational decision-making (Al Ariss, 2010; Harvey, 2011).

Working in renowned multinational organizations provides prestige and reputational capital and level of excellence (Mahroum, 2001; Puustinen-Hopper, 2005). Reputation and excellence are significant factors inciting mobility of early- and mid-career academics for choice of specific institutions and countries. The approach to excellence tends to vary between HSPs according to their aspirations and goals. Millard (2005) indicates that the reputation of a country in terms of research excellence and research environment are important in shaping decision-making of the HSPs' career and geographical mobility. Yet, he contends reputation and prestige of individual organizations or clusters is much more attractive to them than the countries. Mahroum (2000b) argues that the ability of some countries, regions and cities to attract HSPs from all over the world seems to be enormous. Moreover, he states that they move to get access to scholarly power in terms of high quality research environment and access to high quality research networking (Mahroum 2000a), as in the case of Safaa, Idris, Hassib and Nabil. Choosing the right institution, research group or professor for their reputation or prestige is of great importance for Safaa's future career. The aspiration of any individual is to work with high level research group for a high quality research activity:

... It was a very nice opportunity for me to work with persons very famous in the field and also to make this networking. You start to know people working in Finland and to get very nice contact with them, in France, in Bayer Corporate.'

She further adds that she uses 'very advanced techniques here that are so expensive and it's not the same case there in Morocco... It's about the conditions. If it's about teaching, I can go and do it there but teaching is not my main interest...'. Thus, career and spatial mobility for academics is much valued by the respondents as it enables them to work effectively in terms of the impact of their location in Finland as part of the EU space and one of the developed countries with its reputational capital for High-Tech multinationals or universities. Nabil, as well as Hassib, Mounir, Safaa and Chafiq, speak about choice of moving to Finland in relation to the accumulation of economic, cultural and symbolic capitals:

Actually, I didn't know why I made that choice. When I came here from France, there was another friend with me. We came together actually and he was in the same university as I in my native country, but he studied literature and I did physics. We were friends when we met in France... But why Nordic country, I don't know. It's probably the image that we have about developed and social welfare country, nice people, peaceful and stuff like that. At least, this is the idea we had that time of Finland, Sweden, and Norway and Scandinavian people (Nabil).

However, can this case of young academics be generalizable to the rest of respondents in different occupation fields and family situation? The narratives of many respondents indicate decision-making process involves more than just selecting destinations of excellence and reputation. Personal and family ties play critical role in geographical mobility and sometimes career mobility (see below, chap 4 and 5). Beside its intrinsic value, their mobility is regarded with an extrinsic value as a vehicle enhancing international experience and boosting their cultural capital (e.g. exposure to new knowledge and skills and building networks). International mobility is seen as a major vehicle to

career advancement as individuals consider the process a gate to successful career and international experience (Doherty *et al.*, 2008, p. 30). It is reiterated in the accounts of respondents that relative stagnation of their respective native countries' academic quality system, education provision and labour markets, with academic mobility (see next chap) with the value given to mobility in Finland. Mobility/migration is an indicator of advancement in research field as reported by Safaa and Nabil. Idris identifies the significance of international and diverse experience due to mobility between Canada and Finland to career advancement. Besides, he observes that Finland is an ideal environment for career mobility to get new forms of knowledge and skills, finding it not really hard to adjust to Finnish environment after few years working in Canada within the same IT Company:

... Finland is a great place to build career... and a humble environment for learning and also a very good environment to prove yourself if you have a passion to succeed. This is critical issue and I think it is great environment for that... I do think the value system for work environment here is perfect. I think people are giving latitude to assert themselves and get educated, mainly with a company like Nokia. We do have a value system that solidifies value and individual contributions. I think from that perspective, if you have the skills to excel, no one is going to stop you...there is a lot to do with progression in your career... (Idris).

Migration theory has been dominated in the past by microeconomic theories like rational choice which assumes the importance of socio-economic factors (Syed, 2008; Al Ariss & Syed, 2010). Income is obviously important to career mobility; nonetheless, it must not be overemphasized as such. The cases in the study depict diverse factors according to diverse contexts in the sample, which I can sum up in social and personal factors having more significant influences in their decision-making process. Dickmann and colleagues (2006, p. 25) and Harvey (2011) also maintain this contention in their study results while underlining the primacy academics and other HSPs give to career pursuits and family concerns, which challenge the argument that financial considerations and economic factors are a primary motive for mobility and expatriation. The majority of subjects report these were not major factors and concerns affecting their decisions for career and spatial mobility. Yet, beside career pursuits, HSPs are concerned about the practical relationship between incomes, family life and their ability to attain a good family living standard and lifestyle, which are prioritised with overlapping differential positioning among respondents. Meryem reports her intention to stay and expresses uncertainty about the option of moving abroad:

... It is really difficult because my children like to stay here as they feel themselves Finnish 100 percent... we think to move to Lebanon or the golf to work there but our children should live with us. We cannot move to Syria because we have to keep a good standard of living... I wish and maybe we will stay here because our life now is here but we don't know what's going to happen. We think sometimes about abroad but actually, can we move abroad one day, we don't know...it's hard to say (Meryem).

The critical relationship between mobility, contractual insecurity and length of stay is widely reported by the sampled HSPs. Permanent position, in most cases, carries high possibility of stay when the expectations are met (see next chap). This shows the interwoven connection between the economic and social capitals while cultural capital (e.g. human capital) is not necessarily always rewarding. Amal, a journalist and social counselor speaks about the reason for not having a permanent position despite her long experience in her field and mastery of Finnish language that she is seriously thinking of moving to another EU country for better work-life career:

... As an immigrant, we've never thought that we are allowed to plan things, we react to things. We are not allowed to dream because... I am trying now to plan for little bit longer. I'm not so sure. I need financial security because I'm a single mother, I do.

When some meet with this contractual insecurity, they would have a different attitude to the location and duration of stay, especially for those who meet problems in recruitment regulations or recognition for qualifications from outside EU zone. For example, Kamal, Monaim and Mohamed, who entered Finland in different career-stages, left their departure countries and could not have established positions prior to their arrival but underwent various transitions before securing permanency. The sample initially found some form of position, though fixed-term in nature. The quality of the position is seen, for these, as unsatisfactory and hence experiencing *dislocating* and *contradictory* routines, not meeting their aspirations for a secure and good environment for professional practice and trainings, sometimes facing transitional periods of *deskilling* or underemployment. Mohamed is a medical doctor in his mid-career stage that experienced forms of employment ranging from short to long-term contract till he got a permanent position. He initially got an occupational visa for 3 months and later had permanent position with a permanent residence permit by utilizing his family ties in the form of spousal relation with his Finnish wife:

I got the job in Finland and based on my working place I got a visa for another one year and then I changed the status of the visa on the basis of my marriage, that I am married, because it was easier to work on that basis since I don't need to get a work permit... Then I got the permanent residence permit within one year (Mohamed).

His occupational position and devotion to work as symbolic capital earned him symbolic power (see chap 5). Yet, his acquired qualifications from Russia didn't spare him from institutional regulations that do not recognize his degree and credentials for equivalence in Finnish institutions. He was dissatisfied with the situational transition towards full labour integration as he passed two medical exams and he failed in the last one on social medicine more than once. He had to pass all exams to get qualification equivalence and recognition (see also Mourad's case). He considers it 'unfair' as a system despite his long work experience to the point that in an emotional outburst mentions:

... The conditions were pretty good and I gained the respect of my colleagues and nurses. I am, by nature, pretty active at work. I give my best to my work because I know my work will reward me back and I am devoted to work and probably that was the reason I was much liked in there and respected.

... I might move abroad if I pass the [social medicine] exam. Once I pass it, I might take revenge by leaving the country, because if I do that, I know I will not lose and the hospital will lose...

Monaim had a PhD in mathematics from a renowned institute in Moscow and then worked many years as a lecturer in the Emirates and Finland. Yet, because he got his degree from Russia, he also met with the problem of recognition and equivalence in Finland and retired with a status of docent after more than 20 years of academic life in Finland:

... In the past, I didn't worry about such position because in my field, there was no such position but only lecturer position. I had made myself different efforts to change the rights of having professorship positions in my field... For me, it was a shock in 1998, when the new professorship in our university established and I wasn't chosen to this position. This made me think about being naive, and forgot that I am a foreigner, from Arab country and got all my study not from Finland but from Libya and Russia In 1998, I blamed myself for not going to the USA before. I was already 54, my children are young Finns and they wouldn't leave Finland for any reason. My ambitions and interests in change weren't any stronger (Monaim).

Most of the participants have shown their propensity to stay and pursue their career by renewing or extending contracts. For the majority, the process of making decisions might be a mix of individual rational agency and external structures. Monaim considers his decision to stay in Finland after few short moves between the Emirates and Finland as a mixture of circumstance involving the balance between career opportunities with family concerns. Similar conclusions are generally noted in studies done on British HSPs in Canada (Harvey, 2011) and central European HSPs in UK (Ackers & Gill, 2008). Monaim has resumed his permanent academic position in Finland. Opportunities for career mobility also depend on another form of cultural capital, language skills, especially of English and Finnish. The case of Kamal shows how important local language is as a drive or impediment to career advancement. He moved to Finland for studies after being accepted in a university in 1989 and his ambitions to do further studies in his professional field were met with structural constraints such as language barrier:

I came here and started studying but found out that language of instruction is Finnish and it was so hard for me to learn it well. I did one course of practice in cinematography in Jyväskylä for six month in that first year. I found it difficult to go further in studies because courses are in Finnish, and no English or French. At that time there were not many programs in English (Kamal).

The international language of S&T is English and as La Madelaine (2007, p. 1) suggests 'in science, weak English hinders a successful career.' Though English is not an official language in Finland, the HSPs, with little knowledge of it use it as a *lingua franca* in communication with local community and as a language at work. The majority are quite knowledgeable of Finnish language especially those in mid- and late-career stages. Because Arabic, French, Swedish and Russian are the languages many of the subjects speak and had as language of instruction, some of them found it necessary to develop language skills and competence of Finnish to a higher level for professional and communicational reasons. Some have to use in their university teaching, or exams for degree equivalence, social interaction or communication at the workplace. The historical and institutional factors were impediments for those who moved to Finland between the 1960s and 1990s (e.g. Amal, Kamal, Nabil), since opportunities to have Finnish language courses or degree programs in English were scarce, until inflow of immigrants started to grow and the state began implementing internationalisation policy in HE. Nabil speaks about the difficulties in the 1990s to find degree programs in English which impelled him to learn Finnish in addition to the significance of work environment which helped him in the process:

I had the thesis which took one year and then the courses, but then also in the beginning it was difficult because there wasn't lot of English courses so I had to study a lot at home and try to follow in Finnish

and that was a little bit hard ...I liked being in the University of technology in Tampere because I learnt a lot of Finnish and I took 15 credits of Finnish language. That was the fifth level they have at that time so that helped a lot (Nabil).

Other HSPs in late-career stage report in their narratives how it was hard to find courses in Finnish and find jobs, so they had to learn it out of necessity to get a job as in the case of Amal, a female cultural counselor and journalist, who moved in the early 1980s in a time of tough labour market restrictions for immigrants. Meryem, along with Jawad, Mohamed, Mourad, in health-care sector, had to study Finnish to get degree equivalence and recognition from her institution after she entered Finland as tied-mover:

I managed [to learn Finnish] but I don't understand how. I think the 'how' means that there was no alternative, no way out. There was no internet and no immigrants, so I had to learn it, as if somebody dumped you into the water and said to you "live or die" (Amal).

Three years in Syria and one year and a half of Finnish language and then two years and a half in the college here. I continued until I obtained the degree of midwifery. Of course, I had an exam to have degree equivalence. It means they didn't totally accept first... It's not an easy thing to have an exam in Finnish for something you studied in your mother-tongue, but thank God I succeeded in it the first time I had it. There was no problem actually as I had the willingness to go further in my specialized studies and finish it (Meryem).

Those in academia who moved to Finland in early-career stage expressed their concern about learning Finnish language and report their interest to develop their skills to work and interact with the natives (e.g. Mounir, Safaa, Amal). Mounir speaks about the good study and work conditions in the country and does not share worries about language since language courses are provided and Finns generally communicate in English:

I would recommend Finland as place to study...because it is an excellent place for study and everything is available. The only obstacle is the language. But there are opportunities for anyone to learn the Finnish language... Many students avoid these countries simply because of Finnish language... But I think that majority of Finns speak English... This has obviously solved a big problem. Maybe this is the main reason why I didn't learn Finnish (Mounir).

The tone of the interviews suggests that the difficult conditions in their countries of origin is less a question of subsistence but rather a failure to satiate better work conditions and quality system and provision for HSPs in the face of worsening conditions and the absence of more lucrative opportunities in professional mobility (Bouoiyour, 2006; Hassan, 2009). The majority underscores push-pull factors as conducive toward processes of decision-making of mobility which consequently would pattern the mobility behaviour in different ways according to individual and contextual factors of these HSPs (see next chap). It seems the process of decision-making for the majority go through self-assessment and assessment of the contextual time and place in their mobility experience.

2.3 FAMILY, SOCIAL CONTACTS AND PROFESSIONAL NETWORKS

Recent research studies (Wallace, 2002; Harvey, 2011) question the prevalent economic approaches in migration studies in the past which underlined economic factors such as the influence of wage

differentials in global HSM. These works consider the role of other determinants in shaping HSM processes. Traditional migration theories based on economic rationality (Syed, 2007) focus on the individual at the level of individual competition, selectivity and quality. As mentioned above, the respondents as HSP usually move abroad for better work conditions and successful career mobility as well as for serendipitous reasons. Various forms of social and personal relationships and structures in the form of social capital might affect mobility dynamics, which presupposes that the link between mobility and processes of decision-making can be shaped and transformed. Choice seems to be a reflection of the ability or willingness to move or choose among alternatives than an indicator of capability or professional attainment. This section looks at the influence of accumulated social capital as a factor impinging on career and spatial mobility of the sample.

The interviews report the impact of social capital and ties in the form of personal and family circumstances on schemes and processes of the sample's mobility. Marriage, parenting and social contacts have tremendous, but unpredictable, impacts on the processes of decision-making on career and spatial mobility (Raghuram, 2004; Ackers & Gill, 2008; Harvey, 2011). Family members can exert influence on the way people think on moving in some respects such as decisions about whether to join one's spouse to her/his native country or not, how to initiate prospective moves, and for how long to stay in a location. The spouse then affects the decision-making in the HSP career path. Some of the crucial determinants which play a role in this regard are the country of origin or nationality of the spouse and their work status and the presence of children. The HSPs in their different career-stages portray situations like these because they usually move with their spouses, are joined by their spouses or become spouses in a host country. The literature on international HSM has traditionally covered the dynamics between family situation and mobility in enhancing or restraining career and geographical mobility and dual-career situation (see Ackers & Gill, 2008). In their study, Ackers & Gill find single and early-career individuals to be active in international moves and those married tend to restrict their mobility. This appears to be less acute in the case study here since respondents of late-career stage still experience frequent short skilled moves related to their fields of work, mainly in academia (see next chap).

Self-initiated, tied-mobility and Marriage

Kofman (2004, p. 247) differentiates 'marriage migration', bi-national or co-national, as a gradually rising form of family migration. This situation stirs some questions on the organization of family and gender relations and social identity across international space (see chap 4, 6). The sample in the study demonstrates a growing number of this category in the last decade. There is a tendency that bi-national marriage actually eases mobility and usually opens up opportunities for HSPs as tied-movers in career mobility as well (Kofman, 2000; Raghuram, 2009). Primarily, for most HSPs, mobility is undertaken to pursue career capital and career advancement. The process then develops later due to spouse's nationality. Beside origin and nationality, the nature of a spouse's employment affects decisions on mobility and destination because of the possibility of stable permanent occupation. The data do not evidence prospective return to native countries of married HSPs who underwent

difficulties in Finnish labour market. Even in such cases as *deskilling*¹⁵ process, the majority has shown reluctance to return and instead they prefer to stay in Finland, or move to another country with more career opportunities (e.g. Canada, Australia), while some prefer to move to the Gulf region (e.g. Chafiq, Meryem, Hanane). Such decision-makings may be triggered by professional or socio-economic optimization (Meryem, Kamal), lifestyle or socio-cultural factors (e.g. Chafiq, Amina, Hanane) (see details in chap 4).

Some HSPs meet their spouses after their initial move to their destination country, either in Finland or initially in other countries. Those who had self-initiated moves for academic or occupational pursuits had married subsequently after varying duration of their stay in host countries. For instance, we note HSPs who married Finns in Russia (e.g. Ahmed, Mourad, and Monaim), or Sweden (Khalid), Finland (e.g. Abid, Malak, Warda, Nabil, Nabila, Amal), Canada (Idris) or Ghana (Mohamed). For instance, Redouane met his Russian wife in Finland and Jawad married his Japanese ex-wife in the Netherlands. Other HSPs are married with co-national spouses from their native countries such as (Meryem, Hassib, Chafiq, Ali, Amina). Ahmed highlights the significant factor of marriage with a Finnish spouse as a trigger for mobility to Finland for immigrants. He entails the point that his case is quite different in mobility experience because he came to Finland as a corporate mover enjoined with tasks by his employing Corporate to fulfil in Finland:

Normally many came to Finland because of marriage, but in my case I worked here first and then married... I was sent to Asia mainly and my domain was that market but I was working for the company in Russia. My job was changes in materials of automatic machines, either sending them to Asia or importing them from Asia. After that, I got married and I thought not to travel much and moved from the south to the north of Finland where my wife lived (Ahmed).

Apart from cases such as these, all couples move together, and both cohabit in their destinations in negotiating consensual relationships. The major concern they articulated is their children's education and future life. Some respondents (Kamal, Mounir, Hassib, Amina, Amal), though on mobility, with or without spouses, for a period of time, do not see themselves as settled in a traditional sense. They usually speak of settling down in the context of living together with one's spouse and children, which might incite them to change their location for a permanent settling location. Ahmed experienced commuting between the location of his family and main workplace and another part-time job in another city for some period and then quitted commutation and left the secondary job to remain close to family while keeping his main permanent occupation in the same city wherein his family is dwelling and to avoid any family life constraints for his wife has a job as head of social service in a commune of his city and his four kids are already established in their schools there. This contextual frame highlights the significance of understanding mobility as a constant process of assessment and negotiation (Ackers & Gill, 2008; Inkson & Thorn, 2010).

Initially, Ali, an early-career academic moved for a defined period to do PhD and intended to return to work in Egypt. Now that he got a permanent position at University of Helsinki and feels satisfied

¹⁵ *Deskilling* situation is 'when highly skilled workers migrate into forms of employment not requiring the application of the skills and experience applied in the former job' (Salt 1997, p.22).

with work conditions and opportunities, this has limited his ability to return in the short run when his individual mobility objectives have been achieved. He now changed his plan from temporary to long-term stay as he experienced a confirmatory routine of successful career prospects in Finland. He is expecting his spouse to join him soon after marriage and start family life in Finland:

Actually, since I didn't have before any idea about the situation in Finland, I was planning to get a doctoral degree here and then go back to my country. But of course when one go out of his country, many possibilities open up for him and then he starts thinking about alternatives instead of moving back. So I opted for staying due to many factors. The opportunities and conditions for studies were available and the environment is very flexible which encouraged me to stay further...I'm getting married ... and I hope [my wife] will join me here next September [2009]. This will help settle down here at the short term at least. And then later I will see how things go in future and go back to home country...

A large number of early and mid-career movers entered Finland through self-initiated scheme mainly as academics (e.g. Safaa, Hassib, Kamal, Nabil, and Mounir). According to the data, the major trend of mobility/migration for the subjects' initial move to be self-initiated for unmarried and early-career stage HSPs to pursue HE studies either in Finland or other European countries, and subsequently stay through marriage or, in case of being in another country, undertake a move to Finland joining their Finnish spouses through family reunification. The sample indicates that a large number of those who moved to Finland were married with Finnish spouses after multiple moves. Kyhä (2011) in her study on HSPs in Finland reports similar conclusion. For instance, Hanane experienced a couple of self-initiated turning-points in her early mobility experience for study purposes in Belgium, then China where she worked as translator. She moved from China to Qatar for a short-term contract as translator with some company and had a small business. She met her former Finnish husband whom she married and stayed together few years before coming back to Finland to start a business:

We married there in 1992. When we married, we were making market study as he used to have projects and I did marketing analysis with concerned individuals. Then, we moved to Finland [in 1993] and we started a business here also but personal circumstances ... (silence)' (Hanane).

Mohamed is another case of male tied moving HSPs who experienced multiple moves before entry to Finland along with his Finnish wife after their marriage in Ghana. He studied medicine in Russia and then moved to Ghana to join his father, a medical doctor in the central hospital of the capital to work in there as a health-care doctor:

During my work in Accre central hospital, I met my wife who was an exchange student from Finland in central hospital. She was a nurse student actually. So we met and knew each other we immediately got married. When she came, we lived about one year, a bit more than a year in Ghana. And then she had to come back to Finland to continue her studies... and she told me that I had to come to Finland with her. I said that I would not go to Finland unless I had a job ... that was my decision.

Going through similar experience, Monaim got his PhD of mathematics in Russia where he met his Finnish wife in Moscow and they got married. They moved together later to the Emirates where he got a position and after some years in which they undertook short moves to Finland, they decided to settle down in Finland:

My wife is Finn. We married in Moscow in 1976... In November 1977, I came with my wife and daughter to Turku. We spent one year with my mother-in-law and in November 1, 1978 we went to Dubai to work first as a lecturer 1978-1981, and Professor Assistant in 1981-1984... I came to Finland with my wife, daughter and son in August 10, 1984... (Monaim).

Mounir speaks about his decision-making to pursue studies in Germany. He mentions 'I didn't go abroad to study with state sponsorship, but on my personal expense. I was accepted when I started the master degree thesis.' This group of HSPs was initially single movers prior to their move to Finland. They generally take the lead in the life-career paths. The data support the assumption that young early-career individuals have the greatest potential to be mobile as international HSPs. Yet, the factor of marriage and family reunification affect the frequency and duration of mobility as HSPs develop family life and have children, which is largely present at their current situations. This does not mean, however, that married HSPs diminish skilled mobility. Mid- and late-career HSPs in the sample still show recurrent mobility for academic activities exemplified by Abid, a now retired professor, and Khalid, a retired academic who is willing to be active in academia and highlights his transnational kinship while he sees himself as a global villager:

I am 72 and I can still work, so I will continue. For how long, I can't say, probably a couple of years. But where, I don't know. I mean the whole world is my world. I don't have a real home. In my case, my daughter is married and living in the United States. My son is married and living in Dubai and my background is Jordanian, I am a Swedish citizen married with a Swede and living in Finland (Khalid).

Abid came the first time to Finland in 1965 for short visit from London after meeting one Finnish professor there in university of London. Then he went to the University of Vaasa to study and got a master degree, then licentiate and doctorate in 1972. He got professorship in his late-career stage and, after retirement, he still enjoys professional activities:

Now I'm enjoying my life, I'm writing... Of course, I have my own intellectual activities. I do lectures sometimes when I'm asked but I am selective in lecturing. I don't run any course anywhere but I do write. I write some articles and have some book projects (Abid).

Abid and Khalid's initial mobility experience were self-initiated for study in Europe and then experienced mobility under structural and self-initiated turning-points for external and serendipitous reasons. Abid reports that his first decision to move abroad 'was to make my PhD and run to my native country and build it!...' Monaim was applying for a place in Princeton University for a PhD degree, but due to political tension between his native country and the US, the state shifted sending candidates with sponsorship from US to Soviet Union and mentions that:

It was my choice [to go to Princeton] and I started the steps to go, filling papers, everything was going well. Then suddenly, political problems turned my plans upside down. This was the cutting of cultural relations between my country and Western Countries.... For me, I wasn't interested in going to Russia... Actually, it took time for me till I realized that maybe the best is to accept study in Russia. One reason is the lack of time of Syrian professors to supervise post-graduate students (Monaim).

Sabah, for instance, mentions that her mobility schemes were influenced by self-initiated turning-point in the form of study pursuits and looking for better university research environment and future career:

I moved to Russia to continue studies. I went to Saint-Petersburg ... After getting the Bachelor of Science in engineering in 1994, I decided to continue studying and I made Master of Science in hydraulic construction, and it was the same university of Saint-Petersburg (Sabah).

Some turning-points in the form of social capital with her elder brother who had already been working and living in Russia and Finland played important role in shaping her career path. The social ties play important role in shaping mobility decision-making for some cases of respondents. Her move to Paraguay after graduation was triggered by her family ties with her Paraguayan husband, as a compromise to work and live there. She mentions, 'I was married to a Paraguayan and we both decided to start working life in Paraguay.... We wanted to see which place would suit for us, but when we got there [in 1997], we had our first job.' Few years later, Sabah got some job offer in her previous place of residence in Finland where 'some colleague and friends' work:

I got some work proposal from Finland [in 2005]. I was in contact with some colleague and friends, and they were asking about somebody who speaks some languages and at the same time had some experience in engineering field and website design... it was a short working period (one and half year), then it has been renewed through time until now... (Sabah).

She seems to have the kind of self-initiated and rational decision, using her social and cultural capitals for her professional career, as she reports, 'it was a proposal and I accepted it according to my language skills. So it is a richness that you are in contact with all these languages [Arabic, French, Spanish, English, Portuguese, and Finnish] practicing them daily...' This illustrates the general characteristic of the HSPs mobility as instigated by social and personal factors related to family ties, and the accumulated career capital based on her international experience and skills, in addition to a family compromise in triggering the move back to Finland:

It was a little bit tough decision... it was family related... We [me and my husband] made a good compromise and agreed about the whole thing and even discussed about the education of kid and there was no problem at all because he also knows Finnish system and he has been at the same time as I was during the 7 years studies in Russia as we studied together (Sabah).

From their description, decisions usually reconcile subjective and objective values of their cultural and social capitals at some crucial point in their trajectory, usually negotiating how to stay together in the same location or trigger further moves while considering their family wellbeing and better occupational position (Sabah, Meryem, and Kamal). They echo that occupational status and citizenship of their spouses (cultural, social and symbolic capitals) are important determinants influencing mobility schemes. Sometimes, it seems difficult to identify who the trigger is and who the lead is for mobility/migration in such situation. The processes of negotiations and self-assessment may have significant effect on decision-making for destination as they usually prefer to move to metropolitan and cosmopolitan areas such as southern Finland where the level of concentration increases the opportunities to secure one's occupation and the spouse's career and attain reasonable work-life balance (see Heikkilä, 2005). Geographically, the sample indicates the majority is located in the southern part of the country. Ahmed reports how his decision for job mobility is related to his family concerns as he underlines the importance for balancing family life and occupational career.

Meryem represents another case of trailing tied-mover as a spouse, leaving her temporary work and following her husband who opened a new business in Lahti:

I worked in [the field of industry] in the beginning...it was a choice, if I wanted to stay in the domain of industry I would have stayed. It would create a problem for me, that my wife and kids would be in one place and I working in Helsinki, that's the difference. This choice [of working in education] was natural vis-à-vis the criteria of advantages I have (Ahmed).

My husband moved to Lahti and because I'm an Arab woman. I left everything behind and I followed my husband, I moved from Helsinki to here and I left the municipality of Helsinki as well after two years working there. From the end of 2002 I had the position there. The communal election comes every 4 years, so I was supposed to stay but I left and moved in here with my husband in 2006... After one month and half of moving, I found a job in a laboratory. I am specialized in gynecology and midwifery (Meryem).

The example of Meryem shows the tendency of migrant Arab-Muslim women as spouses to be tied-movers along with their husbands between countries and also within the same countries. When asked about the reason for her mobility to Finland, she replies, 'I came here to Finland because my husband was living here.' In most of the cases, one follows the other for family reasons and sometimes has to give up his/her position in the present location to occupy lower job or stay unemployed for a while to join family, thus experiencing a deskilling or underemployment (see chap 4). The data reveals also that couples do not share the same field of occupation, which somehow does not place pressure on their marital life to undertake spatial moves (e.g. Meryem). Besides, these couples, as HSPs, tend to understand the rationale for mobility and share the same values and aspirations for career and family life path. As a mid-career female HSP, Meryem is attracted to stability, good career prospects and good lifestyle and educational prospects for her children. She believes her children have grown up in Finland and feel themselves more Finns, '[return to native country] is really difficult because my kids like to stay here as they feel themselves as Finns...'

The interviews identify a number of cases of HSPs not willing or able to move or return to native countries because of family and spousal reasons. Due to the absence of lucrative and good job offers and work conditions in native country, they decide to stay with spouses while recognizing the value of the academic and professional life in Finland (see next chap). However, some subjects have experienced periods of reluctant stays, in other words, contradictory routines, since unemployment or financial imperatives override their personal and professional aspirations. Kamal, who works currently as a movie director, for instance, at time of unemployment, met with some Americans in a movie festival in Finland suggesting to him moving to America for better work or study opportunities in the field of cinema. He negotiated with his wife about it and she followed him in their move to the US:

I liked the idea but I didn't know how to move there. I talked with my wife and suggested two things: either to join me to America or to stay, because I could not stay here anymore. I applied for immigration visa with my wife... and went there in 1993 till 1998 (Kamal).

Kamal had experienced a long transitional periods of fixed-term contracts or unemployment and now since he does not have a permanent position with some employing organization; he thinks more of his family's future life:

I can keep working until I feel the time to stop...Well, I think I can continue until my kids grow up and find their own ways to the future. Then, I might go back to Tunisia. I wish I could do so ... but the future is not so clear, it depends on the conditions then... If my kids, when grown up, want to go there [to America], then we may go together. I cannot leave them and be away from them. What can I do here alone? So concerning me, it depends on my children and family (Kamal).

The kind of *contradictory* and *dislocating* routine period that Kamal experienced stirred his propensity to move out to another country for better prospects while considering the future of his family. After his early contradictory and dislocating routine of moving to Russia instead of Princeton University for doctoral studies, Monaim did live a second one at a time when he was supposed to receive professorship from his employing university. He felt dissatisfied and his career profile undermined at some point because his expertise and accumulated human capital from one world leading academies in his field are supposed to be accounted. Nonetheless, he let down the possibility of moving to Princeton University for his professorship as he was engrossed in his work projects:

If I go to another country, for instance US, and had this professorship, I can't start from zero and I can't do that very easily... It doesn't make any sense to leave my big project here which I loved for the sack of professorship or a university in USA or any other place (Monaim).

It appears from the narratives of the respondents that the process of decision-making is multifaceted and involves both planned decisions with much evaluative and aspirational aspects as well as strategic and opportunistic aspects. The nature of decision-making thus fluctuates between a cognitive and pragmatically rational underpinning. They seem to foresee the prospect of mobility earlier in their career planning. The cases of academics and scientists do not indicate this pattern of women following or entering careers which balance the dual career. The reasons might be that academic career challenges skilled mobility more than other occupations due to the specialized nature of work and the difficulties of reaching close positions outside established science clusters (Meryem, Nabila, Malak). The outcome might be that the trailing spouse might undergo a *deskilling* or '*brain waste*' at least at the beginning (Kofman, 2000; Raghuram & Kofman, 2004; Mahroum, 2001). The respondents identifies female HSPs cases of *deskilling* when working in lower positions than their qualifications and experience as in the instances of Amina, Hanane. Some have experienced *deskilling* at initial post-mobility period (Amal, Warda) and other cases portrayed incapacity to secure acceptable employment as difficulties were met. Hence, the majority of women witness challenges professional reintegration on after their migration and mobility. This correlates with the study of Muslim women in Switzerland (Riano & Baghdadi, 2007) and Arab-Muslim women in Australia, showing the effects of their moves on gender roles and labour integration (Fouroutan, 2009a). Those trailing spouses could meet problems initially but resume and consolidate career mobility along underemployed situation (Amina, Hanane) and sometimes secured permanent jobs (Sabah, Warda, Meryem). Yet, a wife may relinquish her career work for the sake of family household work. Hassib reports his wife left her

career work for the family household duties with her consent and compromise to balance the time shared between his work and her household duties:

She takes care of the kids and helps them in their studies. She takes care of the housework and she does all the shopping related to the house-keeping....For her, she understands well the nature of my work, and this makes it easier. In addition, I compensate the situation with the summer holiday as I stay all the time with them around 2 or 3 months without doing any work... (Hassib).

When HSPs opt for career mobility, they usually have in mind exploiting their cultural and economic capitals for access to labour markets for both their spouses and themselves in legal and practical sense. However, due to deficiency in cultural, social or symbolic capitals, or institutional regulations might hamper their aspirations (chap 4 and 5). Some respondents underwent periods of dislocating and contradictory routines in their career paths and expressed their concern about the restrictions they encountered once they wished to enter Finnish labour market as qualified HSPs due to structural factors such as equivalence of qualification (Mohamed, Monaim) and sometimes inappropriate conditions for them (Amina, Amal). An egalitarian legal system and employment rights in a country affects tremendously the decision-makings of HSPs on their locations and occupational fields. These respondents referred to their unwanted and undermining experiences as they felt dissatisfaction and regret about these transitions in their career path. Amal and Monaim are two cases in point:

....They [my friends] say 'you have a great network here.' I know everybody here... That's the big contradiction, people treat me nicely but when I need a job – I don't get it and the only field I am allowed is to research the margin. That's what I feel, that my life could change abroad, that there is a different atmosphere for my thoughts and I don't care how much networking you need to build. What am I going to do with everybody being nice to me but not having a job? (Amal)

... For me it was a shock in 1998, when the new professorship in our university established and I wasn't chosen to this position. This made me think about being naive, and forgot that I am a foreigner, from Arab country and got all my study not from Finland but from Syria and Russia. All what I did at the National level and international level have no meaning... and now I'm 65. I do not think about any official promotion (Monaim).

Sometime, a trailing wife might benefit from their mobility to join their husbands if their qualifications meet the demands of either HE institutions or employing organizations. For instance, Yussef portrays the effect of trailing mobility on his spouse after joining him. He moved to Finland from Algeria to continue his studies in Engineering. Few years after he secured a permanent position with a multinational company, he decided to get married. His wife joined him few years later and attempted after her arrival to find a place, meeting her qualification of Bachelor degree of English by entering university for a Master degree program. She took the risk of 'tied' mobility and trailing spouse but she was able to initiate a turning-point of entering university studies, thus meeting a confirmatory routine period in her post-mobility period.

When legal obstacles, such as qualifications and work experience recognition, hinder permanent recruitment (Amal) or career mobility (Monaim), tied-migrants might have ubiquitous careers as in the case of Amal and Amina in part-time work in social or cultural services. The question of equivalence of qualifications from overseas is one major obstacle for non-native tied-movers, though

HSPs, in labour market integration. As concerns Academics who graduated in Finland or other EU member states, they usually get smooth transitional period of integration in labour market. This reality is faced by the population of HSPs in many traditionally attractive developed countries to this category, though legal framework allows tied-migrants from third country nationals to work. Nevertheless, spouses usually find it hard to secure an appropriate permanent occupation partly because of language skills, the transferability of qualifications and labour market constraints (chap 4 and 5). The usual claim is the absence of relevant experience or qualifications and linguistic incompetence to get a permanent job (see also Heikkilä, 2005). The justification for their belated full integration or career mobility in labour market is their deficiency of social capital (professional and academic network) or cultural capital (human capital, skills, information) concerning labour structures and legal framework in available positions and opportunities structures. Jawad lexicalizes this structural turning-point which did, in fact, delay his occupational promotion as a health-care doctor after finishing his licentiate in the Netherlands in 1989. In his view, this might be one reason why the transition to secure permanent position was belated. He entered Finland in 1990 for a position:

At the beginning, I had amanuensis as qualified medical doctor in the transitory period of taking Finnish courses. I completed the requirements by these courses and a training period in Helsinki in 1992. Then I was supposed to work as a supervised doctor until I received a position as a doctor and I got a degree as a free medical practitioner at that year... I should have got this degree before that time but due to things that I didn't know about maybe or I perhaps didn't learn or read about initially when I entered the country. Maybe I didn't follow up and I could have got permission to work as a health-care doctor previously but I had it when I asked for it in 2002 (Jawad).

In sum, research studies in HSM conclude that the presence of a spouse in personal life can directly influence these processes according to particular conditions, and the presence of children or grown-ups in the family restricts the potential for frequent moves for career progression or permanent return to native country (Kofman, 2004; Ackers & Gill, 2008). The situation can be more detrimental for moving women especially in their career mobility (see also Boyle *et al.*, 2001; Shauman & Noonan, 2007). The following section deals with the impacts of parenthood and presence of children on the process of decision-making for spatial and career mobility for these HSPs from MENA region.

2.4 THE PRESENCE OF CHILDREN AND THEIR FUTURE

This section deals with questions related to this issue, trying to understand the impact of children as family ties on the decision-making process of the respondents. Two main factors they highlight in their accounts: child-care and education opportunities in the context of mobility/migration, and their future life in Finland. These are among the external but personal factors that affect their decision-making along their career path. The significance of the cultural underpinnings in the family life and gender role of this social group from MENA region needs to be noted in this respect (Fouroutan, 2009b). When both spouses manage to attain a level of professional integration and stability in a host country, they usually show an inclination to settle down and think of family future, mainly when they have children and women tend to quit job in case it jeopardise family stability (Raghuram, 2004). Scott (2006, p. 113) underlines the significant relationship between mobility, family and life-course,

highlighting 'a work-life balance that matches the acquisition of mobility capital against familial priorities.' Beside the impacts of family relations on mobility schemes, the important influence of children's presence, namely the effect of child-bearing on mothers' jobs, has been emphasized in the research field (Kofman, 2004; Raghuram, 2009). Children make important influences in family mobility, but they tend to be seen in research works as passive members of migrant couples, who evaluate the effect of their moves on their child's education and social wellbeing. Thus, emphasis is laid on the life path of the primary migrant rather than the different interwoven parallel life-courses over time and space which shape decision-making of chosen destinations (Kofman, 2004).

Childcare and education in geographical and career mobility

Ackers and Stalford (2004, p. 378) mention child-care is influential in the life-career paths of foreign HSPs, emerging sometimes in an unpredictable way to challenge the process of decision-making in career and spatial mobility. Responsibility for childcare might confine and dampen career and spatial mobility. Usually, social ties with family may deter or discourage parents from scheduling multiple moves, short or long in many married HSPs experiences. Those moving with younger children are usually concerned with their ability to access and organize their caretaking. One strategy many have recourse to in case of emergency is an arranged and compromised share in care-taking between couples after day-care or schooling (see chap 4). HSPs meet some challenges with child-rearing in different phases of child growth. Parents have to arrange their professional and individual activities around the needs of children.

HSPs as parents reiterate their satisfaction with the provision of their children's care-taking and educational opportunities for kids in Finland since they see the Finnish education system as one of the best focusing on the well-being and care for children. They also indicate the value and symbolic capital of education system in Finland. In the context of those unstable abroad or even in Finland, the educational circumstances of kids usually prompt a reassessment process which considerably reshapes family decision-making in the prospect. Children's age does not make a difference for their decision about the nature and duration of stay in Finland. When asked about the possibility of moving back to native country, many respondents refer to permanent stay in Finland to be near their children as they grow old (e.g. Meryem, Kamal, Monaim, Nabil). Kamal moved from Finland to America with his Finnish wife and two kids because of his inability to secure a permanent work. He sees little glimpse of career progression and permanent work there. Thus, he strove to manage his work effectively but the demands of family life in terms of job security and children's education and his Finnish wife situation turned to be unsustainable. They had been away from Finland and his wife's relatives for a few years, and later they negotiated a compromise to return back. After this transitional mobility course assessing the situation seen as irresolvable at least until he could secure a permanent work, he decided with his wife to return back to Finland:

... My wife suggested moving back to Finland since there are good opportunities there to work and I could meet producers and directors [of cinema] there. Then I said 'why not?' I wanted to do projects as a co-production between Tunisia and Finland. So I looked for some projects mainly documentaries to be done in Tunisia and make post-production in Finland, like 4 or 5 months there and the rest here (Kamal).

Amina shows how, due to her concerns about her professional life and children's education and future, she thinks of moving to another EU country to join her family relatives. She divorced in Finland and she experienced some precarious works, and now she thinks about moving for better professional prospects. Her ability to secure a good career work seems limited in Finland. Her children also play crucial role in decision-making to strengthen her social ties with her relatives in England and Holland and keep up the Arab-Islamic cultural values and teachings (see also chap 4, 5, 6):

This [children's education] is the biggest issue I have which made me hesitate and have less options. The reason why I choose to move to Britain or Holland is because I have family relatives there. Living there is better and because my sisters are successful in professional life... it won't be difficult for them [children] to go to school in an English speaking country and continue their life ... (Amina).

The concerns and considerations for family life course as assessed by most subjects affect the process of decision-making at family level, including the children's education and future, and the spouse's social and occupational situation (Dickmann et al., 2006, p. 18). Safaa is still unmarried but already shows concerns about her future family life once she is married and has children:

...At this moment, I'm single and I don't know what's going to happen after. If I'm going to have children they have to pursue their life course as well, so I have to stay with them... I think I really like the education system here, it's the best. So if I'm having children so definitely they will stay here for their education of course. I'm a foreigner so I need to transmit to them as well my language and my culture. But I think it's somehow related to parents (Safaa).

Therefore, for married HSPs, in practice, some try to manage and compromise the demands of their time for work through their dependence on a combination of spousal and family support and public services of daycare and schools. Female HSPs sometimes meet the challenge of achieving a good work-life balance in their career mobility when geographically moving to new location and joining her family (e.g. Meryem), or Amal, a single mother with frequent short moves abroad for her career work (see chap 4). Those married women and integrated in labour market do not show any constraints in their career work and married life (e.g. Warda, Malak, Nabila). Some interviewees have positively valued the prospects of moving to Finland with their family and the educational opportunities this might generate for their children. They acknowledged the value of symbolic and cultural capital they and their kids get from their stay in Finland. They usually place a premium for their children, which enhance their propensity for permanent stay and reluctance to move anywhere as the family conditions seem significantly positive. The subjective and objective value given to the occupational and professional opportunities is largely linked to the particular context within which these individuals see their family situation in Finland. Idris reports his return to Finland from Canada was partly due to the importance of children education and future life and stability of family as well as his career mobility. Monaim speaks about the important factors of his family life and social ties in the country than his career mobility. He also reports adaptation and acculturation process his children, when small, experienced during the multiple moves his family undertook between the Emirates and Finland. This prompted him to think for permanent settlement for the sake of his children education and future life:

... But when we came here, 2 or 3 things started to affect, first of all I must say, children feeling of adaptation to their mother's homeland, the language they heard everywhere is of their mother tongue. They got friends, strong relations and of course here was their grandmother. This has a very important affect on them, adding to that having aunts and cousins here. These relations were stronger than my plans of leaving Finland (Monaim).

I think in coming back to Finland, we are looking for stability and education for the child.... I think it's the majority part of the reason and the other part is I felt better to be back in the company's Headquarter than being in branch office (Idris).

I've never spent long periods but I have taught in Malaysia, Jordan, lectured basically in Western Europe. Now, because I have a little daughter and whoever asked me to come and lecture for them somewhere I say "I am a special case, I am an immigrant woman, I have no family here, I'm a single mother. If you want me, you'd pay for my daughter" ... (Amal).

Their experiences unveil the complex, fluid and multifaceted nature of decision-making process on issues like career-life path and geographical mobility. The example of Meryem, Kamal and Monaim shows the fluid nature of mobility and the ways in which power dynamics within families might change over time and place (i.e. one of the parents under insecure temporary position). In the cases mentioned above, the parents usually undertake consensual negotiations and compromise between their needs and those of their family. For some respondents with a degree of religiosity in their dispositions (e.g. Amina, Chafiq, Ali), being born in a country socially and culturally different from either parents or both has implications for the family and the socio-cultural fabric as it may disrupt the cultural identity of children. Amina thinks of moving to another country to live among her family relatives, and for Chafiq, married with a co-national wife, it is better to live in an Arab-Islamic country but which provides a convenient lifestyle, children's education and future as in a Golf country. Yet, for those with less religious dispositions, the main concern spouses might have is to find ways to share time for care-taking of children. They are not worried about their formal education or ability to integrate into society. Moreover, the data show there are not much marked differences in the importance given to education in the sample since their move to Finland has positive effect on educational and professional life of the family. For the majority, these potential benefits would not, in any case, disrupt family life, children's future, and the socio-economic, academic and career prospects at least for them as international HSPs. Ali has a social network of friends, within the same academic field, who experienced mobility in Finland before him. The information he got from them support his contention about social life and cultural constraints for ethnic immigrants:

... The conclusion I came up with is that it is difficult and challenging to bring up a family here with children in a normal life. Of course, there will be compromise once in Egypt at the material and financial level when you get a degree from here and go back and have a decent job with decent salary, bring up my children in a healthy way, family life will be better. I would prefer this [family stability] than having a material benefit and satisfaction, in addition to other challenges in workplace... I have a conservative nature at personal level and don't like change much and prefer stability... Thus, as compromise, it is better for one to settle down in the native country (Ali).

I have been some years ago thinking of the idea of going back to my home country France or moving to some other country... or a golf country to work... Of course, there is children background and opportunities. The school system is for sure good here in Finland, but maybe it is confined for children. Social contact and social life are important. The religious aspect is also an important fact. [Religious and

cultural identity] are very important issues in Finland ... they [children] just addict themselves to foreign images and ideas... Let's say material life exists here but I don't believe that they will be able to achieve contentment here (Chafiq).

The future life of children:

The children's future plans and needs place pressures on parents to stay permanently though one of them, might not have a secure permanent job. The children in early age feel more Finns because they were born in Finland and experienced early life there as Nabil and Meryem mention. Ferro (2006, p. 182) highlights the significance of 'affective ties' which 'can actually curb plans.' Reference here is made to country of birth as the 'home' which is seen by children, who grew up in a host country, in a different way than the immigrant parents (Ackers & Stalford, 2004). Children's identity is crystallized since birth in the host country, or through the period of early years of settlement if foreign-born, as they go through their critical age. Their sense of belongingness commences to shift from that of their parents' origin to their country of birth. Moving as a child to a new country may raise the desire to settle down permanently for a stable 'home.' Mother-tongue of parents might also play an important part in shaping the attitude and sense of belongingness (Amina, Safaa, Chafiq). As parents and spouses, the majority feel satisfied to be in Finland, with their social ties based on their Finnish spouse relatives. The role of identity and especially that of children raises many questions for couples from the same native country (Yussef, Chafiq, Hassib) or the divorcees (Sabah, Hanane, Amina, Jawad), bearing in mind differences in parental habitus¹⁶ and dispositions (see details in chap 5). They showed initially with an open but confused mind their '*undecideness*' about their future plans, but still indicate a rationalistic positioning as concerns their plan for family future. Kamal shows conviction of the importance of strong family ties and togetherness and stresses his children's future comes first as a priority, while Hanane and Amina's situation invokes the childcare issue is reducible to children's future and to the detriment of the mother's career work:

... The future is not so clear; it depends on the conditions then... If my children when grown up want to go there [to America], then we may go together. I cannot leave them and be away from them. What can I do here alone? So concerning me, it depends on my children and family (Kamal).

After I stopped my business [in Finland], I gave my time to educating my children because they were very small at the time...it was around 2 years after I came to Finland in 1993. I used to travel between Finland and Qatar for our business. After I knew about this problem, I decided to stay here... and focused on educating my children until now (Hanane).

In Finland, I studied Finnish language, and for a period of time I stayed at home because I had children, and then I tried to continue my university studies, a master degree in mathematics but I didn't succeed in it... Approximately from 1992 to 2000, I was at home taking care of children and after that I tried to go for education when I studied to be teacher assistant from 2000 to 2002 (Amina).

¹⁶ *Habitus* 'ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms ... *Habitus* makes possible the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production - and only those' (Bourdieu quoted by Harker, 1992, p. 16).

Yussef, as a mid-career stage HSP with a settled family life with his co-national wife, thinks of his future family with children. He emphasizes the education and future life of his children to be in Finland, their country of birth, and for the couple a second country:

... It [Finland] is like an adopting country, a country that adopts you. It's like a second country. It will be like that you always need to come here because either your children will be studying here, they will probably ... so you need to have some kind of place [house] to be here (Yussef).

Sabah, a single mother, underlines the significance of the transformations in dispositions and habitus an individual undergoes in a dual career situation and especially in a country other than their origin. The future of her child becomes a priority for her as she decided, with a tone of uncertainty in future, to stay and keep on in her career work:

The main objective is as a mother, you need to bring stability to your child and when your child is growing up, she/he also can have personal habits with friends and lifestyle. You don't start thinking as you were thinking before when young and you can travel easily. Now you have to share everything with your kid and also ask if it is ok or not to restart again from the beginning. But as long as school education is going on, I think I will just stay but you never know what could happen in few years (Sabah).

As mentioned above, children influence mobility processes of the respondents and the influence is context-bound. Their influence can either dampen or lubricate decision-making on career and geographical mobility. The dynamics of social ties in the form of family relationships might change markedly through time. Parents life course is a crucial factor of mobility experience and decision-making to such extent that migrant family can be seen as 'fluid and constantly being re-constituted and negotiated, adapting across spaces and through time' Kofman (2004, p. 249). The influence of children and the development of their life course are obvious in the HSPs mobility schemes for those undergoing multiple moves for long duration (Kamal, Monaim), their career and kinship at transnational level (see chap 6). Kofman (2004, p. 248) contends that family mobility might be a catalyst for a new citizenship producing a 'crucible of multiple belonging' with transnational kinship for the HSP and their kids as in the example of Monaim due to mobility's multiplying effect (Ackers & Stalford, 2004), which might create some kind of transnational kinship and cosmopolitan identity (see chap 6). Other international research studies such as Harvey (2011) and Ackers & Gill (2008), in their respective case study of Canada and UK, underscore the critical factor of family ties in decision-making to stay. This entails that the trend occurs generally to foreign-born HSPs regardless of their countries of origin or departure countries.

To conclude, the data show various stages of career and spatial mobility of the sample HSPs and a number of them identify their spousal relationships with Finnish nationals mostly after their moves to Finland. Particularly, when the relationship is with Finns in dual career relationships, these HSPs appear to have their mobility confined within the limits of Finland or Europe, and most of them expressed their reluctance to return to their country of origin while indicating their commitment to personal family life and career pursuits. The majority of HSPs are male and their spouses Finnish women. They report professional opportunities are provided to them for upward career mobility within the EU space, and their marriage with native Finns has indirectly constrained the possibility

for return to native country. Their family relatives are in native country but still their career and future life is there where their family live and their occupational positions located. One of recurrent reasons they report for their decision not to return is their concerns about the family life future and children education, thought to be unconceivable and limited if they return (see next chapter). Tensions involved in negotiating transnational kinship over the duration and location for mobility might surge up between them, but in the short-term it seems, through negotiation and compromise, their career and family concerns are prioritized and overshadow any prospect of any further mobility or re-migration.

2.5 SERENDIPITY, RATIONALITY AND UNEXPECTEDNESS

Miller (1983) stresses the importance of *happenstance* when individuals react to unexpected opportunities. He adds that individual preferences can be related with opportunity structures that involves the feature of 'unexpectedness.' Serendipity has crucial role in the understanding of mobility processes. Unforeseen circumstances and opportunities which come up from social or professional networks established through colleagues can trigger mobility. Yet, it is likely that those who carefully plan their career trajectories and mobility preferences might be unable to realize it for some reasons. Krumboltz developed in his theory on career decision-making around the idea that career indecision (Krumboltz & Levin, 2004), supporting the idea that unplanned events can be beneficial sometimes in career path. *Life circumstance* refers to the possibly uncontrollable situations, events, and conditions which take place at individual and societal scale, which might affect the life course of an individual. These serendipitous circumstances can reshape and be very advantageous for life and career path of an individual such as an abrupt social acquaintance giving information that enhance one's future career, or hamper it when it comes to a political upheaval which would change the course of one's career path. Serendipity and unexpectedness in geographical and career mobility are important factors in the HSPs trajectories and provide strategies to create and benefit from these events. Political, social, economic and situational variables might constrain the aspirations and achievements of people (Syed, 2008; Blustein *et al.*, 2002). At a macro-level, HSPs mobility, work opportunities and resources might be affected by changing economic and market conditions caused by historical or environmental events such financial crisis or natural disasters (Johnson & Mortimer 2002). Moreover, unexpected social contacts in addition to rational choice can instigate a successful career path of a HSP.

The narratives in the case study hint to such factors as critical in reshaping the paths of a large number of respondents in relation to their geographical moves or career paths. Hassib succeeded in his undergraduate studies at his hometown university in Egypt with high grades which allowed him to get study grant for 5 years in a university of his choice around the world. He selected four universities from western countries. However, due to an unexpected serendipitous political event of the cut in relations between his country of origin and some western countries, he rationalistically selected a university of Technology in Finland to pursue doctoral studies:

... Actually I would like to thank God that my change of trajectory was a good successful choice because the country is very developed in the field of communications. I was accepted in the area of control engineering ... I selected the four countries very meticulously... I knew about Finland because of Nokia

and its mobile phones and also as one of the developed countries in telecommunications. My move to Finland was not totally a coincidence. It was built on choice, but a choice of priority (Hassib).

For him, the abrupt change of his course was advantageous according to the outcomes of this serendipitous event. This illustrates that the positions or forces interacting in the process of choice are not deterministic since serendipity reported by a number of respondents evidence that the turning-points affecting decision-making are multifaceted, sometimes self-initiated by the individual and structural, and sometimes involving further an external forced turning-point. The decisions made can be at the same time *opportunistic and rationalistic* as they are based on unexpected contacts and serendipitous events, but rather careful thinking as in the case of Hassib. When opportunities are encountered, the individual react to them in deciding either to embrace or reject them. Another instance, Chafiq, an Algerian from France, speaks about his career beginning as an IT engineer and highlights the importance of social contacts, serendipity beside rationality and selectivity as factors that affected the process of decision-making for his career path and locations of his choice:

... Probably in 1988 or 1989 ... I did 4 years studies in mechanical engineering... it just happened because it was needed in that time. There was first of all not lots of job opportunities. I was interested in this mechanical engineering, after that I did one extra year in general IT... It took 4 years... until around 1992-93... I did two years, one extra year in commerce ... we call it *commercial engineering*. It should be two years but I did only one year,... because technical background is not enough. Moreover, for career advancement, you also need to have some knowledge in commerce... I did just the first year and I stopped in the second year because I began to search for a job... around 1993-94... I did then another special course for unemployed people with special schools of IT to have some IT background and knowledge, so you study everything regarding IT (Chafiq).

Chafiq here uses his pragmatic rationality, a mix of strategic and opportunistic style and evaluative and aspirational style in coming up with the best choice for him in his professional career and job opportunity which would allow him to boost his cultural and symbolic capital as an engineer. When asked about the reason for choosing the field of IT later on, he replies it was 'the only opportunity,' one year full-time program to get a diploma and do traineeships to increase his cultural capital:

I was ready to change the field, that's why I [shifted to IT]... I didn't feel like losing track because I just looked for opportunity... At least I have one IT diplomaThe 1990s was a big crisis... It was an international recession... Then I had to find some kind of traineeship program and *hamdulillah* I got the opportunity to work with an important Finnish IT company here ... I think it just started to expand so I needed some other couples of years because there were other programs with Erasmus, so it just happened that it was the right timing. I got acceptance for 6 months... and worked as a trainee in Telecommunications... (Chafiq).

Some other prominent cases in the sample here might be Monaim, a late-career academic who recollects his initial mobility scheme in the beginning of 1970s Syria. His experience is, to some extent, similar to Hassib and Abid who found their way to Finland through unexpected happenstance in addition to the use of pragmatic rationality and their high accumulated human capital. Owing to his excellent grades, Monaim was selected to do PhD study at Princeton University, but the political tension that surged up between his native country and the US restrained him from moving there. The state shifted the move of candidates for sponsorship from US to Soviet Union. It was a forced and structural turning-point which obstructed his ambition and aspiration and created a sort of

dislocating and contradictory routine period he underwent. Against his volition, he accepted moving to Russia to pursue his doctorate studies:

In 1972, I had a chance to go for PhD study at Princeton University or other prestigious American University, but with the cut of cultural relations with the USA and other western countries, I got another chance this time from Russian universities, and I got a chance to make my thesis ... I stayed in the academy for 5 years to get my PhD ... My going to Russia was enforced by political situation and not a choice of mine. These cultural political issues were the work of the Government in my native country... (Monaim).

Almost the same experience is located in the case of Abid, being in the same generation as Monaim while originating from the same country and belonging to the same academic generation. There are different factors that participated in forming his decision-making and mobility scheme at the initial stage of his career and spatial mobility. In fact, social and professional network played an important part beside serendipitous events in this regard:

I came [first time to Finland] in 1965... I was supposed to study in London. When I did my master in Cairo in 1964, I worked in the ministry of industry in Egypt and I was very enthusiastic about development in Nasser's time. My professor by that time who had just come from London encouraged me very much to go there visited us in Syria and I invited him to give some lectures... Then, we agreed that I will go to London to study, but I met one Finnish professor. He invited me to come to Helsinki... He arranged for me to stay there. Unfortunately he died the year after that. It was really tragic thing, so I went back to University of Tampere ... (Abid).

This illustrates the importance of social network and serendipity in international HSM which affect the trajectories of individuals that involve, not only the significance of human capital, rationality and self-initiated moves but also external, structural and forced turning-points in the process of their decision-makings for career and geographical mobility. Ackers & Gill's (2008) study supports this tenet of the significant influences of these factors in the processes of decision-making for HSPs from East Europe in UK. A study by Bright & colleagues (2005) on university students shows the important effects of social network of family and friends in career decision-making. Thus, these HSPs have *reacted* to mobility schemes and serendipitous events rather than *contrived* them. Abid and Khalid's initial mobility experience were self-initiated for study in Europe and then experienced mobility under structural and self-initiated turning-points for external and serendipitous reasons. Abid reports that his first decision to move abroad 'was to make my PhD' and return back to his country and build it,' Monaim again explains the change in the course of his career path and the shift from his individual personal choice and interest to an enforced decision that would ultimately affect his subsequent career mobility in future:

It was my choice [to go to Princeton] and I started the steps to go, filling papers, everything was going well. Then suddenly, political problems turned my plans upside down. This was the cutting of cultural relations between Syria and Western Countries. It was the time between two wars with Israel... For me, I wasn't interested in going to Russia... Actually, it took time for me till I realized that maybe the best is to accept study in Russia... (Monaim).

His decision to accept the offer for Russia (ex-Soviet Union) was rational but a forced turning-point in his trajectory because of the intervening external political event. A large number of respondents maintain their mobility experiences have been met with various forms of influential turning-points.

The above instances imply their mobility decision-making was triggered by the interaction between structural external and self-initiated rationalistic internal ones. Decision-making can be cognitive in the sense that a HSP analyses and evaluates what is available as opportunities and individual potentials in a specific destination country or labour market and the available information, before coming to a 'good' decision that is *evaluative* and *aspirational* in nature. These respondents also show a tendency of selecting a career path of a permanent or long-term nature as a *strategic* and *opportunistic* option for their career and family. It is the quality of decision which can determine if a HSP has really chosen the suitable right decision on career pursuit or geographical moves for their professional and personal benefits, though sometimes under forced circumstances. The case of some women being more proactive in their career than men signals how agency is positioned and structured. Bimrose and colleagues (2008) advance that, beside agency and realistic aspirations, proactivity are elemental in career mobility as individuals who instrumentalize *evaluative* or *strategic* career styles.

Another illustrative case is Warda, a female medical-care nurse. Her trajectory embodies the interplay of factors in shaping her mobility experience, the instrumental social contacts in addition to serendipitous circumstances. In her beginning, she met with a research group from university of Oulu doing fieldwork in her native country as she happened to be undertaking her training in the same peripheral region in Algeria. She subsequently worked as a translator for them and her social contacts with them later on with other Finns was pertinent in her career path. She later entered degree program for medical nursing after she secured her residence status few years later after her marriage with a Finn in Finland:

They chose me to be translator and assisting guide of 12 Finnish students from Oulu. I was working with them for one year 1990-1991. I was still studying and they were doing their research at the same time... Then a group of those students went to Finland to complete their work and I remained in contact with them though I finished my studies, anyway... They offered me a chance to come and attend their symposium at university of Oulu [in 1992]... I was looking for some horizon for my future and I was very active [when I came back the second time by the end of 1992]... So I came and got acquainted with a Finnish family which proposed for me to work for them one year. It was a great chance for me that I would have work and look for something.... (Warda).

As mentioned before, the processes of decision-making for many are rather *embodied* than just cognitive because of the tacit dimension in the ways how they unconsciously disregard some choices for another due to the presence of affective and physical aspects of her available cultural capital and the limits present in her arena of better career pursuits. Mobility can have more than one factor influencing decision-making at micro, meso- and macro-levels. It is the outcome of a continuous reflexive and adaptive negotiation responding to a large number of instigators over time and place (Ackers & Gill, 2008, p. 231). Happenstance has a significant role in affecting career and spatial mobility, though many movers make rational and well-planned decisions, they can be instigated by unplanned and fortuitous events. Usually, the expectation of mobility in career path is supported by the view that international professional and occupational experience is intrinsically rewarding. The sample evidences incentives such as knowledge and skills development and career mobility is a conscious strategy to construct their cultural and social capital through mobility to augment their productivity, career mobility and long-term employment security. Nevertheless, many respondents

initially entered Finland and settled down owing to motives other than human capital and career pursuits, but rather through social ties, family ties such as family reunification.

2.6 CONCLUSION: ROOTS AND ROUTES IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The chapter tries to capture the important aspects of career and spatial mobility in relation with the factors influencing decision-making processes and shaping the context within which the respondents negotiate their spatial and career mobility schemes. The range of issues identified in their narratives unveils external objective factors and internal subjective ones, linked with career and socio-economic prospects at individual and professional levels. Throughout the discussion, some issues are raised pertaining to the importance of career mobility and better work conditions. Many HSPs move to have a successful career, educational and occupational attainments because opportunities are limited or nonexistent in their countries of origin or their host countries or because employment systems are deficient in those countries (see next chap). The interviews highlight the connection between the quality of positions (contractual security) and mobility/migration, between occupational position and family situation. The nature and location of their professional positions have important effect on the kind of prospective moves they may engage in and on the length of stay. There is also a range of mobility stimuli linked with the capacity to advance in career mobility and professional experience while reducing the possibility of circular mobility as these HSPs settle down and build family life.

For better career mobility, the respondents use their various forms of capital available in their career or spatial mobility schemes (see more in chap 5). Mobility and migration is viewed by many as a means to access physical resources to work effectively in such areas as academia, S&T and health-care sectors. The data show that the majority in mid- and late-career stages tend to move more often and most of them are married with Finnish spouses. Many of them are in dual career situations and most of them have spouses who develop some sort of career pursuits. The presence of a spouse and children can reduce recurring moves in their life and career path, as it is demonstrated in other international research studies. This might have negative impacts on some in their career upward mobility, leading in some cases to deskilling and 'brain waste,' especially for women. This situation is detrimental for them as they are unable to benefit from their qualifications or previous work experience (see also chap 4 and 5). Besides, many respondents underline the importance of social capital, in the form of family relationships, social contacts and social and academic networks, as determining in shaping their multiple geographical moves until current location of Finland. Along their mobility, the HSPs accrue cultural and social capital with subsequent increase in confidence to move and generate networks and contacts. Moreover, social capital plays an important role in mobility schemes of HSPs as marriage produces resistance to the lure of economic considerations or instigation of further moves.

The research data reveal two major outcomes with respect to career decision-making: the actual decisions are not always individual and that the different career paths of the respondents seem to be non-linear as it is generally assumed owing to the various influential factors of events and circumstances which lie beyond the reach of the individual. The subjects in their accounts follow career paths which fit the existing social and occupational structures, and gendered occupational

patterns. The theoretical ground presented here attempt to provide an explanation of the individual agency and various structures which impact on the process of decision-making. Both dimensions deem important in understanding how decisions are actually made at the micro-level (individual agency, aspirations), meso-level (social and occupational structures) and macro-level of society and social structures. What is interesting in the conclusions of study here is that the meso-level involves the micro-level in the sense that occupational and social structures were part of the individual and decision making processes, not just the external context within which such decisions are made.

The career path and decision-making are intertwined in the sense that future life-career path is as much important as what already happened in the past of an individual's career path. The sample includes HSPs from various career stages, belonging to different generations and life courses and positional characteristics which affect their pathways. Their historical positioning in their reports restores their past experience in the light of the present lived experience as their career develops. The motivations which shape their mobility can be career-related dynamics such as opportunities for upward career mobility and the conditions aspired for to attain it (e.g. work conditions, autonomy, funding, intellectual respectability, quality life factors). Other factors impinging on decision-making process involve accumulated social capital, reported by the subjects as instrumental in their career paths. Sometimes, serendipitous circumstances of political, economic or personal nature re-shape and incite them to make self-assessment and compromise in the process of making decision. It should be borne in mind that priority given to individual factors affecting decision-making differs in the career path of each respondent, depending on their individual habitus and accumulated capitals. Some HSPs meet with unexpected circumstances which do not give them multiple choices to effectively select the best one, but rather unpredictable triggers and unplanned schemes.

The results of the study raise the question of the validity of differentiation at empirical level in mobility/migration research between self-initiated and organizationally driven mobility for HSPs. Generally, the forms of HSM are affected by family and employment considerations. HSPs often undertake multiple circular moves, having in mind return to native country or further mobility in their life-career path as they develop through time. Their mobility in its various forms is always present in their agenda and is under regular negotiation and reflection while considering their personal circumstances and family situation (see more in chap 3, 4, 5). The decision-making on their move is not only whether or where to move, but also for how long and on what basis and under what conditions to stay in the new destination. Yet, it should be noted here that the concept of decision-making entails a conscious and active appraisal of situations by rational and informed agent(s) such as family, career opportunities and benefits, social and academic networks, or sometimes fortuitous events.

3 Patterns and Effects of Mobility: Conceiving Linearity and Circularity

The whole object of travel is not to set foot on foreign land; it is at last to set foot on one's own country as a foreign land (G.K. Chesterton).¹⁷

The journey not the arrival matters (T. S. Eliot).¹⁸

3.1 THE INSIDE-OUT OF MOBILITY PATTERNS AND EFFECTS

The previous chapter discussed the dynamics that shape processes of decision-making undertaken by the sample for spatial and career mobility. This chapter grapples with their experiences with respect to patterns and impacts of their mobility and migration experiences from the perspective of *brain drain*, *brain gain*, *brain circulation* or *brain waste*. It looks at their reported accounts of experiential perceptions on their trends and characteristics (circularity, linearity, return, Permanency) as they experience them. At the empirical level, interest is laid on quality of their moves (who moves, at what career-stage and for how long) and their effects at individual and professional levels on Finland and their respective countries of origin (e.g. knowledge production, skills transfer, networking). The recent changes within the EU concerning legal and policies measures at national and supranational levels in international HSM underpin this tendency and show the increasing complexity of HSM patterns (OECD, 2008a, p.69). Conceptually, the developments in the policies to encourage HSM would have complex influence on the rate of mobility and migration from MENA countries to developed countries such as Finland, opening new opportunities for HSPs to be mobile in both vertical and horizontal direction, with possible unidirectional flows. The developments in transport and ICTs for efficient virtual distance work have contributed in the expansion of circulation than in the past (Castells 2000b; Meyer, 2001; Duque, 2008). These developments would possibly raise the form, rate and destination of international HSM in vertical direction South-North. Emerging and developed economies are magnets for global HSPs as personal or professional motives of career mobility and decision-making.

The chapter supports the assumption that these developments instigate the rise of the form, rate and new destinations of HSM for knowledge movers from MENA region (Özden 2006; Brodmann *et al.*, 2010). These latter represent a crucial factor for the determinants affecting processes of decision-making on career and spatial mobility/migration. The study here thus considers the impacts of their actual experiences in terms of their personal well-being and individual professional career experience. The main question revolves around the characteristic features of their mobility/migration to Finland in terms of patterns and effects in comparison to traditional immigration countries of HSPs from MENA region such as US, France, Canada and Germany (Özden 2006, p. 8). The chapter gives insights into

¹⁷ Chesterton, Gilbert K. (2009) *The Riddle of the Ivy*, in *Tremendous Trifles*. A.L. Coble, CreateSpace.

¹⁸ Eliot, Thomas S. (1930) *The Journey of the Magi*, in *Ariel Poems: Collected Poems 1909-1962*. Faber & Faber Series.

understanding the significance of their impacts in relation to the migration/mobility trends in the literature. It should be noted here that quantitative evidence on the impacts of mobility are hard to measure (OECD, 2008a, p. 100). Mobility and migration patterns are examined mainly through the subjects' experiential conceptions. The second cornerstone of discussion looks at the prominent effects of their experiences on their career paths and the host country Finland as well as the possible impacts on their respective countries of origin. To avoid redundancy, discussion of the impacts on family life and career progression in Finland would be elaborated in subsequent chapters. The author probes into the effects on their native countries and the role networking play in knowledge and skills transfer.

Xiang (2005) states that knowledge exchange is carried out by HSPs and the exchange is usually part of their daily work-life for increasing productivity. An emphasis on the individual agency tends to underline the complexities of knowledge mobility and transfer, and its theoretical emphasis needs to be enhanced especially in the case of qualitative studies (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Williams & Balaz, 2008). As discussed earlier, studies in mobility and migration have considered structure and human agency (Giddens, 1984). Goss & Lindquist (1995, p. 345) also analyse how 'individual interests and actions are not determined by institutions, but individuals draw selectively on institutional rules and resources in pursuit of their interests and inevitably reproduce the social system.' Social learning theory, which advances that humans learn from their environment, also underlines the connection between individuals and particular contexts. Elkjaer (2003, p. 43) supports this tenet while mentioning, 'individuals are at one and the same time to be regarded as products of their social and cultural history and producing situations mirroring that.' This perspective is relevant to the context of study as it deals with a group of HSPs from MENA countries with different idiosyncratic social situatedness of their life and career experience.

At the individual level, personal characteristics, attitudes, family and career-related factors mould decisions to move (see chap 2). At meso-level, national and supranational policies on HSM, education system, social welfare regime, economic growth, innovation system, and political changes are macro-level factors which also affect decision to relocate abroad (Meyer, 2001; Syed, 2008). Different categories of HSPs are said to be lured by different motivations and in different contexts (OECD, 2008a; Syed, 2008). In general, the range of push-pull factors is different, complex, and is still debated in HSM studies and literature. Thus, it is crucial to situate this individual within the framework of the specific country, institution(s) and workplace. Jenkins (2004, p. 14) mentions that the individual experience has three different but interrelated 'orders': the individual order (the embodied person and his cognitive agency), the interaction order (interactive social networking), and the institutional order (structures, organization and established norms and routines). When analyzing mobility of HSPs, it is necessary to highlight their role in the mobility/migration experience and the degree of their volition and commitment for getting involved into such international activities as knowledge transfer. Yet, it deems important to avoid undue generalizations, or stress human agency, but to recognize and understand the dynamism in their career paths to see their role in knowledge spillovers, and to better understand the nature of knowledge work (see Williams & Balaz, 2008).

Thus, a number of studies highlight the importance to deal with the individual life course in mobility/migration studies (King, 2002). Further, Hodkinson & colleagues (2004, p. 8) support the need for in-depth ethnographic approach without focusing much on individual agency. The individual perspective represents an essential approach in the study of international HSM and knowledge transfer, which is evidenced in the experiences of HSPs in general. However, the importance of relationality in career research, as well as HSM, is elemental to fathom the various intervening factors in patterns and effects of HSPs experiences (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Balaz and Williams (2004, p. 23) underline the necessity to use a 'total human capital' approach which considers individual social biographies, and the importance of context to fathom how 'structural parameters' relate to 'individual agency' and the 'relational nature of skills' (*ibid.*, p.24). King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003, p. 24) encourage also using a biographical approach to support an understanding of the way 'individuals enrich their biographies through social and geographical mobility.' The life and career paths of international HSPs are essentially formed and transformed through various trends and perspectives in their experiences with different outcomes as the research literature indicates.

3.2 HIGHLY SKILLED MOBILITY: TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

The outcomes of international HSM, either positive or negative, have received much consideration at various levels (OECD, 2008a). Yet, it is the broad macro-level impacts that have arguably met with much debate in the literature. Different denominations and theorizing have been coined to describe consequences which result from international migration and mobility. *Brain drain* describes the situation in which HSPs move abroad, usually to developed countries (Docquier *et al.*, 2008b) with the assumed negative implication that the country of origin is left with reduced supply of human capital and skills (Solimano, 2008). Glavan (2008, p. 734) mentions, 'physical capital goes hand in hand with human capital... Consequently, productivity will decline in the origin countries, creating further incentives for skilled emigration to developed regions. A vicious cycle can result, and this might explain why less developed nations remain poor.' The emigration of HSPs may result in a loss of *savoir-faire* or knowledge to native countries for the benefit of host countries. Another negative outcome is related to the unfulfilled promise of 'high-skills' expatriates once abroad, ending up with what is called *brain waste* (Lowell & Findlay, 2001), when these individuals are underemployed and their qualifications and skills are underutilized in host countries.

However, this trend can also be experienced in the sending countries of HSPs for almost similar reasons. The relocation of human capital can have positive results in *brain exchange* and *brain gain*. It indicates two-way flow of HSPs between host and native countries (Mahroum 2000b). The literature in skilled migration/mobility studies has identified positive effects on the native countries of HSPs as well as the individuals themselves. *Brain gain* can be described as an increase in the human capital stock of economies in native countries from their emigration/mobility mainly to developed countries (Beine *et al.*, 2008). Lately, macro-level research databases on vertical mobility/migration of HSPs, South-North, have appeared (see Docquier & Marfouk, 2006; Beine *et al.*, 2007; Docquier *et al.*, 2008b), quantifying feedbacks emigration of HSPs on human capital and seeing the potential benefits from the trend at aggregate level. The results from estimate analyses indicate variations in those studies but generally show that investment in human capital by the growth rate of tertiary educated people has

positive effects on the rate of human capital stock in cross-sectional analyses, especially if the HSPs are from developing countries (Beine *et al.*, 2011). It is important then to distinguish between moving HSPs from developing countries and those from developed to developed countries, namely the OECD (Syed, 2008; Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010), and thus we likely notice dense mobility across western European and North-American countries than others (Mahroum, 2000a; OECD, 2008a). *Brain circulation* as a concept refers to this bi-directional flow of talent (Meyer, 2001; Davenport, 2004; Teferra, 2005). Yet, it is considered ambiguous for some because it is used also to refer to “reverse migration” or “return mobility” of expatriate HSPs (Duque, 2008) and cooperation between Diaspora network and individuals in the native country (Meyer, 2001; Patterson, 2006).

Reverse migration as a concept has the potential for expatriates to acquire *savoir-faire* and resources, networking, HE, and knowledge abroad and then apply them to their native country on their return (e.g. Indian, Chinese and Mexican diasporas in US) (Lazonick, 2007, OECD, 2007a). Meyer and colleagues (2001, p. 309) mention that despite the ‘polycentric’ nature of HSM, ‘the flows seem to always go from the less developed ‘haemophilic regions’ to the more competitive places.’ Research evidence shows an increase in the trend of HSM and specialization in labour markets due to an ageing demography in traditional immigration countries, and thus a strong rising competition for HSPs (Mahroum, 2001, p.27). Iredale (2001) indicates the important shift in the size, composition and direction of HSM, policies of integration and a competition for foreign HSPs (see also Lowell, 2003; OECD, 2008a; Brown *et al.*, 2011). An important question to raise here is whether the paradigms dealing with the subject can explain and culminate in an understanding of the overall effects of international HSM. In this regard, novel theoretical and methodological approaches are required to transcend the current framing of mobility and migration to understand the nature, patterns and effects of mobility/migration and to explain the actual processes of spatial and career mobility and the relationship between these and the possible positive feedbacks from HSPs’ experiences for individual, local and global benefits. King (2002, p. 89) underlines the contribution of HSPs, including students, to the new forms of international mobility/migration emerging from ‘new motivations, new space-time flexibilities, globalization forces and migrations of consumption and personal self-realization.’ Indeed, the transformation in patterns and motivations nowadays ‘blur the never straightforward boundary between migration and mobility [and] melt away some of the traditional dichotomies’ (*ibid.*, p. 90).

International mobility of HSPs from MENA region occurs in the context of imbalance between domestic labour market demand and overflowing supply in cohort of qualified and young workforce in these countries that cannot be absorbed for good jobs (Özden, 2006; Brodmann *et al.*, 2010; Khachani, 2010). Empirically, it deems hard to gauge and capture the stock and rates of HSPs in Finland because statistics about the rates of their emigration, expatriation and repatriation are dimly accurate, except for OECD datasets, and the approaches differ in the measurement of quality and modes of HSPs mobility. Extensive theoretical analysis exist in the migration literature but ‘systematic and reliable data on international migration patterns and migrants characteristics, both at the aggregate and the household level’ are absent (Özden 2006, p. 2). The taken for granted hypothesis that only the ‘best’ emigrate is questionable because it is not only human capital and meritocracy count in the process of global HSM (see chap 1). Recent statistics from OECD (2008a, p. 73) indicate that the

total number of foreign-born HSPs in Finland amounts to 67 171 in 2001, without showing their origin, gender, age and fields of work. However, an empirical work by Docquier & Marfouk (2006) provides statistical calculations using available dataset on countries of origin of tertiary educated migrants in OECD countries between 1990 and 2000. Özden (2006, p. 10) further indicates the rates of emigrating HRST from MENA countries is still low compared with the percentage of those retained or remaining in their native countries. One plausible explanation would be simply that the level of education in these countries is still low compared with advanced countries (Docquier & Marfouk, 2006).¹⁹ Dataset from OECD (2008b) show the late developments in migration patterns and policies in 30 OECD countries, including Finland, with a rise in inflows of international HSP workers. Kyhä's (2011) recent study in Finland indicates the same tenet, and Raunio and Forsander's work (2009) shows the increasing involvement of Finland in global competition for HSPs.

The present research work bears the theory of 'fluidity' and 'circulation' but tends also towards physical retention of international HSPs in their experiences (Sayad, 2004). The drastic developments within the EU zone in legal and policy measures to enhance international HSM (e.g. Bologna Process, ERA) and the global changes in world economies towards knowledge economy underpin this tendency. Conceptually, the developments in the policies to encourage HSM are having complex influence on the rate of mobility and migration from MENA countries to the EU particularly, opening new opportunities for local HSPs to move to developed countries with possible unidirectional flows (Brodmann *et al.*, 2010). This section exhibits the patterns as shown by the respondents with a focus on the duration and permanence of their moves and possibility of return mobility. The quality of moves is further discussed with regard to the category of these HSPs according to career-stage of their moves, their fields, age and gender. The second section delves into an evaluation of the effects of their mobility/migration on their career paths and the possible positive feedbacks on their countries of origin and Finland. The overall goal is not to measure the direction or a quantification of their experiences since the complex relational feature of the spatiality and temporality of their mobility and career trajectories is always dynamic and involving various factors (e.g. excellence, productivity, seniority, and contribution). In fact, the scope of research in such areas would require a broad canvas in studying both patterns and effects through a large attitudinal survey and a statistical quantitative analysis of all existing trends and characteristics of mobility/migration of this case study.

3.3 PATTERNS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILITY

Temporality of moves: short-term or permanent stays

Within the discourse of *brain drain*, *brain circulation* or *brain gain*, the issue of temporality of mobility is overt and sometimes covert when the effects of mobility/migration are examined from the viewpoint of native or host countries. This is clearly highlighted in the concerns of countries of origin for the possible benefits their HSPs abroad can bring to them, and for the host country's engagements to

¹⁹ Docquier & Marfouk's (2006) study is based on collected data that draws on census and register data collected in all OECD countries. It provides new estimates of the brain drain experienced by developing countries and indicates the brain drain is highly overestimated in some MENA countries such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

retain them in the local labour market after years of investments in public education years. Theoretically, we can map the landscape of HSM in such a manner that there are those HSPs who intend a temporary stay and those who target a long-term stay and which might turn into a permanent one. Moreover, mobility can be self-initiated or an organizationally-driven corporate move. However, mobility and migration theorists advance that HSM is so complex that making such binarism and distinction of forms of mobility is too simplistic and untenable (Iredale & Appleyard, 2001) because a HSP can have one major move followed by multiple and intermittent ones (Van de Sande *et al.*, 2005).

The processes of HSM are thus very unpredictable and fluid (see chap 1). HSM studies generally show the temporal feature of its occurrence (i.e. short or long-term moves). It is argued that in Europe, 'most migration is not permanent, but part of a process of mobility in which both return and serial migration are natural economic responses to a dynamic economy' (Piracha & Vickerman, 2002, p.1). Williams and colleagues (2004, p. 29) argue that 'longer-term migration has increasingly been replaced by more diverse shorter-term flows, so that it is more apposite to circulation and mobility than to migration.' However, this general assumption does not involve the kind of mobility or migration that have a departure point of move from such region as MENA countries or other developing countries (Sayad, 2004; Hassan, 2008). Human mobility is believed to be 'temporally and spatially stickier than most other forms of mobility' and migrants are 'locked into' specific locations or develop 'place attachments' that confine mobility (Williams *et al.*, 2004, p. 38). The individual perspective of international HSM is important in this regard as it allows unraveling the differential aspects of forms and quality of experiences, the motives and expectations of HSPs' options chosen in their career paths. Ackers and Gill (2008, p. 14) argue permanent stay and settlement for HSPs can stir a consideration of two dimensions: (i) whether the structural factors identified in migration research are uniform or whether different groups of HSPs possibly see and prioritize various structural factors depending on their personal situation and other extrinsic factors, and (ii) whether the 'potential for action' reflects differential opportunity structures and agency.

International HSM might be of a temporary nature with limited plans for settling down or it might turn into permanence for motives other than career-related (Myers & Pringle, 2005). The question is what the major trend is for the subjects regarding the length of their mobility/migration experience in Finland, bearing in mind the specific contextual variables influencing their schemes and processes of decision-making (see chap 2). Usually, the concept of temporality, i.e. duration of moves or stay, is related with very complex objective and subjective concepts of settlement and integration in the host country. The sample shows a largest number self-initiating entry to Finland in early- or mid-career stages after some prior moves in other countries in or outside Europe. The question here is whether a short-term form of mobility is highly represented among the respondents. The accounts of many respondents evidence shuttle move pattern deems infrequent while the majority tend to stay permanently in Finland. Some of the questions pertaining to this issue revolve around their mobility and migration characteristics such as duration of stay, frequency of moves and circulation, return option, and educational or professional career stage.

The longer the stay, the more likely it turns into permanent:

For the majority of respondents, short moves can act as a precursor to longer or permanent stay. A large number of respondents express their uncertainty about return to native countries, and the longer they stay abroad, the less likely they are to return. Gaillard and Gaillard (1997, p. 212) think it probably takes more than an incentive policy to convince the expatriate HSPs to return to their native countries. The opportunity for career mobility with an increase in career capital and cultural capital usually restrains the possibility of return. Yussef and Safaa indicate the importance of early-career mobility through further studies and trainings in career progression which allure a young HSP to stay longer in an ideal work environment. Safaa mentions 'I stayed so long time in Europe' that it affected her decision about return:

... I think at this level [of my work and career], I'm not ready to return back, mainly it's because I really like performing well in my research work. Of course, I do supervising of students and teaching them but the research part in the lab is the most important of my work... I'm using much advanced techniques and facilities here that are so expensive and it's not going to be the same in Morocco... It's about the conditions... (Safaa).

... What was happening is that 'you finish your studies'... and then you think to work for just one year or two before you return back to Algeria because it's easier if you go home without any experiences, then your degree would probably have less value. It is like someone who studied in the native country... Then you work the first and second years, and then you think of further studies for three years before returning for some senior position of manager or the like... Then, the more you continue, the more you get used to the country and your environment. This makes it very difficult to move back... (Yussef).

Safaa here points out her main concerns as her work cannot be done in conditions lacking basic core support for research. The amount of funding cannot cover purchase of sophisticated materials on routine basis. In general, her country suffers drastic problems in infrastructural investments like obsolete research equipments, under-funded libraries, and the low quality of academic system. There is a range of determinants which the sample see essential to efficient working that involves access to optimal human and physical resources, working in a better environment, and access to facilities and infrastructures, in addition to high level of autonomy (Sabour & Habti, 2010). The majority of subjects echo the work conditions in native countries as such lack these beside low prestige and social status of science and education, and limited opportunities for scientific mobility and exchange at the international scale. Hassib thinks the presence of career opportunities and work conditions are main drives for him to stay longer in Finland:

... I was thinking last year to return this year back to Egypt, but due to my new position I have changed my decision of return and I postponed it. But the idea and intention is there in my mind. When? I actually don't know. I might stay ten years or maybe one year... I haven't yet made any strict decision in this way. Anyway, as long as there is work for me and I have a position, the greater possibility is that I might stay here longer. In case my work has finished and they decided that the department is to be closed for financial reason or others in the university, I will definitely return the following week. My stay here is connected with my work.... (Hassib).

When asked about the reasons for the *brain drain* from their native countries, Hassib and Yussef explain that priority for mobility or migration are usually career achievements and productivity instead of financial returns:

The first thing I want to clarify is that it's not because of salary. I have friends who are working in Algeria and they earn as much as I earn here. The salary in my native country has grown quite fast now ... if you compare [both salaries] with the conditions and cost of living, it's almost the same. The main reason is the kind of work you are doing. You know, if you are interested in doing research or if you are working in a big company developing something new, something that you won't find in your native country, that's really one of the reasons that can push someone go abroad (Yussef).

There is a tight link between HSM and accumulation of cultural capital (e.g. qualifications, skills and languages) because within a life's span, mobility is associated with the development of knowledge and skills and to particular integration into a labour context (Meyer, 2001, p. 98). Redouane articulates this major tenet on the causes for the outflow of large number of qualified people mainly to developed countries:

I think the majority do not find what they want in their country of origin. They find more opportunities in developed countries than in native country. This is very important and it depends on how we conceive things. There are people who want to work their whole life, and there are others who want to learn and develop their career through time. In Jordan, it is hard to build successful career, so it is much easier to achieve it abroad like in Finland. You can develop skills and knowledge.... There are good structures, infrastructures and assistance here... (Redouane).

It is worth-mentioning that these HSPs are after all individuals having personal and family concerns and priorities. King (2002, p. 101) calls for a new theoretical methodology that underscores 'double embeddedness of migration.' He advances that research needs embedding in social and societal processes of the native and host countries at macro-level, and research needs to be embedded in a life course of the individual HSP at micro-level. The individual's drives have an important effect on mobility processes and its propensity, and on its particular temporal nature. Thus, an understanding of *fluidity* is related to understanding HSPs *settlement* and the processes leading to it. There are various demands in the different stages of the career paths of these individuals, their personal situations and gendered responses to these. The data confirm the complexity and fluidity of the population of HSPs' mobility to Finland and support the assumption that almost all of them hold permanent, if not a long-term stay. Sometimes, family life concerns for its members are prioritized in the length of stay:

There were opportunities for me to move if I wanted to. We had one project in which I might have moved to America, and I was also proposed a position in Canada even if it was in informal way, but I didn't want to go. The reasons are: first the family. My daughters speak Finnish now so I didn't want to change the context... and after all, it is the same situation of being estranged (abroad)... I have brothers who were in Finland and then went to Canada and they say Finland is much better for different reasons... (Hassib).

In Jordan, it is hard to build career progression, so it is much easier to do this abroad like in Finland than in Jordan. You can progress and develop skills and knowledge. In morocco, you cannot work and study at the same time but here you can do that.... There are good structures, infrastructures and assistance here. If, for example, both couple work and have a baby, they can take it to night kindergarten if both work at night. You can never think of this happening there. The conditions are very favourable to develop one's career (Redouane).

The propensity for return mobility may be constrained over the life-course for those in dual career situation and having children (see details in chap 4). The majority of respondents state that they see it

better to stay in Finland for a better career mobility. For some like Hassib, Ahmed and Monaim, their social ties and family circumstances do not allow for their return in the long run while others see that the general conditions in native country are not encouraging enough to take such a decision to return or move to a third country. The majority in their mid-career or late-career stage does not wish to return as they still continue in their academic or professional career activities and prefer to stay in Finland until retirement, or during retirement period such as Khalid, Monaim and Abid (see chap 2).

Entry in early-career or mid-career moves:

Traditional conceptualizations of the *brain drain* and *brain waste* need to be reconsidered in the context of mobility patterns described here. Balaz and colleagues (2004a, pp. 7-12) consider the division between temporary and permanent mobility as 'false dichotomy' as they emphasize the characteristic features of mobility cycles like emigration and return by 'cumulative causation' and 'unintended outcomes.' They also highlight a link between forms of temporary and permanent mobility driven mainly by occupational and socio-economic returns. Yet, the data show early short-stay moves of engineers and academics develop knowledge and skills and try to increase positive expectations and therefore increase the propensity for subsequent circular moves for career mobility and increase in cultural capital. Some respondents show evidence of this process. An example is Chafiq, coming from France, experienced a period of occupational training in an IT company in Finland for six months and then came back to the same company for permanent position after less than a year:

I was looking for those big brochures for every country you have these big companies list edited. So I was just targeting big international companies. ... An IT company started to expand... so it just happened that it was the right timing. I got acceptance for 6 months [in 1996]... as a trainee in Telecommunications... So after two years I started making applications. Then, I joined the company again. I think it was 1998 in a special group in international support engineers... it was good because in the fields of Information and Telecommunications, there were opportunities to choose from (Chafiq).

The accounts of some demonstrate the relationship between the nature of their occupational position and their moves. Most of these HSPs have educational experience in academia either prior to their entry to Finland and directly from their native countries in early-career stage (e.g. Ali, Hanane, Hassib, Chafiq, Warda) or after multiple moves to other countries before entering Finland. This group which experienced multiple moves constitutes the majority in the sample. Ahmed illustrates the effect of circular mobility and seniority in the university sector, which reflects the multiplier effect of international mobility of short circular moves related to occupational duties and the symbolic capital earned in his settlement in Finland. When asked about his activities, he mentions the involvement in around 180 to 200 days of travelling in a year which affects his weekly lecturing:

[I participate in conferences and seminars] but in the management of my university and its academic council and management of international relations. These are my duties in [my] university, that's why we have very tight time schedules. I do my work here plus the international activities of Finland abroad.... These are all the activities which demand much time management. So what can I have more? (Ahmed).

However, only few in the sample are in late-career stage and experience, or have experienced, extensive mobility within their academic or research-based activities (e.g. Monaim, Khalid and Abid).

The interviewing raised questions on quality of their occupational seniority in Finland and its effect on career mobility at individual level. The integration of this small group of respondents in local labour market generally fuels great flexibility in their professional mobility around in Finland or abroad. At meso- and macro-level, membership of Finland in EU and the situation of national R&D sector and education system plays a part in mobility and performance (Habti, 2010). At micro-level, mobility constitutes an ongoing reflexive process which combines temporary and long stay as Ahmed explains the density of his shuttle moves related to his different engagements in and outside Finland. The length of stay is important in terms of their occupational position, seniority, their personal-family situation and nationality of spouse. This is an important consideration for those HSPs with family members who need to insure their mobility would not jeopardize family stability, risk their career work, and possibly the spouse's employability (next chap).

Gender factor affects the processes of initial decision-making to move and re-move or return to country of origin. The case of early-career stage entrants to Finland is an illustration as young researchers at doctoral or postdoctoral level. Their mobility scheme is not usually influenced by marital concerns and it seems quite 'fluid' as they target further experiential gains in their occupational field (e.g. Mounir, Yussef, Nabil). Related to this, the duration of stay is much affected by the local policies of social and occupational integration of HSPs (see Lowell, 2001). The relational aspect of the individual life course, in a sense, is a significant dimension in exploring the temporal aspect of their mobility experiences. Mounir speaks about his early-career stage in Finland stating, 'I benefited a lot. Apart from the scientific side, as it is the outcome of your studies as you study long period and every day you learn something new...'

Return mobility: where do we stand?

Most host (developed) countries which have invested much in training and HE of foreign HSPs strive to retain them and integrate them within the local labour market and social system especially when it comes to specific professional fields and institutions (Mahroum, 2001; Lowell & Findlay, 2001). The question of retention is imperative in the equation of effects of their mobility on native and host countries. Yet, we should be careful when considering its temporal aspect. For instance, how do we measure the departure time of outflow, duration of their stay or return to native country? Within the same context, the issue of *brain waste* is important here when it comes to those HSPs, retained but nonetheless unable to utilize effectively their cultural capital in the host country. This situation can be regarded a state of *brain drain* and *brain waste*. At the political level, developed countries often implicitly mention the issue of retention, whereas the discourse on return still remains heightened as a priority matter for sending countries (Lowell & Findlay, 2001; Dumont & Lemaitre, 2005).

Some subjects show *uncertainty* on the duration of their stay in Finland but nonetheless intend long-term stay. This feature appears in the reports of some respondents in early- and mid-career stages while late-career HSPs tend to stay permanently. Cases like these are clearly context-bound as any change in the context can stir unexpected change in attitude and decision to stay or trigger subsequent moves. There are various factors which influence decision-making of these HSPs as they practice a certain level of choice within various frameworks of constraints or triggers and try to balance

aspirations for productivity with their family and personal lives (previous chap). Planning to settle down is important in the context of international mobility/migration and the link between the intention and degree of personal engagement with the host society generally is covered with uncertainty. Mounir thinks of staying longer in Finland with the exception of an unexpected development towards his aspirational motivations in career. About return to native country, he states, 'Not really. I don't know yet. I might go back if an opportunity shows up.' Redouane and Hassib, however, consider moving back to their native countries is the natural end in the long run for those who have experienced international mobility and migration:

I want to stay and work in Jordan. I have always been thinking that however long I would stay abroad, one day I have to return back and work there. First, it is a question of the family, and second I think each person feels better in their native country than a foreign country even if the conditions in the latter is much better than the former, we feel better at home (Redouane).

.... My personal viewpoint is that I see every one might work aboard for a specific period so that he develop in his career, but his country of origin must be his final destination, not specifically the Arab world.... Any person who has some nationalistic feeling has to think about developing his country.... (Hassib).

The subject of international HSM and return option has traditionally been separated at the theoretical and empirical scales in migration studies (King, 2002). The question of return must conceptually be tackled in the light of human mobility and it is basically an issue of the general balance of flows and degree of attractiveness of destination country (previous chap). Marital situation and social ties influence the trajectory of HSPs and decision-making to return, but there are other factors affecting the retention or return mobility of these HSPs such as funding, employability and international reputation of R&D in the country. Cismas (2004) underlines the theoretical grounding that return mobility should be examined within the global context of mobility and takes a rather mid-position arguing for retention and return so as to face what she refers to as 'local thinking' because international HSPs bring forth cultural (religious) diversity to the respective host society (see chap 5 and 6) and returnees face suspicion and harassment from colleagues in native society and an unfavourable environment (Sabour & Habti, 2010). Toufiq, a consultant of immigrants, indicates:

The illness which is spread is that the brains, when they do not find the place where they can actualize their potentials and competences, they just go and look for other places, other countries. The social, political, and economic situation in our countries encourages this out-migration. Why does the intellectual leave the country? He escapes a harsh reality politically, absence of social justice, social freedoms, and economic development. For this reason, he looks for the best and this is human instinct. Why looking for the better? It's because this harsh reality must be changed (Toufiq).

The main problems we meet are not from here in Finland but there, in my native country, mainly bureaucracy and some other problems. Unfortunately, I am not really so positive about this subject, but our countries want all the time to put these kinds of activities [on transfer and networking] within political framework only, which is not really appreciated... Our countries want them to be through political parties and framework otherwise they will consider you as a political opponent hating his country. Besides, when you intend to have a meeting with concerned agents, it takes a long process before it is done (Ali).

When I was younger and studied in university in Syria, we used to see some harmony between our professors and we used to respect them very much, but what I see now about the academic world is an unbelievably low status... I really feel ashamed about some fellows there at the scientific and socio-economic levels. As a matter of fact, I discussed that issue recently when I was having some friends whom I respect. Appointment for professorship there is more or less a political [decision] and the security department has a saying on who is becoming a professor and who is not. You can imagine what that means ... (Abid).

Return option needs to be considered within the context of circulation and exchange while focusing on quality of academic or occupational mobility. Return of HSPs, however, is not always leading to knowledge transfer or exchange because this situation necessitates their total re-integration into their native country's labour market and availability of a good work environment conducive to knowledge and skills transfer (Sabour & Habti, 2010). However, large number of respondents unanimously agrees about the impossibility of this option as long as the environment and conditions in native countries are discouraging:

I remember one person who was specialized in nuclear physics. He did his postgraduate studies in Canada and returned to his native country. The job that he found was equal to 550 euro. He was obliged to re-emigrate and get away from the country as he said, whether to find a job or stay jobless it doesn't make any difference for him. Many people have decided that way... (Redouane).

If Arab brains find those who respect and honour them, and find the scientific environment in which they can benefit from, they will produce innovations. Innovation is absent and not supported now. In the distribution and share of wealth and budget of the nation, large part of it should be allocated to scientific research and innovation. Unfortunately, I think when we consider state budget in Science and research, it is very tiny.... A scientist must be respected and an erudite person must be given more space and opportunity, freedom of expression must be developed and enacted, scientific research must be enhanced, salaries of the university personnel must be increased. That's it! If these things are not available in his country, he will surely exit. This is the reality as it is lived (Toufiq).

Toufiq summarises the situation as it is lived in many of MENA countries. The fear of meeting hardships as repatriated HSPs makes them reticent towards return even if they show interest in the plan. Consequently, this may have gender-based and demographic outcomes at the level of skilled mobility or migration. Bi-national marriage is one main factor deterring return. For female HSPs married with Finns or males married with Europeans, it seems unpredictable for them to return. Understanding these aspects also requires a look at the nature of their occupational career and knowledge (chap 2 and 4). The informants seek employment and positions where they can fully benefit with good environment and research funding and their family's life is more financially and socially comfortable (see chap 2). This tendency brings to the fore a question on the relational nature of skills (Meyer, 2001; Williams *et al.*, 2004) since knowledge and skills are understood in the context within which they are essentially used, where 'total human capital will be articulated in the context of a different set of localized and distanced social relationships' (Williams *et al.*, 2004, p.32).

Harris (2004) discusses the relation between human mobility and knowledge transfer when she refers to the complex process of knowledge transfer and the restraints to meet these ends in countries of origin. The conditions and environment affect the efficiency level of the use and benefit from knowledge and skills' mobility. A question of quality and scope of their mobility experiences is also

underlined when we consider the general situation in the native countries (e.g. cultural and symbolic capitals, academic networks, organization of work and work environment). Williams and colleagues (2004, p. 36) state return mobility is 'more likely to be innovative where there was critical mass in the level of return, geographical concentration of HSP returnees, migration has been of medium-length duration, the migrants were well educated, economic differences between the origin and destination were relatively small, and return was organized in the context of national or regional economic policies.' Understanding the effect of return mobility requires consideration to the specific situation of native country to see how knowledge is generated, disseminated and utilized. This helps in exploring the possible feedbacks of HSPs mobility/migration in their countries of origin as well as host country. It is worth-noting the ability to respond to opportunities with respect to career mobility and quality of personal and family life is influenced by different subjective and objective factors (see chap 2 and 5).

The question of *brain drain* is not regarded by all respondents as resulting in *brain waste* because the problem is the consequence of institutional and structural malfunctioning in the state apparatus related to social system, labour markets, HEIs and R&D sectors (Özden, 2006; OECD, 2008a). Here, we can refer to factors wherein HSPs are forced to change fields of work or combine ubiquitous positions to earn decent incomes, that is to say, *deskilling*. The phenomenon of saturation in the native country's labour market in some fields drives qualified persons to move abroad, for better career prospects in HE or trainings. When there is surplus, international HSM may seem beneficial as in Chinese and Indian's policy of 'storing brainpower overseas for subsequent use' through return mobility or transfer and networking (Meyer, 2003, p.2). Nabil recalls policy measures which attract back their 'brains':

They [China and India] give much less but they give opportunity and similar work environment, that's the most important, I think that's more important than the salary ...You have everything to make the work just like you are doing it there. Of course, 'even if I pay you half the salary in Egypt than what you get in Finland, living expenses is also half cheaper than in Finland.' So it's not a big problem (Nabil).

In many sending countries, HSPs find it difficult to re-integrate into local labour market mainly when there are forms of protectionism and limited demands due to economic instability, labour market constraints, or favouritism in selection. Moreover, the concept of 'location-specific insider advantages' illustrate how social networks 'accumulated through living and working in the same place' restrict individuals into national systems as well as their career and job mobility (Williams *et al.*, 2004, p. 41). Nabil expresses the risk related with return in terms of accessibility to convenient employment and work conditions as an expatriate HSP. Knowing people with authority and with whom to work is important in decision-making to return and to generate the sort of positions one wishes. Chafiq expresses that the system does not support open and fair employment and objective selection processes, and thus the approach seems to be insular. They also see the nature of recruitment processes is biased with the present dominance of hierarchy at institutional level, which do not secure a suitable position for them. Nabil reminds us of his attempt to enter labour market in Tunisia after finishing his PhD and the structure of corrupt connections function with strong hold on process of selection and sane work environment:

... Actually when I was making my PhD, I thought that a renowned engineering institute could be a place where I could go if work in my native country, but then I asked around and found out that it's a place reserved to people who have very good contacts. So it's not just you apply for the job and then you get it or don't get it. But you apply for a job and you need a contact person who follows your application all the stairs up, otherwise it won't get going... (Nabil).

... Some people surely can get opportunity and money but when they want to return and make projects in place, they are not able to achieve their goals. If one wants to have a start up, he may not be able to get financial support because of the attitude of the boss (laughing) or managers. There is the political, social and professional attitude, you know, that everyone bootlick the boss in all norms. So this is why I think there is this *brain drain* (Chafiq).

... The relationships in offices between administrations and the public are very superficial. Maybe the secretary has strong connection with some personnel like the head or someone else that's why she behaves in her workplace with customers in an unmannerly way. This is one reason which drives individuals to emigrate (Jawad).

The institutions tend to reproduce themselves with a dominant local elites which confine access to jobs, practicing the same strategies favouring the 'insiders' and forms of internal reproduction that weaken a competitive and meritocratic approach to employment. Personal connections have important role in career advancement through connections and patronage. One of the prominent hurdles the governments in these countries face is the presence of over-supply of HSPs in native country's labour markets (Davenport, 2004, p. 618). This usually has the corollary in ubiquitous occupations with de-skilling and underemployment. A survey on HEIs in MENA region reports an increase in tertiary education graduates (Özden, 2006; OECD, 2008a) leading to possible deskilling or unemployment for a large portion. Thus, there seems to be no detrimental effects on the exodus of HSPs in R&D sector as it alleviates the surplus in employment candidates in the sector. The loss from qualified people outflows remains low while the management of human resources is not very effective and productive as a number of qualified people leave their positions and decide to move abroad. Malak, an Algerian health-care nurse mentions:

There are different reasons. Some are not satisfied with the standard of living, or social, scientific or academic conditions of work. Some may feel their cumulative knowledge and know-how are not well valued and regarded so they opt for migration... Some may opt for mobility to further their careers with better quality rewards and bring back with them accumulated knowledge and know-how. But then, when they come back to native countries, they don't find responsive and unrewarding institutions. Their qualifications are generally not well-valued. Most they want better living situation equal to the developed country wherein they studied and/or worked (Malak).

The review of the data and literature in international HSM substantiates this assumption indicating that a gradual decrease in R&D investment resulted in the absence of demand for HSPs, obvious fall in recruitment opportunity in the field and poor integration in global economy leading to outflows of a number of HRST especially (Mghari, 2004; Sabour & Habti, 2010). The interviewees refer to the push factors of outflows and limited potential outcomes if they return and the capacity to attain full professional reintegration:

The most difficult thing is that there is no care for talents in Syria. So if somebody is really talented, there is no guarantee he could find support needed. There is also lack of institutions and equipments for

conducting researches. It's not the same like here or in other developed country. People there cannot use their utmost abilities as they can. This is a big problem, a waste of brains. The problem is not restricted to many of those leaving the country to study or work, but also to those inside who are brain wastes too (Monaim).

... Our quality level of our universities is low. Instead of giving priority to education and learning, our countries focus on other things than education... They simply slammed down education.... If you gather all North African countries' universities, according to international ranking you will find education low with respect to research production and quality I think my main goal in life is develop myself and go to education institutions where the level of quality is better, and this is a natural tendency which existed since ancient times.... (Mounir).

Some subjects such as Mounir expressed their wish to have stayed in their native country if the situation was convenient for their personal and professional life, and some hope to return if the present situation recovers from those conditions. Mounir, in common with many other interviewees, indicates his interest in return to Morocco as it is related directly to the conditions of the native country and quality of human resources and employment system. Moreover, return mobility usually reflects their views on their prospects of securing good and sustainable positions in their field, influenced by a good socio-economic situation and work conditions in the native country (Saxenian, 1999; Meyer, 2001). As mentioned in previous chapter, many verbalized their return is dependent on available efficient work conditions, attractive positions and better social wellbeing in their family life.

As Monaim echoes above, the problem related to the exodus of qualified people is not limited to their size and quality but rather the conditions of those unable to move out and their vulnerability to deskilling and unemployment due to absence of career opportunities and uncertainty about future. Moreover, the majority reports the quality of position and ability to have upward career mobility is crucial in their career path. Many have stated their reluctance to return in the short run, at least, to secure a broad experience in Finland with a considerable professional status. They believe higher position would allow them have better work conditions and occupational mobility (see below). The attraction of an objective and transparent system of employment in Finland is a strong pull factor which explains the growing inflow of HSPs from MENA region to Finland. However, significant, though small, changes are undertaken lately in their native countries to modernize and democratize recruitment systems. These changes go in parallel with the chronic underfunding of public R&D and S&T sectors, with other important economic and development sectors (Sabour & Habti, 2010), which still pervades the sense of uncertainty about prospects in a swiftly changing world. The slow restructuring at the institutional level experienced in many countries in the last 20 years is still inadequate to fulfill their goals (Brodmann *et al.*, 2010):

We still have the mentality of connections and family ties hovering [in recruitment system] rather than meritocracy and competency. But there is some improvement for those who have career upward progression according to their merits and competences. There is the same policy followed there which exists all over the globe, the big bosses have a say in everything. But I have never worked in Tunisia and ... I completely don't know how the system is... and I get information through friends or family members working there. This is how I see it... In relation to integration of my native country with the EU, it must benefit a lot from it. There should be some willingness to change... These must not be only at the level of regulations and decisions, but it must be implemented and materialized (Ahmed).

Quality of mobility:

The available dataset from OECD indicate the highest percentage of migrants from MENA countries to OECD countries is low-skilled while brain drain rates observed is 10% in OECD (Docquier *et al.*, 2006). The share of HSPs from MENA region in total stock of migrants from these countries in Finland is only 14.4 % and 4.5 % as a share in the total stock of HSPs abroad (Dumont *et al.*, 2005). This low rate can be explained by the trend of mobility and migration of individuals from MENA towards traditional destinations other than Finland. Another explanation might be the generally non-selective and rather self-initiated moves undertaken by HSPs to Finland due to factors other than career pursuits (e.g. marriage with Finnish nationals) (chap 2). Finland has not yet introduced HSPs' formal immigration application through public or private agencies as in Canada, US or Australia. However, data depict the presence of a steadily increasing number of qualified individuals with high accumulated human capital to enter Finland for career mobility (Docquier *et al.*, 2006; Kyhä, 2011), being selected with high credentials (e.g. Hassib, Monaim, Abid) (see also chap 2).

It is hard to gauge and to evidence that a creaming-off in selectivity is dominating global HSM while many studies conclude that international HSPs are 'the most talented' (Davenport, 2004, p. 618) without substantiating this assumption with evidence. It appears that the decline in employment pool at doctoral level in most respondents' countries of origin proves their propensity for career mobility (Bouoiyour, 2006; Khachani, 2010). A number of early-career stage academics self-initiated their moves abroad on their own expenses, meeting initial administrative and financial hardships through their mobility. The examples above are few being selected to get state's funding for their studies in some destinations of choice. Some participants feel regret and disdain for the *brain drain* from their countries of origin. They implicitly relate the size of outflows with its quality by indicating that this size culminates in huge loss of HSPs. Redouane and Mounir highlight the size of human capital production native countries produce to an end which does not benefit them:

My native country prepares and train qualified people for other countries. It does nothing to retain them and keep them in.... When I hear that all graduated engineers from some Higher Institute leave the country to Canada, it is sad. Those in the government should wake up and be alert because there is something that doesn't work. If the training and education is incompatible with labour market, they have to reconsider the system and policies... (Redouane).

... Our countries, without exceptions, the rich and the poor, suffer the same problem, the flight of qualified people. It is really painful and the reasons are many for the situation. The state has no plan or program to attract back these 'brains' or to provide suitable ground... we come back again to the point of expenditures on education and the state budget allocated to education... (Mounir).

Some respondents, however, like Mounir, believe that the production of human capital is of high quality as the educational standards of candidates at doctoral and post-doc levels is very good and the evidence is the success of the majority of local and expatriate HSPs in their career life. He reports that:

The region of North Africa is one of the countries producing this brain drain and most of these have succeeded in their career. This means that the level of education was at some point good in the past... Is this related to the weather condition? I don't think so' (laughing).

However, they mostly connect mobility and migration with quality and a hint that flows are not always in fact a form of *brain drain* and can be turned into a *brain gain* and *brain circulation* if the local governments are intent on mobilizing them for this purpose:

One can asks, 'is [brain drain] actually a problem? If we think it is a problem, it is a problem for the locals there because they have a lot of resources they cannot use. On the other hand, for those people who are leaving, it is not a problem because they get international and they get more expertise and probably most of them will transfer the *know-how* back there... (Nabil).

I think for my country of origin, it is a good thing many highly educated go abroad but the country should know how to benefit from their competences. It's the duty for the state government to think how to make use of their knowledge and experiences abroad so they contribute for the development of the country... Moreover, for the country, the best examples of these people who are successful in their career are a positive side for Tunisia (Ahmed).

While examining this issue, it should be borne in mind that these interviewees are looking at the issue from their own experiential stances. This might mould their vision on what quality of mobility entails for them. Yet, as mentioned earlier, it seems that they are as much concerned about their professional potential for a successful career as the conditions of their family and lifestyle. They have become familiarized with the quality work conditions and feel satisfied and confident in their pursuits (chap 5 and 6). However, some of these young HSPs acknowledge being not proficient in Finnish language because most of their time is given to their research work and also their tasks are done in English language. This might indicate their international mobility is much shaped by its quality, returns, and security of academic positions (see below). The demography of the sample indicates that all of them moved to Finland at early or mid-career stages at various epochs starting from 1960s and others in the beginning of the new millennium. They usually link quality of R&D, HEIs and work-life experience with Finland as a knowledge economy and society offering the best opportunities and conditions of work performance, i.e. emphasizing the pull-factors of their moves and tendency towards retention.

It is worth-noting that secondary data of available statistics on levels and quality of outflow is unreliable and might be misleading and contradictory in the case of major MENA countries (Docquier & Marfouk, 2006). For instance, Morocco loses important number of its human capital, but the losses have been leveled off with the marked decrease in positions for HSPs, which prompt many to move abroad (Mghari, 2004; Hassan, 2009; Broadmann *et al.*, 2010). There appears to be a large outflow in the early-career and mid-career generation, especially young doctoral students. This trend correlates with the respondents' career stages of their moves and age (see table 1, in 1.6). However, the demographic pyramid in the native countries of these HSPs is highly young, with level of fertility still high, and the ageing problem of HSPs is not as sharp as in Western countries (Khachani, 2010). The demographic challenges do not represent a serious problem when it comes to the question of *brain drain* for the countries involved as it is not regarded controversial (Broadmann *et al.*, 2010). Yet, in migration literature of the 1970s and 1980s, *brain drain* is said to be highly selective and damaging native countries' economic growth and productivity (OECD, 2008a). What is characteristic in the sample's countries is that the weakness of research system causes the drain of this population towards developed countries (Driouchi & Djeflat, 2003). There is also an 'overflow' of qualified persons (Farsakh, 2000; Özden, 2006) which appears to increase competition for positions in local labour

markets beside the selection system which is based on criteria other than meritocracy and competence. This somehow evidences push factor effect of HSPs due to practiced system of selection:

... In general, it [selectivity] is still catastrophic. We have to talk about this openly... Even these, we find for example a woman is a head of some company or administration because her father or other member left the place for her. But for the one who should have a high position with merits, it is not easy (Redouane).

Further, the representation of women in labour markets and quality of their career capital are significant. There is an increase in feminization in labour market which might be a hint of the attractiveness of high skilled careers for women and the rising gender equality of opportunity (Kofman, 2000; Raghuram, 2008). The rate of female HSPs in the study is representative with its low scale compared with men but still in an increase (see chap 4). Some previous studies in concomitance with this trend indicate the growing range of female mobility and migration (Hassan, 2009). Ahmed notes the slightly improved labour market position of female HSPs whether in native country or those moving abroad. Nevertheless, Meryem argues that the situation for those in Finland is not generally positive for them:

For these women, they have become more independent, they have important positions. For example, they have strong participation in decision-making now in parliament and government. Though it is still symbolic but it is evolving. I think it's very good (Ahmed).

Arab women situation is worse unfortunately because there are some women who completed their graduate studies in their countries of origin but when they come here, they don't even know Finnish language, unfortunately. There is no social or professional activity (Meryem).

At another scale, when some respondents speak about quality, they do not usually clarify what they mean. Some interviewees' give regard to potential scientific contribution and credentialism and less credit to seniority, as in the case of Monaim. In his late-career life, he relinquished to pursue professorship in his career mobility and focused instead on his scientific performances in his field:

[My scientific projects and performances] became an obstacle to prevent me from moving to other universities of better positions. In my field, these works were enough to keep me in Finland. I felt that this is my aim in professional life. They became very popular in Finland... These activities brought to the country an important project of the ministry to develop the field (Monaim).

On the other hand, some express the process of selecting their respective career work depends on the quality of activeness, willingness to succeed, and openness to career challenges of self-realization throughout their career mobility (see chap 6), as Idris explains:

Nowadays, there is a lot of these professional networks that we are connected to, ...you know, we are all building our own professional networks and also Smartphone expertise, this is an area where I have gathered all my knowledge and expertise in the past, ... and I'd like to see that I'm moving towards doing similar activities in the Arab region that I'm transferring some of that knowledge....

It is important to note that many HSPs do not work within productive academic or industrialized fields in Finland, which questions the validity of the argument that their mobility and migration experience can be an efficient way to store and invest in for the benefit of native countries. For

instance, the narratives of the professions by medical-care nurses and doctors is purely service; hence, in their accounts, they do not show any degree of tacit knowledge production or career development. This leads us to discuss the conceptions of the respondents to have positive feedbacks of their mobility and migration experiences benefitting their countries of origin.

3.4 MOBILITY FROM BELOW: EFFECTS ON NATIVE COUNTRIES

Circulation as an alternative to brain waste

Scott (2006, p. 1119) highlights the growth in hyper-mobility amongst *nomadic* young professionals as 'initially at least, professional career path migration tends to be temporary...and appears to be getting shorter in length.' However, patterns of HSM may change and turns into a more permanent one through the career path or on long-term basis with uncertainty about future. The complexity of mobility schemes and its multidirectional character is also supported by the *circulationist paradigm*. What Balaz & Williams (2004b) call 'discrete individual choices' and the motivational factors affect the HSPs mobility scheme in terms of spatiality and temporality of their moves. Last chapter discussed the nature of mobility as fluid and dynamic reflecting a kind of successive decisions that are always under assessment and re-assessment whenever necessary condition appears. Indeed, a range of intermingled and complex determinants need to be considered when we aim to give a relational but individual picture of HSM. At the individual level, the effects of HSM on the native countries partly depend on these individual dispositions and positions at personal and professional levels (e.g. individual commitment and seniority). The economic and institutional situation in their respective countries also influences the degree of impacts at meso- and macro-level (OECD, 2008a, pp. 39-61).

The empirical study by Docquier & Marfouk (2006) reports an increase in the size and quality of mobility/migration of tertiary educated people from a number of MENA countries to Finland between 1990 and 2000 though not a traditional destination for these HSPs. Yet, the data do not indicate whether they are integrated in labour market and do not include those invisible due to citizenship entitlement. It needs to be noted that some empirical data in late studies also show invisibility of important variables in quantified statistics on foreign-born HSPs in Finland, which requires a degree of precautionous consideration of validity and reliability (see Kyhä, 2011). There is an absence in register data on the exact rates and stock for those settled in Finland, while a question mark remains on those who re-migrated to new destination after a short stay in Finland. Further, lack of dataset in the native countries also exacerbates examination of rates and impacts of their mobility (OECD, 2008a). Yet, respondents' narratives tell us about the nature of causation or its consequences in terms of the potentials and capacity of their mobility and migration. A grounded analysis of responses supports an insightful and nuanced perspective that underlines some causes, costs, and benefits of their moves. Major effects might be in the form of knowledge and skills transfer, accumulation and creation of knowledge in native countries, activities of circulation and export of opportunities for S&T, increased incentive for human capital and career mobility in developed countries and possible transfer of remittances (*ibid.*, p. 43).

The narrative accounts of interviewees portray their mobility/migration as undamaging to their native countries though they regret the 'brain' hemorrhage and the 'brain freeze' at a domestic level

(Mahroum, 2001). They identify, however, two important areas of 'negative' effect, namely the loss of human capital for those unable to move abroad in countries of origin and the resulting *brain waste* in terms of *deskilling*, unemployment or underemployment (e.g. Monaim, Redouane, Mounir) for human and structural deficiencies imbued in systems of production and management of human resources:

Those in the government should wake up and be alert because there is something that doesn't work. If the training and education is incompatible with labour market, they have to reconsider the system and policies... The problem now is of administrative nature. They should reconsider the problems met. They are quite clear and they only need willingness to face them (Redouane).

Individuals from various background and positions emigrate like engineers, doctors, academics... from all sectors. Why? The first thing I believe is that an individual always seeks to develop himself ... Surely this is a human nature.... The management of human resources does not help at all in retaining them. There are either financial reasons such as low monthly salary or other reasons such as weak allocation to research for highly qualified researchers (Mounir).

The university has become just an institution where students graduate with higher aspirations, and thus they find the only way out is to emigrate. These are the main factors and there are secondary reasons which involve financial concern such as income and salary. One would prefer to work in Britain where he gets 5 or 6 thousand pounds a month instead of one thousand pound in his native country (Mounir).

In my country, I think there is some kind of backwardness in the Research sector. The state spends much money on teaching as the education is free of charge from primary school until graduation from university, and the education systems are all international ones... But the problem is what comes after, I mean outside the institutions...because the nature of studies should be that of research.... There must be real scientific research. The problem in scientific research in our countries is that productivity is tacit and not direct.... (Hassib).

The talents flight, for instance in the case of Morocco, arguably would be the result of various sectorial underdevelopments (Bouoiyour, 2006; Sabour & Habti, 2010) due to the incompatibility between R&D, business and industry sectors, HRM and the labour market. Mounir highlights this major deficiency in R&D sector in his country, the absence of a strong link between R&D and industrial sectors in his native country:

The main reason, I think, that keep these countries undeveloped is that scientific research is underdeveloped and the industry is absent, which means no increase in quality education in university. The link between university and industry sector is totally absent. There is no interconnection. On the contrary, we find in Europe a totally strong connection between university and industry. Thus, the quality level of university has to be improved so as to have a link and at the same time the industry sector can finance research projects to solve these problems. There will be a kind of mobility, competition and development between institutions (Mounir).

Hassib and Mounir, as the majority of respondents, also show concern about the effect of *brain drain* on native country in return for the investment governments make in educating potential candidates for emigration. Katseli & colleagues (2006, p. 34) recognize the 'export of human capital in which the nation has invested' as one of three particular facets of international migration from the perspective of the sending country's progress. In early migration literature, it has been argued that a high cost of educating youth who are potential emigrants and their emigration represents a loss of investment embodied in them. The education is mostly free in all MENA countries and the public expenditure on education sector differs between them in the size. Yet, the family financial support in the long

educational path of their children is very significant in accessing good institutions with better education return until graduation (Bouoiyour, 2006). A number of subjects highlight the absence of any sharp repercussions of qualified youth's flight owing to domestic surplus (Brodmann *et al.*, 2010), and thus the effects would be less acute at the macro-level (e.g. Nabil, Ahmed and Hassib).

The exit of a sizeable number of HRST would not necessarily affect productivity and development if the production of qualified workers does not match with the demands of labour market. The country still gets returns for the investment in HE as the number of graduated students is still on the rise as qualified labour force (Hassan, 2009). The investment process still continues and the exodus of HSPs still goes on. This perception of *brain drain* proponents is understandable if placed on the loss of investment in the context of their life-course, but still it is hard to argue that it represents a net loss of investment for the state. The emigration of qualified people from MENA region has low rates compared with other regions (Özden, 2006, p. 10). Yet, many respondents articulate that the absence of personal and political motivation will directly influence the promotion of effective and productive development, with the absence of good conscience and willingness, and hence the productive human capital would be frozen and neglected. The local stakeholders do not seem to understand the symbolic and material impacts of the flight of HSPs in their economic and political context, at least at the institutional and macro levels. The respondents share the opinion about their frustration on the state of inertia and discouraging situation of HSPs in the native countries, which push many to move abroad towards an innovative, productive and secure environment of work and career mobility.

The question now is whether the permanent stay of these in Finland would be of benefit for their native countries' capacity-building and human capital development and rise in productivity through returns from their expats. Katseli and colleagues (2006, p. 36) contend 'the issue of how effectively highly skilled workers are employed in the native country is quite central to the whole question of the brain drain; in contexts of over-supply "brain overflow," the costs imposed by emigration may be quite minimal.' These respondents have expressed their worries that the alternative to mobility and migration is forms of *brain waste* for a large portion of this population unable to move abroad:

Those institutions should change their way of behaving towards the country in more committed and responsible manner so that social justice and equality will be ruled and people's suffering will diminish... Here this equality is sacred and applied and you do not feel marginalized due to your status. All are equal and if there is social status difference, it is only little and unapparent (malak).

... Concerning these institutions, there is no real changes or development. In my opinion, it needs important changes... from administrative and educational levels... I think that change should come from these levels. There should be a change so that university is an attraction for those who went through fundamental education in elementary and secondary school. It is not a change in system or curricula but the way of thinking and mentality should change... There should be an important support and funding in education... (Mounir).

... A company which doesn't have R&D cannot develop, so let alone a state.... Actually, the sector is much neglected in our Arab countries. First, this represents backwardness in the country; second, one of the drives for this shortage is the absence of transparency because there is not any stable productivity (Hassib).

Not only employment is absent but also innovation, which is very important... Any one has an area where they can be innovative in any work he does. If there are no good conditions, there is no way for innovation. Unfortunately, we don't have enough finances and the general political and social conditions are not healthy. A person thinks how to secure a modest standard of living day by day. There is no time to think even about future life. This is important and in Europe they give you this possibility (Meryem).

International HSM from North Africa to the Nordic countries identifies an intense tendency towards brain drain and a range of human capital effects involving circulation and possible brain gain (Sabour & Habti, 2010). In this section, a brief discussion is given on the potential and extent to which the respondents participate or would participate in knowledge and skills exchange and transfer to native countries or at international scale for information on positive outcomes of *brain drain*. At the institutional level, it has been argued that HSM does not exhaust human resource potentials since the ongoing ability of increasing mobility abroad in the case of Morocco proves the ability of the country's educational system to produce human capital in economically sensitive fields (e.g. S&T) (Hassan, 2008). Recent statistics from Morocco indicate the *brain drain* of HSPs to OECD is about 20.4 % of local nationals with similar educational and skills attainments (Hassan, 2009, p. 15). Further, a rising number of registered doctoral students in various areas in HE institutions in MENA countries are noticed while the supply seems annually to surpass the demand (Mghari, 2004; Hassan, 2009). The increasing scale of HSPs mobility and migration should be considered in the context of educational and professional breakthrough and changes in HE systems which have occurred in the last two decades (Gubert & Nordman, 2009). The rise in tertiary education graduates and the marked rise in undergraduates can be identified as potential benefit for the country of origin in the context of *circulationist* mobility as Nabil and Monaim conceive it. The loss of large number of HSPs does not constitute, according to the respondents, a huge problem but rather a trigger for developmental avenues for these countries within a circulationist context:

I think for my native country, it is good thing many highly educated go abroad but the country should know how to benefit from their competences. It's the duty for the state government to think how to make use of their knowledge and experiences abroad so they contribute to development of the country.... (Ahmed).

That can be seen from two different viewpoints... One can asks, 'is it actually a problem?' If we think it is a problem, it is a problem for the locals there because they have a lot of resources they cannot use. On the other hand, for those people who are leaving, it is not a problem because they get international experience and more expertise and probably most of them will transfer the know-how back there... (Nabil).

The most difficult thing is that there is no care for gifted people in Syria, so if somebody is really gifted, or talented, no guarantee that he found the needed support. There is also lack of institutions and equipments for conducting researches. It's not the same like here or in other developed country. So the people there cannot use their abilities enough as they can. This is a big problem a waste of brains. It is not only that many leave the country and work outside, but also there is wasting of those inside too... (Monaim).

The question then whether the respondents perceive the trend of outflow of HSPs from native countries to developed countries as a case of brain drain is disputable for many considering the work conditions in sending country or receiving countries. The majority consider the malfunctioning of different sectors in native countries and absence of potentials for good life and occupational career as the main push-factors, that their outbound mobility/migration is seen to be of positive feedback

for them. Recent international studies make similar conclusions, turning migration into brain circulation such as the mobility/migration of qualified talents from Eastern Europe to UK (Ackers & Gill, 2008) and from India and China to US (Saxenian, 2008). Following this spirit, many subjects show readiness to connect with their countries of origin at professional level in case these latter indicate their commitment and readiness to provide good environment for such activities as transfer and cooperation initiatives to take place.

Connectivity, transfer and exchange:

Meyer (2003, p. 96) explains the category of HSPs is not 'a volatile population of separate units in a fluid environment but rather a set of connective entities that are always evolving through networks, along sticky branches.' However, Mahroum (2003, p. 3) thinks that stressing scientific diaspora reflects a 'resignation' on the part of sending countries, which have reached the irreversible point and have given up attracting back their 'brains' though knowledge diasporas fuel HSM. Further, he underlines the possibility that diasporas encourage their exit as 'the fast growth of scientific diasporas...can by itself act as a magnet... local talent seeking maximum career return find now an easier and greater access to international careers through their own diaspora.' In this regard, economic and demographic imbalances within and beyond MENA region may drive governments to more awareness of the pitfalls of the informal approach to migration in general and the necessity for a coherent strategy to benefit from diasporas (OECD, 2008b, p. 3). Knowledge networks have an important role to play in HSM from two different perspectives (Meyer, 2010; 2007): (i) networks make movers turn on and funnel mobility with a *multiplier effect*, and (ii) highly skilled diasporas play important role as compensatory apparatus which enable native countries profit from their expatriates' capitals through various forms of knowledge and skills transfer.

Katseli and colleagues (2006, p. 9) contend that HSPs can 'generate substantial direct and indirect gains for sending countries via employment generation, human capital accumulation, remittances, diaspora networks and return migration.' Generally, discussion of feedbacks of international knowledge workers through diasporas networks have double bind effects on native and host countries. Yet, to measure and unravel empirically the scope and volume of impacts of foreign HSPs is not easy and partially evidenced in the research literature (OECD, 2008a, p. 38-9). The prominent trend as depicted by the majority of respondents is that they purport the importance and value leveled for various forms of activities knowledge networks community may have and as a mechanism to foster development initiatives. They express their welcome of such initiative which could contribute to connecting Finland with their respective countries of origin. When asked about their degree of interest in such feats, they express their volition and willingness to get involved once their native countries' governments show real interest and commitment, especially at the financial level, in building initiatives either through formal or informal channels as a bridge of these HSPs triggering skills transfer and collaboration initiatives using their social and academic networks if they are given the means to actualize them:

...The states should try to attract them back to their native countries. It is indispensable that they make new strategy in educational institutions how to develop these institutions, make new incentives to make

these brains return and make these institutions function properly. Other than this, there will be no success. At least, they could instigate some collaboration as they are not required to return because they have individual freedom and are not obliged to return and stay in their native country. The least to be done is a kind of cooperation and short-term return (Mounir).

I have friends, who were in my department of my hometown university, and are now in Canada, America, and the Emirates. They had very high grades and they are all outside the country and I'm one of them and they all criticize the situation there. But the situation will remain as it is if all these individuals are away from the country and they just say 'well, there are problems in the country and everything is wrong.' This will not change a thing. But if everyone decided to return and all began to rectify the ills in his field of expertise, things might not change immediately but in the long run... (Hassib).

I do believe [the knowledge experience I have internalized so far can contribute somehow to my country of origin]. In fact I was in a meeting with the minister of telecom in Jordan a couple of years back about fostering some youth programs that encourages building software initiatives within universities and even young entrepreneurs to bring about development of applications and systems closer to the region. Because nowadays I can believe technologies are available for us to do innovation locally. But, also the needs and requirements are created locally, so they should not be difficult if we are able to do those creations... (Idris)

However, they express their doubt that their governmental actors and institutions may initiate such projects and question their efficiency to handle such initiatives and to change the status-quo in terms of reconsidering policies and capacity to initiate such projects. The absence of rigorous monitoring and evaluation which are crucial for making policies more effective or reform them within the institutional apparatus hinder any efforts to benefit from HSPs contributions and involvement in MENA countries (Brodmann *et al*, 2010, p. 3). Some respondents complain about the absence of direct connecting public or private institutions in native countries to build trust and networking:

... There is not anyone with whom you can work or build it [initiatives]. There is no contact with my native country... I would like to, but nothing is actually happening. I would very much like to bring something to fellow pharmacists there on my acquired experience and knowledge here....I don't know, may be [native country] is not so interested, full stop... It's not our duty to take first steps. I don't know what they want but I'm sure that any one they call to contribute somehow in something surely would not decline (Redouane).

I think about it [contribution] all the time and I hope I could do something because there are many industries they use electrical machinery. But the problem there is that you need a first contact. ... This is very typical in Arabic countries I think.... I think it is a big problem when you cannot make contact directly at professional level, not personal one. You have to care much about personal contact, but you should be able to make professional contact directly without the intervention of a third party... So in the professions in [my native country], at least it works just like personal.... (Nabil).

... When we live abroad, even though you live for a long time you want always to do something for your native country because it is your country. You have to do something. The problem is that there is no connection. There are some people who manage to have that kind of things but for me it's a little bit difficult The problem is what they are preparing for you. You know, you can think of hundreds of things, but are they willing to work for them? Or are we going to face this bureaucracy? ... Many people have good will to do something for their native country, but how about those in the native country. Are they willing to do something for us? ... (Yussef).

There are not any [scientific network], unfortunately. The intention is there as when we discuss with concerned individuals in public and non-public sectors, they all say they want to create networks, but

the problem is the implementation when you try to put it into action, problems and obstacles surge up which hinder actualization of this in an ideal way... but these problems can be solved. Yet, what we do is just critique without giving any solution and way out. This actually will not help (Hassib).

Nevertheless, with the development of ICTs, E-diaspora networks have expanded through the 1990s onward around the globe as grass-root efforts (Cervantes & Guellec 2002) and have shown positive impacts turning brain drain into circulation (Meyer, 2010; 2007). These networks generally aim to foster research and exchange programs, transfer of skills and knowledge, as well as business connections between expatriate HSPs and those located at native countries. The subjects do not indicate the existence of such electronic knowledge diaspora network linking them with their native countries, but rather academic networks related to their occupational fields and expertise. A few respondents in mid- and late-career stages, with senior positions and multi-task duties, are indeed involved at personal but formal level in creating nodes of contacts, projects and cooperation with their native countries or at international level within their respective fields and under the aegis of their employing organizations:

I have networks of 400 universities within and outside the EU zone. So I was recently elected as member of council of management board of an international university in Croatia. I was elected member of the scientific council of the same University. It's a network of about 128 universities. It is fully financed by the EU ... Now we have cooperation with the Mediterranean region ... We have cooperation in human development at the university level [in native country]... (Ahmed).

The nature of my work is international because of a simple reason, which is that the department of which I'm a director is an international degree program. So if you see all these files here are of international students, all are from outside Finland. We received about 900 online applications from outside Finland and we also received about 400 applications for papers which are all outside Finland, from Iran, Pakistan, India, Egypt, turkey, Germany, from all over the world. So the nature of my work is international more than national (Hassib).

[I participate in conferences and seminars] but in the management of my university and its academic council and management of international relations. These are my duties in [my] university, that's why we have very tight time schedules. I do my work here plus the international activities of Finland abroad. ... There are many activities that come out from it... These are all the activities which demand much time management (Ahmed).

We have made a lot of industry projects and university projects with other universities, not in my native country but here in Finland. Within those projects I did a lot of contacts with other colleagues in Tampere, Helsinki, Lappeenranta, and then Vaasa. Then, I'm going 2 to 3 times a year to international conferences and I meet colleagues in other countries, so I have also good contacts with people from Germany, Belgium, and many places in France (Nabil).

The sample shows two basic categories of HSPs: those with seniority and in late-career stages which have more or less intensive activities at local and global level, and the mid-career professionals who mostly are involved in some international network respective to their areas of profession and involving their employing institutions. The context of the case study here is distinctive as the community is quite young and small and it might take a long way until tangible effects are felt, starting with the creation of E-diasporas and networks. At the present time, there is no formal or informal diaspora networks of HSPs from MENA in Finland. As many respondents report, most of

the networks concern the trade unions respective to their occupational career, and some are involved in sport or cultural associations aiming to introduce Arab-Islamic culture to Finnish society:

I am member, for instance, of some international organization called *Organization of concerned scientists* who are against nuclear energy and nuclear power, then some international economic associations in US and UK. In Finland, I'm member of some Finnish association in my field (Abid).

I am member of IEEE network of course ... [and also] member of some Islamic association here in this city... When you are a member in IEEE, there is possibility in publication of articles ... and it defends the rights of researchers in the field. As concerns conference participation, there are some facilities if you are a member in it (Ali).

I am a member of Finnish association of nurses and TEHY (the Union of medical care personnel). This one stand for our rights at work and it organizes courses or if I want to do some research or training abroad or here, they give some grant for that ... [also], there is a Finnish cultural association which can work with some associations in Algeria ... (Malak).

I'm member of a Finnish association of my field and a board member of a sport association. I take care of advertising business of the association by selling places of Advertising for companies..... (Redouane).

A last group of respondents show their disinterestedness to participate in such initiatives due to their academic career and family life activities. Chafiq mentions 'I have never been interested in it... At this time, I don't see any need for it or take part in it.' They believe this kind of practices require much time and total commitment from all parts involved in such programs. Jawad, a health doctor, also shows little interest in such activities, saying 'I'm a member of the Finnish Medical Association and also a member in the main Trade Union and the regional bureau of [this city].... There are some activities but I don't take part in them.' Others convey similar reasons for their infrequent or reluctance to participation:

There is not that much activity in the [cultural] association that we are having here for the moment. Probably with the study that you are having and work, it is very difficult.... Probably, you have your wife who is studying and needs support, and then you have once a month to study in Turku for executive MBA and then you come back and you have to read. So it's really difficult to have any activities (Yussef).

I was one of the board members who created associations concerned with cultural activities between Finland and Arab world... but due to lack of time, one should classify priorities first, like occupation, family and then courses or trainings or seminars. I was a member in some associations related with my field. All this has shrunk down because of family responsibilities. Unfortunately, this is how it went. Priorities must be considered first (Toufiq).

... I have contacts but nothing more... if you have a lot of workload, it is very difficult [to propose some initiative for cooperation]. For the moment, if you are working in some project which is just like starting, it's time consuming even when you are coming back home. You still have work. It's difficult to do any extra activities (Yussef).

Meyer (2001, p. 95) in his discussion on the link between networks and knowledge transfer argues that skills are relational and academics are composite entities whose embedded knowledge can only be understood in the context of its connection with existing networks in native and host countries and elsewhere. In this regard, it has been suggested in research that the processes operating in different socio-cultural and scientific settings influence the degree of implementation and

commitment of various actors. Another huge challenge facing these actors is the quality level of these networks and the possible developmental impacts they can imbue on the native countries of HSPs (Meyer & Wattiaux, 2006; OECD, 2008a). The presence of already existing institutional, political and socio-economic platforms to initiate such activities is important to make them successful and fruitful as in the instance of North African skilled diaspora in France, Belgium, Germany and Netherlands (Hassan, 2009). Nordic countries, in general, do not accommodate a considerable number of skilled expats from MENA, thus the absence of any scientific/academic networks or associations. The majority of respondents report in their narratives the elemental need for their respective native countries' governments to initiate any kind of programs for the purpose:

There are difficulties [in building cooperation]. The problem is that [native country] is waiting for you to bring everything by yourself, you bring projects and money, that's the main issue. But still there are things going on... Tunisia is not the one who takes initiatives but it's we who starts it. So when you go with one initiative in your hand, they look at you with a question, 'what does he wants?' here, the method is very different. This is not really easy. But there are lots of possibilities and opportunities of cooperation (Ahmed).

There are contacts with Algeria but the contacts and willingness are not enough as I said. We need money so either from their part much than from here.... It is a tough work to do how to convince the authorities to invest money. This is the main difficulty here, there and everywhere. (Sabah).

There are agreements with Tunisia but dead not active like the field of professors and students exchange. They are not active. ... We don't have agreements with it for exchange students to come here to study. There must be institutional agreements which cover the financing and so on.... Students have to send applications and if accepted, they will enter the university (Ahmed).

The process of knowledge mobility usually involves knowledge transfer, but this transfer depends on the context wherein the HSPs accumulate and employ their cultural and social capital. The second process involves the significance of networks to transfer without physical mobility, i.e. virtual transfer. Yet, these are usually complex and seldom unidirectional in relation to the impacts of mobility and migration on native and host countries. This section discusses the kind of knowledge and social networks the respondents refer to. A brief discussion is made on the sort of networks HSPs have and the degree of their activeness and involvement in such initiatives of transfer and exchange. The importance and ongoing relevance of networks, in both native and host countries, and their renewal or substitution through time and place are considered. Ackers and Gill (2008, p. 129) differentiate between three dimensions of community serving in knowledge transfer process which influence HSM: (i) traditional diaspora, (ii) scientific diaspora (e.g. knowledge community), and (iii) international scientific communities (e.g. knowledge networks clustered around scientific interests and identities). The accounts from large number of subjects demonstrate the third genre is the most salient among them. The discussion deals with this assumption and tenet to see if there is support for it.

Circularity as alternative to brain waste

Nowadays a phenomenon that has become apparent in the labour markets in MENA region is the meltdown of knowledge and intellectual capital from traditional sectors of innovation and development to ubiquitous and disinclined jobs in sectors unrelated to knowledge workers (Zlaoui,

2009). The volition of the majority of subjects for permanent stay in Finland is a major effect of their mobility/migration though sometimes with the risk of taking on a job which are not commensurate with their qualifications, aspiration and career prospect (see chap 2 and 5). In the literature of studies on *brain drain*, the effects of push factors are stressed (e.g. imbalance between supply and demand of HSPs for economy and local labour market). There are different determinants which have affected the increase in *brain drain* like political and economic transformations which occur at local and global scale, reshaping, as it were, the facets of the labour markets and the demand of HSPs within the specificity and national context of these countries (Brodmann *et al.*, 2010). The figures, for instance, show rising rates of graduate and doctorate unemployment in various fields, though there is no such decrease in HRST in major sectors due to the overflow in supply and inability of public and private sectors to absorb them (*ibid.*). Yet, the outflow of considerable number especially to Europe hasn't played any critical role in reducing unemployment (Edwards, 2005; Zlaoui, 2009).

Interviewees have mentioned a number of factors affecting employability and deskilling in some MENA countries (e.g. system of selectivity, lack of infrastructure, work conditions). Further, monthly income in North African region is not the only reason for their exit but rather the deficient social conditions and labour market structures (Hassan, 2008). There is an interesting question which can be posed here with regard to the effect of absence of career mobility, where individuals tend to develop less their competencies in contrast with their international mobility experience. In this respect, a number of respondents highlight the importance and value of their international mobility experience abroad in career mobility in comparison with those with similar attainments who cannot move abroad when they refer to *brain waste* and deskilling in the native countries. In accordance with their accounts, their experience does not have negative feedbacks to regenerative potential of the native countries among the total population of most MENA countries (Özden, 2006, p. 3; Zlaoui, 2009). Still, push-factors instigating the outflow of HRST, for instance, can be an outcome of sharp decrease in R&D and S&T investment, in human capital and material resources (Sabour & Habti, 2010). Besides, some subjects question the viability that their mobility would maintain sustainability of knowledge and enable diasporic strategies to burgeon by functioning as linking bridge abroad to national development projects through initiatives. Today, people compare the effects on native countries with the net loss of human capital, while compensatory effects from the foreign HSPs upon their involvement in knowledge and skills transfer through circular moves (Dumont & Lemaitre, 2005). The above responses from interviewees reiterate the link is absent and their willingness to work through formal or informal channels for such initiatives is not enough. They repeatedly lament the absence of state agencies and policy-making and thinking beyond national borders in an increasingly globalised world (see section above).

Is Remittances panacea for development?

The question of remittances and the extent to which their transfer might mitigate the outflow or 'loss' of human capital linked with international mobility and migration of HSPs from MENA countries is not clearly addressed in the accounts by interviewees and didn't emerge as a salient factor. Throughout their narratives, many do not make mention of financial transfer to countries of

origin for private or family benefits. Their major personal concern related to their native countries is keeping social ties with family relatives, their career mobility and possible involvement in scientific/knowledge networks and project initiatives. In the context of international HSM from MENA to developed countries, many previous studies support the contention of a significant positive effect of HSM in relation to the transfer of part of incomes or making investments in the native country (D'Costa, 2008; Hassan, 2009; Khachani, 2010). Yet, mention is not made of respondents intending to invest in the form of private housing or small business in their native countries. Some plausible reasons are their mid-career stage into which they seem much engrossed and the scale of incomes which do not allow investment in any ventures (e.g. Nabil, Hassib). Williams and colleagues (2004, p. 38) support this assumption and dimension of mobility/migration and advance that the value of remittances and their contribution to personal welfare has limited impact on 'uneven development' as it is 'retuned to conspicuous consumption' and is seldom used as venture capital or as a means of transforming production structures:

.... People are leaving because they need a place where to show their potentials and qualifications and they could advance in their career and have better social life. The only benefit is that most of people also send back money to their family, so it is some kind of economical benefit to the country because it is foreign money. It's good for the family ... (Nabil).

.... The situation of Syria, for instance, is very good. People do not migrate simply because of financial reasons. There are other reasons... Yet, when we compare Arab countries, the income is low a bit and surely affects in the decision to migrate, but it is not the main reason, but just one of them (Hassib).

Thus, these are the only respondents who relate their mobility/migration with financial socio-economic situation in their respective native countries. They do not indicate their involvement in any direct transfer of remittances to their family relatives or any business venture with their financial capital. They rather emphasise their basic incomes are just enough to cover their monthly expenditure in the face of the high living expenses in Finland (see chap 2). In fact, recent studies show that HSPs can benefit their native countries more through transfer of knowledge and skills than financial capital (Duke, 2008; Meyer, 2007). The previous studies on financial transfer to MENA appear to be generally important since it involves the larger population of low-skilled rather than highly skilled immigrants from traditional immigration countries (Leichtman, 2002; Khachani, 2010). Transferred money is essentially used for personal consumption and hence with little impact on economic development. Financial flows might have an indirect symbolic effect in feeding forms of skilled mobility/migration abroad for future generation as they imagine the successful career stories and wellbeing of incoming HSPs. Generally, interview questions implicitly involve issue of remittances and the respondents evoked the question of income and taxation system in Finland which leaves them with enough to spend for decent living standards. There are income differentials among respondents according to their seniority, nature of employment and occupation. The fact that a hint of remittances has not occurred among them may result from an opposite link between educational and occupational positions and the living standard of these respondents (see Gamlen, 2005).

This part did probe into some questions of the impacts of HSM on the countries of origin from the perspective of the subjects' perceptions. Some implications of the flows are covered to see whether these flows cause negative feedbacks of *brain drain* or positive feedbacks of circulation and positive outcomes. The major trend of mobility shows that effects might be more at micro-level emanating from individual initiatives rather than at corporate and organizational scale because the rate of HSPs in Finland is very small compared with other traditional immigration countries where already organized networks are slightly active in such initiatives of collaboration, especially between south Mediterranean countries and EU countries (Hassan, 2009; Zlaoui, 2009). The recent mobility partnership project initiated by the EU falls within the perspective of EU's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) aiming to tackle aspects of their possible cooperation in managing migration flows, circulation of persons and employment between North Africa and the EU states (EC, 2011). The countries of origin might benefit from fostering exchange and circular mobility for productive transfer of knowledge and skills with the diaspora members in the Nordic countries through such initiative. The major possible hurdle for state institutions would be that the number of national HSPs is too small to create organizations for the purpose. Does the size of this community regulate the extent to which these agencies get involved in building and mobilizing networks? Are they really motivated to create, develop and commit themselves to such activities beside their own professional life? Could it be possible that their native countries' actors and institutions develop policies to initiate and actualize projects and programs of exchange and cooperation?

These questions might be answered if formal networks exist already. Meyer (2007, p. 12) proposes *actor-network theory*²⁰ to examine these questions on the basis of four theoretical concepts: *problematization*, *mobilization*, *enrolment* and *interesment*. It would be significant to examine this analytical theorizing in the case study here through the lenses of the respondents' experiential perceptions on the main question of the effects of their mobility and migration on Finland and native countries. The basic assumption on which the discussion here is based involves the possibility of their individualistic efforts to promotion and sustainability in transfer and cooperation projects with the absence of formal networks or organizations for the purpose. Projects of development strategies might be built as these HSPs play linking bridge between them and public or private actors in native countries. Some formal networks exist in traditional immigration countries. For instance, *Fincome* (International Forum of Moroccan Competences Abroad) was created to connect Moroccan knowledge expats with their country of origin to initiate such projects (Hassan, 2009). The fact that such epistemic community in Nordic countries is so small gives the impression that time has not come yet for such formal connectivity and circularity to be launched. However, many respondents shows optimism about a *brain gain* effect in the positive role their international experience and its benefits could have on their native countries. They demonstrate readiness to support investment in

²⁰ According to Meyer (2007), this theory is important in analyzing diaspore knowledge networks and its concepts represent the materialization process through which socio-technical change takes place. *Problematization* refers to the question of brain drain turned into brain circulation as a new option opening connection between the expats and their native countries in triggering projects and cooperation. *Mobilization* refers to the degree of connectivity and ties built between the two for developmental avenues. *Enrolment* involves the extent of commitment of expats in these networks either accepting or declining participation. Yet, these three processes cannot be fruitful for sustainability of these networks without *interesment*. This latter is what makes an actor linked to a network for long time beyond any other psychological drives.

their accumulated cultural, social and symbolic capital, and enhancement of productivity through such diasporic initiatives if their countries are willing to initiate and actively take part in the process.

3.5 MOBILITY FROM ABOVE: EFFECTS ON THE HOST COUNTRY

Looking ahead: skilled mobility in prospects

Knowledge about the direction and size of mobility can give insights on the positive feedback of HSM on the destination countries of foreign-born HSPs. This section aims to consider possible impacts of respondents' international mobility/migration in Finland from experiential level in the processes of knowledge creation, accumulation and dissemination alongside building knowledge networks. The attractiveness of a host country for these HSPs as pull-factors are important at the individual level, mainly in career mobility, international experience, exposure to new learning and methods, increase in R&D skills, strengthening of knowledge clusters and initiation of tacit knowledge and skills transfer and cooperation with native countries (Meyer, 2001, pp. 93-94). For the host country, retention and contribution of international HSPs might take the form of an increase in internationalization in research, employment growth and performance with the increase in labour market integration of this population (OECD, 2007a, p. 23), diversity and open innovation,²¹ increased enrollment of international graduate programs. This population might bring with them cultural and social capital that are an added-value to tacit knowledge creation in production locations in labour markets and knowledge flow and collaboration through connectionist perspective of networks, turning these micro and macro-level effects into *brain gain* and circulation (Meyer, 2003, 2007; Thorn & Holm-Nielson, 2008). Further, Gent and Skeldon (2006, p. 3) underline the relational dynamics of international mobility, when 'the developed world clearly benefits from importing skilled people' while providing 'advanced training for these workers.'

The increasing trend of open innovation leveled by industrialized countries affects the mobility patterns of foreign HSPs as companies target new investments in foreign countries while looking for new ideas and research to create new products and services to markets (OECD, 2008a; OECD, 2008c). However, the state policies and institutional reforms in the native countries are much influential in the processes of human capital production and supply of local HSPs needed for domestic growth and international mobility (previous section). The discussion of the effects on native and host countries mirror domestic concerns in the context of the alleged brain loss effects on native countries of HSPs. The discussion above examined the question whether it is really the case according to the sample views rather than an empirical assessment of the relationship between mobility/migration and its quality. In fact, internationalization needs not be taken as indicator of quality while the reputation of the host country represents a valuable pool for foreign HSPs. Mahroum (2005) speaks of the relation between mobility and internationalization for the benefits of the individual HSP and the costs of local labour market integration. The risk and investment

²¹ In open innovation model, companies look outside-in and inside-out to develop their technology. It involves R&D cooperation and dependence on external sources as ways of sourcing knowledge to produce new ideas and commercialize them. Companies do marketing of their ideas and innovations from academic research. Especially multinationals converge to start up firms, spins-off and public R&D system via their permeable boundaries (see OECD, 2008c).

demand of the employer hinges around the retention of these workers through secure position and good work conditions, otherwise, options are open for possibility of moving to another country or return to native country.

This section normally needs to look at the main effects that the sample sees realizable with respect to Finland as host country in terms of labour integration, work performance and productivity beside their global experience related to skills and knowledge transfer or networking either with the native countries or elsewhere. Again, the micro-level is considered in the discussion rather than the macro-level. Yet, for structural reason, this level of discussion will be left in due space in chapter five where it will be dealt with in more detail to avoid undue repetition. Yet, part of the discussion will be brought to light here and will cover one major possible effect of their integration in Finnish context. This concerns the instrumental role of academic networks and individual initiatives in their mobility and migration experiences and the ways they stir transnational cooperation and networking. Generally, the debates that have already been produced on the subject in migration literature have brought to surface interest in finding answers from empirical work exploring the effects of these networks on outcomes of interest and possible benefits from these HSPs (Meyer & Wattiaux, 2006).

Virtual mobility and connectivity:

ICTs and globalization of knowledge have in a way opened doors for HSP workers to move cross borders for tasks required from their work much easier without relocating constantly from their host country. Further, ICTs have facilitated for expatriates to maintain virtual transnational connection with family, friends, and old and new colleagues back home. Maintaining these relationships from a distance decreases an important cost traditionally linked with mobility. These ICTs also enable prospective movers access information through the internet about educational and occupational opportunities abroad (Duke, 2008), for instance by applying from a distance for HEIs enrolment and job openings suitable for their qualifications, skills and needs. Therefore, obstacles of mobility are diminished as the internet facilitates tasks for international mobility (*ibid.*). Earlier, an important question was examined about the size of activities respondents undertake in Finland for international exchange and transfer as knowledge community chiefly to the native countries. A brief consideration is also given here, but this time from the viewpoint of their international experience in Finland.

Hassan (2009, p. 15) maintains the volume of mobility and migration of HSPs from MENA in Europe does not explain the degree of effect it makes on countries of origin. The small size of this community in Finland may render their *mobilization* and *involvement* in initiatives less visible and their *interestment* (Meyer, 2007) less strong. Meyer and Wattiaux (2006) illustrate some of the initiatives members of knowledge workers may instigate between native and host countries: (i) exchange of technical, scientific, administrative, and political information with members from native country; (ii) transfer of knowledge and know-how on fields of interest between individuals and institutions located in the native and host countries; (iii) promotion of native country in the host country's R&D and business areas; (iv) virtual mentoring of students located in the native country;

and (v) consultation (e.g. peer-review, technology assessment) on R&D projects. Mounir and Hassib, as senior researchers capture the important role they could play as a linking bridge in this regard, following their migration and mobility experience and within their University of Technology as an employer. Mounir aspires to introduce Finnish HE system through his own experience to stakeholders and actors in the field in his native country and stir collaboration programs between universities for student and staff exchange:

This experience is very beneficial for me and I will try to transfer the skills and knowledge I got here to my country one day... The other thing is that each qualified person ... has to keep a connection between their hometown university in native country or companies where they worked and had experience. How he could benefit from this link is to develop quality of universities in their native countries through the places where they studied or worked. I think it very important that you can play a linking bridge... (Mounir).

.. If we consider the five years after getting my doctorate, there is much benefit I got in the period than the doctorate itself with respect to the number of publications and leading research groups here... This benefit, in the case I return to Egypt, will be capitalized of course as regards the creation of degree programs and research groups. I will try once I return to connect the research groups there with the research groups here, following the contacts I built here and in Helsinki. I have some contacts with professors in these universities (Hassib).

Similarly, other subjects report their attempt of creating scientific nodes and contacts in native countries as a magnet for prospective mobile candidates to enter Finland. The degree of use and facility ICTs provide to streamline the path to intensify mobility of HSPs from MENA region and as a conduit for potential increase in enrolment in Finnish universities or training in organizations is captured in the account of some respondents such as Safaa and Nabil who constitute magnet with a multiplier effect for their labour market integration, occupational performance and international mobility from Finland. However, they face a structural institutional barrier with the absence of conventions between their universities in native countries and their hosting Finnish universities:

... I have an old school friend who ... left to France for his PhD study. Now he is a professor in France and we exchange emails from time to time. I know he is involved in good cooperation with my native town university. For example, he gives lectures there and it's easy to go from France because there is an already established cooperation between universities in Tunisia and France related to the traditional relationship between both countries. To my knowledge, there is no cooperation between universities here and in my country (Nabil).

... I know they [researchers in Morocco] don't have much means to do expensive experimental research. So that part I can do it here, why not. They have these [medical] cases, for example here we lack these clinical researches. The more you have patients, the better are studies, so we can join together... I'm thinking about that and build my own research group. I'd be so happy to have students from Morocco to make their PhD here, for example. So they could learn new things and could experience advanced experimentation... (Safaa).

The ICTs play important role in expanding the strength and effect of international knowledge transfer and can also decrease the costs and increase the benefits of international mobility. A question here related to these ICTs is whether they increase the possibility of international benefits when these individuals undertake multiple moves? ICTs may have impacts on their international mobility when it occurs by increasing diversity and creativity through their accumulated cultural

and social capital. It seems possible they decrease detrimental effects and increase positive ones (see Meyer, 2007; 2010). They have facilitated emerging economies such as Chinese and Indian networks to exploit more the wealth gained by their skilled expatriates abroad as their countries benefit much from institutional links and intellectual resources of these expatriates (Saxenian, 2008). The efforts and the trend as depicted by the respondents here are more individually-based and involve virtual connectivity and networking to organize any projects with the quasi-absence of native countries' involvement to mobilize domestic stakeholders in programs of cooperation and exchange.

Generally, as discussed earlier, the common goal shared by these people is the use of their knowledge and *savoir-faire* in their international experience and possibly for native countries benefits (e.g. Redouane, Safaa, Ahmed, Hassib). Further, as an alternative for this lacunae, some senior academics signal the importance of virtual mobility for the purpose of transfer and exchange than any actual physical mobility to benefit their countries of origin, whereas the majority see the responsibilities lie within the realm of local governments in initiating such activities of exchange and cooperation:

... You cannot work everywhere and be in every place, but when you have effect at international level, you are also effecting in Syria. This is because my works are known to specialists in Syria and to others. So you are effecting in an indirect way. You don't have to go yourself physically, but what you do in your field can be of wide effect (Monaim).

... I don't think it worthwhile to go there [universities in my native country] and teach ... You see! The problem in Syria is complex and multiple What does it mean when you start teaching students something, then they find that you can never make life except by going to work with some political party? I'm very very pessimistic. I think I serve Syria better from here than being there (Abid).

The positive and negative outcomes of international HSM from MENA region are still debated nationally and internationally (Hassan, 2009; Gubert & Nordman, 2009; Brodmann *et al.*, 2010), while the fundamental positive effects of developed ICTs on human mobility has received less concern in research literature (Duque, 2008). In fact, technological developments might reduce movement but speed up personal contacts and information outreach. The ICTs also enable access to global information resources at the professional level as HSPs in native countries access education, information, experts, networks and funding without moving abroad. A number of respondents got first information about Finnish universities, traineeship, and degree programs through internet, though social network plays an important part as well (see chap 2). Moreover, the participants seem to have personal and professional engagements in the occupation and family life. These two main angles in their life course constitute major factors affecting their individual involvement in such endeavours. The developed ICTs allow individuals and their relatives in native country maintain relationship and contact from a distance with these HSPs, thus lessening the pressure of temporal and spatial constraints while sustaining family ties. The data in the study depicts this stance which most of the respondents have justified in different way. The majority indicate the importance of internet connectivity in this regard (see chap 2 and 4). Similarly, Harvey (2011) concludes in his study that British HSPs in Canada have strong transnational ties with family in UK, while the potential to build transnational network of like-minded HSPs is absent though virtual contacts exist.

In fact, dual career context is an important aspect in international HSM and the extent to which these HSPs get involved in local or *glocal* knowledge diasporas activities. In her empirical study on the link between gender and career mobility in S&T fields, Ackers (2007) shows the amount of time spent on international mobility for conferences, projects involvement, shuttle moves to research institutions or lecturing. Especially, academic career is usually related to developing career capital and international activities. It might function on two levels: the first *gauges* physical employment-related moves made by academics in their career paths and the second *determines* the degree of ongoing employment-related mobility. It is important to understand the connection between personal and professional careers and family ties and their impact on the volition of HSPs to get involved in such programs (Meyer *et al.*, 2001). This question is examined in detail in the following chapter.

Circularity and the relational dynamics of mobility

The evaluation of the relative effect of reverse knowledge transfer necessitates examination of the existence of the processes and quality of transfer. The question that comes to the fore now is whether and to what degree can international HSM add values to these HSPs in such ways which could not be attained otherwise? We discussed before the issue of brain waste and *deskilling* in the native countries which underscores the importance of international career mobility for qualified people. The majority reports in many circumstances the traditionally conceived alternative to *brain drain* which is better work environment and personal and family lifestyle upon return, which entails the satisfaction with their professional career experiences. They support the idea that their international HSM can enable their native countries benefit from their acquired cultural, social and symbolic capitals (academic networks and social contacts) and external investments in Finland, and it can be of great value bringing new techniques, skills, visions and contacts to instigate cooperation and exchange with their respective Finnish employing institutions through transnational ties and networking. Some have expressed their concerns about the hindrances and lacunae they meet on the relevance and attainability in case some initiatives are proposed (see above Ahmed, Hassib, Monaim). These HSPs show strong impetus and inflated expectations for initiating projects, but once they face the reality of the situation, they find it inapplicable and time-consuming.

Furthermore, some mention the absence of strong collaborative relationship between their respective country of origin and Finland at institutional levels but still mobility is important to maintain and transfer skills and knowledge at a personal level in the short run and possibly inter-governmental level in the long run (e.g. Mounir, Safaa, Nabil). Moreover, some interviewees are concerned about the relational quality of acquired skills and their transferability in native countries. Some studies show that health-care professionals and academics trained in a developed country, for instance, could not work efficiently upon return due to the absence of infrastructural equipment and resources conducive to effective work or absence of their fields of specialization (Katseli *et al.*, 2006, p. 38; Davenport, 2004; Zlaoui, 2009). This might also apply for other fields such as R&D and academia. Many respondents show concern about the ability to utilize and develop their acquired skills and expertise in their native country if they return (see section above on return mobility). It is also crucial to know that some of HSPs' mobility does not imply total integration in labour market

and investment in their professional activity in Finland (chap 4 and 5). Some studies show evidence that underemployment and deskilling in the host country is the outcome of lack of suitable positions and labour market constraints (Munz *et al.*, 2006, p. iv). This gives an impression that mobility experiences of the respondents are a one-way process which involves emigration and subsequent multiple moves in/from Finland as their host country, with diverse frequency of moves and with weak possibility for return to native country.

Labour market performance and productivity through circulation

As mentioned earlier, the majority of interviewees show long-term or permanent stays in Finland in their career and social mobility. Many report the importance of academic and social networks and social ties in their career paths, as well as labour system, social system, resources and facilities available in Finnish labour market. The work environment is referred to as a crucial factor in upgrading their cultural and social capital to the benefit of their career future. Besides, the presence of academics in a Nordic labour market offers them valuable symbolic capital for them owing to the intensive academic mobility and quality of human capital accumulated within EU space and the increasing internationalization process of R&D (Habti, 2010). These are elemental incentives to access aspired for positions that are somehow missing in their native countries. Many think it necessary to stay in a developed country to work with international colleagues effectively and increase academic and professional productivity, creativity and add to diversity in spillovers as the essential facilities do exist to advance in individual occupational career:

... Apart from the scientific level, as it is the outcome of your studies for a long period, learning new things every day,... In the scientific area, when you do research, you acquire experience, and when you travel around to different countries in my university studies and until now, there is still this interaction and learning. This thing is largely absent in our universities back in native countries (Mounir).

... We have a young research network and I'm a member of a scientific Society of my field ... I have been organizing one meeting that was the first time a big international meeting. It was a European workshop, but it is now extended to US and Asia. ... This is meant to exchange and to make collaboration. We are working in the same field but it opens the doors to more big collaboration. If you are working in the same field, why do we repeat the same experimentation here and there? If we join this effort and make something better together, it advances effectively and faster (Safaa).

I do believe [the knowledge experience I have internalized so far can contribute somehow to Lebanon. in fact, I was in a meeting with officials in ministry of telecom a couple of years back about fostering some youth programs that encourages building software initiatives within universities and even young entrepreneurs to bring about development of applications and systems closer to the region... (Idris).

Most of the subjects implicitly see their mobility as a *brain gain* rather than a *drain*, in their individual conceptions. Brodmann and colleagues (2010, p. 3) further see the formation and circulation of human capital from MENA countries abroad as a win-win situation. However, the empirical measuring of the quality and productivity in tacit knowledge remains generally problematic in research (OECD, 2008a; Hassan, 2009). The attempt here has been to capture their perceptions on the question to evidence the quality and characteristics of their mobility. It should be mentioned here

that few respondents experienced underemployment, deskilling or unemployment in various durations of time in Finland (see chap 4 and 5). International HSM is usually linked with some myths among which are that mobility is not always neutral since cultural, ethnic, political and economic factors interfere in the degree of success or failure (Welch, 2008) (see chap 5).

Migration and mobility are a crucial means for expats in IT, academia and health-care to gain professional experience and upward career mobility in their fields. Some make similar points about the value of skilled mobility in reaching seniority and good positions through high performance in their career path (chap 1). Some factors are influential in attracting foreign HSPs to OECD countries, such as returns to educational attainments and labour productivity growth (Gubert & Nordman, 2009, p. 2). Especially academics in the sample show great interest in building new knowledge, skills and approaches, using their own cultural capital earned previously, through recruitment and competitiveness. Some others whose occupations relate to non-academic fields such as medical nursing speak more generally of the benefits of transnational mobility to possible networking and transfer of skills and techniques to native countries (Warda, Malak). This stance of positive feedback in mobility experience as brain gain supports the viability of *circulationist* approach of international HSM and the motivation for candidates available in native countries to take on early-career mobility in such a country as Finland, as reported by Mounir, Hassib, and Safaa in their informal contact with students in native countries' universities. They indicate the importance of their international move in early-career stage, showing an active interest and satisfaction in their field and occupational motivations. Another stance echoed by others is the presence of family reasons and occupational seniority as determinants for their stay (see chap 2).

HSM is not solely a tool to access high quality resources and ideal work environment, according to some respondents, it enables them attain good living standard and securing permanent position (see chap 5 for details on social inclusion). Interestingly, the accounts of many subjects highlight their concern and interest in developing their career capital and cultural capital than achieving high living standards and material considerations (see chap 2). Other international studies in other regions sustain this tenet (Ackers & Gill, 2008; Harvey, 2011). The HRST moving from MENA region to OECD countries represent a small share of migrant population (Gubert & Nordman, 2009, p. 2). There is a fallacy behind the debate since the problem is not the lack of good salary in countries of origin but the inadequate work conditions and environment for better career mobility and quality of life for qualified 'brains' (see Leichtman, 2002, p. 124; Hassan, 2009, p. 7). The narratives, as discussed earlier, depict the opportunities linked with mobility/migration and its motivational effect on early-career and career mobility. Generally, this reflects the gradual attractiveness of permanent stay for many early-career stage respondents. Labdelaoui (2005) in one study shares the same conclusion on North African region and continues that it has become more selective and feminized in late two decades. Yet, many express their uncertainty over the inflated and false effect of *brain drain* on their native countries since they see it is a politically driven discourse. When asked about the reasons for the brain drain of qualified youth from MENA to developed countries, Meryem retorts that 'this question should be asked to Arab leaders (smiling)'. Toufiq, another respondent, still embodies the old political discourse on brain drain of losers and winners in the trend:

Certainly, we cannot stop this migration only when the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of emigration countries are changed.... Attracting the highly skilled and educated persons creates a problem. It increases economic development for [host developed countries] but leaves a gap in these [sending] countries. These countries which have spent millions of dollars in educating their population and suddenly these leave their countries for developed ones; this creates a kind of unbalance and inequality in the world. It's a big problem (Toufiq).

Stark (2004, p. 16) advances that the native countries benefit much from international HSM than they lose in *brain drain* since 'we cast migration as a harbinger of human capital gain, not as the culprit of human capital drain' while countries of origin 'accrue neither from migrant's remittances nor from migrant's return home with amplified skills... but from this effect on incentives to human capital formation.' Finland benefits from added-value quality of their cultural, social and transcultural capital, and also gains from their networks to ease international market penetration (Raunio, 2007; Koskela, 2010). The country has begun to embrace a circulationist perspective so as to fuel innovation systems through enhancing the attraction of international experts, creation of better social environment and career opportunities (Raunio & Forsander, 2009).

The opportunities for mobility/migration related with career advancement are one factor that has prompted the rise of attractiveness of Finnish HEIs to undergraduates and postgraduates in their respective universities of native countries. This tendency shows the effect of the successful experiences as magnet in the increase of graduates' enrolment from those universities in international programs in Finland. Eventually, this represents one tangible outcome at the host country level for the international mobility of this population. Though these are potential movers to develop career capital and attainments abroad, this process generates the possibility for capacity regeneration with a local future generation of graduates in sending countries trying to follow their predecessors' track for an international experience. Apparently, this situation applies to some countries from MENA region which breed important number of graduates, mainly in S&T fields, for international mobility or migration to pursue their professional careers, mainly to US, Canada, UK, France and Germany (IMO, 2003; Özden 2006, p. 8). Some research works argue this mobility from these departure countries could compensate for the demographic trend in European labour markets in forthcoming decades due to high rate of unemployment or underemployment in native countries (Gubert & Nordman 2009, p. 3). Yet, the question is whether there is a match between the quality of educational and professional attainments in both countries for a supply-demand equation in labour market. The conclusions from the respondents' accounts assume that not all of them participate in knowledge flows and increase in R&D, knowing the small size of the community in Finland.

3.6 CONCLUSION: RETHINKING MOBILITY, BRAIN DRAIN AND CIRCULATION

Recent studies have shown international mobility patterns of HSPs are complex (OECD, 2008a, p. 69). Many incentives, a blend of pressures and aspirations, internal and external factors drive students, academics, health personnel and other professionals to initiate mobility to developed countries (see chap 2), and this chapter spots the visible patterns and effects of the sample's mobility. Various complex processes surround labour market integration, retention policies of HSPs from MENA countries in Finland with diverse incentives, barriers and setbacks that, directly or indirectly,

inhibit their return despite their aspiration for such alternative. In their view, the majority tend to stay permanently in the country, if not for an indecisive long-term period. The question of re-integration, after a professional experience abroad, into the environment of native country is crucial with respect to academic and professional productivity, self-achievement and family wellbeing.

As concerns the debate of the *brain drain* and its impacts on the country of origin, it is crucial to understand the political, economic and social context within which this debate is situated. Previous studies indicate that the debate can be distorted by political aims which function as a form of 'smoke screen' that hide the real causes of scientific and educational decline in MENA countries. The *brain drain* does not seem the reason for the breakdown of economic, educational and scientific conditions in those countries. The real problems through the lenses of the respondents are work conditions and environment, inadequate funding, absence of facilities in the fields and weak structural organization in the R&D and other important high professional sectors (previous chap). Moreover, it might be true that political and economic interests have led the states to construct a reality about *brain drain* in terms of the characterization of emigrants and the effect of their departure abroad to developed countries while hiding the failure in sustaining and absorbing them in labour market. It might also be possible the absence of adequate data plays a role to allow governments and media transmit this negative picture of international HSM and externalize the blame for the unfavourable labour market conditions and living standard. For many interviewees, professional career in the native country has become unattractive enough for them that they saw exit as the option for career upward mobility, while a number of domestic HRST experience ubiquitous employment or deskilling and unfulfilling career prospects. These factors might have been seeds of the late and current upheavals many Arab-Islamic states have witnessed, imbued partly by the local highly qualified youth aspiring for better social and career life.

Though the discourse in migration studies refers to a *brain loss* following *brain drain* of talents from developing countries and public loss in education investment, the majority of respondents generally show multiple effects and benefits from their experiences with the development in their capacity-building especially in R&D and S&T sectors along career mobility. The question of quantitative assessment of the quality of their labour integration and performance can be empirically difficult (see OECD, 2008a). International mobility and migration provide an opportunity for the native country to store their 'high-skill' brains abroad in a form of 'brain bank' (Khadria, 2004) and benefit from public investment made in them in host countries. The opportunities offered in international mobility and migration provide them with access to important resources to lift their occupational career into higher standard along with social mobility and better lifestyle for their families (more in subsequent chapter). Important research studies support the contention that career mobility, family and better lifestyle and quality of life are major factors gauging the trajectories of foreign-born HSPs. HSM represents a life-blood for many of the respondents who left their countries deplete with the necessary conditions for career success and self-achievement. The conclusions from the data indicate a high rate of permanent stay and slight job mobility and professional circularity among the sample. Securing a permanent position and the family situation in Finland had an important effect on their frequency and quality of moves.

The author failed to find any negative effects of brain drain from the individual perceptions of the subjects. This corroborates with the tenet that the stock of HSPs remaining in their native countries and human capital production incentives balance the exodus of those who were able to move abroad. I find however reasons to think these HSPs are better off abroad due to their international experiences involving also their families. At theoretical and empirical level, the ability for some to move out and benefit from flexible circularity in a country like Finland can have positive impacts on their individual career paths and possible positive feedbacks on their native countries. The study identified patterns of mobility/migration of quite idiosyncratic and complex paths and moderate levels of circulation. In previous chapter, the respondents usually show various strategies in the processes of making decisions on destinations and career path to increase their cultural, social and symbolic capitals for advancement in career or choice in particular destination along their career paths. The corollary is the significance of the individual experience and context in shaping different patterns and effects of their experiences.

Meyer and colleagues (2001) speak about 'scientific nomadism' and Williams and colleagues (2004, p. 42) conceptualize 'diverse temporalities as depicting the nature of academic mobility which includes short-term move, fellowship, and long-term migration for individual career development.' These mobility schemes do not have a linear trajectory but rather reflect an ongoing spatial and career mobility that is family-related (see also Harvey 2011). Williams and colleagues (2004, p. 43) come out with the idea that it is necessary to know 'the spatial practices of workers and how these contribute to the spatiality (concentration and diffusion) of knowledge and capital.' It is worth noting here the accumulated cultural capital, concerns about family future and education opportunities for children, their wellbeing and better lifestyle, possible deskilling and unemployment, and weakened social ties back in native country are some instances of individual-level outcomes of their experiences. Family factors impinging on it constitute an angle of similar importance to the career paths and international mobility experience of these HSPs. An important perspective from which this study can be looked at is that gender and more specifically female mobility/migration. The next chapter examines this question in relation to dual career experience as female respondents conceive them in the Finnish context.

4 Female Mobility, Spatiality and Dual Career Context

Recognizing migrant women's role in the development process is a first step toward promoting and respecting their rights as human beings and as agents for change in their lives (Mary Robinson, in Morrison *et al.*, 2008).²²

4.1 INTRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL FEMALE SKILLED MOBILITY

The recent increase in international female mobility and migration has triggered recent interest in research and policy-making in the field of skilled migration since these women constitute part of the phenomenon at the global scale (Iredale, 2005; Meares, 2010). Gender questions have been the main drive for research, but theorizing in analysis of international HSM have been shadowed and not sufficiently understood (Preston, 2003; Raghuram, 2008; 2009) except in recent studies, because most of studies focused on low-skilled and economically disadvantageous female migrants (Meares, 2010). The internationalization of HE and the recent policies targeting the attraction of foreign HSPs to developed countries undoubtedly increase the rate of female HSPs. Female HSPs may have various origins and routes to global mobility such as HE, family reunification, attitudinal changes to women's migration in developing countries, the increasing public investment in welfare sector which acknowledges the importance of 'high-skills' shortage in particularly feminized domains (Ho, 2006) namely health-care, education and social services (Raghuram, 2004; 2008). The combination of shortage in labour market of the category of HSPs (Persson, 2010) and the changing immigration regulations among OECD nations towards attraction and retention of this population may not be the sole motives in the presence and participation of migrant women in host countries. It could be that the quality of female mobility in the literature has been unseen and their possible contribution to labour market underestimated (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006).

Highly skilled women have strong tendency to emigrate to developed countries as they represent 17.6% in contradistinction to 13.1% for men (Dumont *et al.*, 2007, p. 12), Docquier and colleagues (2009) conclude in one study the absence of gender differences in level of mobility among HSPs, while Kofman (2000) and Raghuram (2008) show women are much active in taking decisions to move abroad for career mobility. Gender is argued to be neglected in brain drain literature (Dumont *et al.*, 2007) and invisible in the discourse of female migration (Kofman, 2000; Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Raghuram, 2009). Docquier and colleagues (2007) suggest women's brain drain is much higher from countries where women have less access to education. The international HSM of healthcare

²² Morrison, Andrew R., Schiff, Maurice and Mirja Sjöblom (2008) *The international migration of women*. Washington DC: World Bank & Palgrave Macmillan.

nurses has come to be seen as one of the most significant elements of brain drain but in such analysis migrants are not seen as women and thus their gender is obscured (Docquier *et al.*, 2007). From this vantage-point, the study here considers a relational gender approach to mobility of female HSPs coming from the specific countries of MENA. The study here assumes their professional participation may have various motives, mainly family reunification and refugee status, and thus may differ from other forms and processes of female mobility and migration around the globe. Consequently, a number of female HSPs are underrepresented because they might enter labour market through other channels than work permit scheme. An approach to this population coming from Arab-Islamic background need to account for all categories of female immigrants and understand thus the strategies they deploy to find employment opportunities and others concerning their family life in dual career. It is important to look at their career and spatial mobility as individuals in dual career context (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005), and the possible opportunities and barriers they meet in their career paths (Meares, 2010).

In Docquier and Marfouk's (2004) study, women in developing countries with tertiary education degree tend to emigrate more than those with primary education. Exact rates of this movement from MENA region to Europe or register data which gauge the behaviour for the 20 or 10 last years are absent, but an approximation is given by Docquier and Marfouk (2004). Limitation related to collecting data on international HSM makes comparable data to map mobility rather lacking (OECD 2008a, p. 69), while the potential of international mobility and migration is growing for women from MENA countries (Brodmann *et al.*, 2010). Despite the efforts being undertaken in North African countries, for instance, to integrate highly qualified young people into labour market, the problems are still prevalent concerning the restructuring of HE and R&D sectors to link them with industry and employment sectors (Sabour & Habti, 2010). Yet, men and women do not respond to push/pull factors in a similar way. Social networks seem to be more important for women who depend much on close ties of relatives for support, guidance, and protection in any host country (Docquier *et al.*, 2007, p. 5). The data from Docquier and colleagues (2007, p. 20) confirm that gender differences in human capital are connected to economic growth. The educational attainment in North Africa is visible (around 14.7 %) and the educational level of adult population has risen quite significantly. The growth rate of the stock of emigrating female HSPs has not exceeded the growth rate of highly qualified women and, thus, international HSM has been much in an increase (*ibid.*, p. 23).

It is argued that international mobility/migration is a phenomenon created by globalised social inequalities (Schmidt 2011, p. 58) to evade economic and gender-based inequality and to attain social mobility, economic and cultural capital. A large bulk of studies grapple with factors influencing female skilled mobility from different perspectives (Sassen, 2003), but argued to receive less consideration when they enter male-dominated sectors (Raghuram, 2008). An emerging literature on female migration has developed as a result with the growth of family reunion process and the increasing recruitment of skilled women in service sector (Morisson *et al.*, 2007). Their participation is noticeable especially in the fields of Education, health-care and social/cultural service sectors. The feminization of migration (Barber, 2000; Ho, 2006) has shown the role gender does in migration and mobility experience and the agency of migrant women. The trend of literature on HSM touch on the

ways gender instigates decision-making, labour market integration and life experiences in host countries, and it also tries to link migration process and its outcomes to social dynamics located in households, communities and workplaces (e.g. Cooke, 2007; Foroutan, 2009b; Suto, 2009; Liversage, 2009).

The heterogeneity of female immigrants in the category of HSPs, despite their low number in Finland, is significant and important to consider (see Heikkilä & Pikkariainen, 2008; Kyhä, 2011) due to their particularities in migration studies in Europe. The main individual features of foreign HSPs may crystallize social and cultural diversity (Raunio, 2007), transnational networks and global labour market (Raunio & Forsander, 2009). Besides, apart from traditional flows driven mainly by geographical proximity and historical factors to immigration countries, the trend has developed and changed in last two decades with inflows from various emigration countries through various channels (Heikkilä, 2005; Kyhä, 2011). The transformations brought about by the mobility and migration of female HSPs can be fathomed by examining the dynamic, iterative relationship between their occupational integration in the workplace and the domestic family life and responsibilities at home (Meares, 2010, p. 475). Research in the field has hardly examined female HSPs' participation in labour market in relation to mobility/migration's dynamics in the sectors of recruitment for these HSPs (Raghuram, 2004). The rate of temporary HSPs differs between countries, according to different recruitment and residence criteria, flexibility in procedures of admission and the regulation of employment (*ibid.*). Feminized fields such as education, health-care and social service which lack in international labour-force constitute an impetus to HSM in these areas (Raghuram, 2004; Kofman & Raghuram, 2005; Carlson, 2011). The areas of health-care and social services are indicated as strongly feminized in the literature (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006). For instance, Finland has lately started regulating the inflow of foreign-born nurses on the basis of fixed-term contract due to shortages in local labour market. Moreover, with the increase in inflow of refugees from specific countries, the state has increased recruitment of personnel originating from same countries in the social integration and cultural sectors. However, other channels might fuel the mobility and migration of skilled women such as family reunion or Higher Education enrolment.

Foreign HSM in the Finnish context has slightly increased and with it increased the diversity of immigration policies towards enhanced social and occupational integration (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011). More importantly, global mobility is thought to be a product of a complex negotiation of careers with changing employment opportunities, in native and host countries, and changing policy measures in accord with labour demand. Yet, female HSPs mobility is also reconciled by the processes of decision-makings of the couples and according to their expectations and desires (chap 2). Female HSPs as tied-movers through marriage tend to manage using their human capital in labour market than low-skilled to overcome gender hierarchies especially in those fields in demand of labour. While female HSPs from MENA countries moving to Finland have lower percentage than their male counterpart with educational and occupational attainments, the rate of female migrants as dependent spouses seems to be high for those who are educated, according to the study sample (see below).

This chapter touches on specific features of female mobility from some MENA countries within dual career work context, the means used in the process, the level of their employability in Finnish labour market and the importance of family life and wellbeing in their life course experiences. This might elucidate much of the dynamic and complex ways they face vulnerabilities and opportunities in their new social space and occupational space. These women undergo multiple and complex transitions at the spatial, social, cultural and professional levels between the emotional and practical demands in their new environment and in dual career situation. A relational gender perspective is considered here. Liversage (2009, p. 139) indicates that the challenges foreign female HSPs meet 'spring from the intersections of the spheres of family and work.' Most of international studies have centered on the economic benefits of migration from macro-economic perspective, while neglecting the actual dynamics and transitions these women experience. Marriage migration in Northern Europe shows the trend of move for the majority to be from developing to developed countries (Schmidt *et al.*, 2009; in Schmidt, 2011). The biographical and interpretive approach helps to shed light on the characteristics of their idiosyncratic mobility experiences in a different scientific, social and cultural setting to highlight the iterative relationship these women's occupational and social lives in Finland. The study is intended as an analysis of their dual-career and employment experiences as individuals from culturally and ethnically distinct countries, asking questions related to parenting and occupational integration.

The study is about the position of these individuals not in a global 'space of flows' but in a particular context of Finland, marked by a contentious migration debate history and question of immigrants' (especially from outside Europe) integration (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2008). The case study here points to an array of relationships and circumstances that mould their experiences and its consequences. Indeed, recognition of the complex trajectories and outcomes of mobility is the first step in understanding the different ways in which these individuals may be embedded in host society contexts and unveil the dynamics outside state/employers agency in their career paths as parents/spouses and as labour-force. Could their career paths be compared to those of men in the case of dual career life-course? Do they experience career mobility through their mobility experience? Are they integrated in local labour market as skilled/qualified workers? What are the different effects of their mobility and migration on their dual career? The analysis includes the responses of some women who moved to Finland through different schemes. Their responses are important insofar as they highlight international HSM is not necessarily a short lived phenomenon, but one that leads in most cases to permanent settlement (chap 3) and to an engagement with social integration and identity negotiation and development (see chap 5 and 6).

The intersectional and relational perspective in the study of international HSM remains both multifaceted and idiosyncratic. Every respondent in the study retells her lived story of career path and development according to her personal views, successes and failures. The socio-analytical approach's main aim is the objectification of the social world around that the subject perceives as a lived experience through her perceptions (see chap 5). Ackers advances in her study on skilled migration, 'Migrant women are not simply the passive victims of labour market discrimination and gender-role stereotyping; they proved themselves to be capable of utilizing their skills in innovative

ways, greatly enhancing their financial autonomy and quality of life' (Ackers, 1998, p.221). Indeed, different factors interplay and influence the career paths of expatriate HSPs while individual agency and serendipity remain important factors in the process of spatial and career mobility (see chap 2). A number of reasons drive these women from MENA to move to Finland: international experience is much valued and may be used beneficially in case of return, the shift in mobility from student life to settled life within marriage, and socio-economic reasons pushing them to move abroad for social and career mobility (Schmidt, 2011). Further, it deems worth-mentioning here that another factor influencing female mobility/migration is what is called 'social emancipation' (Stalker, 1994). Some women might seek new social spaces where they would feel more socially empowered than their original social space.

The perspective in such a research feat needs to account for familial and social relations. This perspective may explain the motivations, aspirations, worries, strategies and channels used by these individuals, with their own particularities (Kofman, 2000, p. 53). In this respect, households and social/academic networks are important denominators in global HSM. Some questions pertaining to socio-economic determinants were given in the interviewing in this part of the study such as the wellbeing of family, standards of living and their effect on family, the influence of family relations and obligations in their career paths. The recent shift in research studies on female migration have focused on specific topics like spousal employment, children's education and future and the effect of dual career situations. This represents a shift to recognize the impact of dual career relationships on decision-making (Raghuram 2004; Harvey, 2011). Kofman (2004) explains the role of a migrant as the main agent in spatial mobility, which restricts the scope of research to the impact of family and personal ties on processes of career and spatial mobility. Indeed, a socio-analytical approach may unravel aspects of these women's experiences which tend to be invisible in quantitative approach. For instance, it can explain the effect of the relationships with an extended family and the impacts of gendered social norms and major discourse within Arab-Islamic culture and society around motherhood, children and working outside home. Further, these women's narratives may explain features of their career mobility and the development of their social and collective identity through their experiences. The perceived social world, beside the lived reality itself, seems a critical part in research endeavour within Social Science research (see Bourdieu, 1990, 1999).

The nature of family migration usually changes when it comes to HSM with complex relationships and dynamics. Raghuram (2004, p. 306) argues that studies should consider the specificities of the contexts wherein women 'play a more active role in configuring the immigration or labour market strategies of their households.' It is here where the *contextualist* approach in HSM is relevant. Moreover, a socio-analytical approach may ease a thorough examination of these HSPs' lives and capture the different and contradictory aspirations, strategies and their experiences (see Meares, 2010). The method can explicate the repercussions of changing family structures and the participation of single or married women in labour market (Kofman, 2000, p. 47). International HSM encompasses a plethora of types of occupation with various conditions of access to work, work conditions and practices. These conditions which concern each require due regard in analyzing a heterogeneous group. The degree of restrictions and eases in occupational integration and mobility

differ from one occupation to another and according to European or non-European status of workers, and also the temporality of work contracts. Many EU countries have eased access to labour market for international HSPs in some job categories namely IT, education and healthcare (OECD, 2008a). This has been undertaken by new legislations and procedures for work permits, residence permits and family reunion especially after the UN's *Report on Replacement Migrations* (UN, 2000).

The sample in this study is a heterogeneous group of different family and occupational situations. The types of their moves are the sort of self-initiated or dependent tied-movers, who are employed under various conditions and through various channels. Yet, their previous acquired skills and knowledge and their training or education in Finland are generally recognized or accredited to varying degrees, thus being recruited with various types of work entitlements. The respondents belong mostly to second generation of immigrants in Finland, which reflects recent immigration behaviour of women from among the regions of developing countries to Finland (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011). These are 9 women from different levels of education, fields of work, career path and family situation. This interviewee's pool aimed to ensure as large a range as possible of types of identities, social activities, and experiences present among them. The marital situation is then different among these women: 4 are divorcees from Finns and non-Finns, 3 are married with Finns, one is married with co-ethnic, and one is single. The presence of different spousal relations allowed for an investigation of the social networks and relationships through which community and identity formation occur. The sample includes respondents who can be described as 'single mothers' from different backgrounds (Amal, Sabah, Amina). All of them have different degree of religiosity, an important factor in their social practices and dispositions. Personal life course and family priorities, occupational career conditions, educational attainments, and the specificities of location may be formed by one's other roles, mainly family role of parenting or other family situations (see also chap 6). The discussion below begins with the question of dual career situation of the sample, and then turns briefly to the issue of their employability as it has been raised in their narratives. More details will be given to this question in comparison with men in the next chapter on social inclusion.

4.2 FEMALE MOBILITY AND DUAL-CAREER SITUATION

Sociology of work-family relationships deals with the way work impacts on family life (Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2000; Meares, 2010). Dual career situations are prevalent and 'normal', placing more pressures mainly on women, trying to combine the demands of occupational career with personal domestic life. For dual career households, decisions about where to live can be especially difficult when both spouses' occupational careers and children's situation need to be considered when the family makes decisions on relocation. This may prompt female HSPs to move to regions with more employment opportunities. In the case of dual-career work, child-care system and social security support in some EU countries are important factors affecting employment rates of women, as in the case of Nordic countries. The supportive social or family networks for married women can also be influential in this regard. Family roles can influence career through spouse preferences and opportunities. When asked about dual career situation in the family circle, some respondents show great support earned from their family members beside the public social services:

It was difficult when the kids were still young and small. We say again the quality of life here is very good because we get care from the public service for kids like the day-care. This is important because who's going to care for your kids? It was of course made easier. Second, I have a husband who is supportive, understanding and good. He helps me all the time.... He doesn't help me in the housework. But I couldn't deny that he supported me forward all the time. Truly, he is always with me (Meryem).

.... I informed him [my father] that I wanted to go to Belgium to pursue my studies. He consented and gave me his consent.... They [family] were supportive and my father was very happy when I went to China... My father is the kind of person who loved education much because he did not have education at school, so he wanted his children to be well educated (Hanane).

My husband is postdoctoral researcher in environmental study. He is working permanently now in a Swedish institute ... we are both sharing responsibilities. Responsibility might be bigger in case we had children, but we do not have any yet. We just built our house and we still have lot of work to do there I usually take care of it and cleaning it as much as possible since women are brought up to take care of their house in our Algerian culture (Malak).

... Everything is fine and even my husband is much helpful. He does almost all of the household work and I feel ashamed as a woman to see my husband is taking care of almost everything at home. It is only that he has more free time to do it and also the fact he is much understanding... I have two jobs ... I usually have full day work, whereas he comes back from work at 16:00, and so he has time to do cleaning and prepare food... (Warda).

Dual-career path of a HSP is related to that of their spouse. Career mobility usually involves spatial mobility, which can influence the spouse's career opportunities in the case of dual-earner couples. Women's career path more often has been crystallized by their husbands' occupational life path than opposite direction because the latter habitually is considered as main breadwinner and gets higher wages in the family (Kofman, 2000). Wives usually show reluctance in relocating for better occupations when it possibly harms the husband's work in the situation of dual earner-couples, whereas wives show much readiness to sacrifice time and often their jobs. This does not discourage husbands from moving quite often (Bielby, 1992; Raghuram, 2009). Some international studies also support the tenet that mobility/migration of skilled women damage their career paths (Meares, 2010, p. 474). For instance, Cooke (2007, p. 55) studies Chinese female HSPs in UK who underwent underemployment or unemployment partly because of family responsibilities. Liversage (2009), in her study on East European migrant women in Denmark, shows her respondents underwent unwanted household responsibilities because they were unable to find suitable jobs. Ho and Alcorso (2004) in their study in Australia, indicate that female migrants tend to be less integrated in the labour market than men as they forsake their occupation for family and household duties, which has further increased with the result of stagnation in career mobility of these Chinese female HSPs, as a later study concludes (Ho, 2006). Similar findings are depicted in a study on Singaporean skilled women in China (Yeoh & Willis, 2005). They label the process a 're-domestication' as they represent 'tied-migrants' supporting their husbands as 'lead-migrants.' They conclude that international mobility and migration does not destabilize socio-cultural gender norms and roles (Yeoh & Willis, 2005, pp. 219-220). Some married respondents show this tendency as in the case of Meryem, Sabah and Hanane (see chap 2):

... I was working in my field and within my specialization but there was a kind of ... I chose the cultural sector so that we can enter into society and be more effective I was active in associative work and it

was proposed to me. So I tried it and it worked somehow. There was a kind of influence when I went into that domain. Suddenly my husband moved here [Lahti] and because I'm an Arab woman I left everything behind and I followed my husband, I moved from Helsinki to here and I left the municipality of Helsinki as well after two years working there.... (Meryem).

There [in Qatar], I met with my ex-husband who is a Finn. We married there in 1992. When we married, we were making market study as he used to have projects and I did analysis of markets with concerned individuals. Then, we moved to Finland and we started a business here also but personal circumstances ... (silence) We were representing a big Finnish company for marketing their products in the Middle East and North Africa (Hanane).

In another study, Pixley & Moen (2003) show that men are more likely than women to profit from a key career opportunity which necessitated the spouse to move or change occupation. Yet, a number of couples have declined opportunities like these. Accounts by the sample here evidences that women seem to have more unstable careers than men because many do not find suitable jobs, unavailable positions following their relocation and the needs of their family. Some go for full-time education in their midlife to get higher degrees and to prepare themselves for occupational career. Career path might be extended and indeterminate than in early career paths. Sabah currently holds a temporary job which requires frequent moves in Finland or abroad. But as a single mother with a little daughter, she decided to enroll her in an international school so she could have an international experience and probably move with her to another country in case she decides to:

... I'm taking care of my family by myself and I am not married anymore. Since my daughter was a kid, I am the one who take care of the whole education and taking care of the whole thing ... and my kid is enrolled in an international school. She was there since she was small kid of 2 years old and that was a good idea as I was moving from place to place, from country to country and to maintain the same education in English language.... (Sabah).

One of the possible barriers to occupational attainments in mid- or late-career stages for these women is the need of time for childcare and household work at the same time while having a job. Women usually take up the burden of domestic work. Most importantly, the balance between family and work roles might be easy or difficult depending on the policy context at the level of employer, the community and country at large. The policies as concerns public support for childcare, parental leave, child entrance to school, flexible schedule of working hours and support for child-care differ across countries. "Family friendly" policies as in the Nordic system may reduce belatedness, absenteeism, and raise work satisfaction and productivity among workers. Besides, the availability of good quality and affordable childcare is very important determinant in family-work decision-makings (Rindfuss & Brewster, 1996). Cross-national variations in family policies affect women's labour market participation (Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000). Family policies constitute the contexts in which mothers and fathers sail through their family and career paths. The availability of state-supported childcare and good education system makes it easy for the respondents to pursue concomitantly work opportunities and family role in mid- and late-career stages.

... I think living in Finland means that it [childcare system] is important... This is part of what I call my political thinking. I like the fact that my daughter's daycare is absolutely symbolic as I pay two hundred Euros a month. It's symbolic as they eat and learn, it's wonderful, it's good quality. The doctors and schools and universities are free and libraries are free.... (Amal).

.... Concerning the advantages here, there is security and as concerns the education of my kids, it is very high quality education. As concerns work life, it is a problem according to whether one got a position or not. The standard of living when Finnish Mark was used as currency was better than today. There are hardships but it depends on how the person accustoms himself with situations (Hanane).

I think I really like the education system here, it's the best. So if I'm having children so definitely they will stay here for their education of course. I'm a foreigner so I need to transmit to them as well my language and my culture [of origin]. But I think it's somehow related to parents. It doesn't matter if they are in school to get this kind of knowledge but they can get it at home as well... (Safaa).

The main objective as a mother is that you need to bring stability to your child and when your child is growing up, it also can have personal habits with friends and lifestyle. You don't think anymore the way you did at younger age or decide to go for trips so easily. Now you have to share everything with your child But as far as her school education goes on, I think I will just stay. Yet, you never know what could happen in few years (Sabah).

Share of time between work and family:

Is the time given for work disproportionately related to fields of activities which can promote their career progression (e.g. networking and publications)? Are those with children less able to commit to their aspiration for progression? The span of time given to the family and domestic life is one dimension of reconciling professional and personal life. The use of time is generally not gendered as both married partners have occupational duties outside household and divide their domestic responsibilities according to their weekly work schedule. This has significant implications for employment, retention and progression in careers since, for many respondents, their dual career work has dual career positive effects. These women may work extensively and intensively as they focus on their career without additional responsibilities linked with work and family or social pressures. In this respect, they show commitment to work and aspiration for upward career mobility to secure job positions. They usually consider flexible working schedules as favoring the combination of paid work and family responsibilities. Besides, the respondents show a high degree of engagement in long and sometimes anti-social working hours:

We both have duties but since my work requires much physical effort which may result in little strain, while he may spend most of his time at work sitting in front of computer. Maybe, it is he who should do most of the things outside home. And when I have some shifts during the day, it is usually he who prepares food when I am out at work. I make a strenuous work outside as nurse. So, we divide our duties according to the timing of working hours... We are flexible and free in this regard... (Malak).

There is a difficulty. For example, when I arrive home, I give all my time to my children, I need to give them my attention and cook to them, but I am obliged to sit in front of the computer and do my work and my studies after that in the evening. When they sleep, I open the computer and do some work if I have any. I frequently do work to prepare for a new working day.... (Amina).

... It [share of time] requires much effort and a person who succeeds indoors with family can succeed as well outdoors at his occupation. He finds himself faced with options to choose from to undertake these works, that everything should go well, so I have to make pressure on myself to give all my time for work and give due time to my kids I gave time to do work at home so I can improve my education level and living situation. There are difficult choices actually (Amina).

It [share of time] is well organized and we don't have any problem. I have never complained about that, like for example about cooking or tidying or shopping. We have agreed on that from the beginning.... We understand each other very well and he is a good man... I have somehow shown him the importance and value of what I do and who I am. He has his job and we work and help each other (Warda).

There are constant differences in the responsibilities of men and women and the use of time might appear highly gendered in terms of time balance between occupation and household. This discrepancy might impact on the amount of time and efforts the respondents with children are able to engage in paid work with significant implications for career mobility. Some women experience gender differences in the proportion of time spent on household work which might limit their capacities for promotion in their work if they have children, as they likely devote more time to family circle than career progression. This occurs especially for those who occupy temporary ubiquitous positions. The data however show a compromising flexibility between couples with regard to share of time given to household in dual career context. Besides, the tendency for some to engage in associative cultural activities outside their work might affect their career mobility:

Approximately from 1992 to 2000, I was at home taking care of children and after that I tried to go for education when I studied to be teacher assistant from 2000 to 2002. After graduation, I got a job as multicultural worker in the municipality of Helsinki. I worked in one project for two years. I did some activities and work for foreigners at the cultural level. I studied computing. Of course, my [Finnish] language study took a long time for me. These are things which I did study during that period... then, I moved as a teacher of Islamic education. After I finished that project, I stayed home for two years from 2004 to 2006. I had a newly born daughter, so I gave all attention to her (Amina).

There is an influence as you are not totally free to dedicate your evenings to some advanced studies ... but this will not be forever, it will stop someday when the child is 18 or bit older and more independent. But it affects in the way that you have to make your daily timetable according to your child... (Sabah).

... Between my two jobs around in Finland and other Scandinavian countries, for example, if there is some festival, we make a contract of 6 months or a year so that I can organize the duration of one week in which I am off from hospital. Either I work 3 successive nights, which means 6 working days... so I am quite flexible at work.... I requested having flexible schedule of time for both my jobs ... (Warda).

... Now, because I have a little daughter and whoever asked me to come and lecture for them somewhere I say "listen I am a special case, I am an immigrant woman, I have no family here, I'm a single mother. If you want me, you'd pay for my daughter." nobody says no and my 2.5 years old daughter has been on 11 trips abroad, so I find it interesting that suddenly what I have to say is very very appreciated, especially here in Europe... (Amal)

Apparently, the traditional responsibility for a man to provide for the living of his family influences his career path and occupation, whereas women's careers seem to be influenced more by their family roles. There is more flexibility in schedules and benefits like breaks, paid sick leave and vacation in the Finnish system, making it more 'parent-friendly.' However, mothers, unlike non-mothers, may have female-dominated works, and "there is no evidence that women select female jobs because they are more mother-friendly" (Budig & England, 2001, p. 216) though areas like health-care and social services are seen as strongly feminised (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Raghuram, 2009). This explains the growing fragmented and highly specialized labour market nature in present time that is affected by state and employers as meso-level actors. One possible explanation in the context of skilled

immigrants might be the restricted chances and choices for them to access local labour market beside the strict regulations governing recruitment for non-OECD natives (chap 5). Men's occupational careers might be influenced by family circumstances and concerns as argued in previous chapters. In general, occupational career and family life affect one another in many ways. For instance, those individuals with high aspirations expect to balance the share of time between building family and career investments. For these reasons of employability, respondents have recourse to some strategies trying to penetrate local labour market for occupations that suit their respective conditions. This can be summarized as a dynamic process undertaken at various stages in their life and professional career path. The first strategy is learning Finnish language since it is one important tool for employment in Finland. In a study on immigrants, Heikkilä (2005) underlines the importance of language skills in getting a job in Finland which correlates with the respondents' reiteration in their narratives of its importance in professional integration.

... I had an exam to have degree equivalence. It means they didn't totally accept first... It's not an easy thing to have an exam in Finnish for something you studied in your mother-tongue, but thank God, I succeeded in it the first time I had it. There was no problem actually as I had the willingness to go further in my specialized studies and finish it... Then I finished my studies in midwifery... (Meryem).

... I came here in Finland to do health-care nursing. It took three years and half from 1999-2003 because I had to study Finnish language for a year, so it took me overall 4 years... Afterwards, I worked there until I got permanent work ... (Malak).

... Life is difficult when you use not only a strange language but in my case the 6th learnt language – every day. When losing a job as an immigrant is more scary than it is to a Finn. Being a single working mother has made me chronically tired with lack of sleep. Besides, don't forget my age, I really think it is important (Amal).

.... It was around 2 years after I came to Finland in 1993. I used to travel between Finland and Qatar for our business. After I knew about this problem [of my Finnish ex-husband's second marriage], I decided to stay here... I took Finnish language courses because there was no space for the use of English or French... (Hanane).

The second strategy is related to the presence of children; those who already have children give priorities to household tasks, while those with no children pursue career mobility and occupational attainment (e.g. Safaa, Nabila, Warda, Malak). Delay in marriage or having children can ease for them advancing in professional careers as they make decisions. In a study in UK, Bushin (2009) finds presence of children influence female HSPs in their career paths. Nonetheless, the subjects reiterate the unexpectedness of the events of marriage or child-bearing which suggest readiness to accept them in their dual career. Safaa who continues her academic career has the highest possibility of getting senior positions according to her accumulated cultural and career capital. This basically corroborates with the general tendency in developed countries to integration of foreign-born HSPs. She focuses more on her academic career but does not show reluctance to the prospect of eventful marriage, though it seems in delay according to her age. Educational attainment and childbearing are interconnected and the impacts are bi-directional. For instance, education attainment may delay childbearing and parenting may limit women education attainment (Martin, 2000). The question of having children has not been much emphasized by those married and childless (e.g. Warda, Malak,

Nabila). It seems they give importance, as men do, on the future family life while balancing it with their career aspirations:

Now at this moment I'm single and I don't know what's going to happen after that. If I'm going to have children they have to follow their life as well and so I have to stay with them... I think I really like the education system here, it's the best. So if I'm having children so definitely they will stay here for their education of course (Safaa).

Safaa had the opportunity to have her undergraduate and postgraduate studies in France and moved to Netherlands for a short while. Later, she moved to Finland to take up a two-year fellowship. She is still unmarried but looking forward to it as she relates her future personal life along with her academic career. Thus, there is a close link between career path, educational and family formation pathways in the early adult age. The age at which men and women start to have family roles influence occupational attainment, which usually promote men's career mobility and earnings more than women's. Studies show some evidence that early family formation may have gender-specific impacts on attainment (Mortimer & Johnson, 1999). Early parenthood may restrict women's investment in continuing education or participation in full-time work. The data somehow corroborate with this contention. Contrary to migration studies which confine women with temporary and ubiquitous jobs within household work (Salaff & Greve, 2003, 2006; Campani, 2010), some women actually follow a strategy of proactive social and cultural activities as vocational activity to escape household pressures and engage in civic participation, intended mainly to intercultural exchange and introduction of their culture of origin to Finnish society. Volunteering is one from among the personality traits of some respondents (see chap 2). Yet, this involvement also functions as a way to getting some occupational situation after work experience in some organizations such as cultural and social-cultural associations (e.g. Hanane, Amina, Meryem):

I was a voluntary worker since 1997-98 and I participate in cultural festival to introduce Arabic culture in general in schools. I intend it for school children so that keep contact with their cultural roots and identity even if they have Finnish identity.... I participate also in a cultural center as I make some food plus an exhibition of traditional clothes and artisanal objects I have and give some lecture on Arab woman (Hanane).

.... We established an Arabic cultural association working every Saturday. We have 4 to 5 hours work: teaching Arabic, reading and writing skills, Arabic culture and Islamic education. This takes quite a good deal of time actually and we have to work not only on Saturdays as we schedule this program and we need assistance from the municipality of Turku and ministry of education. We organize trips in summer and also festivities and meetings. This is what concerns the association and the aim is to strengthen the identity of origin of our kids, their culture and civilization (Amina).

... It is imperative that we should have influential part in society. So I was told about these cultural activities and I was the only woman there who can use Finnish language well and it was suggested to me to go for politics as I'm very active. I was in some associations concerned with foreigners and especially Arabs... So I tried it and it worked somehow. There was a kind of influence when I went into that domain (Meryem).

When I get retired, I will not stay idle doing nothing but I will go to Algeria and do something. At 60 years old, if Allah wills it, I want to move around in the world practicing my vocational experience of nursing as a volunteer to help people... I feel really very disheartened to see the conditions in the South or north peripheral areas (Warda).

The engagement in such activities can be explained also by their aspirations and concerns about the wellbeing and care for their families, and possibly society at large (Bonney & Love, 1991), and may not relate only to employment. The question of availability of time is present for Safaa in constructing social and academic networks as she is single and thus the absence of household pressures. For her, the status of senior researcher provides her with more liberty and flexibility to focus primarily on her academic life and research activities:

... Usually there is some unexpected thing that comes, so I prefer to organize everything in the morning for my whole day. I am very efficient during the whole morning period. Then of course I have students to supervise beside my own work and some meetings to organize. I'm involved in different networks as well. ... The office work is usually from 1 to 2 hours in the morning and then I go to the lab making lab work and meeting students. In the afternoon after 5, I still do some office work (Safaa).

The respondents who are married and having family responsibilities do not normally tend to work over-time in their occupations or generally undergo time pressures differently. Yet, as mentioned above, they show a dynamic involvement and commitment in their vocational activities (chap 5). Most of them have dual careers creating particular challenges and opportunities. Their time span is supposed to be shared between their professional activity and family/domestic responsibilities. At the early phase of their career, they usually seem to bear the pressures of moving to Finland, especially for those coming from outside EU zone going through legal procedures and degree equivalence. The fact that they have experienced this stage according to individual conditions, some see this post-mobility stage as positive and profitable in their career, whereas for others, they find themselves in the middle of insurmountable barriers to get through in entering labour market or HE (e.g. Amal, Amina, Hanane). This can be marked in late-career stage and the growing family responsibilities over the life course. The dampening of insecure and temporary jobs may limit possibility to continue into their field, change direction or retreat back (see chap 5).

An important aspect that needs consideration is that making decisions on both professional and family lives may have implications for married couples or single mothers, and the family roles continue to influence occupational career across the life span. Women's work patterns are linked to changes in their family roles (Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000). For instance, women returning to their part-time occupations after childbearing may lose their positions, though sometimes temporary, or advance in their career mobility (e.g. Amina, Meryem), and for those women taking up occupations, the period of their exit from work may negatively affect their occupational progress (ibid.,) as illustrated by the case of Amal. Sometimes, occupations held by women are temporary in nature and their exit is related to family situation with the spouse (Koenigsberg *et al.*, 1994) which may have enduring effects on their career paths. The marriage experience of Hanane with her ex-husband is a concrete example of such situation:

... My beginning here was a misery, frankly speaking... My ex-husband was already married with a Finn when he married me according to my religious law. He didn't mention to me that he was married in Finland.... Only after I stayed here sometimes I found out about the situation. (Hanane).

I tried [to be a sworn translator] but when a woman has children, it is really difficult to combine between the two, the family and studies. The studies means I have to move from Turku to another city since there

is no school of translation here. So, this means I have to move and change housing and my children's school. Now I think of my children more than I think of myself. Their future is much more important for me than anything else.... (Hanane).

As mentioned earlier, Hanane focused all her attention on the education of her two children and has tried to get back on track for seeking job opportunities and further her studies to be a sworn translator. In fact, career path cannot be forecast far in the future because of the potential external events that intervene in career paths. However, internal factors such as individual decisions, either of personal or professional nature, in the course of one's life also may also result in unexpected outcomes (see chap 2). This shows the significant effect of personal life circumstances in the success of occupational career path. Amina is an example of such women who met personal as well as structural reasons (e.g. divorce, legal regulations) having repercussions in their aspirations and interests for pursuing a professional career experience after marriage and move to Finland. Despite her period of intermittent unemployment and maternity leaves, she does not regret the opportunities missed in accessing HE and training in her field of interest. The time spent at home for informal education and care of her children allowed her to acquire skills and knowledge in child education that are necessary to formal education teacher that she aspires to be in her vocational career:

When I sacrificed these years of my working life for the home, I found out that in this experience at home I acquired knowledge and skills I used in my occupation. I brought up my kids and knew how to deal with them. When I was at home, I used to follow what should be done according to the Finnish law and culture, how education should be carried out.... It's true I stopped working but if there was possibility for me to pursue my education, I would have succeeded. ... I stayed home 10 years without speaking English, and Finnish only weakened my English competence. I might have obtained my master degree if I continued studies and my only goal was to get a master degree in mathematics to be teacher of Maths... I thought that way is better but I don't regret those years.... (Amina).

It seems that finding a good match between occupational interests and the available position augurs a lifelong project. Some career decision-makings made may limit opportunities or make some difficult to attain (chap 2). Research studies on status attainment consider aspirations for the future as essentially important for career outcomes (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999). Many have high ambitions for educational and occupational attainments but meet difficulties in actualizing their aspirations. The absence of coherent plans possibly makes it difficult finding steps to pursue their goals and link their ideas on dual career future to educational and career paths. Moreover, people can meet structural barriers in pursuing their career goals; some are linked to ethnic, gender or class background (chap 5). The sample depicts the diversity of situational underpinnings and occupational positions in the career course of these women, with or without dual career context. Those who are married have spouses who develop some sort of career pursuits. The presence of a spouse can reduce multiple moves in their life-career path and tend more towards settlement (chap 2 and 3). For some women, this might have a negative impact on their career mobility, leading in some cases to *deskilling* and occasional underemployment (see Man, 2004). This situation is detrimental for some as they are unable to benefit from their qualifications or previous work experience. The career mobility for women seems to be obstructed as their family role take precedence in marital life (Salaf

& Greve, 2006; Suto, 2009). Moreover, there is usually an iterative relation between skilled women's work and household life and an attempt to find balance in dual career (Meares, 2010).

4.3 FROM SELF-INITIATED TO TIED-MIGRANTS

In chapter two, it has been argued that the majority of total respondents have a characteristic pattern of linearity with initial *self-initiated* mobility from their first departure countries ending with *tied move* to Finland following marriage with Finnish spouses. The same pattern appears to predominate in the case of women. These interviewees entered Finland as 'free-riders' exploring the country for short visit (Nabila, Warda, Amal) and then got married with Finns, for studies (Safaa, Malak), for professional training (Sabah), or as 'trailing spouses' (Hanane, Meryem, Amina). While the majority of interviewees share some level of educational attainment and a comfortable social security situation, their heterogeneity and diversity of mobility trajectories and experiences is striking. The nature of their mobility decision-making to settle in Finland rests upon a series of planned self-initiated moves, some of them positive as in the opportunity to study or undertake training, otherwise on family reunion process after marriage. The mobility experiences of these women wield various outcomes. For some, career path is positive (Malak, Warda, Meryem, Safaa) while others have been marked by personal trauma, uncertainty, and deskilling (Amal, Amina, Nabila, Hanane, Sabah). Mobility and migration experience and career paths have been dependent on the interplay between individual agency and various contextual structures. It seems their different experiential views, being constrained and enabled by forces and relationships operating at different levels need reconsideration of this relationship in the particular context of Finland (see chap 5). This conclusion has been reiterated in some other studies on foreign female HSPs (Raghuram 2009; Meares, 2010).

To illustrate the complex interactions between chance circumstances, personal contacts, kinship ties, and the legal system is the case of Warda who entered Finland first for short visit to attend a symposium at the University of Oulu in the early 1990s. She came back again in the same year as university student but changed her status after her marriage with a Finn. Warda is the elder sister of Malak and her initial move to Finland was determinant in the trajectory of Malak who was supposed to continue her studies in France. Malak after short stay in France decided to join her sister in Finland in 1999. She also got engaged and married with a Finn. During her post-mobility period, she did a transitional period of studies and training as a health-care nurse. Their credentials and citizenship entitlements allowed them to enter university to study medical nursing. Warda and Malak's self-initiated move were meant for studies abroad and then turned into marriage with natives. Both cases exemplify the complicated events and relationships, opportunities and constraints, shaping individual mobility/migration paths. Malak's migration was preceded by that of her elder sister, but was instigated more immediately by social and professional development in their career path. Their experience in Finland and local labour market was crucially influenced by family connections, symbolic capital and social capital. It was also shaped by the flexible Finnish legal system, which eventually regularized their status. Their permanent position in Finland is tied not only to their integration into Finnish labour market but also to their marriage with Finnish natives.

There might be a marked gender difference by age and number as the majority of the total sample are aged between 30 and 50, of which women are only 9, which probably entails they are married or divorcees, while males constitute two-third of the sample (17). Only 4 out of 9 women in the sample had originally made first self-initiated move to Finland as single (Nabila, Hanane, Warda, Sabah, Safaa, Malak). Yet, it is important to mention here that women, as men do, tend to experience multiple moves prior to their last destination (Sabah, Hanane, Malak, Safaa) or they become 'trailing spouses' to their bi-national or co-national spouses in Finland (Hanane, Warda, Malak, nabila, Meryem, Amina). The mobility scheme usually changes according to the circumstances and conditions of the respondents (chap 2 and 3). In the sample, most of women were single once they went abroad, directly to Finland or to other countries. Less than half are still married (Nabila, Warda, Malak, Meryem) and the rest are divorcees (Hanane, Sabah, Amal, Amina) and one still single (Safaa). Thus, with respect to gender, and contrary to what is conventionally perceived, the majority of women in the study has acted as independent lead movers, and thus do not constitute 'trailing spouse' in most cases at initial moves. As mentioned earlier, the case study here points to a wide array of relationships and circumstances that mould the professionals' skilled migration and its consequences. Some research literature underlines different motivations for female mobility relating not only to career aspirations, but also, for instance, to the desire to liberate the self from the confines of social pressures, socio-economic constraints and self-realisation (Thang *et al.*, 2002; O'Dowd, 2011). The sample show women move independently from any parental constraints. When asked about the reactions of their parents prior to their mobility, the majority refer to the consent of their parents regarding their decisions to move abroad despite the seemingly patriarchal regime governing society that restricts women's movement on their own:

... I informed him [my father] that I wanted to go to Belgium to pursue my studies. He consented to my decision and gave me his gesture of salutation (congratulations) They were supportive and my father was very happy when I went to China ... (Hanane).

.. I wanted to study in the field of Art but since the universities were expensive and expenses were high my parents wanted me to be teacher because you needed to get a job. You always have to remember the political context of my native country... You cannot do whatever you want. ... I went straight away from school to study philosophy and I did quite well. The second year I decided to study interior design in a polytechnic, not a university. My parents were very shocked and angry because it is expensive.... But they supported my choice and paid for schooling.... (Amal).

Apparently, social and gender inequality in native country drive many women to opt for migration (Fouroutan, 2009a; Campani, 2010), especially initially as university students or family migrant and then they go on either through the process of educational or occupational attainments and seek equitable opportunities to enter labour market, or they suffer deskilling in ubiquitous jobs or being housewives. The socio-economic context of their countries of origin plays also a crucial part in this female mobility (Khachani, 2010). As in the case of Meryem, Amina and Warda, female mobility/migration is a means of social improvement and empowerment against social inequality and deprivation (Olwig, 2001). Sometimes, non-economic factors might also instigate mobility and migration such as the desire for personal freedom and experiencing different socio-cultural lifestyle and intercultural experiences (O'Dowd, 2011). Amal is one example of such women whose country's

social and political situation drives her to decide on moving abroad to “the West,” to an idea, “I came to an idea and I didn’t come to a certain country, I didn’t come to Finland, I came to freedom and democracy and everybody is equal and you go and dance.”

International Student mobility around the world has grown to more than 75% between 2000 and 2009 (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011). It is considered an important source of global HSM. A fixed term work contract constitutes an accepted and expected situation for researchers as a road into their academic and scientific career after completion of doctoral studies. Moreover, temporary contract furnishes flexibility in labour markets of S&T, which permits them fluid mobility within various work environments. The only members involved in the sample at the time of interviewing are Safaa and Nabila. Safaa is senior researcher at the University of Tampere. She enjoys her work and mobility with different research group or organization to acquire expertise and experience or to develop her career capital (chap 2 and 3). Postdoctoral position represents a crucial opportunity and a pathway to academic career where good conditions and favourable factors are present such as teaching experience, research and infrastructures. Temporary contracts may have implications for HSPs trying to balance professional and personal lives if they are in a marital situation. The presence of social security benefits here is also critical in the wellbeing of international researchers, especially in family situation (chap 5). Safaa and Amina believe this temporary contract would certainly benefit them in being much committed in their work and multiplying efforts to secure a permanent one:

... In a way, I take it from positive side that it usually keeps the motivation up. You have to be good to be productive and then getting more contracts. I found this somehow obvious when you have good individuals in any type of workplace, why exclude them if they are good and productive?... it’s something like a little feeling of insecurity of what happen if you don’t get any later on ...but I think it depends as well very much on personality and the person himself and place where he works (Safaa).

The first thing is that it [temporary contract] may increase stress and instability and a person may think about other possibilities. There is a positive side of it which is that you make efforts to enhance your capacities so as to continue in that work or to find a better position. This is why I plan to pursue Higher Education for a degree to keep my present occupation or get a better job as I am qualified for the work. I also want to study in case I lose my job, I can have other possibilities somewhere else (Amina).

However, the reports from some respondents indicate their feeling of insecurity and disappointment and vulnerability to unemployment regarding the temporary nature of their positions (see below). Besides, the general characteristic in the mobility and migration pattern of the respondents is that despite their temporary positions, they do not show frequent moves between sectors, locations and even countries, while the absence of a defined predictive career path represents an important issue influencing their stay in Finland (chap 2). Moreover, the structure and expectations of scientific productivity is such that they both have divergent perceptions and choices linked to academic and training opportunities and better working environment. Being academics, Safaa sees her academic career and productivity as much important as the quality of private life, whereas Nabila intends a shift in occupational career from academic researcher to private translator owing to her feeling of discouraging and stressing atmosphere in academia and difference in financial remunerations:

I established a firm three years ago and I think it is successful because I have established good relationships with some important state departments. So I have really lot of clients and work very much.

So I just want to finish my PhD and then I will not continue in the academic field.... I am the boss in my own field. Psychologically, it is much better than here [university department]... (Nabila).

After living about nine years in France, two years in Netherlands, coming here to Finland, frankly, from the first month, I just loved this place.... The quality of life is very good. Everywhere you go, you have a busy work and everything but I can't feel this stress anymore compared to France or other places. I found that you are working efficiently without much pressure. Of course, there is a pressure but I can't compare it to what I had been living before in France mainly. It's really very nice atmosphere. In my situation I found it really very good work situation, the atmosphere with my colleagues. We have very nice international group and it's working very well... (Safaa).

Expatriate women often suffer a condition of underemployment, deskilling or unemployment (Femipol, 2006; Boyle *et al.*, 2009) and in most cases they become, in a sense, 'tied-movers' and consequently undermine career mobility. Besides, another problem arises in unsuccessful conjugal relationship as divorce may disrupt career progression for women, at least during specific transitional period as in the case of Amal, Hanane, and Amina. For instance, Sabah can even bear the geographical distance by moving along with her husband from Finland to distant destination such as Paraguay and Brazil for better career outcomes:

I was married to a Paraguayan and we decided both to go to Algeria and to start working life in Paraguay We wanted to see which place would suit for us but when we got there [in 1997], we had our first job. It was ok and we decided to go on... We got some better jobs and it continued till 2002. In between, there were some working trips to other Latin American countries in our domain.... Then, I went back to Brazil for a short time, and then I got some work proposal from Finland ... (Sabah).

These features and patterns show the growing responsibilities in personal/family life that influence directly or indirectly the quality and nature of career mobility of female HSPs such as settlement or frequent moves (see chap 3). The nature of occupational career may consequently cause challenges to those who intend to balance their professional and personal lives. The subjects in the study do not show frequent moves in their occupational activities. In uncovering the complicated mobility paths of the respondents, it is important to recognize that not all moves lead to career mobility or to an aspired for high quality of life (chap 5). Amina, for instance, came to Finland as a spouse joining her husband living there, seemingly conducting some business affairs. She moved with her husband, having lived all her life in the Emirates with good living standards, and holding high university qualification. She sought to find her way through professional and social integration in Finnish society. She had previous work experience as teacher but, as a refugee, she experienced *deskilling* and initial unemployment, though she later managed to find temporary work as social and cultural teacher for Arab immigrant children. At the time of interview with her, she had just begun a new temporary work again after one year of unemployment:

When I started my job I used to renew the contract every 6 months. Even when I began teaching, I used to renew contract every year. But now I am in Turku, I have permanent job. I began in Helsinki in 2007 as a substitute for a teacher for one year and a half... I will start the new work next year in Turku. It is temporary work contract... It will be renewed annually until it becomes permanent one day (Amina).

Other cases might appear more drastic than this, though they speak for the more modest outcomes to these women's career paths. Amal is one such case of 'angry birds' who feel their mobility

experience and career pathway have not been a success though she succeeded to get through the labour market. She expresses the imagined journey she expected when she decided to start it when she moved to Finland in early 1980s.

.... There was this big mysterious thing, 'why did my work end and why am I not being able to have a job?' I started going to therapy and I was deeply depressed. I didn't see what could come next. I had worked in many fields, but now there is nothing. So I applied for anything, I was doing odd jobs again... I did that for a while and I had been for years applying for work... (Amal).

.... You needed to be married to be able to stay in Finland. When I arrived, I was 'the wife.' but now my identity was that of an immigrant, I was already twice divorced and I noticed that if I had been in a relationship or family situation, I would have been mirrored and known both my strengths and weaknesses. In 1999, I felt a little bit healthier about what I knew that I was good professionally ... In 1999, I could not get a job again, nothing ... (Amal).

4.4 EMPLOYABILITY, VULNERABILITY AND DESKILLING

The international HSM as a social process sometimes results in spatial vulnerabilities and labour market constraints since the loss of cultural capital, social ties, and native country's accreditations might influence the immigrant's labour market position (Findlay, 2005; Nohl *et. al*, 2006). More than that, some research works maintain that the employment system in Finnish labour market has a double bind as EU nationals applying for jobs find positions equivalent to their qualifications whereas those coming from developing countries find it hard to enter labour markets or get a convenient position that suits their educational and professional attainments (Heikkilä & Järvinen, 2003, p. 112). The data collected reveals different processes of recruitment and integration into labour market. Some respondents met with recruitment constraints while many did not face any in their employment opportunities. Yet, in some fields such as IT, the salary tends to be higher than the average for international workers than native Finns (Katainen, 2009). Cultural and ethnic proximity between immigrants and natives is decisive in selectivity for job applicants. The fear and apprehension of 'difference' and 'incompatibility' may culminate in a *hierarchisation* of work opportunities based on immigrant nationality more than educational and occupational attainments (Heikkilä, 2005, p. 495; Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011, p. 151).

Some subjects generally have come across a long span of years in education and with the hope of a successful work experience and an advanced career attainments in Finland. Yet, they might face some unexpected reality and career uncertainty in labour market while seeking a work position. The policy of protectionism from local professional accreditation bodies collides with the necessity to fill labour force deficiency in this international category of migrants. The outcome might be underemployment and frustration of those who cannot use their skills and qualifications with credentials in labour market. Vulnerability and uncertainty of labour market opportunity for these foreign-born HSPs is further visible when it comes to periodical economic or financial crisis in the country (Heikkilä, 2005, p. 490) such as the economic crisis of 1990s. Qualified women can be among those who may experience vulnerabilities in labour market. Amal and Hanane entered Finland in the beginning of 1980s and possibly represent some of the early generational female immigrants from MENA in Finland. They both underwent a series of temporary and ubiquitous jobs for a long

period of time which resulted in a sense of desperation and incomprehension of their state of affairs in late-career stage and feeling of insecurity and vulnerability with regard to the environment around them despite their qualifications and credentials and work experience. Amal's last position was that of cultural diversity advisor while her field is different. Hanane at the time of interviewing was a freelance translator with a long international experience with five languages:

... The only work I am doing right now is writing in a big company's magazine, which I find very interesting.... Before that, I had a monthly column in a newspaper for 2 years.... But that also ended a year ago (Amal).

... I've never had an alternative in my life. In fact, being a teacher, well that was my first permanent job ever. I never had permanent job before, when I was teaching in the polytechnic I was head of a department. But that was for four years and then I left because the school personnel had a never ending battle going on. I don't like the insecurity that has been forever around whatever I touched... I think I am always standing on the fragile side of ice. I would like to have some security ... (Amal).

If I think about me coming to Finland, well I arrived here and was a free gift to Finland. Finland didn't invest in my healthcare, education, private schooling, music conservatory, nothing... So I didn't cost Finland much and I invested a lot... I feel there is something financially unfair in my history... (Amal).

Frankly speaking, I haven't found the kind of work that I wished for that is equivalent to my education and qualifications, except normal oral translation with refugees..... I have translation sessions within the Helsinki areas all the time. Sometimes I go farther to some cities like Oulu. The working time is different, sometimes 2, 3 hours and sometimes 7 hours in some state departments (Hanane).

Generally, trajectories of foreign female HSPs are confined within what Sassen (2003) calls "survival circuits" as they tend to engage in any available employment opportunities. However, it is noted the success of many women in their occupational integration in local labour markets though sometimes their jobs do not match their credentials. It should be borne in mind, however, the Finnish labour markets in early years of immigrants inflow in the country, mainly in the 1970s to the 1990s, usually exercised a degree of structural constraints for applicants with qualifications from non-OECD countries to access job offers, adding the lack of social networks and these immigrants' strong ties which could reduce opportunities (chap 5). This consequently results in a sort of *deskilling* for these immigrants rather than *brain gain*. FEMILPOL (2006) project findings, for instance, highlight the general problem of a highly stratified labour market according to class, gender and ethnicity. Foreign HSPs usually pursue novel lucrative career opportunities around the globe constituting part of global labour market. They mostly aspire for a much better professional and personal life in a distant place through different channels (chap 2 and 3). Suto (2009) uses the term 'compromised career' for those female HSPs from various emigration countries who suffer degree and credentials equivalence in Canada and are enforced to focus on gendered responsibilities at home. It is important to note that difficulties in getting access to employment that are commensurate with their skills, qualifications and training, within the same location as their spouses have various reasons. The state of *deskilling* or underemployment may affect the power relation at the family level and their status become quite relative prior to mobility and the relegation of their job can mean less power dynamics afterwards (Zhou, 2000; p. 97). The narrative accounts by Amal and Hanane illustrate at some stage of their career-life course dislocating turning-points (see chap 2) at a time

when Finland was living an economic recession and clear political legislations on immigrant's integration in labour market were not yet set, especially in public sectors:

My employer clearly didn't want to tell me they don't have any work [after I worked two years because they would have to give a reason, and the reason they gave is racist anger... They cheated me totally when I had only Kela money and I couldn't afford paying my rent and I didn't have any job.... (Amal).

More on this question is discussed in subsequent chapter. It is important to remember here that these women embody different trajectories and experiences and are not representative of the total range of female HSPs in the spatial context of the study. An important factor that enhances or undermines their career path is the presence of state policies on access to labour market for foreigners, mainly from non-EU or non-OECD countries as in the case of Amal and Hanane. Further, the availability of means they use in social and occupational integration such credentials and qualifications obtained from Finland are fundamental in their career as in the case of Safaa, Warda and Malak. Another issue that should not be underestimated in the situation of Arab-Muslim women is the reproductive role that female skilled migrants have in the household. Women are entitled to have reproductive activities and thus having this responsibility in her husband host country (Amina, Hanane, Meryem), which makes it difficult, and sometimes impossible, to progress in her occupational career path. Kofman and Raghuram (2004, p. 97) contend women like these 'have to seek private solutions to a public issue - the lack of recognition of links between production and reproduction and between human capital and social capital.'

... It was a little bit tough decision [to move to Finland from Paraguay for work opportunity]... it was family related... We [me and my husband] made a good compromise and agreed about everything and even discussed about our child education. There was no problem at all because he also knows Finnish system and we had been studying together at the same time as I was during the 7 years studies in Russia... (Sabah).

Unfortunately, we as Arabs living in Europe, a kind of gap grows between parents and children, each having different direction. Children think they are more intelligent than their parents as they become more fluent of the spoken language and receive more information and cultural knowledge than parents. This makes a negative impact on the family. But when parents are very active and productive, children then feel more comfortable in putting questions to them as the latter can answer them... (Meryem).

After graduation, I moved with my husband directly to Finland as he is living here. I knew him in Jordan. In Finland, I studied Finnish language, and for a period of time I stayed at home because I had children, and then I tried to continue my university studies, a master degree in mathematics but I didn't succeed in it. There were some barriers ... (Amina).

These women as *tied movers* are liable to make shifts in their career trajectories due to lack of suitable job opportunities as in the case of Meryem who follows her husband in his relocation to another city for his business affairs. Some others due to childbearing and childcare experience a situation of *deskilling* after a period of time (Amina, Hanane). Finnish labour markets constraints (Heikkila, 2005; Forsander, 2007) and family obligations might be major factors behind this situation, for non-native couples, because husbands often have stable occupational positions. Some research works on Muslim female HSPs in Switzerland (Riano & Baghdadi, 2007) and in Belgium (Geets, 2010) corroborate with this conclusion. Women in the case study do not depict the possibility of opting for

either short-term or long-term jobs to harmonize the demands of their career work and the duties of family life due to labour market restrictions (see chap 5). In Finland, some studies show evidence that some foreign-born highly educated migrants find it difficult to obtain jobs that match their qualifications (Ahmad, 2005; Kyhä 2011). This is particularly a problem for this category among ethnic immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. A number of justifications for lack of opportunity in labour market are: inadequate language proficiency and work experience, equivalence of foreign qualifications and experience acquired abroad, and the devaluation of foreign qualifications by potential employers. Even if there are variations between different migrant groups and countries, the problem appears to be prevalent in different EU countries (Femilpol, 2006). Empirical findings in some migration studies confirm the problem of qualifications recognition in host countries' labour markets and the presence of a hierarchy within local labour market based on nationality, ethnicity, gender and legal status (Ahmad, 2005; EUMC, 2003, p. 36). Kontos and colleagues (2009, p. 72) support this tenet and conclude that 'experiences of deskilling are very common across our cross-national European sample, as are trajectories of downward social mobility more generally.'

The nature of occupation, and sometimes with the lack of secure positions, might stimulate a career change for one of the spouses, mostly for female HSPs (Nabila, Amina). The sample shows however less tension on the grounds that female spouses usually have positions in more ubiquitous jobs and flexible work hours as in the areas of social service and education (Amina, Amal), or in period of unemployment, which make it easy for them to be trailing spouses. However, the data show that some married women have managed to integrate into labour market with permanent lucrative positions in health-care service (Warda, Malak). The possibilities offered to them in further education and training in the field permitted their smooth entry in public employment. In many cases, the husband's career appears prioritized within couples beside the fact that most of their spouses, native Finns or not, do not seem to hold occupations in similar fields. There is a context where a female HSP is not engaged in the labour market. They tend to undergo temporary unemployment but take the role of household caretakers (Amina, Amal, Hanane). Thus, Women may have multiple roles in society in the case of foreign HSPs, in their family and the workplace, and sometimes they have to quit their pursuits of education or training after settlement in Finland. This emanates from the concerns they have for the wellbeing and stability of the family life and coping with the pressures in dual career situation for couples which other studies have highlighted (Skinner, 1980; Ackers & Gill, 2008).

4.5 FAMILY LIFE, SOCIAL WELFARE AND WOMEN'S STATUS

The respondents show more or less a curiosity and a like to the country, while the majority intends to stay longer than initially planned. Why would they then decide to stay in Finland? Financially, living in Finland is not as much attractive and advantageous as US or Canada, at least for this group of women coming from MENA region. The high taxation and the living costs, while a high quality of life, remain a large concern for them as the respondents reiterate in interviews (see chap 5). The majority think the quality of living and education for their children is much better here than anywhere regardless of little possibility of doing some savings for their futures. Some speak of the

deteriorating socio-economic situation in their native countries and others mention the political instability refrain them from return. The orderliness and efficiency of daily life in Finland makes it much more attractive and comfortable for many HSPs. The social services augur an essential lucrative system that keeps the balance of life for population with regard to the high costs of living and taxation system:

I think it is very good of course. For example me as a refugee from Syria, I had no rights at all for schooling, social security, political activity, or employment. There is much difficulty for refugees in Syria. When I came to this country, they gave me its citizenship, freedom, the possibility to participate in society; of course I have all due respect and gratitude to Finnish society... This is of course something good and in Finland we have aspects of good quality in life.... (Meryem).

Concerning the advantages here, there is security and as concerns the education of my children, it is very high quality education. As concerns working life, it is a problem according to whether he got a position or not... (Hanane).

The social democratic regime in the Nordic countries organize the civic and occupational life about the way material relations in society is governed, with prevailing socio-cultural notions of work, competition, prosperity, and achievement (see chap 6). These female HSPs have expressed their admiration of the degree of consistency in Finnish society of a more 'humane' distribution of the wealth and resources of the country than other developed post-industrial countries. This is a significant aspect worth-mentioning considered and evaluated by some respondents. Hence, most of the socio-cultural and material factors associated with the decision to stay or not are informed by the contextual frame of Finland as living and working life setting. However, other women (e.g. Amina, Hanane, Amal) report the aspired for quality of life and security have not been met according to their experiential perceptions. Their experiences at the individual (personal) and professional levels have undermined their expectations for good life-career environment due to their failure to secure convenient jobs and stable family life:

For me personally, it has to be an immediate family I'm not really a typical family dependant. ... It is very important for me personally to have a challenge professionally. For instance, I need to write, I'm very happy when I write, when I think. It's very important for me to have an immediate family (Amal).

The location was almost unknown for many prior to moving to the country and then turned into a desirability to stay for life and work for those who have families and those who are not. Those with family members tend to think more about these members' future life when it comes to wellbeing in Finland since different public social services are available for family life. For many, daily life as a local is attractive from professional angle, but as a foreign-born social individual, it seems life is not as much to the level of their expectations. Nevertheless, they generally perceive the welfare regime as family-friendly and work-friendly, helping alleviate the pressures of dual career situation. The latest quality of work life survey, which was conducted in 2008, describes the changes that have taken place in working conditions during the past 30 years (Statistics Finland, 2008). Positive changes have been observed in the possibilities of learning and development at work and as an increase in tasks. Negative developments include an increase in problems related to time pressure, the insecurity of the employment relationship and social relationships. These negative developments have been observed especially in the public sector (*ibid.*).

An important aspect of the respondents' family life is the concern these mothers have for the education and future life of their children with the emphasis on their cultural identity and cultural ties with the country of origin as Arab and Muslims (see also chap 5, 6). They try to keep their children in touch with the language and culture of origin. The sense of collective identity for many women are highlighted in their narrative accounts and want to safeguard the cultural identity of origin though they see their children as Finns and part of the societal construct. This might explain the reason why some of these women take on activities of 'cultural brokers' trying to introduce the Arab-Islamic culture to Finnish society (see also Jezewski, 1990):

My kids like much to go on their studies in Tunisia because they study now Arabic language, French, English and Finnish.... Now they are taking French as the first language with English while they have three hours of Arabic language... But I hope they will go to study at some university in Tunisia. If they move there I will also move with them (Hanane).

I have given ten years of my life bringing them up and teaching them Arabic that they wouldn't go in school without knowing about it very well.... Even if I stay here a long time, I will not speak Finnish perfectly well with my kids or I could transmit my ideas to them correctly in Finnish, that's why I wanted them to reach my level of language communication in Arabic and understand my Arabic well.... I'm really keen on keeping them attached to learning Arabic as I do with Finnish language (Amina).

Another important question stirred by many of these women is the situation of an Arab and Muslim woman in a European context, especially if she is married with a native European. Socio-cultural factors might represent a hindrance to career mobility such as the prevalent cultural perceptions around the world which put women's primary duties and vocation within domestic and family sphere (Raghuram, 2008; Campani, 2010). Countries of MENA region still witness, to varying degrees, this gender issue. The increase in female migration and mobility due to equal opportunity for education and high female unemployment rates are prominent push factors (Hassan 2009, p. 7). Yet, in Finland, the average of women from MENA is very low. Finland has been lately positive in developing family-friendly employment policies and securing equal access to social entitlement under free mobility provisions, with the offer of package of parenting entitlement, for international HSPs (Statistics Finland, 2008). Yet, their applicability at the domestic level is still affected by deep-rooted cultural, political and economic norms. Some women after their move abroad may remain housewives and not be engaging in labour market though owning credentials, which makes their *invisibility* more acute (Kofman, 2000). Moreover, the altered experience of motherhood and onerous responsibilities in the household hinder balancing career work and family life (Meares, 2010). Gender is frequently neglected in brain drain discourse in migration literature (Dumont *et al.*, 2007; Raghuram, 2009):

... I didn't have any problems. It was just family matter in general, it's not my father or mother thing ... My father is very open and he does not see it a problem to marry a European and some relatives are also married abroad. It was just that I was the first woman in my neighborhood who married a European. I usually take him to my country, to know about the culture and the language. People saw this as a positive, not negative thing (Warda).

I think all the differences we have is those between man and women, not between cultures because my husband lived in the Arab world for 14 years. He is different, not a typical Finn... and he speaks Arabic fluently... (Nabila).

... These men [co-ethnic] here are married with Finnish girls and have children with them and with all the kind of family problems. But when they see an Arab woman married with a Finnish man, they become jealous. They see it as illicit and not good.... The issue of gender equality does not exist in their mind.... (Warda).

Many foreign-born HSPs can be invisible because they may be registered as citizens of host country, or may have been employed after this entitlement; otherwise, they are categorized as unemployed. Entering an occupation seems very important to fathom the experiences and paths of female HSM. Different data and their inadequacies may complicate an overall understanding and evaluation of the outcomes of different immigration trends and will not give a comprehensive profile on their situation (OECD, 2008a). The attitudes to their career and employment, family life and social values about the status of women are important as influences on their position in society and for their *motility* (or capacity to be mobile) (see Kaufmann *et al.*, 2007). In MENA countries, the attitudes vis-à-vis women used to restrict pursuit of mobility for academic career abroad whereas men have more tendencies and possibilities to build up social network meant for mobility (Özden, 2006). Various familial and societal attitudes affect the unequal range of opportunities between gender, especially due to the traditionally patriarchal society in the region, which may influence the rate of their participation and integration into international labour market and mobility:

There are many unknown women who strive and work hard. It's not a problem to bring a wife from your country, protect her and treat her well, but you should give her an opportunity to help you first because Finland is not an easy place to live in and carry alone the expenses of life.... of course a wife has rights and obligations and she knows what her limits are. But people are different and you never know.... I am for the idea that a person goes abroad, either man or woman, to study and work hard, be well-respected and highly esteemed. This is what I believe in and think (Warda).

Arab women situation is worse unfortunately because there are some women who completed their graduate studies in their countries of origin but when they come here, they don't even know Finnish language, unfortunately. There is no social or professional activity.... It is not because of Islam that the situation has been so. It is rather the traditions, some norms and patriarchal behaviours not related to religion and unfounded which led to the oppressing condition of women ... This kind of thinking has come into grip in the minds of many people... Islam does not automatically equals Muslims... (Meryem).

We have a kind of manly patriarchal culture in the household and outdoors [in my native country's society]. But in the new young generation, there is a growing awareness giving equality between both (Malak).

In the Emirates, women still do not hold higher positions ... As concerns freedom to work, there are still some restrictions because women could not go out every day or travel. These are things that still exist but some women have succeeded to break these constraints (Amina).

However, the majority of these women succeeded to keep their professional identity and managed to adjust to the new work and social environment and use their acquired cultural and social capital while few could not. The study by Liversage (2009) on East European qualified women in Denmark shows similar result for women with qualifications in natural sciences. However, some respondents give priority to their family circle to the detriment of their professional career, while the patriarchal ethos still persists in their countries of origin. This probably constitutes a hindrance to the increase of skilled female migrants' gender equity since some countries still abide by an old mode of structuring

in gender relations and some other still have gender discrimination. Some respondents mention many women experience *brain waste*, being mostly unemployed while taking care of their household. On the other hand, earlier in chapter two and three, discussion covered the drives influencing the mobility behaviour of the respondents. It seems significant to note that these factors are not gender specific as they impinge on both men and women. Here, for the sake of reminder, some women who self-initiated their moves abroad experienced various pressures in native countries, as reported, for instance, by Hanane, Amal, and Sabah:

I left Algeria after I finished my high school.... Before that, I went to university and I had no idea how I would pursue studies abroad... For some reason, I was concerned about how the whole university system and social system work. Some people might have opportunities to succeed while one strives the best they can but cannot succeed..... (Sabah).

I was all the time trying to go out. I was dissatisfied with what I was studying and I was always forced in what I would do.... I was dissatisfied with the past. I wasn't stupid, I was very curious... I wanted to go abroad and I wanted to study something in the field of art... (Amal).

.... Frankly speaking, what drove me out of my native country is that kind of fear we used to face in the university campus. I tried hard and then I decided to move to Belgium to study oriental languages I stayed the first year and then I moved to China and got Master in business administration (Hanane).

It can be said that the attainment of accreditation to enter labour market can be bound to family responsibilities and compromises that take place at family circle. The respondents show different positions in their different experiences with different degree of compromise in their spousal relationship when it comes to dual career situation (see also chap 2). The accounts show that some women have met difficulties finding secure and permanent occupations as *tied migrants*, while Amal faced an unexpected experience of 'envy' and 'jealousy' from her husband at a time when she started getting through a successful career experience. Nevertheless, the majority, as mentioned before, have support from their family members through their career path (e.g. Meryem, Warda, Malak, Sabah). Finally, there is an increasing emergence of gender differences in patterns and characteristics of mobility and migration of the subjects over the career paths. The predominance of fixed-term employment positions for these HSPs is critical if they seek to secure permanent positions in their career path and hence reflects contractual insecurity. Are women particularly more critical to this situation of work contracts? In general, it is argued that mobility trajectories of expatriate HSPs are affected by education background, class and gender relations (see Riano & Baghdadi, 2007). It is important to remember that the process of negotiations in terms of dual career context within family circle is mediated by the conditions and regulations in labour market as well as the nature of family relationships and dispositions of couples. There are different conditions of category of HSPs, and thus it is necessary to understand these differentiations in the study. The approach followed in the study has tried to pin down these individual differentiations through the perceptions of these women as they objectified their experiences of dual career in the social world, *their social world*.

Raghuram (2004; 2009) discusses the ways the shift in the skills of lead-movers reshape family mobility and migration, taking the case of healthcare professionals. She underlines the ways in which debates on gender and international migration into Europe and that on tied migration lack

deep analysis on the changing role of female HSPs in labour markets. An important concern she focuses on is the ways immigration regulations intersect with labour market conditions in influencing family strategies around labour market participation of both married couples. International HSM intersects and is related to tied mobility/migration and dual-career work. Studies on tied migration give useful insights into the effects of family reunion on women's labour market participation as many studies demonstrate (see Salaff & Greve, 2003; 2006). From an ethnographic angle, research might illuminate the various triggers for tied mobility and migration in the context of occupational integration. Research studies indicate generally that in dual career couples, usually women tend to make compromises in labour market following the lead-move husbands in the course of geographical mobility (Raghuram, 2004; Suto, 2009).

4.6 CONCLUSION: FROM CAREER ROLE TO FAMILY ROLE

The study shows personal experiences the sample had, with clear-cut heterogeneity in terms of field of work and pattern of mobility/migration to Finland. They either find easy integration into local labour market or face recruitment constraints, as well as various socio-psychological reactions towards individual and occupational experience and career mobility. The study aims is to build upon the literature on HSM in two ways. I use the narrative stories of respondents to highlight factors that shape their occupational path in relation to family life course in Finland. This engagement tries to balance accounts that take for granted the linear and planned career paths, and the ways in which these experiences are situated and constructed in Finland, presumably their last destination in international mobility and migration. There is heterogeneity in these women's situations depending on their status and education background and family situation. Moreover, women usually try to build different social networks to enhance the process of their integration within society as well as transnational community. The range and nature of social networks of female immigrants in Finland have not received much concern in research studies that appears to be quasi-absent, partly due to the possible invisibility of this category in labour market.

Structural and socio-cultural reasons might explain the inability of some women to find their place in the Finnish labour markets for work opportunities suitable to their qualifications. At the legislative level, significant development has been noticed in recent years with regard to employment of international HSPs, especially with regard to the residency-based social security system and equal benefits once employed (MIPEX, 2011), positioning Finland fifth at international scale. Yet, do these legislative procedures constitute strong incentives for them to enter labour market and to settle down in Finland with access to labour market? Koikkalainen and colleagues (2011, p. 155) believe the improvement of their professional and social integration necessitates a process of redirection of integration program to enable immigrants access on-the-job training activities and tailored education and training, and concrete interaction with Finnish employers. By looking at the varied paths of HSM of these women, I have suggested that we need to explore the different ways they can be embedded in the context of Finnish labour market and consequently into society (see next chap).

For some women, their mobility and migration experience is not disruptive to career path but an opportunity to use others skills they own and get occupational self-satisfaction, or get involved in some role of 'cultural brokers' within or outside the realm of their temporary jobs. This aims to introduce their culture and traditions to mainstream society and show involvement in their ethnic community. A number of respondents show this tendency and stressed the significance to earn such a fluid identity between the collective and cultural identity and new social identity in the new social space they live in which is transnational. Some earlier studies have reached these conclusions (Green, 1997) and see female mobility not necessarily as an outcome of labour market deprivation (Bonney & Love, 1991; Meares, 2010). For women here, daily life is not solely situated within the confines of the workplace and household for those enjoying stable or precarious occupations. For many, their aspirations transcend securing employment and strive for enhancing their quality of life and care for the home-making, beside their role as 'cultural brokers' in the form of socio-cultural associative activities targeting their community and introducing their culture to mainstream society.

The case study here shows the construction of a spousal couple is done mostly after initial move from country of origin through family reunion. Another apparent phenomenon in this construction is spousal relationship from among these women with native Finns, fusing the cultural and ethnic differences between the origins of both spouses into such relationships through strategic compromises and fateful understanding as some report in their narratives. The trend shows that men and women are usually free to engage in educational, occupational or social reasons and probably build marriage abroad. Therefore, studies need to link international mobility and migration of these respondents from family structures and social networks. Further, career decision-makings are not usually taken by men alone but rather a process of compromise is made especially at the occupational level and dual career situation (see also Harvey, 2011). Hence, the presumption that socio-cultural and familial aspects involve women while the economic concerns involve men is rather untenable as far as the perceptions from the subjects report in their accounts. In fact, gender aspect in Finland is not highly marked as a denominator in census data for international skilled migrant women in labour markets which may obscure the scale and development of this migration, as Raghuram (2009) advances in her study.

It is important to consider the situation of these women in the context of mobility/migration from MENA countries, considering their ethnic and cultural background within a context of family migration, local labour market and migration policies (see next chap). They still face some problems in arranging their career paths due to their dual career as household member and as workers. The data cannot justify whether their presence is basically located in feminized fields in the Finnish context, i.e., social service, health-care, education, as there are intrinsic complexities in migration processes. The particularity of Finnish labour markets and immigration policies impact on the genre of migrants. The labour market participation in different domains and the social networks of the migrant women are also influential in their mobility and professional integration processes. Because of the spousal situation and some structural barriers in Finland, some women encounter a *deskilling* experience and find themselves at the margin of labour markets (Ahmad, 2005; Heikkilä, 2005). It might be that local labour market constraints are an obstacle in integration for some women because

gender does not seem to be a constraining factor to the opportunities for women in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2008) and the problems they meet in upward career mobility, though they try to build some supportive social network (Amal, Warda). The influencing factors might be other than qualifications or credentials. The following chapter delves in more details with the question of social inclusion as the respondents perceive and experience it and the various strategies deployed in the social space and workplace.

5 Mobility, Spatiality and Social Inclusion

Human relationships always help us to carry on because they always presuppose further developments, a future - and also because we live as if our only task was precisely to have relationships with other people (Albert Camus, 1946).²³

Trust is the glue of life. It's the most essential ingredient in effective communication. It's the foundational principle that holds all relationships (Stephen R. Covey).²⁴

5.1 INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY, INCLUSION AND SPACE

Most research studies in skilled mobility tackle issues of the importance of the HSPs' economic and cultural capital in promoting knowledge economy and society. Due to their small number and special professional and socio-economic status in the Finnish labour market, they might be considered as an economic asset and necessity. The social aspects, however, seem important area of concern too in the process of their social inclusion within the societal fabric of the country, characterized as small and homogeneous. Foreign HSM often undergoes a process of identity negotiation and integration within their social and occupational space (Koskela, 2010; Kyhä, 2011). The question of inclusion of foreign-born immigrants in labour market and society has always been a critical, controversial and complex issue because it involves national and supranational migration policy, local labour market regulations and welfare system (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011). While it involves commitment of both host and foreign communities, inclusion involves social group membership and full participation of their different communities, worldviews and background in society. Thus, this chapter attempts to delve into their experiential perceptions of the sample on social space and the work space where they interact as international HSPs and members of society. The consequences of these may decisively influence their choice in career path and decision on settling down in Finland.

At the level of their labour market integration, it is necessary to consider three fundamental dimensions when analyzing it: policy measures, the institutional structures with the various legal and policymaking roles across which policy interactions are undertaken, and the resulting degree of inclusion for this population. Inclusion is a multifaceted, multidimensional, and dynamic construct which generally refers to the full and equal social participation of different individuals and communities across different settings in the context of diversity. It is indeed a crucial element in fostering the potential benefits of diversity in social identity of groups (UNDP, 2009), and involves equality in access to opportunities, decision-making and positions, justice, full participation at the individual and communal levels, appreciation, and valorization of the potentials of minorities within that diversity. The structural and cultural features of inclusion relate to the attitude and ideology of

²³ Camus, Albert (1946) *The Stranger*. USA: Vintage International.

²⁴ Covey, Stephen, (2006) *The SPEED of Trust: The One Thing That Changes Everything*. New York: FREE PRESS.

social systems toward the acceptance enhancement of diversity in different social spaces (e.g. education, labour market, equal social and political participation). Social inclusion is manifest when 'all have the opportunity and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural activities which are considered the societal norm' (Boushey *et al.*, 2007, p. 3). Besides, the question of cultural diversity around the globe has turned more complex as communities define their identities against the influential dynamics of globalization and globalizing societies. Diversity and mobility of goods, information, capital and people are increasing, but cultural and ethnic differences are emphasized with various reactions and degree of mutual receptiveness between majority and minorities in host country and more specifically from local homogenized popular cultures (Touraine, 2000). The political and public debates on identity politics, intercultural interaction and social participation have won space in different areas of social space today. International mobility of HSPs from developing to developed countries may increase global inequalities putting developed countries in dilemma between the demand of this category of migrants as international employees and the different opportunities and vulnerabilities these may encounter in their international experience and career paths.

The respondents in the study have different histories, background, aspirations, motivations and career prospects. Factors impinging on their patterns of mobility would certainly influence the degree of integration and inclusion in society. We discuss here the role these HSPs' perspective play in forming interpersonal dynamics. *Inclusion* does not refer only to the role of host society towards immigrants, but it stretches to the experiential, reciprocal and relational aspects of it. Ferdman and colleagues (2009) speaks about *affective inclusion* which refers to personal perceptions of their experience and feeling of inclusion (trust, respect, acceptance, support, self-fulfillment, commitment, and value) as individuals and members of a specific socio-cultural group and also the size of spaces allowed for capacity building and progress in professional career. They know the context and conditions through the lens of past experiences of some social contacts, spousal relationship or through available information on the country. They understand the reasons for their mobility and migration and their goals aspired for. The question of their cultural and social identity, its development and adjustment to the new environment are present in their mind and daily living (see next chap). This seems quite related to the meaning they give to their career path and experience outside their native countries. The literature of international HSM says little about stories of different population of HSPs from countries with differential cultural-ethnic proximity with mainstream community and the way they experience mobility and social inclusion within various spaces.

Accordingly, it is important to look at the spaces wherein an international HSP interacts with the social, symbolic and physical characteristics in the space he is located (e.g. mainstream society, social contacts, family, workplace and other spaces of activities). In relation to the issue of inclusion, interest is laid on the person's social interaction, networking and the extent to which they facilitate or hinder inclusion within the socio-cultural and professional setting. Thus, it augurs interesting to consider mobility experience of the community of HSPs from MENA, with its cultural and ethnic characteristics, at these levels (e.g. social interaction, lifestyle, welfare, labour integration and socio-cultural inclusion). Foreign-born HSPs are usually embedded into an international context that

provides formal and informal support to them as an international labour force in their host countries (Williams *et al.*, 2008). Various meso- and macro-level structures that facilitate their integration in society and labour market are significant (e.g. access to HE, family reunification, and social security).

The study here aims to examine the degree of social inclusion and adjustment within mainstream society, the challenges faced and strategies possibly used in the process, and the benefits and supports they get as foreign HSPs. I probe into the respondents' individual conceptions which involve individual factors (e.g. background, education, international experience, dispositions) and situational factors (e.g. homogeneity of host society, attitudes towards immigrants) that influence their inclusion (or exclusion) into a locally stratified society. These factors could be interrelated and overlapping (e.g. cultural and language affinity between these HSPs as immigrants and host community). This chapter discusses questions pertaining to the employability of the target group with the various opportunities and vulnerabilities they perceive being or having been influential in their career paths from micro and meso-level, the importance of national regulations governing labour and social integration such as welfare system, social security and quality of life. A third angle touches on the role forms of capital play in their inclusion, participation and building trust within mainstream society. A last discussion related with the aforementioned deals with the question of whether inclusion exists as a 'social reality' for the respondents or just a form of social exclusion.

Previous chapters have examined the processes and patterns of their mobility and briefly came across the opportunities they have and vulnerabilities that some respondents meet in their spatial and career mobility (e.g. language difficulty and degree equivalence). Though they strive to find places in local labour market, building social interaction or networks, either with co-ethnic or local native community members, might be hard to foster for various reasons (chap 2 and 3). Different forms of capitals usually play important parts in the process of integration, assimilation and participation in society and labour market. This influences the degree of emotional and instrumental support they might get from individuals belonging to different social groups, backgrounds or socio-cultural practices. The presence of their supports might facilitate the transition into the local socio-cultural setting through adjustment and provided means, resources and strategies to inclusion. Concepts such as space and capital are important here to grasp the main interrelations of different influential structures (social, occupational and spatial), schemes of perception and valuation of mobility experiences. The social constitution of mobility as imbued with social meaning underlines contingent and relational feature of mobility experience with socially produced meanings. As a tradition through the chapters of this study, the approach taken in analysis and interpretation of the main question here is relational and socio-analytical. The kind of theoretical and methodological framework here grapples with the significance of Bourdieu's theorizing on capital and social space.

5.2 RETHINKING INCLUSION AND SOCIAL SPACE

The analysis and interpretation of respondents' career paths illustrate the uniqueness of each individual's experience. It signals personal aspirations, worries and achievements, taste for professionally stimulating activities, and the desire to give back to society. The analysis reflects the multiple social roles the respondents have (e.g. social, occupational, parental, spousal), and suggests

impacts of different people, experiences, and social spaces in personal and professional life path. Hence, the career path seems more than just an individual phenomenon, but involves also various structural factors which produce social and economic outcomes. Bourdieu's social *theory of practice* is a multilayered framework conceptualizing individuals as producers of social practices in social space while following specific logic of practices. Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer (2011) discuss the potential of the theory for the core issues of contextuality and multi-level issues, structure and agency, boundaries, dynamics, and methodology. Coleman (1990) and Giddens (1984) also support a contextual, interdisciplinary and relational approach in studying career path. Sociological and psychological disciplines yet call for the integration of theoretical concepts from different disciplines for enriching the picture and broader understanding of the underlying career phenomena (Collin & Patton, 2009). This direction would uncover and acknowledge the intricacies of career path, located at the 'intersection of societal history and individual biography' (Grandjean 1981, p. 1057).

Theoretical concepts in Bourdieu's theory are used in the specific research context of the mobility experience of the sample in the study. The main underlying aim is to fuse these concepts with the question dealt with here as they involve the importance of forms of capital in the context of the social reality of the experiences of these HSPs. The structure of this chapter attempts to place Bourdieu's terms of analysis within the context of their experiential views on their social inclusion (e.g. occupational and social). Sociological research approaches in research on HSM can serve as a theoretical backbone in addition to the theory of inclusion since career research is multilayered and multidimensional and the perspective involves individual, contextual and institutional variables. In his sociology, Bourdieu builds 'a science of dialectical relations between objective structures [...] and the subjective dispositions within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them' (1977, p. 3). He labels this as the dialectic of 'the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality' (*ibid.*).²⁵

Bourdieu (1977) sees structure as located in relations, structural and structuring, at and between the objective and subjective levels of human contingency, and believes structuralist contribution surrounds a relational way of thinking in dealing with the social world. He adds sociology, in an objectivist sense, is an *analysis situs*, an analysis of relative positions and objective relations between these positions (1990a, p. 126). The space, in the form of these relations, then might be invisible. The social groups to be constructed to objectify the positions they occupy hide those positions (*ibid.*). Here, social space can be compared to a geographical space. However, as Bourdieu (*ibid.*, p. 127) advances, 'this space is constructed in such a way that the agents, groups or institutions that find themselves situated in it have more properties in common the closer they are to each other in this space; and fewer common properties, the further they are away from each other'. He further contends the interactions which are accepted at their face value by individuals, being tangible and

²⁵ For Bourdieu, social agents are integrated bodies who possess and are possessed by structural, generative schemes which operate by orientating social practice. *Practice* is a cognitive operation, structured and tends to reproduce structures of which it is a product. He names his method and approach as 'constructivist structuralism' or 'structural constructivism' (1989, p. 14), in the sense that *constructivist* relates to the dynamic reproduction of human action in changing contexts, and *structuralist* relates to the relations of those involved (see more in Bourdieu, 1977).

visible, hide the structures realized in them (*ibid.*). In other words, the visible in interaction, i.e. what is given in appearance, hides the invisible, i.e. what determines it. The reality in the interaction is not only located in what is observable (*ibid.*).

Bourdieu's social *theory of practice* (1977) conceptualizes individuals as producers of social practices in social space while following specific logics of practices. He refers to social activity as a *market* governed by individuals competing for its products. People tend to purchase power based on personal resources of gain and loss. All 'products' and actions within a social space have value, and this value is not a neutral, inactive trait of that space, but a value which buys other products of it. The means through which they undertake these practices in different spaces is forms of capital (economic, cultural, and social) that are acknowledged as *symbolic capital* in respective fields. *Social capital* forms a 'network of lasting social relations,' that is, sphere of contacts. It involves relationships of mutual recognition and acquaintance, resources based upon social connections and group or class membership. *Cultural capital* is the product of education he often refers to as an 'academic market' (Bourdieu, 1986). It has three distinct forms: (i) incorporated and connected to a person in their general educated character (e.g. dispositions, learning, accent, skills); (ii) objectified through cultural products like qualifications, books, paintings, machines; and (iii) connected to institutions (places of learning, universities, workplace), which are relatively independent from the actually incorporated cultural capital. *Economic capital* appears, above all, in the form of general, anonymous, all-purpose convertible money from one generation to the next. It can be efficiently converted into cultural, social, and symbolic capital than vice-versa (Postone *et al.*, 1993).

People, institutions and groups exist somehow in structural relation to each other. These relations determine and reproduce social activity in its diverse forms (Bourdieu, 1977). Further, since they are structural, positions of individuals, between individuals, between individuals and institutions, and between institutions and institutions can be mapped or located, and the producing principles behind their relations ascertained. Bourdieu conceives social activity as a kind of *game* which takes up particular time and space. By entering the field, individuals implicitly agree to be ruled by it and build personal relations with it, as well as with other agents (1977, p. 6). He intends to depict the way people adjust their social practice. They have opportunities to use *strategy* in the context of a *game* where reciprocity occurs, for instance. Bourdieu uses the term *strategy* in the chess *game* to include possible and original 'moves' within the general 'sense of limits, commonly called the sense of reality' (1977, p. 164). Strategies are the outcome of combining practical good sense and generally accepted practices. Bourdieu refers to the game as a *field*, or social space, the structurally identifiable space which marks out the sphere of social activity (*ibid.*).

This activity is constituted through a dialectical relationship between individuals' thought, activity and the objective social world. Bourdieu (1977; 1990b) represents these two as *habitus* and *field* respectively. Structure mediates between objectivity and subjectivity, as a *structured structure* and a *structuring structure*. *Habitus* is best understood as the operational site of this dual sense of structure. He develops the concept as a way of comprehending social activity. *Habitus* is continually adjusted to the current context and constantly reinforced or modified by further experience, that is, by positive and negative factors during a life course or career path. *Habitus* and *field* are linked in a

circular relationship. Involvement in a field shapes the habitus, which, in turn, shapes the actions that reproduce the field (Crossley, 2001). *Habitus* can be used in explaining the developments in career paths of these HSPs as human and social beings within society and a specific category of immigrants with occupational and educational attainments in the social world.

A *field* is made up of identifiable interconnecting relations and governed by principles, in the case of international mobility of HSPs, expectations and purpose of mobility, social and occupational inclusion. These principles have power which arises from the interplay between individual or institutional agents who explicitly articulate them (e.g. politicians, economists, and state agencies) and the resulting acceptance and recognition conferred on them within the field of occupational and social space in the host country. Yet, there is no isolated independent field from others. For example, academia is a field which involves Higher Education and Research as subfields with specific features. Subfields can be structural relationships, which constitute the nature and mechanisms of each field. Each subfield would have its own orthodoxy and way of doing things, rules, assumptions and beliefs. For instance, at a micro-level, a particular 'deviant subculture' evident among a social group will have its own orthodox ways of being in connection to the official local fields around it (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 110). The defining principles are usually partially articulated, and much of the orthodox way of thinking and acting passes in an implicit way, hence the legitimate is not always made fully explicit. Many rules and principles of interaction go on in an unconscious way by agents, enacted in terms of forces of the 'products' of the field, that is *symbolic capital* (*ibid.*). This form of capital is closely related to specific fields such as the social, the academic, and the political.

Through increasing capital, an individual uses strategies to strengthen and maintain positioning in the symbolic field. Besides, other strategies are employed to convert one capital to another so as to enhance personal value via social and interpersonal valuing. These processes, according to Bourdieu, are the misrecognised and unconscious generating structures of social practice (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 112). For example, international HSPs working and living in Finland do not enter field(s) with equal amounts or identical configurations of capital (cultural, social and symbolic). Thus, some are advantageous and already possess amounts of relevant capitals bestowed on them in the process of *habitus* formation, which makes them in better positions than others in certain fields. The rules of a particular social field specify which combination of the basic forms of capital will be authorized as symbolic capital, thus becoming socially recognized as legitimate (see Bourdieu, 1977; 1986; 1990a; 1990b). He thinks there is an interchangeability and interconnectedness between these forms of capital. For example, high academic qualifications traditionally tend to 'buy' good jobs with good incomes. However, when a qualification is devalued in the market, it no longer guarantees the same prestigious jobs. Hence, capital has changing configurations with respect to the fields which produce it, and, the values of its three forms are always being renegotiated. Hence, social inequalities might be reproduced in systematically unknown ways and through the person's strategic positioning.

Capital can be understood in terms of its practical outcomes. As a symbolic product of social fields, knowledge is capital because it has more than just symbolic outcomes; it provides prestige, power and ensuing socio-economic positioning (Bourdieu, 1990a). *Knowledge* refers to knowledge of things and facts but also knowledge of *how to do* things in its pragmatic and practical sense, including how

to act, think, talk and perceive things in connection to social conviction and deviation. *Misrecognition* relates to the ways the processes and generating structures of fields are not consciously recognized in terms of the social differentiation they bring about in the name of equality. Ruling principles are accepted as one thing, while the practices in the field, i.e. social reality, are another. Legitimate norms preserve their defining hold on the systems or fields in what is or is not thinkable and practicable by the values they give to various forms and kinds of practice. *Recognition* implies acknowledged value or status and an identified characteristic (e.g. qualification, social position, cultural authority) as approved by the field. It is worth-noting that Bourdieu means the value of capital depends on the level of recognition given to it, and also when an individual possesses power in proportion to his symbolic capital, that is, in proportion to the recognition they receive from a group (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Bourdieu advances social science needs to consider both *reality* and the *perception* of this reality, the perspectives and the views agents have on this reality owing to their position in objective social space (1990a, p. 130). He calls for a *sociology of perception* of the social world, a sociology of the construction of this world, or *socio-analysis*. Yet, since we have a constructed social space, these perceptions are views taken from a specific position within social space, which implies different views because the conception each agent has of space depends on his/her position in that space (*ibid.*). One of the greatest strengths of Bourdieu's conceptualization is its multi-level quality, that is, the interplay between his three conceptual components, field, habitus, and capitals, across various levels. Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011) indicate two meanings of context are particularly important here. First, the concept of *field* emphasizes the role of the context for individual actors. Each field has field-specific rules that govern movements within the field (e.g. job or career mobility). Second, fields and their rules not only constitute the arenas within which individuals make their moves, but they also provide the criteria for transforming capitals that individuals have at their disposal into symbolic capital (e.g. networking, qualifications and trainings).

Both contextuality and multi-level analysis could encourage an interdisciplinary and relational perspective in examining career path and HSM experiences of the subjects (as agents) with respect to the dimension of social inclusion. From this departure point, his theorizing might illuminate the respondents' perceptions on their inclusion in labour market and the social space(s) (see also chaps 2, 3, 4). This study, as mentioned in previous chapters, considers the relationship between the characteristic features of the Finnish context and the mobility experience of the study sample of HSPs. In the discussion on career decision making processes and patterns, recourse has been made to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts since they underline the importance of contextualizing these research subjects (see chap 2 and 3). Özbilgin and colleagues (2005), for instance, apply Bourdieu's multilayered perspectives by exploring the micro-individual, meso-institutional and relational, as well as macro-structural levels of influences on career choices of foreign HSPs and highlight the significant impacts of individual agency. The connectedness between the individual and his environment is interesting here as it sheds light on the individual wellbeing and ways of conceiving, behaving and taking actions in the social spaces.

The process of inclusion may require more efforts when it comes to culturally distinct groups among local community, the adjustments needed, the challenges faced in the new social context, social integration and employment opportunities, entailing a process of adjustment according to their positions, dispositions and the new location. The significant influence of different forms of capital in the process may trigger growing trust and thus inclusion and acculturation in the social and occupational fields. A range of situations and conceptions might be possible: some may find it easy to integrate into society and local labour market with sincere attempts while others actually do not, some show difficulties in being part of social life within mainstream society while others do not, many of them may feel easy in social interaction with Finns in different spaces while others find it only at the workplace. The differentiations here depend on various structural and individual factors. I consider the different strategies they have used at different levels through their career path and the way they evaluate these experiences. I focus here on the elements that influence their inclusion as they perceive it in terms of their actions as individuals and as a specific community of Arab-Muslim HSPs, with the possible opportunities and vulnerabilities met in the workplace and daily life spheres. This would illuminate the genre of *subjective* reality(ies) they construct in their experiences of the *objective* social world as HSPs and as an international and culturally diverse community.

5.3 EMPLOYABILITY, OPPORTUNITIES AND VULNERABILITIES

The spaces, in a Bourdieuan sense, where the personal and professional life activities of a foreign-born HSP are implicated can be tightly influential in those settings to their career upward mobility (chap 2 and 3) and personality growth (see chap 6) as they affect them in the social space(s) where they live and interact. The institutional regulations and policy measures related to immigration, internationalization of labour market and integration influence the level of *institutional equality structures* (e.g. welfare, labour market integration, citizenship, social justice) and *social equality structures* which enhance social inclusion in a host society (e.g. social participation, social stratification, cultural diversity, social empowerment and receptiveness). Equal rights and access to benefits in a country affect the kind of social networks available to foreign-born individuals and the level of diversity society benefits from. Furthermore, equality also affects the way natives perceive *Otherness* and produce stereotypes of distinct minorities. Consequently, this would influence the kinds of interaction and expectations of these minorities and the degree of social inclusion. This section discusses the perceptions of the sample on their labour market participation and sort of opportunities provided to them in the fields of employment and occupational inclusion, beside the possible vulnerabilities encountered at these levels in their career paths. The next section delves into the question of social inclusion and participation in different social spaces, as an integrated part of local society, considering kinds of strategies and means used by respondents in the process.

This way would allow gaining an analytic understanding of whether the late policy measures implemented locally apparently generate not labour market uncertainty and vulnerabilities, at the individual level, but rather enhance their integration and empowerment as a labour asset across Finland and through their international mobility. Finland has made important decisions to enhance the internationalization of HE and attraction of HSPs from abroad (see chap 1). As it is argued, there is a kind of specific migration agenda that has been rising since mid-2000s of a very selective

mobility of migrants in and outside EU's labour markets (Favell & Hansen, 2002; Menz, 2009). It is argued that welfare states structure migrants' rights in an unexpected way (Sainsbury, 2006) and the logics of integration the countries produced labour market participation assume an expected high level of inclusion (Koopmans, 2010), namely with HSPs. Hansen (2009) indicates local-national polity has strong impacts on mobility patterns of individuals from specific countries of origin, the terms and conditions of arrival, stay, residence, employment opportunities, social rights, and political participation (in Carmel & Cerami, 2011).

The migration integration policy index MIPEX is devised to measure policies to integrate immigrants in the EU countries, covering six policy domains that are important in immigrant's employability and citizenship. The best practice is set at the top European standard for each policy indicator as derived from the EC directives or Council of Europe Conventions. Each individual State's policies are gauged against those standards by using the MIPEX (2011). The policies involve: (i) eligibility for labour market access, (ii) security of employment, (iii) labour market integration measures, and (iv) and rights concerning employment. The first one involves three categories: equal access to employment except the practice of public authority, equal access to self-employment and the procedures for recognition of academic and professional qualifications and skills. The second indicator concerns renewal of immigrant's residence/work permit and liability to refuse renewal upon the end of that permit. Labour market integration measures involve equal access to professional training and study grants, workplace integration and ease in recognition of qualifications and skills. The last area of rights in employment considers membership in a trade union and the changes in the immigrant's work status.

The changes undergone within the EU states assumingly provide them with the flexibility to cope with globalization and changing demographic trends. These changes have ranged from introducing new categories of visa and work permits to easing entry regulations (Mahroum, 2001, p. 33-4). Finland has been following a policy goal towards boosting human capital production to secure productive labour force and face the challenges of global economic competitiveness and post-industrial social changes (Hemerijck, 2010, p. 118). The success in Finland might be due to education system which provides human capital and a culture of innovation and also by important R&D public investment. Increasing productive labour force in the Nordic regimes is partly based on the idea of maintaining the welfare of an ageing population beside economic growth. In Finland, population witnesses an increasing ageing (OECD, 2008b, p. 240) concomitantly with visibility of immigrant population despite its low rate compared with many EU countries. The employment of international HSPs is still low compared to other EU-countries (Forsander, 2004) and national policies implemented to retain this labour force are still few. For instance, the share of foreign-born employed managers in Finland is 1.3% while the EU average is 4.1% (Forsander & Raunio, 2005, p.29). The population of HSPs from MENA countries is very small compared with neighbouring countries of Finland such as Estonia, Sweden, and Russia (see Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2008; Kyhä, 2011).

Institutional equality and employment accessibility

In Finland, the share of tertiary educated is higher among native population than among foreign-born immigrants. The share of natives is among the highest in the OECD countries, but one significant feature is a slow increase of immigrants' integration in labour market by more than 4 percent (OECD 2008b, p. 78). The main reason for the rise in inflow of foreign HSPs in Finland is the social welfare regime in the country and the regulations which govern work conditions. The indicators of labour market integration within EU countries may range within policy aspects such as accessibility to and eligibility for labour market (OECD, 2010b) as well as employment opportunities. The areas where foreign-born HSPs are overrepresented in OECD literature (2008b; 2008c) include social sciences, humanities, S & T and healthcare. This can be justified by the pull-factors for foreign HSPs to work in developed countries where skills in S&T and R&D can be easily transferred from one country to another. At the national and supra-national level, the question of the origin of foreign qualifications and credentials equivalence represents one structural issue that has been raised by some respondents in the study whose qualifications originate from non-EU zone. The lack of recognition of qualifications may probably lead to overqualification and underemployment (see OECD, 2010b). However, the majority in the sample did not face any such structural constraints in the process of their inclusion in labour market. They have expressed their satisfaction with the work conditions characterized by flexibility, autonomy and secure rights in their respective occupations. This generally applies to those who earned credentials and degrees in Finland or other EU countries, mainly academic researchers, engineers, and health-care professionals. They reiterate that great autonomy, accountability, and flexibility at work exist, which creates a good work environment:

... People are somehow responsible [in the workplace]; of course it comes from education and cultural background. They are responsible so that if somebody takes responsibility, he/she will carry out what they had to do. In many other countries, not only in Tunisia, in Europe, it is not the case. So that's something I like very much here. Also when people promise something, they will do it.... That's also very important (Nabil).

The conditions were good and there was much assistance from my department in the university, frankly speaking. My place in the department is very good ... The system of research study here is very serious and tough as you are required to work on research and do many courses.... I was surprised in the doctoral study as the quality level was very high. The state is much concerned for education in general (Mounir).

... I have the right to decline if something is against my right and duty. You have all the right to suggest something, to decline doing something because there is the law which regulates your relations with the personnel, your duties and rights, according to which if you do some mistake, you take full responsibility of the consequences.... They teach you not to give up your right (Warda).

The qualifications, credentials and trainings acquired in Finland are highly valued in local labour market (Paananen, 2005) which provides them with high cultural and symbolic capitals that facilitate their easy and fluid occupational integration. Their transition from temporary to permanent recruitment follows the national and supranational regulations implemented in the labour sector. The respondents in their majority have not faced barriers in their occupational inclusion process through which they move from temporary to permanent employment, with varying lapse of time and nature of occupation. This group of respondents is basically employed in sectors in demand of

labour force, namely HE, S&T and health-care sectors. Also, they have acquired degrees and trainings in Finland or other OECD countries which facilitated their accreditation and integration in local labour market:

... The professor [in my department] moved to the University of Turku. The university made a call for professorship position in this field. I applied for the position with many Finnish candidates and the applications were sent to international reviewers and they all selected me as the one suitable for the position. Now my position is professor in my field and head of the research group... The department nominated me for full professorship since one month and a half and in May this will be accredited by the government (Hassib).

.... I did the first documentary which my producer in a TV channel liked and then I began a job with him. This was in the beginning of 2002 and that was my beginning in the field... after that, I started doing some small works ...I did some documentaries in some programs... In a period of 2 years, I did training and work concomitantly, doing some specialized courses, because if one has a foreign qualification, it has to be approved in Finland to maintain work position. Here it is not easy to get a degree equivalence of that position... Lastly, there were about 10 professionals in the field who did an evaluation of my work. They suggested approving a status of professional director in Finland like any other Finnish graduate from the academy....(Kamal).

... A person might be a specialist in his native country but once he comes here, it is not recognized. He should have some trainings and exams until he gets accreditation as a specialist... Another thing is that Finland now is part of the EU, the movement inside the EU space becomes uniform. But when I first came here, Finland was not yet EU member. So, my degree from Holland was not fully recognized and some fulfillments were required. The degree recognition was fulfilled by doing two extra years of work in some hospitals, then working 6 months ... Within the EU area, the major factor may be the language, and this factor is very important... Of course because a doctor cannot deal with a Finnish patient and a translator is there all the time. He must be speaking Finnish.... (Jawad).

These HSPs in their mobility and migration might be compared to native Finns who enter or re-enter Finnish labour markets. Yet, because cultural capital (skills and knowledge) in labour market are not trans-nationally transferable, some HSPs are usually perceived to be less productive, liable to a higher labour market turnover and a lower employment rate (Heikkilä, 2005; Kyhä, 2011). Fletcher (1999) describes the issue of qualification accreditation and work experience as a major occupational adjustment challenge in HSPs' careers. Some authors describe this question as a means of tacit systemic discrimination against them, restraining their entry to competitive job markets (Boyd, 2000). A lower level of 'country-specific skills' can generally end with the disadvantages of their experience in economic assimilation. This deficit further widens due to possibly lower socioeconomic status, lack of experience within the host country, poor language skills and other cultural barriers. Through time, as Bevelander (1999) contends, these HSPs are expected to adjust to the new labour market demands in case their know-how is expanding. In Finland, one of the problems met by this population is restricted labour market (Raunio, 2007; Heikkilä, 2005), administrative procedure for work permit is slow and little tax deduction is given to international workers in Finland (Haapakorpi, 2004). The majority of the respondents indicate in their accounts the significant effects of recruitment procedures especially for those with qualifications from non-EU or OECD countries. They would face long process of recognition and accreditation from employers:

I started [medical studies in Russia] in 1977 and finished in June 1984 as a generalist medical doctor. After that, I came to Finland straight and started work here in hospitals and at the same time I began my specialization. I got my specialist diploma in 1999. In fact, ... I did all required trainings for many years.... I needed to have my diploma then. ... Before that, I made training in my field for three years. Then, I did training another, and in-between I did full time training of medical MBA. These three last trainings were needed to cover everything [for accreditation]. Then, I had to make some dissertation about it, for the three of them (Mourad).

... I graduated from Russia, and Russia is not part of the EU and for that reason, I had to pass three kind of exams before getting permission to work as a doctor in Finland... Of course, I opted for Finnish language since my wife is a Finnish speaker and I used to live in Finland. It took me about three years till I did my Finnish exam and I applied for the medical exam. I passed the first clinical exam and I applied for the second part which is made of three exams. The first one is of drugs exam and prescription test and I passed it, then the forensic test and I passed it and then the social medicine which I didn't pass. I have been repeating three times but still I haven't passed it ... It is pretty complicated exam which includes a lot of medical laws and these laws are difficult to memorize actually.... (Mohamed).

I am just a lecturer and I got docent nomination in 1997. I came to Finland in a time when Finland was not yet ready to receive foreigners. I haven't got any formal education in Finland, and this has made my situation more difficult. In addition, my situation is more problematic because I came from a developing country and I made my PhD thesis in Russia. Getting my Ph.D. from the highest institution for research in my field in all the former Soviet Union didn't help (Monaim)... In the past, I thought that I'll sure get professorship one day, but now I realize that getting lecturer position and docent nomination is the maximum I could reach under my conditions ... (Monaim).

Previous studies on the question show similar results in Finland and other host countries (Heikkilä, 2005; Haapakorpi, 2004; Kyhä, 2011). This situation might be exacerbated with ethnic and national background of the applicants (see Heikkilä, 2005; Ahmad, 2005; Kyhä, 2011) that may result in underemployment and decrease in socio-economic status (see Nohl *et al.*, 2006) for some as in the instance of Amina, Hanane, Amal, or stagnation in career upward mobility and a condition of *glass-ceiling* as in the example of Monaim. At another level, national policy initiatives to boost attraction and retention of international HSPs need to be reinforced at national level. These policies need to have a basis in research studies that handle HSM within the context of Finland. Literature on international skilled mobility and migration is replete with case studies from many industrialized countries. The policies regarding the increase in inflow of foreign HSPs seem to be far from meeting the demands of labour market (Koskela, 2010; Kyhä, 2011). It is, thus, important to look at the state of the art in the Finnish case for its importance in relation to labour market demand of workers, global economy and competitiveness. However, it is important to remember that the majority of those integrated in labour market enjoy equal privileges in the workplace and positive occupational conditions when it comes to career upward mobility in their respective occupations and sectors. The majority of respondents indicate a smooth transition period from temporary to permanent position for those meeting the requirements in the job sector:

Before 2008, I had temporary job basically renewed since 1996. 1996, I had fixed-term contracts many times and after postdoctoral work, it was somehow fixed, and since 2008, I got this permanent position ... (Nabil).

... My work involves a research project and the project is tied with time limit... So the work position is related with duration of the project... I guess that it is a logical process that the duration of contract is tied

to the lapse of work. Renewal of contract depends on your productivity as a researcher. There should be a return for the work contract (Mounir).

It's permanent... since 1989. At the beginning at University of Turku, in the years 1984 and 1985 it was very short substitutions of one of my colleagues, but after that, I had full time work since 1989 (Monaim).

There is nothing stable in our field (smiling)... Well, I'm a permanent employee since 2002... It is secure, but as I said, there is no such thing as job security nowadays... The economic situation is changing all the time. You might be today working and tomorrow you won't have any work... (Yussef).

It is officially permanent... For the moment, I am permanent here but if I want to move to another workplace away from working with elderly people under this same institution, then I can move. I do not have any problem in job mobility within this same institution (Malak).

The data show that labour integration of this category is tightly linked to the nature and value of the fields of expertise these women belong to (e.g. Warda, Malak). Previous studies in Finland support this tenet (Forsander, 2003). Those in areas such as health-care, Engineering or management, regardless of their nationality, are easily integrated and have more potential for admission than those who hold lower degree such as bachelor degree. Furthermore, labour markets of a multinational nature as in ICTs companies provide smooth access to positions for some respondents (e.g. Yussef, Idris, Chafiq) or those HSPs who occupy positions in academia and S&T fields. The data support this assumption when we look at the education attainments of the respondents and level of professional experience. On the other hand, for respondents who have temporary positions with fixed-term contracts with lower HE degree such as a bachelor degree, they have met structural constraints either because they do not meet the recruitment requirements or due to non professional reasons:

... I always worked as a temporary worker [officially] but I was unofficially having all the time work position because it was very difficult to have permanent position because working as a doctor in Finland is not really easy for a graduate from outside EU countries (Mohamed).

...When I worked in Oulu, I didn't do anything else, just this job ... and that was the first job in my life that I had but without any contract.... they didn't want to sign anything with me, nothing. I asked them to give me a document but they refused ... In 1997, I was unemployed and I thought I could work [in my field] ... (Amal).

... When I started my job, I used to renew the contract every 6 months. Even when I began teaching, I used to renew contract every year... I will start the new work next year here. It is temporary work contract but I have an occupation. It will be renewed annually until it becomes permanent one day (Amina).

We were not employed initially as permanent workers, so we were part of this program from the work office. They just wanted to integrate us into working life as temporary worker for 6 months and then another 6 months. Then, they could renew the contract with you as such so you can be under their rule with less work advantages... (Hanane).

However, the respondents have expressed their satisfaction with social and socio-economic equality which involve social welfare and social justice. The good social security system in Finland is a strong magnetic pull factor for these respondents to enter and stay in the country though the position of immigrants in labour market is quite vulnerable and unemployment rate is still high (Heikkilä, 2005; Pehkonen, 2006). Their subjective and objective career in terms of their perceptions on the quality of life and welfare as foreign-born HSPs are regarded a significant factor in their process and patterns

of career paths (see chap 2 and 3). The respondents in their accounts, implicitly or explicitly, highlight to various levels the advanced system of social security and the state of quality of life in Finland regardless of whether they have secure work positions or not. The majority express their satisfaction generally with the social system and social security as it facilitates their dual career situation, as parents and professionals in their respective occupations:

I have three kids and a job and I move a lot, so I should have a car. Insurances are important and I have all except health insurance but we are going to have it because the situation is getting worse as we have to take private doctors most of the time and pay money. So we prefer to have a health insurance. .. There is a particular standard of living we cannot go below, but it is kind of middle status, not really high standard. My husband has a business and I have a job. So we both work and we travel [to native country] usually once a year (Meryem).

As far as I see it, it's quite a good one because they care about people who have less... If we start just from the basic things, you have free education that is guaranteed for everybody, then, you have the medical care which is argued about today whether it is free or not. Anyway, it is almost free and almost guaranteed for everyone, then you have the public transportation which is not free but which is very good, you have the infrastructures like roads and trains and others things, the standards of housing is very good. All these things together make the social life flourishing and it's very good... (Nabil).

... In sum, I like the Finnish and Scandinavian system. We can call it between brackets "socialist system" and not capitalist as the social system, in comparison with other European countries, is very good. There is the principle of equality well founded here and standard of living for people does not go down. You pay taxes to the state and this support people who do not have work and those with low income. But, in comparison with the level of living expenses, it is a bit high in Finland. When there is a good social system, the degree of crimes and poverty decreases (Mounir).

I think it is one of the best I have seen in the world. I've seen so much in the world and I think social security so far has been working reasonably well in Finland Look at many other places; it is much better than many other places... I have seen how difficult things can be. In Finland, certainly things are much better than other places (Abid).

Despite the claimed satisfaction with the social system by the majority, some interviewees raise the question of this claim of free social security system and reiterate the high tax system in their narratives. In this sense, they feel they are more contributing than benefitting in the social welfare system. Some previous studies on HSPs in Finland have come out with similar conclusions (Raunio & Sotarauta, 2005; Trux, 2002). Raunio (2003) shows the main push-factors for many HSPs in Finland are related to the incomes, opportunities for upward career mobility and taxation system. The respondents can be categorized into two groups as concerns their views on the efficiency and profitability of the tax system in its current condition: those who see it is very positive and contributory to the welfare of the nation and those who think it detrimental to their social wellbeing and income:

The system is very good but what is revealed in the media about Finland is not correct, that it is one of the best in social security. Normally, when you go to see a dentist, it is better to go to a private doctor because there is much privatization now... The condition I think is going down now in Finland. There were advantages for kids in the past but now there is not any... For people like us coming from abroad and having lived in other countries like France or America, you see that the media here exaggerate much about the high social security.... (Kamal).

...There are positive things for the unemployed people and some drawbacks for those employed. A person with no job has good situation as he gets housing and good pocket money and even can get a car and leads a 'good' way of life... On the other hand, the person who has a job and does tense efforts at work, most of his money goes to taxes... If you see that more than 50% of your money paid to taxes, you actually find it ... If you go to Canada, the general tax is about 8% but here it is 22% in everything, like hotels, food-stuff and small things... Actually, this makes the country very expensive in standard of living... (Hassib).

That's the price we have to pay for this social system, you cannot build a good social system without revenue. So if you want good things, then you have to pay for it. You also have to be aware of the climate here. It requires quite a lot of investment... I don't feel taxation is bad thing... I pay taxes and I can see that my children get things out of it... If you have the idea that you go abroad to make money, then you are in trouble if you come to Finland because you just have enough money to live, but not to make money at least in this kind of work... (Nabil).

... I don't think it [tax system] is very much fair. But I think it is ok the way it is working as concerns where the taxation money goes. I am satisfied about that, it goes to the elderly people, for the jobless, building the country, making high welfare, I understand all that. That's the only reason I accept it, but it is definitely high and increasing. The taxation system is such a system that doesn't encourage me to work more. I work to certain time limit and if I work over that, I wouldn't be benefiting really much.... (Mohamed).

A policy issue that is still debated in Finland concerns tax system to increase mobility of HSPs and encourage them to stay for long-term period by making tax discounts in local labour markets as Holland, Sweden and Denmark implemented (Hemerijck, 2010, p. 34). In the long-term, harmonizing the incentives is important to implement changes in labour markets within the various states members. At present, tax discounts allowed to HSPs is strong incentive for attraction. Workers from Belgium, Germany and UK move to Netherlands to benefit from the 30 % discount on income tax. If tax competition goes on it will become more lucrative for HSPs to work outside their native countries and they would move to the most advantageous tax haven (*ibid.*). Overall, the participants as labour force and contributors to the welfare system and their personal wellbeing feel satisfied with their career paths and progression. They believe the career opportunities and social wellbeing are positive and strong incentive (see chap 2 and 3). Mainly those married with Finnish spouses have strong social networks and show more positive feedback in their labour integration.

Yet, responding to questions related to their labour market inclusion and occupational experience, large experiential differentiations are noted among respondents with few depicting their work experience as unrewarding and unfruitful for career mobility (e.g. Amal, Hanane, Amina). Yet, the majority of interviewees in this study acknowledge their transition after few years of residence to labour integration for permanent work contract. Recent study by Kyhä (2011) signals similar results. Comparatively, another study in New Zealand by Benson-Rea & Rawlinson (2003) shows constraints faced by international HSPs in local labour market, namely degree equivalence, work experience, stereotypic views to ethnic minorities, language skills and overqualification. Another research by Remennick (2003) examines problems met by Russian engineers in Israel. Uncertainty and vulnerability of work conditions is expressed by few respondents as some have experienced transitory unemployment despite their efforts to find one. The closed nature of the labour market in Finland (Ahmad, 2005; Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011), Finnish language skills and sometimes ethnic

origin are strong hindering variables towards immigrants' labour integration that the respondents articulate in the interviews (Heikkilä & Jaakkola, 2004; Heikkilä, 2005). Further, Kyhä (2011) indicates that foreign HSPs tend to accept precarious and ubiquitous jobs in some cases instead of being unemployed, while Heikkilä (2005) speaks of some barriers met such as language skills, with some exclusionary nature and distrust in the Finnish character towards foreigners in job offers and opportunities.

Perception, reception and categorization

Finland as other developed nations has formulated new immigration policies to attract HSPs from abroad. In *International Migration Outlook* (OECD, 2010b, p. 202), cases of underemployed or unemployed members of this category are spotted, their organizational, social and professional participation compares unfavourably with natives. International statistics, in general, show ethnic-cultural background has an indirect bearing on employment and integration processes of immigrants even in immigration countries with high intercultural and linguistic diversity. The visibility of ethnic minorities is hypothetically one factor; language proficiency and shared culture exacerbate further employment outcomes (UNDP, 2009). For instance, ethnic Finns from Sweden or Estonia show better outcomes in occupational distributions in local labour market (Heikkilä, 2005; Kyhä, 2011). Heikkilä (2005, p. 490-1) discusses the vulnerability of immigrants in Finnish labour markets as their employability is tightly linked with nationality, ethnicity and educational attainments. Kyhä (2006) concludes in a study that 35% of respondents as qualified migrants were employed three years after entry to the country while 6 % were recruited in their first year. Some comparative analysis by OECD (2010b) demonstrates the share of unemployed foreign nationals in Nordic countries is higher compared to other OECD countries and occupational positions differ between natives and non-natives.

In 2008, employment rate decreased as unemployment became twice higher than natives (8.5 for natives and 16.8 for non-natives) (OECD, 2010b, p. 203). Small rate of foreign HSPs increase their visibility and vulnerabilities within a local homogeneous labour force and may heighten the degree of perceived threat and competition. As a minority with high status and low ethnicity and nationality as in the case study, they would probably meet negative impacts, with liable perception as representative of low social status belonging to low-educated immigrant community and ethnic group. This might result in large polarization between majority and minority communities as well as inflated differences and strengthened boundaries between both. Heikkilä (2005) and Haapakorpi (2004) make these conclusions in the case of Finland. A survey done in European countries shows 42% of Europeans think colour or ethnic origin is disadvantageous for candidates to work positions. This tenet is also shared by managers (EC, 2008). Is it possible that bias and stereotyping arise because of the way social groups perceive and categorize individuals in comparison to themselves as members of a labour-force community in the workplace and in career mobility? Do the respondents experience inequality in local labour market?

Considering subjective and objective career, the sample differs in their experiential perceptions in relation to their integration in their respective fields of work. As mentioned earlier, the majority

regards it positively rewarding and prejudicial features in the workplace do not seem to be present as they feel part of the community in the workplace. The work conditions and atmosphere are generally believed to be good and ideal for productivity and career mobility (see chap 2 and 3). The large number of them conceives equality of rights, mutual respect and friendly interaction as the landmark in the workplace and environment:

There is no existence of such things [bias, prejudice]. There might be incidents with people from the same ethnicity. The fact that you are not born in Finland is not a reason. It might happen that we don't come to terms with each others at work.... It [these behaviours] might be implicit but you cannot see it. This is how I see it personally. It's not that if someone tells you this is a Tunisian man so I will not talk with him or I ignore him at work... (Ahmed).

I tell you that in my experience at university campus, I have never been exposed to discrimination at work because of my ethnic and cultural background. Maybe other people experienced such situation. On the contrary, when I applied for scholarship to finance my studies, I got it just as other Finns did. I have never felt any hardship in the process because there was normal competition and only the best got accepted (Mounir).

Even if I have heard many times that some people experience this kind of situations but I have never seen it. You know, the conditions of work here are that we all share the same equal responsibilities and possibility of working overtime, and I speak their language. So there is kind of mutual respect... (Malak).

To be honest, I really don't have any problem. They know that I'm a Muslim and that I practice what I believe, so they never complain and they don't complain. That's fine, I really don't have any kind of problem related to my culture, not at all... Now I start to understand very well Finns and I like very much many things they do, and they consider me as a friend from Morocco (laughing) (Safaa).

However, since experiences of individuals have their uniqueness and particularities, some respondents report occurrence of some symptoms of bias and stereotyping in the workplace in relation to their ethnic-cultural categorization and hierarchization. These tendencies might appear in covert, if not overt, manifestation. *Categorization* is founded on group membership with nationality, ethnicity and immigrant status as significant categories. Cultural and ethnic proximity between immigrants and natives might be decisive in selectivity for recruitment (Purkiss *et al.*, 2006). The fear and apprehension of 'difference' and 'incompatibility' culminate in a genre of *hierarchisation* of work opportunities based on nationality more than educational and experiential attainments (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011, p. 151) and cultural proximity to Finnish culture (Heikkilä, 2005). In his study of ethnic hierarchies in Finland, Jaakkola (2005) indicates the more cultural proximity and affinity natives feel to other groups, the more likely the latter receive inclusiveness and acceptance, while the opposite holds for groups culturally and ethnically distinct from mainstream society. He concludes the communities that are least accepted are Russians, Arabs, Turks, and Somalis; whereas the groups that are likely to be accepted are Scandinavians, white Americans and white British. The narrative of some subjects report that few incidents occurred in their work experiences which take the form of hidden implicit behaviour more than explicit one, either from customers or co-workers:

You know I have been working six and half years in this field here in Finland, and the only time I felt I had that kind of feeling was in previous city I lived in. It happened twice. I was asked about my qualifications by a patient just because he saw I am a foreigner. I was asked 'have you done this before?' He was very calm until he saw my face and then he looked at my name and saw a foreign name on the

badge on my chest. Another one was trying to read my name and he asked me, 'have you ever done this before?' that was a bit of impolite way of asking and later the patient apologized.... (Mohamed).

There are always some ... these might appear in a gentle way, somehow hidden for example as it might happen here and there. One finds you dark skinned and attacks you or breaks your car. Things like that do not usually happen today. I live in an area which does not involve these things.... In the workplace, you also find some behaviours but not in that way like the street. It is mostly hidden and maybe you sometimes feel there is a difference in the way natives behave and interact with you (Jawad).

... The lady who was interviewing me is a known religious person. She looked at me and said, 'why do you apply here?.... I was so mad, you know, because I was like ... 'would you ask any Finn about that?' Why I am applying here is because I want this specific job. I noticed that to her, I didn't know my place. For Finns automatically fear, no immigrant can deal with culture, which is regarded sophisticated and 'high.' As an immigrant, you have to go to [immigrant cultural activities (professions)] (Amal).

For example, the first time when I came to this department, just to prove that my mother tongue is on an academic level, I remember how a professor took me in. he said with these words, 'I have very bad experience with Arab students. Well, I give you this text to work on and if you can do it then come back.' He had that smile that I am not coming back and he really gave me a hard text to work on.... (Nabila).

The accounts given here portray that sometimes ethnic visibility at the individual level affect interaction, not only in the social space out there, but also in the field, in Bourdieu's sense, where people work. The kind of action and interaction, as social practice, is more enjoyable once agents get positive feedbacks from this interaction, usually on the basis of perceived proximity in values, attitudes, and behavior, through visible attributes such as ethnic and linguistic traits (Berry, 2006). In theories of social identity, Tajfel & Turner (1986) look at socialization as a function of the person's group membership and the needs of social identity, such as positive distinctiveness and belonging, shared with other members of similar social category. Visible characteristics such as ethnicity are instrumental attributes for categorization. Categorization is done through comparison by depicting in-group with favourable attributes. Intergroup prejudice is said to result from social identification and might come out with covert rivalries, minority derogation and stereotyping, absence of trust and discrimination (Greenwald *et al.*, 2002). This situation might extend into the workplace; thus, these theories can explain the processes through which similarity is a meaningful construct and can be a basis for prejudice in the social and occupational spaces.

Some studies reveal that international HSPs with cultural and ethnic proximity to the natives in host countries receive more positive perceptions and reception (e.g. Bevelander, 1999; UNDP, 2009). As a reaction to this tendency of dominant and dominated group interaction, foreign-born HSPs in their mobility experience might go through personality development and a constructed identity in tune with the space where interaction recurrently occurs as a category of 'wanted' international HSPs rather than 'unwanted' and perceived 'low-skilled or unemployed immigrant' (see Koskela, 2010). They can follow a strategy with socio-cultural signifiers to negotiate a positive identity for themselves through distinguished lifestyle, way of dressing, and social code of behaviour to designate their social and economic position as HSPs though with low ethnicity compared to Finns (*ibid.*). The question here is whether this strategy would avail them any positive reception and attitude. Their occupational position in the immigrant hierarchy could further be used in building social networks membership, providing them with social and symbolic capital (see section below).

Yet, categorization and stereotyping sometimes prevail and entail largely accepted belief and perception about individuals in social categories. Ethnic minorities' members might be perceived less favourably than members from in-group, sometimes with symbolic violence, due to absence of cultural and symbolic capitals. In particular, people tend to qualify positive behaviours of in-group members to internal factors (e.g. ability, education, intelligence), and negative behaviours to external factors (e.g. bad luck, accident). The opposite is conceived true for out-group members. For instance, competent performance by a manager from an ethnic minority can possibly be regarded less as a result of aptitude and feat (see Fletcher & Ward, 1988):

The question of ethnicity is always present seen as a violent Arab Muslim macho. I feel this especially at work, you see unacceptable things happening. Sometimes they give comment like 'violent'.... Sometimes when I feel they don't like to communicate with me, when you speak with him, you feel they are absent-minded. It's like you are annoying him. That's real violence to me making you feel psychologically and emotionally not well at all.... (Kamal).

.... Even if there is Finn who is qualified, I refuse that she thinks I don't represent foreigners and that she does. That was the idea, that I need assistance and she does not need assistance, though it was the other way round. Maybe I needed help in language but she needed help in experience and skills in how to deal with foreigners. There is fear of foreigners and how to deal with that. So she had these problems how to make contacts, how to deal with different issues and sensitive matters... I was really disheartened with this experience ... (Amina).

.... I remember I would be just called [to do translation] and when the problems started in Afghanistan, I would never forget, I was given a call to translate and I say 'hey, but I don't even know the language they speak [Afghan].' the answer was 'but they are in veils and they read the Quraan.' That was the news from the news desk in Finland. I was also sent an Iranian documentary in Persian, and I said 'excuse me this is not Arabic', but they answered 'Yes, but they are Muslims.'... (Amal).

Prejudice might stem from competition over important resources such as the situation of restricted job opportunities or promotion or economic recession in the host country. In Finland, it is argued that vulnerability and uncertainty of labour market opportunity for immigrants is further visible when it comes to periodical economic or financial crisis country (Heikkilä, 2005, p. 490). The scarcity of resources might call attention to reaction to get the competitive edge. Biased judgments and prejudiced attitudes might obstruct job entry or promotion for members of minorities. Some research findings (UNDP, 2009, p. 51) demonstrate that competition for economic resources is related to anti-immigration attitudes and behaviours, especially during times of financial crisis or economic recession:

The environment is quite good, I would say, in this department. But also I've heard of problems that come either between Finnish people or Finnish and foreigners which is normal in a workplace because competition is so high, that people sometimes try to push each other... But nothing in this department, I'm very satisfied that I somehow ended up in in this one (Nabil).

... Some people resent the fact that you could intellectually be *tête-à-tête* with them because they feel a little bit insecure. This is something that you would not find in America or Britain, but in Finland because they have been exposed to foreigners very recently and it's very difficult for them really!... To find somebody from our part of the world they are bit confused where to classify you, are you like the Swedes or are you like Russians, so we always fall in-between the chairs (Abid).

... One colleague at work once went to complain about me without any reason, simply because I'm a foreigner, though I have good relationship and respect with everyone there... Another woman once said

'it's good they have given you a job!' I was surprised about this. They gave me the job because I deserve it, because they checked my competences, qualification and documents. They didn't pick me up from the street and gave it to me. There are many who think that they give you a favour if you have a job, as if you are not competent at all to do it. However, there are many who are very respectful and nice and interaction with them is wonderful (Meryem).

.... Another one [aspect of workplace] is competition between personnel. You find this of course everywhere. If you are at the same level of a colleague but you didn't have the same rights makes you double your efforts, much perseverance and performance until you get the same rights. At the end, you are free to do an open contract in which both the employer and employee have the right to end the contract if they wish... As concerns medical doctors at the moment, a thing like that is very easy because the need for doctors is increasing (Jawad).

In her ongoing research project on integration and identity negotiations of foreign HSPs from European and American countries, Koskela (2010) maintains Finns tend to categorize the majority of HSPs in one uniform category contributing to economic growth via their occupational positions as well as participation in society in fostering 'positive' cultural baggage and diversity. However, she advances mainstream society tends to distinguish this group against a constructed category of 'unwanted' immigrants with basically 'negative' ethnic and cultural differences (*ibid.*). Hence, some boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are created and hierarchy set, which entails these HSPs are rather not comparable with Finns despite their cultural capital. The perceptions and the categorizations do not emanate only from native Finns but they can be constructed by immigrant group members themselves turning to strategies which might be instrumentalized in identity negotiations, and used to represent value judgments in re-creating boundaries and thus *de-categorization* or *re-categorization* process (see Koskela, 2010). These HSPs define and re-define their identities for who they are and who they are not. A consequence of this situation might be an identity re-negotiation process by some immigrants in a form of social 'self-exclusion' (Sabour, 1999), a reaction to a social space highly categorized socially, ethnically and culturally (see below).

Charles Tilly (2004) argues the creation of fictitious and symbolic social boundaries is a frequent human tendency which separate 'us' from a not always well-identified 'them.' The explanation of the construction, transformation, activation and suppression of these social boundaries becomes a fundamental action for an understanding of contemporary migration politics and policies. The social mechanisms of selection, segregation or exclusion of individuals, be them cognitive, contextual or relational (Tilly, 2001), are not simply individually held but can rather be supported or incited for politically motivated causes. The social boundaries thus are not solely inoffensive survival strategies but they perform important social and political roles, having significant societal effects on the lives of those included or excluded. Besides, national ideologies for assimilation or pluralism, immigration policies, cultural diversity, media representations and nationalistic values are thought to be among the factors to enhance societal attitudes toward immigrants (Leong & Ward, 2006). The neoconservative and right-wing trend in Europe and elsewhere have been shown to anticipate racism and xenophobia, namely anti-immigrant sentiments (Leong, 2008). Personal values can also influence attitude toward ethnic immigrants. For instance, natives with strong preference for security and success tend to cherish negative attitudes toward immigrants whereas the ones who value stimulation and diversity conceive immigrants more positively (*ibid.*).

As mentioned above, some evidence shows that in a milieu characterized by high labour market competition and anti-immigration attitudes, challenges met by immigrants become further acute. An increasingly competitive job market and a lack of managing diversity policies aggravate career opportunities of newcomers. A major factor that might be excavated from and used in research to interpret a result of categorization and bias is perceived threat. Integrated threat theory advances that four sorts of threat culminates to unfavourable attitudes toward immigrants: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping (Stephan *et al.*, 1998). *Realistic* threat arises when there is short resources, *symbolic* threat involves differences in beliefs, values and norms which threaten in-group's worldview, *negative stereotypes* brings about schema for threatening expectations about out-group, and *intergroup anxiety* surfaces when one feels rejected, embarrassed or exploited in intergroup interactions. Some studies show these genres of threat predict negative attitudes to newcomers (*ibid.*). Some instances of views among the respondents, though significantly rare, are represented as a threat or source of insecurity within the field, quite fierce and competitive, where they work and where 'otherness' surfaces in interaction according to them:

... Some years ago, one PhD student was making research in the so-called discrimination ... He asked me using specifically this word 'did you meet any discrimination?' and I said 'only in the university, never outside the university door'.... They like to see you in a special status... That's the sick part of it. This kind of people they take their own self-esteem from lowering the esteem of others because they are all the time comparing themselves with others, which is typically a neurosis symptom... (Abid).

In the beginning you think maybe it is the culture and that may be you don't understand, but the more you know the environment the more you feel it is more because of you and your country of origin. So there is this kind of double-edged feeling. There are people who are harsh against you because they are scared. They think that even if they know Arabic they think that they can't know it better than you and that you are better than them; they are really far away from you so they think you are a danger for them. And there are people who think that because you come from third world, then you must be bad and you can't be good at anything. Sometimes, they talk on word level and they tell you something making you feel bad (Nabila).

Though my colleagues I would hear during meetings to say that we had decision that no teacher in our field should be accepted if he or she is not perfect with mother-tongue, meaning that I don't speak Finnish, and I said 'oh I totally agree with that.' I thought well I am perfect with my Arabic. I could hear this ... well... that was good and suddenly I noticed I am very well connected internationally during all that time I have been travelling a lot. Suddenly, I noticed abroad I am not a problematic person. I managed very well and I was smooth. 'Problematic' is the image Finns connect with my personality, and it seems it is connected more with the debate on the "Other" (Amal).

Moreover, inequality might appear in the organizational hierarchy among members of these HSPs as unevenly distributed occupational positions. Vertical segregation appears when there is a disproportionately low number of these workers in top management positions. The accounts of some respondents show factors of socio-cultural or ethnic differences may result in diminished upward career mobility for some HSPs, known as a state of *glass-ceiling*. Waldinger & colleagues (1998) examine the differences between natives and non-natives in male graduate engineers in the US over the course of their engineering career. That study provides an important insight to assess the broader glass ceiling claims international HSPs face (in Syed, 2008, p. 31). As graduates of a major US research university, the migrants were expected to enter labour market with prestigious credentials. Findings from their study indicate some form of labour market segmentation, so

common at lower levels of the economy, is also restricting career mobility of engineers in the US. They appear to get a considerably lower return to experience than do their native-born counterparts. Therefore, their careers take distinctively various forms, with engineers experiencing disadvantages in vertical career mobility (*ibid.*). The authors interpret this finding as evidence of discrimination, particularly due to the respondents' perceptions of the opportunity structure they had confronted in the host economy.

A possible explanation for the tendency of foreign HSPs, with low ethnicity and high status, to meet with a situation of *glass-ceiling* is the lack of symbolic capital despite acquired cultural and career capital. Another factor might be the weak informal channels and social capital to share information about opportunities in labour market (Jaakkola, 2000). This situation would probably obstruct any possibility to upward career mobility. Instead, these HSPs might utilize their own means and have recourse to informal social networks in their search of occupational inclusion or promotion (Bagchi, 1999). Heikkilä & Pikkarainen (2008) show that qualifications of foreign-born HSPs, regardless of their ethnicity or nationality, normally results in occupational integration while Salonen and Villa (2006) maintain qualifications and occupations increase inclusiveness of minorities (e.g. Estonians, Russians and Chinese communities). This question of *glass-ceiling* has been raised by some respondents in their narratives. They explain that one reason driving HSPs to move out from native country or re-emigrate from subsequent host country is the possible barriers they meet in their upward career mobility:

... I know many doctors and engineers but unfortunately they are marginalized.... Well, it might be a question of chance. But for academic and educational advancement, people are given good opportunities.... When a HSP finishes his studies [in native country], he has nowhere to go to and nothing to do, so he opts to move out to a French-speaking country like France or Canada... It is not really easy to migrate to a far country and get a highly respected job with higher qualification. Of course, other low-skilled work exists but there is high competition for high level jobs.... (Kamal).

.... One of the reasons why most of people are moving from Finland is that when you are working in a Finnish company, and mostly in European companies, there is one thing we call the ceiling. You climb up ladder but then you reach a certain limit where you cannot go up anymore. The reason is that, in a European company, there is not the tradition that people from other cultures or ethnic background get upper positions in the company. If you go to the US, for example, you can find mixed people like Indians at top levels... Few countries, maybe like the UK, are the exception.... Once you reach upper level, then you are hitting the ceiling and it's very difficult to keep climbing up. They just move out because they see that 'now it's just a waste of time, I'm trying to do my best but still I'm not getting anything in exchange' (Yussef).

The respondents' accounts, as mentioned before, reveal that some met with bias while many did not face any in their employment opportunities. The differences that might surface between the respondents evidence the significant role feelings and emotion, or individual dispositions, play in defining experiential outlines in the subjective career of these individuals and process of their occupational inclusion (see Carmel & Cerami, 2011). The great competitiveness and struggle in the field where these work among the natives and the possibility of the presence of some structural or individual constraints in vertical career mobility, a number of respondents resort to the tradition of working overtime conceiving of it from different angles. Gershuny's study (2000) considers the issue

from post-industrial society theory as work requires more 'high-skills' and adds high value through labour process to attain higher rewards. Especially for female HSPs, the tendency to work many hours beside the household tasks is found to be present in many recent studies (Cha, 2010). Some respondents show the extensive margin (i.e. the decision to work a positive number of hours) is significant for almost all female respondents. The health-care and academic professionals seem to be more involved in such endeavour of overwork:

The regulation in the union says that once you leave your work and finish the working hours, close the phone and if they call you for work, do not answer them. So I am very flexible in this matter and I answer the head of our department when she calls for an emergency or if some nurse is absent to work as substitute for her. I don't have children and I live quite near the hospital, so I reach it in 10 minutes. I usually answer their request (Warda).

... I am very efficient during the whole morning period. Then, of course I have students to supervise beside my own work and some meetings to organize. I'm involved in different networks as well as some obligations like meetings ... it makes the day in a way long and I usually finish around 6 or 7 pm... I'm trying not [to overwork] but sometimes it just happens. It's not compulsory but sometimes I have to do it because of the nature of my research (Safaa).

.... The nature of my work is research which requires much work on collecting information and literature in your area. Usually, I stay late in my office at university more than the time required as worker. I stay longer time to the detriment of my family that I come home late (laughing), contrary to the Finns who finish on time. I usually finish at 7 or 7:30 p. m. ... (Mounir).

... There is a lot of work, besides teaching outside and inside: writing, publishing, reviewing, editing. I have international research works. So there is more than enough work. You see, when I got 11 people from Manchester University, I know how this is very tough work. We [our department] do not have 11 positions as they have in Manchester.... So the 11 persons are more specialized and ... can arrange their work better than me (Monaim).

Interaction in occupational field and cultural diversity

It has been argued that ethnic-cultural factors may affect the employment of international HSPs though it is irrelevant to entry in labour market (UNDP, 2009). Interpretation and assessment of cultural differences might result in bias in both directions: differences might be regarded as a threat or an asset. Besides, some evidence shows employers are liable to choose those ethnically similar to them (Purkiss *et al.*, 2006). A study on medical-care nurses working in Finland (Marja Katisko, 2009, in Koikkalainen *et.al.*, 2011, p. 153) shows the difficulties foreign-born employees face in their everyday interaction at the workplace with the natives wherein issues of identity, ethnicity, power relation and social positioning are stirred in the interviews she conducted with nurses of ethnic minorities. Different meanings linked to identity, position, tasks, in-group/out-group membership, and ethnicity are constructed in the realities of workplace. Cultural differentiation represents maps of perceptions and meanings exteriorized to the outside world in similar way as other in-group members with whom a shared understanding is present.

One of the most prominent situational predictor of anti-immigrant bias is the extent and quality of interaction between natives and immigrants (Maynard & Ferdman, 2010). Other studies evidence that interaction in a heterogeneous space has positive impacts in decreasing prejudice or stereotype and that intergroup contact at work generates positive impacts (e.g. friendly atmosphere) and

dissipate bias and discrimination as Raunio's (2007) study shows. Equal opportunities and conditions for career mobility and cooperative encounters enhance this contact. Yet, because of the vertical segregation and disparity in positions, it seems hard to attain them (*ibid.*). Heikkilä (2005, p. 486) mentions vulnerability is a socially constructed condition by natives with existing power structure which gives more power to some groups rather than others (see Bourdieu, 1977). Voci and Hewstone (2003) show interaction might reduce intergroup anxiety and increase positive attitudes toward immigrants. It can diminish cultural stereotypes and perceived threat, which entail positive attitudes toward them. Thus, intercultural interaction would positively affect interpersonal relationships; structural aspects in the work and employing institution need due regard because they are the basis for the dynamics of interpersonal and intergroup interaction in the workplace.

Interpersonal interactions might result in positive personal experiences; otherwise structural materialization of inequalities would still exist or be strengthened (UNDP, 2009, p. 5). The manifestation of diversity in the workforce demographics affects the amount and quality of intercultural interaction between native and international employees (Raunio, 2007). The southern metropolitan area, for instance, holds a large number of international workforces with different status and positions (Heikkilä, 2005; 2010) which may affect intergroup behaviour and restrain the impacts of discrimination and prejudice. This fault lines increase when there is a near similitude within a social category within work group or employees (e.g. bi-national rather than multinational). By contrast, positive and affective outcomes might occur in heterogeneous work groups (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000) as various approaches in the group are welcome and mutual learning is plausible in a customary cooperative spirit (Raunio, 2003; 2007). An aspect that is highly significant among the respondents of the study is their consideration of the space where they work as being more international and diverse, thus enhancing a much interactive and friendly relationship between international and native community of staff members. They do not feel interactive constraints among themselves and hence a spirit of inclusive and culturally diverse atmosphere has significant effect. English is used as the *lingua franca* in interaction in case the respondents do not master Finnish language:

What I learned from working in this environment, I should say in this workplace, there is many foreigners. Research is usually carried out by international staff. That has two aspects: One aspect is that you don't feel like alien because all the others are alien, like a home; the other aspect is that Finns working in this environment get very much used to international community through researchers, and then you can feel it that their behaviour is not the same as if you were in the city centre, somewhere else where there is less foreigners... (Nabil).

... There was no problem or constraint at all. There is free practice and no restriction on religious practice here. There are many meeting points where we can interact with Finns. For example, our religion demands our honesty and accountability for the work we do and good behavior and interaction with others. This quality I find in Finns with respect to their practice at work. This is a point of convergence with them... (Mounir).

You can get access to information if you master the language and if you are really active in knowing the source of information everywhere. It depends on you to know how the Finnish system works... Sometimes the language is the main thing here because a work proposal is in Finnish language. So if you would like to know exactly what they require for open positions, then you could get it ... (Sabah).

The elemental role of international HSPs for economic growth and competitiveness renders a very desirable social identity amongst many of them within Finnish society. For instance, the Indian and Chinese communities in Finland have developed into an increasingly highly skilled community with increasing number of students at universities and professionals in local labour market. A study of Chinese HSPs in Finland shows the majority of their members enjoy good occupational positions and incomes, but socio-cultural integration in mainstream society seems to be limited and not prioritized (Wall & Sao José, 2005, p. 40-41). English is basically used as their *lingua franca* and social interaction revolves around their co-ethnic community who live in proximity, especially for university researchers. Thus, it is important to mention that educational and occupational attainments are not enough for receptiveness and social inclusion though well integrated in labour market. Strong influential determinants, namely ethnicity and nationality, affect the formation of their social identity as international group of HSPs and a degree of acceptance. Social interaction in the space where one works which breeds cultural diversity and a number of international workers is significantly influential in annihilating prejudice and stereotyping in the workplace.

To conclude, though Finland has made important strides towards the integration of HSPs workforce in Finland, policy-makers and stakeholders in sensitive fields which require more workforces in future need to consider questions related to informal hindrances towards social inclusion and retention of international HSPs at the level of workplace, especially for those, from non-EU or OECD countries. Despite its small size in the labour market, the respondents have experienced a considerable degree of occupational inclusion after years of transition since their arrival to Finland. Yet, their social positioning and social inclusion remain questionable, being torn between the hardship in integrating into the long wintery weather and in trying to find social membership among a homogeneous society that is seen as closed. These factors might explain the uncertainty expressed and felt by some respondents as concerns their career prospects, whether in the short or long run. Immigration policies of OECD countries generally follow the trend of attraction, hosting and integration. However, in Finland the two first have been considered to the detriment of the third, as some studies demonstrate (Raunio & Sotarauta 2005; Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011).

At the legislative level, significant development has been made in recent years with regard to employment of international HSPs, especially with regard to the residency-based social security system and equal benefits once employed. Yet, do these legislative procedures constitute strong incentives for them to stay in Finland (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011, p. 155). We note the visible effect of social identity roles on the career paths of HSPs in Finland. For example, Labour market adjustment seems to be easier for those from countries that have similarities and cultural affinity with Finnish society, such as occupational and qualification transferability, and a similar structure of labour market in the country from which they departed mainly in Europe. In their study, Raunio & Sotarauta (2005, p. 23) contend some respondents intending to leave Finland after work contract ends consider socio-cultural factors as strong push-factors (e.g. closed culture, social space and weak social interaction). Hence, it seems the social and individual life factors might be behind the impetus of some HSPs to think of moving outside Finland (*ibid.*, p. 23). Occupational and social inclusion of this social group in the social apparatus of Finnish space appears to be significant for full

participation of its members regardless of their departure countries. This section has grappled with the question of inclusion in social space and labour market. The following continues with their conceptions on society as a space of interaction and participation.

5.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL, TRUST AND INCLUSION

Some sociological studies apply various lifestyle approaches to stratification. The modes and motivations of mobility tend to be shaped by these orientations and, contrary to rational choice frame of individual preferences, lifestyles are seen as moulded by social, spatial and individual conditions and experiences, shaping social practices (see Bourdieu, 1984). Seeing HSM in a set of predefined needs and aspirations independent of the means and chances to access them, these approaches do not consider their socio-cultural embedding and intersectionality of various factors. The section here analyses social inclusion and participation of the respondents through their social practices, in Bourdieu's term, as they conceive them. The actualization of social practices entails proactive and systematic processes to reach an ideal social inclusion. When a person moves to a different socio-cultural setting, either highly skilled or not, she/he experiences an unfamiliar setting in many ways (Bozkurt, 2006). The experiences also differ between individuals according to individual and situational factors (e.g. length of stay, degree of acculturation, linguistic ability, and structural factors in host society) (see chap 3, 6). It seems the issue of inclusion deems challenging because it is a dynamic process as these individuals are in continuous development in life course, and inclusion undergoes ongoing negotiation and renegotiation of practices and constraints for a community and of its members' identity (Ferdman, 2003).

The process occurs when experiencing a new social space with a development of the individual's personality (see chap 6). Consequently, social inclusion involves individual, collective and institutional agents in society. Finland has introduced in recent years a number of laws targeting the creation of a more inclusive environment for foreigners in society, namely the Integration Act and Aliens Act of 2010 (Tanner, 2011). Such procedures and policies might prevent social exclusion and inequality, but may not embody inclusiveness *per se*, just as the absence of racism and prejudice does not necessarily mean support for cultural diversity. Discussion here considers the respondents with their typicality and differentiations as social agents and members of society in their social participation and interaction within society. It focuses on how their experiences are linked to forms of social interaction and participation in social space and how they use different forms of capital in social spaces to position themselves as members of international HSPs and as ethnic minority members (e.g. public space, family, and neighbourhood). It analyses the ways social capital and social space are significant factors in the process of social inclusion and empowerment in a socio-culturally homogeneous society, the significance of social networks in social participation, the sort of attitudes and aptitudes (i.e. strategies) they have and use in social action and interaction, the kinds of positioning they have to enhance social inclusion or, otherwise, exclusion.

Conceiving social inclusion: relational and individual aspects

Social inclusion entails a development process of individuals and communities' experiences and characteristics in relation to society and various social spaces. Individuals influence and are influenced by the social space and, in turn, inclusion affects and is affected by that space. As a HSP, an immigrant lives and works in a new space which influences him according to the availability and accessibility of formal or informal support mechanisms located within social and institutional constructs. Thus, this field enhances or constrains opportunities for inclusion while she/he senses the degree of acceptance within society in relation with the feeling of receptiveness, empowerment, efficiency and motivation to be one of its members. Inclusion is then an evolving, interactive and reciprocal process that involves the individual, community and the social space. The latter is constituted of the context where the individual lives (e.g. family, workplace, neighbourhood), the social networks in which he is involved, the institutional settings and activities that influences his position and situation (e.g. policy measures towards foreign community), and the kind of perceptions, values and lifestyles prevalent in mainstream culture, such as the public discourse and position of media about immigration.

Traditional conception of social inequality concerns the differential distribution of wealth, income, education attainment and status (Giddens, 2009) which can be social, cultural, economic and symbolic. The resources can be tangible (e.g. economic capital, and knowledge capital) or intangible (symbolic, social and cultural capital) and can differ in quality or quantity. Further, presence of social spaces, connected and unfragmented, has led to more complex patterns of social structures, including increasing variability of lifestyles, attitudes, opinions, and values. On a micro-societal level, social inclusion (or exclusion) may vary within the same layer of society and, thus, have intended and unintended impacts on individuals and communities. The discussion here briefly examines the question of the sample's experiential conceptions on their social inclusion (or exclusion) regardless of their integration in labour market, within mobility/migration experiences, and as representing a social minority group in Finnish social landscape. Emphasis on social and cultural differentiation and its relation to mobility experiences is an imperative pursuit for social policy as it relates to enhancing cultural diversity in society and the workplace.

The conceptualization and study of social inclusion and the distribution of social resources (e.g. education, social security, welfare, civic participation) in Finland are an important theme to discuss in the overall purpose of the study. Research works in HSM deal with various issues within various theories and conceptualizations (see chap 1). International mobility has great effects on societies and individuals, but focus needs to be given to the relation between patterns of social inclusion and mobility of this category. Do their spatial and career mobility experiences undergo patterns of social inclusion in host society owing to their ethnic-cultural background? What would be the structures and dynamics of these patterns? What are the possible consequences of such patterns? How do they conceive themselves treated in different social spaces? What possible strategies do they utilise in their process of their transforming social identity as locals in Finland? Before entering into discussion of these sub-questions, I discuss the concepts of social stratification and social inclusion.

A deep look on these notions will shed light on their interconnectedness with modern societal dynamics. Thinking about the possibility of being internationally mobile widens theoretical understanding of the mutual relation between the individual, her/his mobility and the degree of social inclusion and participation²⁶ in host society.

Social interaction in a social space, language and symbolic capital

As mentioned above, the majority of respondents show positive feedback on questions of institutional and social equality, enjoying the same rights as any other members of society within an integrated system of equality. This section delves into the issue of their conceptions of social inclusion in relation to predominant social stratification in mainstream society, considering their social positions and dispositions. The process of social interaction, for instance, involves the presence of two or more individuals or groups and the perception of the 'Other' is linked with the process of social categorization and hierarchization (see above). As a result, they tend to create stereotypes and images of the 'Other,' especially those based on visibly physical features and behaviours (Heikkilä, 2005). The tendency of an individual to form expectations on the basis of social categories might greatly influence his view towards others. Immigrants from such a distinct cultural and ethnic background as Arab and Muslim, as a minority, might experience such treatment with attempts at categorisation. A number of respondents highlight this point in their narratives, considering the closed nature of society in socialisation and the distinctive culture of social interaction with 'foreigners.' Another characteristic of Finnish interactive practice in social space, according to Nabil, is opacity and interiorised feeling of respect and acceptance to others which might be imperceptible by a non-native. Personal feelings are rarely shown to 'others' and this may stem from their high social consciousness, a sense of being and ways of thinking as Mourad reports:

Individual initiative is the basis of this social relation which a person undertakes here... Maybe he starts interaction with you on some subject but never oblige it on you. When a native initiates a meeting with you, the response to it is yours and how you handle it, either you accept or refuse it. Social pressure here might hasten the response very easily regardless of the pressure society lives so that a person is forced to respond positively to such initiative for satisfying others and so to get what you want from them (Jawad).

Being respected is also something... but that's very difficult to see and to measure because maybe, at least, I have the feeling that Finns don't say very much what they are thinking. They don't express feeling. They mostly show it in some way that you need to be attentive to notice it. So, the fact that they respect you, they respect also your point of view... They will show it in their own way, but you cannot hear it (Nabil).

.... From my experience, I have been in different countries. It's different and that's how it makes that exoticism of every country. I'm not asking to find the same things as in Morocco or France or another place. But of course, there is a kind of really big difference. People are very shy here and they don't speak

²⁶ *Social participation* refers here to the individual's social involvement and interaction with significant others who constitute society at large (including majority and minorities). It represents in general one indicator of wellbeing and social equality in society. It involves political, social and civic activities through the means of their social networking, sense of belongingness and degree of trust between all members of society. Social stratification can be based on ethnic and cultural background in some context as well as class.

too much and if you are somehow a shy person as well, so it's really difficult. Hopefully it's not my problem. But still it's so difficult to get to talk with them ... (Safaa).

... I lived in many countries. I was already accustomed to so many cultures because I lived it. Even though it was very special here, it was very special. What I like about here is that Finnish are strict, organized and have high social consciousness, they take care of their own and they are healthy, I mean healthy in their way of thinking and mentality. There is lots of things that ... because of their language, they have their own way of thinking, you know... (Mourad).

As mentioned earlier, Finnish language represents an essential means of social interaction and inclusion within the societal construct for any non-native social groups and regardless of their social status and level of qualifications. Previous studies in Finland on question of the importance of language in social inclusion for immigrants show that absence of social and cultural (informational) capital is one reason in addition to some attitudinal position regarding the difficulty of language (Heikkilä, 2005) as well as structural reasons of the inadequacy of language courses in integration process (Söderling, 2010). The new integration law of 2010 targets labour market integration and economic development (*ibid.*). The majority of respondents express this tenet in their narratives and some of them with little knowledge and practice of the language feels uncomfortable with the situation while indicating some practical reasons for the situation and this could be the case for those academics in mid-career stage with English as language of instruction and communication. Yet, a number of respondents show degree of competence in Finnish due to its instrumental primacy in the field of their work (e.g. medical care and social service):

[I don't speak Finnish] so efficiently.... it is difficult and I don't need it at work so I don't get the chance to practice it a lot. I think the main issue is I don't get to practice the language even if I am willing to learn it .. I feel the need to learn it (smiling), after many years, at least to start speaking it fluently. I know the basics and how to use it a little if Finns speak with me. I have to practice but I didn't have much opportunity... I think it is needed and important (Chafiq).

My Finnish language is still not good for me and I think this is the main obstacle in getting involved totally into society because you would like to fully understand your friends and your colleagues and express yourself in front of them in their native language. So I feel many times at work or in social life that I am not able to express myself in Finnish language as I wish and I think that it will stay a weakness for a long time as long as I don't master Finnish... (Sabah).

It is [question of] attitude.... Look, if you speak about labour market, companies want to have skilled people no matter what colour he is in order to sell ideas or products. I don't think the language is the obstacle. It is a question of knowing their language. Their language is a very important factor in order to integrate into society.... (Khalid).

I haven't learned the language well for a long time and you just feel some kind of isolation when you live in a country and within its society for a long time and you don't know the language.... Well, the blame falls on us because there was no impetus to learn the language even if the university has a language centre where you can learn more than one language. Language has indeed created some problem for me to learn about the country and its history, its society and also integration into society.... (Mounir).

One of the main repercussions of language incompetence might be social and cultural distancing between members of the minorities and mainstream society. As discussed above, the majority of respondents have little informal social interaction through friendships or social gatherings with Finns except within the social field of the workplace or the family circle. Thus, it deems important to

understand the reasons for this tendency, is it individual or structural in nature? In other words, is it because of, as Bourdieu states, a social world in the form of objective structures independent of the agents' consciousness and aspirations, and which can enhance or restrain their practices or representations (1990a, p. 123). Could this lack of social interaction and participation in social spaces be seen objectively as 'a social phenomenon,' and subjectively as a social world of representations produced by these agents? (*ibid.*, p. 124). Construction and definition of identity is not solely an internalized self-definition but also the reflection of other different social groups' external definition through the process of *categorization* (Jenkins, 2003). Bourdieu (1990a, 130) argues this stems from 'an active apprehension of the world' under constructed 'structural constraints' taking what seems 'familiar' as self-evident and natural. A major outcome of socialisation process within Finnish society for the majority of respondents is a weak social interactivity in informal social spaces:

... My interaction is mostly with colleagues and within the workplace. When outside work, it is really difficult to have friends... you are not speaking the language and so they do not feel at ease interacting with you. And also the socio-cultural differences and traditions play an important role. We have quite different way of thinking (Ali).

I don't have very much interaction with Finns and with other people also. My social environment and circle is very small. There is less than 10 persons, my wife, her grandparents and I have a brother who is living here and then my wife's sister and people who are working here (Nabil).

In the social space, I don't have any Finnish friends. It is not just my case but most of our international colleagues. This is actually something bad.... Maybe we are partly the cause of this situation and maybe they are also partly responsible. I think language is a critical factor here in interaction as it is sensitive and difficult to learn as it needs much time and effort (Mounir).

... For you in your work, it is fine because you deal with people with the same educational level. Well, it is good ...normal.... interaction is mainly restricted to my work. The majority I interact with are within the space of my work... There are some [outside work] I meet with from time to time in a café just talking around everyday life or matters linked to work (Kamal).

For those respondents who have given outspoken explanation for this 'social phenomenon' through their own lenses and accounts, the differential stratification of cultural norms and values and their dispositional attitudes to what social and collective identity and socialization entail for both represent a significant influence towards this situation of weak socialization in the 'social world' outside. This state of affairs in these social relations might seem invisible, but it is out there for the majority of respondents that can be explained by the difficulties encountered in breaking the wall of cultural differences and the informal social categorization which appears for many as structured within mainstream society. This appears not only the experience of HSPs from MENA countries with their Arab and/or Islamic background, but also to immigrants from European, Asian or Latin American communities (see Koskela, 2010). The subjective representations of the natives in the conceptions of the respondents are the main structural constraint influencing the social interactional habitus they have internalized along their international mobility/migration experiences and, more importantly, their Mediterranean cultural features known with its high social interactivity. Many respondents underline missing informal social atmosphere of countries of origin in the Finnish social space and some express the feeling of social distance and alienation:

When you come to live in a new society, this is only one way and this is not to be in struggle with the culture of the new society because you need to adapt yourself to the values, attitudes and habits of the people around you. If you are not going to appreciate the environment but only to struggle, you have to leave the country and go to some other place... (Monaim).

.... There was a community of co-nationals, around 11 families located here. This situation made it easy for us to communicate and interact and make a good social climate for us ... As we are used to strong social connection and exchange of meetings and social interaction..., there was occasions as when there is some celebrations and social occasions..... This is very hard here in Finland the feeling of alienation because you know the climate in winter is very distressing, as we are used to the sunshine... (Mounir).

This is the most important thing, being somehow in a collective gathering and less of an individualistic. They [Finns] have as a family made up of the wife, husband and kids. In our [Arab] society, we have wife, husband, kids, grandparents, uncles and aunts and cousins and their children and so on. That is the difference (Meryem).

I think in my own life, I feel there is a lot of things missing which are not present in Finland, it's the social environment, by that I mean the family and friends (Nabil).

Most of social relations that you have are of people from your native country and ethnic background or some friendship with Finns at work.... When we were in the university, it was a little bit different.... than now when you are working, because the environment is friendly. You have friends from study group you meet, you have activities... The environment for work doesn't help for being with too many friends at work (Yussef).

It has been argued that mainstream society, holding the referent culture, compels it to impose categorizations on minority immigrant groups based on cultural proximity and ethnic origin (Heikkilä, 2005; Koskela, 2010). A social group that owns symbolic power as they represent the dominant referent group culture and collective identity tends to impose social categorization on other (minority) social groups in the social world. Members of this group see the world through their habitus (dispositions), which produces categorisation process of people and which can be adjusted to the agent's position in conformity with their attributes, views, tastes with affinity and affiliation in their positions in the social space (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 131). The dispositions of members of a social group make the social world self-evident. However, the social world is not totally structured *per se*, but could be categorised according to ethnicity, culture and nationality rather than social class or education. Those factors have significant power of categorisation in principles of this process and the social space presents itself objectively as a symbolic system organised following the logic of difference and tends to function as symbolic space, a space of lifestyle and status groups (*ibid.*, p. 132-3). Bourdieu explains that these representations are significant when considering every day individual and collective struggles that try to shape and safeguard these structures (1990a, p. 125-6). Some respondents mention strategies some Finns use in their daily social interaction such as indifference in case an initiative comes from a respondent because of either their ethnic-cultural visibility (e.g. Kamal) or social dissociation for their social status. Bourdieu refers to the strategy of *objective distance* to have advantages either of proximity or distance (1990a, p. 128). He adds these strategies might be unconscious or may be in the form of shyness or arrogance. He believes social distances are objectified into structural aspects of practice in a social space (*ibid.*).

According to Bourdieu, objective relations are relations between positions occupied in the distributions of resources which can be active and effective in competition for the appropriation of the rare goods of which the social world is the locus (1990a, p. 128). These social powers are economic, cultural, and symbolic capital (a form that is seen by various types of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate). Agents are thus distributed in the social space depending on the size of the capital they have of various sorts, and depending on the structure of their capital, i.e. the importance and value of these forms of capital (ibid., p. 128). As far as foreign-born HSPs are concerned, categorizations might be induced in the same manner as any minorities within mainstream society. The possible exception of accumulated forms of capital would be cultural and symbolic capitals (i.e. occupational and educational status). In her research study, Koskela (2010) put immigrants in three categories: those with high ethnicity (Caucasian) and high class (highly skilled/elite), high ethnicity and low class (natives with low-skilled job), and low ethnicity (ethnically distinct, highly skilled) and high class. She adds this classification refutes the misconception that all (white) westerners might be HSPs with occupational positions and that ethnic migrants are low-educated/skilled or humanitarian immigrants.

Erikson & Goldthorpe (1992) state social stratification means unequally distributed resources, i.e. wealth, status, or power within a social system. The approach mostly used is social class (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1990b) and three chief strands are important here: (i) distinct social classes exist since antiquity (Marx, 1990); (ii) the subjective evaluation of status or prestige is usually measured from attitude scales on occupational titles as the primary defining criterion of social position (Bergman & Joyce, 2001); (iii) the connections between resources and social networks. The last two are relevant to discussion here. Social or professional networks give access to socially desirable, yet limited, resources while access to resources place individuals within networks (Bergman *et al.*, 2002). In other words, a HSP might have higher academic position which brings him symbolic capital through his earned cultural and economic capital (educational and occupational attainments). When it is recognised and acknowledged according to the categories of perception that it imposes, symbolic relations tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 136). The respondents as a category of HSPs living and working in Finland have cultural and symbolic capital due to their socially recognised qualifications by dominant legitimising (academic, organisational) institutions.

However, subjective power relations in the social space outside the workplace seem to denote a *misrecognition* of this symbolic capital in everyday life of the respondents. This might partly explain the reason why many of them do not cherish higher degree social interaction within informal social fields outside the workplace. Indeed, the objective power relations reproduce themselves in symbolic power relations as a HSP might use their symbolic capital they own through the objective classification or hierarchy of values given to them. They are in a position to impose the scale of values favourable to their educational and occupational attainments with the institutions involved. Here, their recognised cultural capital yields their symbolic power within the workplace and hence develop social capital through social networks and gatherings with colleagues. Moving outside in the social world of informal spaces, the perceptions of ordinary people in mainstream society brings

to the fore the second face of the coin in power relations which are subjective and based on attitudes, worldview, positioning, and social categorisation:

... When you are outdoors in the city, there is always that kind of look, that kind of stereotyping that you are from Arab background, that you are coming from some poor country, that you are only some pizzeria owner, cleaner, just doing some low-skilled work. That's something that is really difficult... it depends on certain offices with that first look but then when the person meets you and discuss with you and know that you are working in certain place, then the attitude changes and behavior changes because they know then who you are. It's a little bit difficult that you always have to give an explanation that you are 'different from other foreigners.'..... The question is that kind of behavior you always face, that kind of problem starts sometimes to affect the morale of the person if it is recurrent.... (Yussef).

Because in Syria, family life and social life in general is strong, when somebody in the street needs help, you just go directly and help him. As the first experience when I did the same in Finland, the person to whom I went to help was worried that I might rob him. Because I'm a foreigner, he thought that maybe I'll take his money or something else.... Also, people grow up and learn to live independently; you must do everything by yourself. You must solve your problems by your own. This is a value.... it's not easy to change and it takes time (Monaim).

Well, it is quite normal. I just forget that I am an African and a red-skinned woman, that's all. Sometimes, I hear some bell rings that you will always be an African. But this is felt just few times. There are some racists but very few and especially when it concerns women. A male foreigner might meet problems but not women... (Warda).

The dynamics which develop within the social fabric are called *social mobility*, which Sorokin (1927, p. 133) defines as, 'any transition of an individual or social object of value from one social position to another.' Social mobility is divided into a *vertical* and a *horizontal* dimension. The former implies the forms of ascending or descending the social ladder of economic, political, and occupational participation, while the latter refers to the transition or shifting of an individual from one social group to another without change in its vertical level (Morgan *et al.*, 2006). Despite their social mobility, many respondents express their worries about the way they are perceived outside in the streets and other public spaces and the only safe haven for them seem their workplace or the family circle. Bourdieu (1990a, p. 133) contends objects of the social world might be seen and expressed in various ways due to differing degree of objective uncertainty which is enhanced by the effect of categorisation. In a study done in Finland, Pyrhönen and Creutz-Kamppi (2010) indicate that confirmation prejudice on minorities, such as in the media and literature on implicit attitudes, may support stereotypes, and unconscious connections might culminate in biased behaviour even when the person overtly holds attitudes of equality. Categorization and stereotype as social behaviour tend to be easily internalised but inclusiveness does not.

Bourdieu (1990a, p. 137) states that 'to change the world, one has to change the ways of making the world, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced.' The discussion here concerns the dimension of space formed by lifestyles, values, attitudes and conceptions (see Bergman, 1998). Stamm and Colleagues (2003) differentiate between the concept of difference which is implicit to social stratification, and inequality which refers to the institutionalized access to goods and resources. Ethnic identity, for instance, does not necessarily lead to a higher or lower income *per se*. Income differences are usually founded on socially constructed and institutionalized inequality structures. Inequality involves two interlinked

conceptual levels: socio-economic inequality which includes welfare and social stratification; political and cultural inequality which relates to issues related to citizenship, governance and social justice, and thus implies issues of multicultural and collective identity (*ibid.*). As mentioned earlier, the respondents as labour force and members of society enjoy institutional and social equality rights set by law as all members of society. Yet, from the accounts given in their narratives, it seems full social membership and participation need time and endeavours to change the 'social world' they are living in. In fact, as Bergman (1998) suggests, the notion of social inclusion (or exclusion) is the fusion between socio-economic and political inequality structures and dynamics.

The brief discussion above may indicate the conditions and position of social groups and their members which constitute part of the dynamics of their experiences involving social inclusion, equality and participation at the social, cultural, and political levels. Yet, the important influence of individual and structural conditions yields a large range of differences between the respondents' positioning in different social spaces where they act and interact with various social groups according to their subjective career experiences. Their accounts provide a spectre of views on their social interaction and participation within mainstream society in social spaces. For some respondents, the question of social participation falls within the realm of international communities' members to make efforts to social involvement, and for others the social space needs to be reproduced in such a way to be more inclusive and less socially hierarchical on the ground of cultural differentiation:

.... One thing which Arabs are missing when they come here is ... you have to understand the 'Other' in order to be associated with them, you have to understand your neighbours, you have to understand the community... It is fundamental and you have to try to adapt to the mainstream society where you live.... If you don't associate with these people, it is not because of them but, in my opinion, it is because of you that you don't understand them..... (Khalid).

... Because I'm an Arab and I come from another country and have another religion and integrated into the host society and its culture, there are many things I give that may be beneficial in the field of my work. I'd like to develop more and put together the ideas which I mentioned in the lectures about the ways to deal with Arab women. This might be an important thing for students because now we are becoming more and more a global village as gradual number of foreigners enters the country... (Meryem).

Well, you meet difficulties everywhere and all of your life. One of the serious hardships is that if you don't integrate within society you will always remain rejected and marginalized. Finns like those who come and consider themselves like them, work and strive for living like them and study and learn in the same way as them. Even if you bring with you 30 thousand diplomas from your native country, if you don't study in this country and graduate from here, they will not consider your level of competency and performance... (Warda).

We have to get involved into social life here and learn a lot about society and get free education. You may find yourself different in appearance and culture, but you will acquire how to socialize within society and learn from it, which allow you to get the best out of your experience. Why can't we give them all that is positive about us. If they are not ready to be responsive with us, we need to do more efforts to introduce our culture.... and we wish that we would not be looked upon as under (second) class citizens doing low-skilled jobs... (Malak).

The question of socio-cultural adjustment of the respondents is said to constitute one major issue which restrain social interaction outside the workplace for some, while most of the social contacts they enjoy is limited to the spaces of workplace and family circle if they have Finnish spouses. The

social ties then look much weak within mainstream society. The majority have limited social circle of interaction within the family members or workplace. They also seem to give more of their time to their career mobility (see chap 2, 3). This might explain the tendency of their reduced social activities and informal interaction with natives:

... We have good contact with them [my wife's family]. We have sometimes trips abroad together, it is normal... [Concerning ethnic community], not too much. This is related to my own personality and my own mistakes. I think I hadn't free time, because I feel that every minute must be given to my research field. I was even more productive than now. I have something to do in my field. It's not the others' mistake; it's my own (Monaim).

Outside the circle of work, due to little interaction with people, I cannot give a true and just opinion and evaluation. But based on some individual experiences of acquaintances that had much interaction with natives, the thing is that language plays an important role and if you know it well, it will help you in getting much involved easily in interaction with Finns... (Ali).

.... Especially after my divorce with my ex-wife, I wanted to detach myself from social contacts more than being much open. I just interact with society on the basis of the necessities needed for me at professional and family levels, the things which make life easier. But concerning making friendship or exchanging visits in leisure time, I restricted them to my concern for and issues on the Arab community here... We regularly meet once every two weeks at least and sometimes once a week if possible (Jawad).

Well both [family-related and work-related] because I'm married to a Finn and I live in a Finnish community... then my work was also Finnish academic and many of my students used to be foreigners... I used to have more contact with foreign students actually.... I do have quite a lot of friends either Finns or foreigners... At this age and with my experience, the number of friends is more limited, and the nearest person or friend I have now is a French friend that I know for almost 40 years (Abid).

It appears that international mobility and migration of people with different positions and dispositions coming from around the globe has produced new forms of global complexities and inequality. These forms are defined by such things as an individual lifestyle and identity dynamics. This horizontal diversification has led to an increase in heterogeneity within social stratification studies (e.g. variations in attitudes, opinions and values and behaviour in the same status level) (Schulze, 2005). Social differentiation produces and reproduces dynamic forms of inequality due to concrete placement within social space as well as vertical and horizontal social mobility. In the literature, mobility and migration studies highlight the idea that the 'world is on the move' (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 207) with different categories of mobile people, including HSPs with various ethnic-cultural origins, worldviews, values and lifestyles. The literature has produced new questions and methodological tools to handle the dynamics between mobility/migration and society. The study here has the task to develop a socio-analysis as theoretical and methodological approach to explore opportunities and vulnerabilities of spatial and career mobility of the respondents as individuals and as HSPs. Mobility forms and reforms social life more generally as Urry (2007, p. 47) states, because social interaction depends on the ability to adjust to the new social space. The ability to keep social interaction with others (e.g. friends, family, and colleagues) enables agents to maintain their social capital. At a micro-level, attitudes, opinions and values also contribute to or are linked to social stratification. Flamm and Kaufmann (2006, p. 168) mention that 'sociological analysis today can no longer function without an in-depth analysis of the role of mobility in social integration and its implication in terms of social differentiation, or even exclusion.' It seems interesting, from this

angle, to consider social inclusion and participation, and the instrumental role of social capital, if acquired, in the respondents' career and spatial mobility.

Inclusion, social capital and trust

In conceptualizing the *social world*, the nature of the concept of social capital has led to its use within various disciplines and for various aims and in various contexts by integrating theories and perspectives from political economics and sociology, two previously distinct social science traditions (Kovalainen, 2004). The elasticity and fluidity of social capital as a concept provides various definitions revolving around social relations and economic structures (Lin, 2001). The concept refers to the ensembles of norms, networks and institutions through which these ensembles have access to particular parts like power, inequality or resources and are attained. The importance of *social capital* is in providing a partial understanding of how social relationships and societies work. Different theoretical affiliations are evident as they consider it from various angles considering two divergent sociological traditions. These involve functionalist perspective which draws on the works of Putnam (2000) and critical approach of Bourdieu (1986), showing a dynamic between integration and inequality models (Siisiäinen, 2000; Holland, 2007). Besides, Coleman (1990, p. 302) spots the concept in the space between social structure and agency, between and among individuals, lurking within the structure of social relationships. Still, Putnam (2000) thinks society consists of communities and families, networks of friends and colleagues, while trust, values and reciprocity are basic constituents of relationships and sustain connections that link societies. Thus, social capital is seen as instigator of social cohesion and effective social inclusion in society.

Bourdieu (1986) conceptualises it from a critical viewpoint by focusing on social construction of its content (Fine, 2001, p. 13) and the significance of the social and material contexts in which resources (economic, social and cultural) are generated or limited by social systems (Edwards *et al.*, 2003). Bourdieu uses the concept to explain the way structural inequalities function (Portes, 1998). Critics see it as missing the point (Fine, 2001), though his conceptualisation is viewed important to critics of Putnam as it highlights the power relations aspect of the concept (Siisiäinen, 2000). Yet, Harper (2001) thinks it difficult to adapt aspects of social capital theory such as trust and reciprocity into concrete observable categories for research aims. Yet, the similarity between them is their social and economic consideration in explaining social capital. Coleman (1988) considers social capital manifested in three forms: (i) obligations and expectations dependent on trust to ensure returns for those obligations, (ii) the information acquired from social contacts, and (iii) effective norms and sanctions which enhance or restrain individual agency.

Trust as a notion beside social capital have received significant importance in different fields and become strong influence in social and economic growth analysis, social cohesion and change in societies (Lin, 2001). Trust, as a conceptual constituent of social capital, received much interest in sociology for its importance at the level of social interaction and the interplay between individual agency and social structures (Misztal, 1996). Coleman (1988) stresses the importance of relationships which enable individuals to trust each others, whereas Putnam and colleagues (1993, pp. 163-85) consider the individual-level trust enables institutions to function properly, and the source for

cohesion, voluntariness and reciprocity in society. Trust, when manifested, increases and becomes important for creating an interconnected, inclusive and balanced community where support, reciprocity, civic engagement and collective well-being predominate (Coleman, 1988). Yet, a lack of trust can possibly have negative effect, creating a vicious circle in society as distrust, absence of the norms of reciprocity, exclusion, and disconnection, which might culminate in a non-civic society (Siisiäinen, 2000).

The framework of trust in social capital theory conceptually links individual/social action and social structure (Kovalainen, 2005). It also accounts for the significance of looking at the social world as a space of order and consensus in the presence of trust, norms and reciprocity. Thus, trust can be a means to build relation between the individual agent and collective interests embodied in social relationships (Tonkiss, 2000). The study here is based on Bourdieu's theorizing, though it partly considers the significant import brought by Coleman and Putnam. Putnam and Coleman's theorising on social capital in its collective meaning, being built on trust, norms and networks adds significant understanding in the mechanisms of group membership and affiliation in social fields. However, how could one account for processes of inclusion (or exclusion) within a homogeneous society in relations between culturally referent majority group and minority dominated groups in Bourdieu's sense? Dominant group usually defines the legitimate modes of action, criteria for membership, the meaning of common interests, and objectives of the social group. Is it possible that social capital as a collective asset is acquired by those who have social relations, educational and professional attainments and refined lifestyle? Or are there some required elements for acquiring it to the benefits of individuals? The section answer the question of how different forms of capital are used in relation to social participation and interaction as practiced and viewed by the respondents?

Personal contacts and professional network:

The level of social connectedness seems very important in social capital for Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) though it is part of symbolic power. He defines social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.' His formulation stresses that benefits accumulate for individuals through their accumulation of other forms of capital via networks (*ibid.*). However, Coleman defines social capital as a collective good, which makes it impossible to understand the way the difference in individuals' social and cultural power influences their appropriation of resources and returns through social connections, education, style and taste (Bourdieu, 1996). Discussing social capital involves a HSP social strife to gain and develop social and professional networks, trust, reciprocity, social status, norms and social closure/affiliation. The importance of social networks and their effectiveness in social action is determined by the structure of social, cultural and economic fields in which they are embedded. The structure of academic field for some respondents as researchers imposes limitations and opens up opportunities for them to undertake their activities to attain their expectations and interests. The existence of networks, trust, norms or participation could not be imagined without the existence of different interests and expectations among agents who own, use, distribute and preserve the forms of social capital (Sabour, 2011, p. 158). Through their social relationships, some students could get enrolled in

Finnish universities, get research position in some postdoctoral projects or be recruited in some institutions such as healthcare centers and hospitals or multinational Corporates (see chap 2):

... One of the opponents in my PhD defence told me about a position available if I was interested in it for my post-doctorate research. Once he gave me the name of the Professor in charge, I knew him by name as we met once in one congress. He is well-known in the field... Then I went to the University of Hamburg... It was a very nice opportunity for me to work with famous persons in the field and also to make this networking. You start to know people working in Finland and to get very good contact with them... (Safaa).

I came here [Finland] directly for work as I applied for a job. I had already some information about the country because one old friend of mine was married to a Finnish woman and he mentioned that opportunities of work here are available. But this was not the only factor. It was another colleague who studied with us in Holland. He was Finnish and I asked him about the conditions of work in Finland. He encouraged me to come here as he was very helpful and friendly indeed... There was another person who came here before me. He was among the students we knew in Holland. Through him, I started looking for a job and I applied for one and then started working here ... (Jawad).

I had a chance to study in France once, but when some Finnish acquaintances of my family told me that the field is of very good quality in Finland, I decided to come here and study it. I applied to both France and Finland, but I got the positive answer from Finland earlier and so I decided to move here. I actually didn't want to come here at first (Malak).

Professional networking play important role in the mobility/migration experiences of the respondents though for many of them they triggered self-initiated moves to Finland in their early career stage (see chap 2). The presence of bilateral conventions between institutions of the native or host countries of respondents and Finland seem untenable or even absent with the exception of those whose departure countries are within the EU space. The respondents who own cultural capital, i.e. qualifications, intercultural competence, and language competence) seem to be more comfortably positioned in social spaces as they master Finnish language, know about the local culture beside their highly valued qualifications if earned in the EU or OECD spaces. For the respondents with weak cultural capital, they have recourse to strategies enacted by their Finnish spouses as a means for symbolic empowerment (cultural, economic and social capitals), and for acceptance and penetration in different social spaces to surmount cultural distance and institutional barriers in Finnish society and to enter local labour market.

Family ties and marriage as symbolic capital

In a social space, agents acquire specific positions depending on social background, ethnic origin, educational and occupational attainments, and their high-skills and educational input. An agent's position may be changing according to conditions and events. The importance of social contacts and professional networks is critical in accumulating and using other forms of capital, while those who appear to lack these two elements have recourse to family support (e.g. Finnish wife and family) as symbolic form of capital. Some respondents acknowledge the difficulties encountered in penetrating social spaces which involve various genres of strategies used for recognition, reputation and receptiveness in mainstream society. The social structures of social spaces are built in a way that makes penetration and social interaction with natives seem obstructed by the closed nature of Finnish society in culturally diverse settings where cultural distance seems to hover in the space.

Some have recourse to additional efforts to legitimise their acceptance and presence in different social spaces by instrumentalizing their social capital from their Finnish spouses or their cultural capital (e.g. professional network, position). Their socio-economic status sometimes is one way to gain social legitimation and trust, and as a strategy of distinction from other immigrants in society (see previous section). There is a tendency for some married with Finnish natives to build social ties with natives through family circle:

My wife is a Finn We came to Finland [from Dubai] with a plan to stay for one year, to give Finnish language education to my daughter. On the other side, I knew about my field in Finland since 1964 and since 1975 I was in touch with Dr X ... His research was based on tests made by my lecturer Dr Y. Thus, in 1975, with X, we found out that we have some common background in our field. Also in 1975, through Professor X, I got to know a young researcher who was about to defend his thesis in the next year, Emeritus Professor A (Monaim).

... I did leave Morocco because my parents were diplomats. They went to Holland and then Sweden. So I lived with them. Then I started studying in France.... (Mourad).

In 2000, I finished my medical studies in Saint-Petersburg and I left Russia to Ghana, in Africa, where I joined my parents and two brothers who were living there. My father was a surgeon and my mother was midwife. My father ... informed about the lack of health-care doctors in Ghana and so I joined there. I started working in urban areas with *Medecins sans Frontière*, a French organization in 2001 (Mohamed).

Perhaps, society here is a bit strange for them [foreigners] and this doesn't help them much. We have talked about all positive things in Finland but then there is a reality that Finnish society is difficult and doesn't accept 'strangers' easily. You should have extra energy to make them accept you and change their mind. This is also a pressure on us (Meryem).

The support of family members is then important in career mobility (international mobility experience) and social interaction for respondents. The native spouses usually use their social relationships to get informational or symbolic support to attain some basic benefits for the respondents (e.g. benefits of citizenship entitlement, social contacts). They link the use of social, cultural and symbolic capitals they have for better prospects for the respondents. Nevertheless, it seems that the symbolic capital through social and cultural capitals does not, in effect, enhance their social positioning concerning symbolic power relations in social space due to the social categorization between natives and non-natives, and despite their attempt in using their dispositional distinction as HSPs and legitimacy in the workplace. The subjective and objective values levelled to the accumulated forms of capital are perceived differently by the natives. Though, many have objective symbolic power because of the legitimated features within these forms of capital, many of them have less social interaction and contacts in the 'social world' with natives outside the workplace or family circle. It seems the symbolic (institutional, emotional and moral) and material support their Finnish spouses have would not alone break through the social boundaries in the ways they are perceived and received out there in unfamiliar social space where their social cognition and recognition are missing. The majority seems to socialize with those they are familiar with (e.g. colleagues, peer-group researchers):

I do have friends outside my working field, I do have from my field of work where we used to meet outside work, at home as they come to visit us and we go to visit them. In my old place actually there were mostly Finns, I don't know why, probably due to absence of foreigners also. ...I interact with any

kind of nationalities no matter what religion, colour, height and weight that person has. I had a lot of foreign friends (Mohamed).

When I was in Turku during my studies in my first work period, it was different, we were studying at the same university, and we built a network of friends from the university. So even when we finished university studies, we still met.... So the interaction we used to have is gatherings all the time, so it was easy to build trust, it was built for two years. So we went out having dinners all the time and people were more receptive. We got adapted to each other and we knew each other (Yussef).

'Struggles' in society between social groups entail struggles for acquiring, strengthening and conserving different assets including social relations, group solidarity and social closure through social actions and interactions among members of society. It is, yet, important to contextualise them in its specific social space as Sabour (2011, p. 159) states 'a historically and structurally constituted social space makes possible the determination and the comprehension of the agents' position in this space as well as the degree of power, respectability, and influence they have at their disposal.' The specific social spaces consist of an ensemble of shared identifications and loyalties of agents, their social cohesion and affinities, oppositions and differences in social membership. Social space imposes on its agents certain patterns of perceptions, reception, and expectations, which also pertain to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. In other words, it involves cultural compatibility and social proximity, which create conditions for the agent's empowerment or alienation. Beside these 'structured structures,' the 'structuring structures' of the individual agent involved in the social space with dispositional attitudes and aptitudes in developing social contacts and interaction and appropriate its benefits are elemental here. Social participation within mainstream society and labour market integration need to be seen as materialised features of social equality, enhanced opportunities and reduced vulnerabilities. The importance of social capital here requires its elements of trust, reciprocity, respect, empathy, commitment and imbued cultural diversity in the social spaces of interaction.

Trust, reciprocity and respect

The positional dimension of trust can be identified as degree of respect and reputation an agent holds in a social space. The dispositional dimension involves honesty, accountability and reliability, while the dimension of trust in the space rests in *savoir-faire* and skills in social and civic interaction (Sabour 2011, p. 159). According to Putnam (2000), dense networks of horizontal interactions among relative equals such as colleagues in the workplace generate the norms of reciprocity, and create a culturally positive environment for social interaction and cooperation between participants (see above). Social and occupational position of an individual might also result in social capital for ideal social relations based on trust and reciprocity. Social capital, in terms of social networks, trust, acculturation in the social space (norms, rules, values) seems elemental according to the respondents' accounts on the importance of social interaction with natives in social integration. The individual practices in different social spaces in society demand cognition and recognition of different agents, mostly natives, in social spaces belonging to them, while formal and informal social contacts are important in social interaction and participation. Some respondents aspire to construct relationships based on mutual trust and to gain receptiveness, respect and social recognition as members of society though, as they maintain, it is a hard endeavour to take.

... To tell you the truth, I took this from them as an advantage. We hear that they are racists and so on. But once they know you so well and know who you are, they just take you as one of them. This is indeed one thing they have. Yet, usually you find the factor of being a foreigner apparent in their dealings with foreigners. Certainly a foreigner is a foreigner whatever happens and for always... (Warda).

.... At work, I have good relationship and I'm the only foreigner working there. Maybe I have some characteristic in my personality, I know how to deal with them and I'm very active with them because I like my job.... This affects me a lot because they are very nice with me because I respect my job and they are good with me. I know how to interact with them and I have no problems in this regard. Frankly, I'm very comfortable with them (Meryem).

I think respect is very important. I think you have to respect and be humble as well, that's important in Finnish society, humble, straightforward and honest.... We don't hype things or blow things out of proportion and this is also very important... Stick to the facts, present yourself, be factual of what you do, do it the right way. I think this is what you should be doing in Finnish society.... and also we don't have a corrupt culture in Finland, to some degree. I think this is also very valued to us. We know the set of procedures one has to follow, this is your role in society and this is what you have to contribute (Idris).

Here, it is very difficult to gain Finnish respect and trust, but once you gain it, if you prove yourself, things will go easier for you, because you don't gain it easily. They always look at you as a foreigner with suspect, as a suspect. They are always suspecting something unless they see that you are really capable of ..., that someday they will accept you within. Then, once they accept you, you will not have problems (Mohamed).

Putnam (2000) maintains networks of civic participation are the ways to the burgeoning of social capital and norms of reciprocity. He further position women and men according to their natural social order in various social spaces such as the home, civic association, or sport association. Some subjects participate in associative activities themselves or get involved through their children to build spaces of social interaction with Finns (e.g. Sabah, Safaa, Redouane, Meryem, Khalid). It is argued that setting of mutual trust creates a 'bank of resources' which might be utilized to support various organizations and initiatives (Deakin, 2001, p. 71) and which is liable to be 'self-enforcing and cumulative' (Putnam *et al.*, 1993, p.37). Baier (1995) mentions that, in a trust relationship something will be entrusted to others and that trust involves opportunity for power relations. Yet, in a trust situation, negative outcomes might occur even in contexts where members of the same social group or network share the same norms. Few respondents mention having social contacts with Finnish colleagues outside the workplace, whereas the majority keeps social ties with co-national or co-ethnic members in Finland to varying degrees. Further, Raunio's study (2003) demonstrates friendship and acquaintance are hard to build owing to the small size of foreign-born communities. An important marked differentiation, between Finnish and a foreign culture, in social contact is also underlined claiming Finns to be unfamiliar with international communities and intercultural diversity in general.

A degree of inclusion and trust might develop through time within a group of colleagues who share similar workplace and professional identity despite their cultural and ethnic differentiations (e.g. Yussef, Safaa, Nabil, Ahmed). The shared practices, work experiences and socio-political structures may bridge mainstream culture and community with the international worker community through time, especially for early-career HSPs. Language proficiency makes it easier to socialize and connect

with host society in a social space. The improvement of linguistic ability increases with practice and socialization with natives of host society. There are various reasons why respondents would invest effort or not to learn and speak Finnish language depending on their social (presence of Finnish spouse) and professional situation (language requirement at work). Family responsibilities, temporary nature of stay or lack of time may also be reasons for investing time and effort to learn language. One similar factor shared by the majority in this respect is that their children assimilate to mainstream society and experience much acceptance of the local culture and language than their parents (e.g. organizations, school, peers, and social activities). The negative repercussion of the tendency to exclusion or 'self-exclusion' among minorities in social space goes unchallenged as this has become *natural* and *normal* in overt institutionalization and covert codes of conduct (Abrams *et al.*, 2004). Some respondents expressed their career paths have met a couple of stigmas regardless of their level of social integration (acculturating language, cultural habits and social interactions), as Bergman & Chalkley (2007) maintain that social labels cannot easily be shed once they are practiced.

5.5 SPACE, INCLUSION OR SOCIO-CULTURAL EXCLUSION?

Mobility and migration are thought to be a powerful drive of social stratification (Larsen *et al.*, 2006) but, nonetheless, much mobility does not necessarily mean embodied position of power within a social space. Mobility/migration paradigm emphasizes this stand of taking into account together various relational factors in social analysis. Settlement in a convenient space can be regarded as a privilege and an expression of a powerful social position (Weiss, 2005, p. 714). Yet, it can also be a space of forms of struggle and inequality. Bauman argues how 'escape becomes now the name of the most popular game in town' (in Jacobsen *et al.*, 2007, p. 152). The metaphor of 'escape' evidences how, 'people operating the levers of power on which the fate of the less volatile partners in the relationship depends can at any moment escape beyond reach – into sheer inaccessibility ... The prime technique of power is now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance' (Bauman, 2000, p. 11). An important element for any human sociality is that individuals gather and interact openly, particularly in a mobile world inhabited by 'strangers.' Bauman (2006), yet, thinks the ancient art of meeting strangers is gradually fading in a stratified society wherein individuals insulate and isolate themselves in 'gated communities.' He names this situation as 'mismatching' to highlight how avoiding social interaction creates a 'realm of non-engagement, of emotional void, inhospitable to either sympathy or hostility; an uncharted territory, stripped of signposts; a wild reserve inside the life-world' (Bauman, 1993, p. 154).

Instead of social encounters, people might opt for strategies of isolation and exclusion in daily experience of social encounters - strategies that could be sustained not by hostility but indifference and distancing. According to Bauman (1993), spatial and moral proximity can enhance and sustain each other. Therefore, instead of considering others as 'an alien Other,' they are seen as functionalities for daily life pursuits or even as nuisances, threats or maybe objects to be avoided. In interpersonal human relationships, solidarity and love, a mindset of 'something for something' is omnipresent (Bauman, 2003). Bourdieu, as mentioned before, speaks about the individual's *habitus* which forms affinities and disaffinities with the structural relations, or fields, which surround them (1990a, p. 128-9), such forms as association and dissociation, visions and divisions, election and

selection among members of the same social group or between different groups. What characterizes the global stratum of mobile people is their '*exterritorial*' status, they are not *of* the space to where they move but they are merely *in* it (Bauman, 2003). Despite degrees of possible transitory socio-cultural homesickness, they may move on to where their aspirations and expectations lead them.

Finland has remained a homogeneous society due to historical, geographical and economic factors, with a small rate of non-native community originating mainly from neighbouring countries (Sabour, 1999, p. 219). Finland is an unconventional destination for foreign labour migrants and HSPs as well. Why would an international HSP consider moving to Finland? International community of students and knowledge workers is small but increasing in the country, especially in the southern and south western parts where major big cities are located. Individuals with ethnic visibility are easily discerned in formal and informal social spaces. Finland is probably an unlikely destination for those so-called high-skilled 'globetrotters' with distinct physical visibility from the 'South' or 'East' than in so-called immigration countries. Their ethnic visibility and cultural distance might render their social positioning vulnerable as a result and sometimes jeopardise their full social inclusion. In some informal but unfamiliar social encounter in a social space, some subjects describe the curiosity of Finns when meeting them with some three recurrent questions related to country of origin, the reasons for being in Finland and duration of stay.

A recurrent statement from some respondents related to their personality growth and acculturation process is their self-identification as 'transnational' (see next chap). Such expressions as "international atmosphere" and "workers from different countries in the same place" relate to the social space of work being international and diversity-friendly. This somehow counterbalances the generally alleged feeling many describe about mainstream society as insular social atmosphere, lacking 'social life' and 'warm social interactivity'. There might be some reasons behind this attitude which accounts for their seeming 'social life malaise' though, as they describe, the social world in the workplace being international space of relief, disembedded from the surroundings in the social world outside. It is argued that people who are impelled to move are more vulnerable. Away from their support networks, they are more exposed to symbolic violence, stigma and exclusion (Rice & Mullen, 2004). The question of inclusion is Other-oriented behaviour that involves mutual social interaction and accommodation. Trux (2002) mentions that many foreign-born HSPs have the tendency to mix with their co-nationals for socialization using their mother-tongue, or else with transnational peer workers, using English as a *lingua franca*. In Finland, Koskela (2010) advances that the category of foreign HSPs tends to experience similar outcomes in general:

... For sure, there is contact [with people from ethnic background].... Of course, it is much easier to get in touch and having activities with people of the same origin or same background... once every month or every second months [we meet], that's how possible it is (Chafiq).

I also have contacts with some nationals from my native country and other Arabs... Well, it is mainly exchange of visits and because my wife is an Arab, I have some connection with Arab community (Toufiq).

... We have a small community here. We sometimes meet and I have friends mostly from my country of origin. Hopefully, they all came at the same period as I came here, actually from the same background and we discuss and exchange same ideas and subjects.... Sometimes [we meet] once a week and sometimes twice a week.... (Ali).

... That's the main social gathering and also the main backup when there is a problem. You know, when you face some kind of social problems, when there is some kind of monotony in your work, you need to open your heart and talk with someone. It's easier when you have someone from your own ethnic background. It's easier to talk to them than to talk with Finns. It's some kind of social support when you are living abroad We talk on the phone almost every day... [and we meet] I think about once or twice a week... (Yussef).

Bourdieu considers capital as important concept to analyse processes of social bias because it mediates between the objective position within the social structure and the individual's subjective agency with this reality. In Bourdieu's theory, culture is a resource that individuals or groups reproduce and accumulate in symbolic power relations. In other words, culture is an intensive productive, reproductive and interactive process in society, which gives cultural structures in the form of symbols, norms, scripts, traditions, and subsequently the practice of these structures shapes the activities and lifestyles of society (Sabour, 1999, p. 223). When a possessed capital is recognized, it is a symbolic capital 'when it is known through the categories of perception it imposes' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 21). The values, norms, features and traditions of the majority group become normative and 'taken for granted' while other social groups that do not share them are excluded, and consequently are stripped from the privileges of in-group membership in some social spaces. Symbolic capital thus forms the basis of symbolic power, the power to give absolute value to a certain perspective. The minority groups may react to this 'social reality' by using strategies in the acculturation process through assimilation of majority's values and worldview, integration into society (embracing the culture and values of in-group and maintaining theirs) or separation process in the form of 'self-exclusion' from mainstream culture while reinforcing their culture of origin (Sebatier & Berry, 2008).

The degree of open and inclusive interactivity differs between people but the social dominance orientation may still hover around among the referent dominant group, thinking superiority of their group is normal and correct (Bourdieu, 1990a; Pratto & Lemieux, 2001), but then pre-existing stereotypes are still a challenge. A consequent outcome would be the feeling of stigmatization, marginalization and covert or overt socio-cultural exclusion due to lack of recognition, or 'misrecognition,' of their aptitudes, values, culture and lifestyle within local mainstream culture. The structural and cultural features of inclusion involve the attitudes and ideology of social systems toward the acceptance and expression of difference. The forms of capital (social, cultural, symbolic) have power through the recognized value in the social space individuals give it (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990a), which are directly influencing the nature and characteristics of social interactions between dominant and dominated groups in a constant dynamic restructuring of individual and social relations on ways of being, thinking and acting. Members of minorities might sense estrangement due to the closed nature of socio-cultural networking among the majority, and thus potential covert systematic exclusion in the strategies of natives in social interaction in informal social spaces. The process might lead dominated group members to seek a strategy of self-defense through a process of self-exclusion and a recovery of cultural identities (Berry *et al.*, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2006).

Jobst and Skrobanek (2010, p. 464) indicate in their study on self-exclusion and cultural differentiation, using Bourdieu's theory of capital, that 'what seems like the migrants' 'adherence' to their specific culture is not reluctance to integrate or their lagging behind the demands of modern

Western societies, but an expression of dealing with experiences of social exclusion from this society- although there is by now plenty of empirical evidence of this correlation.’ This section would look at the subjective perception of the respondents of what seems to be a deviation, using Bourdieu’s term, in social interaction with members of mainstream society and other minorities. The lived social world for them can be touched at both their spatial and structural conditionality. Further, forms of capital can be used to analyse respondents’ social involvement in social spaces and their structural embedding within society. Some studies have given new contentions to ‘subcultural capital’ in analysing these forms of capital that are unrecognised in symbolic struggle, by showing ‘the constructive counter-stance to the dominant culture (Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Jobst & Skrobanek, 2010).

Following Bourdieu, a minority group would find itself in a paradoxical situation that can result in conflict between their socio-cultural origin and practices and the social reality lived in the ‘social world.’ They cannot internalise totally the standards of dominant culture without devaluing the standards of their specific culture. Another social reality they might experience is social closure as its members are perceived as originating from an unfavourable cultural milieu devoid from symbolic power in informal social space to which they are unfamiliar. This paradoxical situation then is self-exclusion in the sense of Bourdieu. This tendency would undeniably lead to a kind of cultural disqualification of the minority group (Hagendoorn, 1993; in Sabour, 1999, p. 223). It has been argued that relationships between dominant and dominated social groups are quite complex since the cultures, lifestyles, worldviews, and values usually seem different between social groups with distinct cultural origins. For some, these repercussions would be met by a process of individual self-exclusion as a reaction to in-group socio-cultural exclusion which intensifies the disconnectedness between these social groups. The process can be labelled as *cultural differentiation*, the more intensely the constraints to assimilate into the dominant culture are felt, or the less successful the efforts to assimilate prove to be due to structural constraints. As argued earlier, the degree of social and cultural proximity between both mainstream society and minorities affect the extent of assimilation or integration in society (see chap 6).

Part of the social reality lived and perceived by some respondents indicates a kind of social malaise at symbolic level (e.g. stigma, bias, racialized gaze) and at social relational level (e.g. self-exclusion) with the subjective representations of dominant group members. Processes of differentiation may intensify owing to the negative consequences involved for personal and social identity because members of a minority group are disappointed about absence of aspired for and expected accesses and recognition (Berry *et al.*, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2006). Hence, it is possible that a negative reciprocity results from a failure with active differentiation (Berry *et al.*, 2006) and resistance to symbolic social exclusion (i.e. social closure, distancing and indifference) in a form of social disconnectedness from mainstream society (Sabour, 1999, p. 222). Cultural self-exclusion is said to be a deliberate exit from the space of dominant culture by quitting social and cultural participation or identification with that culture for various reasons such as individual choice, social pressures or cultural alienation or disruptive personal experience (*ibid.*, 225). Further, it might be the result of apprehensive feeling toward assimilation with mainstream culture and values and a tendency to

maintain one's cultural identity. The immigration experiences of minorities are usually imbued and influenced with symbolic structures in relation with the majority group:

Being negative and inactive exactly creates a feeling of hate from the part of natives since one abuses of the system. This is not tolerable. How long can they tolerate this? Well, I work and pay tax while another one is inactive and profit from that tax money! Is this right? ... There are possibilities for all ages to access education, not like in Algeria (Malak).

... These experiences you feel them and sense its [prejudice] odour passing by you and so affect your being simply because you are a foreigner. If you were not so, these would not have existed. Yet, I always fight these things, and I don't let it go by easily. I had to stop this kind of behaviour, because if you close your eyes, much worse things would happen to you if you let it go.... [This may happen in the workplace] but sometimes outside work like in the bus or in the street (Kamal).

.... You don't need to do anything, but don't boycott them [Finns]. You don't need to do everything they do but don't create obstacle. If you want to live in a society, as a Lebanese old proverb saying, 'if you are living in a community forty days, you have to be like them or better quit.' (Khalid).

... An educated person is very sensitive to things which look less sharp to another person who might feel differently to these behaviours. That's why there are things which a person experience may be more personal than professional or organizational, and which also remain in mind. Perhaps, for this reason that I have become gradually isolated from Finnish society. I was previously living in a region where I participated in some activities targeting intercultural encounter between foreigners and Finnish society.... I decided to isolate myself from direct interactions with society in one way or another (Jawad).

The respondents' narrative stories represent their perceptions on questions pertaining to degree of social participation in formal and informal spaces in relation to their cultural and social identity. Their perceptions fluctuate according to their idiosyncratic individual *habitus* and experiences, and between the feelings some have of uncertainty and frustration about their family life future for those with degree of religiosity and the sense of security for others within the welfare regime system in the country. Yet, the majority tends to epitomize the kind of positive social inclusion (institutional, social, and occupational) during their stay in Finland as international HSPs (see sections above). Their experience of the Finnish society and culture is coloured with positive and negative undertones and understandings. Their ethnic visibility covers their attempts to social assimilation or integration with differing degree of uncertainty about social integration within society. Few respondents indicate their experiences of informal social encounter where Finns do not know them usually have the kind of boundaries related to apprehension, unwelcome, insecurity, and mistrust. In the culture, Finns need long lapse of time to trust significant others, either Finns or non-Finns. Furthermore, the majority of respondents show weak social interaction also among their acquaintances from Arab-Muslim community:

I sometimes meet some but very rarely because my work condition doesn't allow me much free time. There is some kind of contacts...It all depends on my work and domestic conditions. There is my sister here in town and another woman from my native country. I don't know many women but with those I know we organize some time for meeting like, for example, important celebration like the Sacrifice.... (Malak).

The social activities decreased a little as we were influenced by Finnish culture (smiling). There are positive and negative sides of it. We have become so much busy as the working day is long and when you go home, you have family duties. So social interaction has become weaker... I like much socialization and I consider it as the one thing which provides a person strength to go on and have

relationships. Social interaction lessened and became simply kind of greeting and meeting in some major celebrations (Amina).

There is interaction but on the phone. There are phone calls every day but having visits, there are not such things. We meet sometimes outside and so we have taken from the character of western society. There is a change..... This is a big influence on the Arabs living here that it becomes difficult to visit someone... Anytime I can welcome anyone who comes for a visit when I come home at the end of the day tired from work (Meryem).

... There is some personal interaction with some Arabs but not really to the expected level. A person usually feels some kind of solitude though it might appear somehow appreciated due to the much work and duties to fulfill. I don't have much time to give for such social interactions if we consider the position I have and intensity of activities I have (Hassib).

Thus, their accounts on the question might appear grim and unpromising for the efforts having been launched since two decades by Finnish state to enhance diversity, accessibility and tolerance within the various components of Finnish society and minorities. Some respondents see the degree of socialisation with Finns disappointing and that is the only negative side-effect in the process of social inclusion. They tend to blame the cultural differentiations between their culture of socialisation and local mainstream culture. Individual social agency is also blamed for some in this social reality as they allude to lack of time for more informal socialisation apart from family circle, or the factor of age as an influence in building informal social contacts and interaction with Finns and co-ethnic group members alike. The majority lives within the confined social circle of the family and believe it is enough as they give much of their time to their career work and the rest to their small family's daily living. Moreover, career and social mobility do not seem to improve their social positioning in unfamiliar social space because they might be seen as ordinary low-skilled immigrants. Some take this tendency as a natural and normal discursive perception if locals are not personally acquainted with them.

Despite the good and friendly atmosphere at the workplace with Finnish colleagues, the degree of social proximity is much restricted within the workplace. Some respondents, as a reaction get involved in social networks of their ethnic community in sort of cultural associations or socialise with international colleagues outside the workplace since they feel themselves more proximate as an international social group. The majority feel this issue quite sensitive one and few respondents show reluctance in interviews to speak about it. Those with outspoken mind mention interaction occurs on daily basis and sometimes reactions from natives make them feel like 'strangers' and 'unwelcome' in informal social spaces. Some respondents report the difficulty to build friendship and social connection with Finns due to attitudes of mistrust and caution toward immigrants in the local culture. Nonetheless, they refer to the habit of distancing present even among Finns in informal socialization (see also Sabour, 1999, p. 241). Some respondents refer to the nature of Finnish culture as reserved and cold due to weak socio-cultural interactivity (e.g. Warda, Ali, Kalam, Hanane) rather than a question of bias. This situation somehow reflects an unequal symbolic power. The respondents appear to resist total assimilation with local culture and values but appreciate full social integration by maintaining their cultural and collective identity (see next chap). This would lead us to the question stirred in receiving immigration countries about their interest in attracting and

retaining foreign-born HSPs but leaving off their cultural background or cultural recognition in the course of promoting culturally diverse context in social spaces.

To conclude, from the narratives of respondents, few respondents would possibly follow a strategy to maintain their cultural and collective identity and ethnic empowerment through symbolic and religious boundaries with mainstream society and culture. This might result in cultural misunderstanding and misconception of cultural values and norms between their group and native society. Sabour (1999, p. 243) mentions that a marginalized group might develop a subculture, or a 'subcultural capital' to alter the bias and stereotypes of the majority into self-preservation and resistance against the dominant group's negative representations. Some immigrants would strongly react to this with strengthening their cultural identity (e.g. Amina, Chafiq, Hanane). As a consequence, this process might intensify into a separation strategy from mainstream culture and society (see next chap). In some European countries, this tendency has led to a weakening or failure in the process of social integration of immigrants in general. Some respondents with strong cultural identification in their *habitus* have expressed frustration about future family life in the country because the cultural distance and symbolic separation from country of origin make them feel culturally alienated and weakened with the fragile socio-cultural proximity with host society. For many, the issue is solely structural, i.e. the problem of Finnish language or lack of time to get involved in informal social interaction.

Social group membership could be defined in terms of civic membership in the future of society rather than national, cultural or ethnic membership. Social interaction and proximity between members of different groups can be reached through such initiatives as policy measures. Yet, Rosenthal & Jacobson (2003) believe mere proximity to different 'others' is not enough to dissipate social and cultural distancing and stereotypes, because the latter might result in engendered dispositions which confirm pre-existing beliefs and conceptions. Thus, promotion of full social inclusion and impeding social exclusion require the involvement of contextual characteristics which lead to increasing positive interaction such as shared interdependent and super-ordinate goals of society at large. Yet, minorities might look with caution at the strengthening of nationalistic identity of natives through their cultural and collective identity. Being aware of the small size of population and the rising number of immigrants living in Finland, part of Finnish society feels apprehension toward cultural diversity as they influence, in the long run, national identity of Finns. The name 'True Finns' of the new populist political party reflects this apprehension that many common people share. The political agenda of this party also indicate the concrete issues such as employment, weakening of social security and welfare, national identity and language that people debate in public or interpersonal spaces (Koikkalainen *et al.*, 2011).

5.6 CONCLUSION: SOCIAL INCLUSION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

This chapter tries to theorize and investigate the contours of the experiential perceptions and understanding of respondents on the question of social inclusion, participation and recognition. The conclusions highlight differentiations between the respondents as each has her/his own unique experienced story to tell. As seen in chapter two, the mobility patterns differ among the subjects and

the question is whether this difference would influence social inclusion, in all its dimensions, into mainstream society. The data show those with multiple mobility experience have acquired strategies for adjustment and integration more easily and effectively than those whose first move was from native country to Finland. Late career stage HSPs might easily learn Finnish language and instrumentalize its importance, have access to information and build social and academic networks with natives through participation in groups, networks and associative activities or events (e.g. Safaa, Mourad, Monaim, Idris) or through their social ties. However, they do not spend much time outside the workplace with their colleagues or acquaintances. Peer workers share one goal: to have positive and rewarding professional experience and expecting upward career mobility. This seems to be undertaken at the expense of informal social interaction and participation, though very few participate in cultural organizations of their ethnic community.

As concerns labour market integration, their narratives indicate the large majority are integrated in their respective fields of work though having undergone various structural procedures towards integration. They are well integrated in specific labour market sectors that are in demand, such as Academic research, healthcare service and engineering, enjoying institutional equality for access to jobs (e.g. Redouane, Hassib, Nabil, Safaa, Jawad, Idris, Yussef). The explanation for this difference is related to their educational and professional attainments prior to entry in Finland (e.g. language proficiency, qualifications and experience, degree equivalence, residence status). They expressed their satisfaction with the work conditions characterised by flexibility, autonomy, and secure rights in their respective occupations. This generally applies to those who earned qualifications and credentials in Finland or other EU countries. They reiterate great autonomy, accountability, and flexibility at work exist, which creates a good work environment. Their transition from temporary to permanent recruitment follows national and supranational regulations implemented in labour market sector, with varying lapse of time and according to the nature of their occupations. For respondents having temporary work, they have met vulnerabilities either because they do not meet the recruitment requirements (e.g. low university degree such as bachelor or master degrees) or non professional reasons.

The majority regards their integration in labour market rewarding and prejudicial features in the workplace seem absent. The majority conceive equality of rights, mutual respect and friendly interaction as the landmark in the workplace and environment. Few respondents have faced structural barriers in employment and a significant outcome when seeking jobs was underemployment and *deskilling*. A combination of factors might be behind this situation according to these cases such as discrimination, degree recognition and lack of employment networks and opportunities (Amal, Monaim, Hanane, Amina). Employment problems for some might be a materialization of lack of credentials recognition, social inequality and sometimes ethnic discrimination. Due to the uniqueness and particularities of their experiences, they report symptoms of bias and stereotyping in the workplace in relation to ethnic-cultural categorization, either in covert, if not overt, manifestation. The accounts given here portray that sometimes ethnic visibility at the individual level affect interaction, not only in the informal social space, but also in the *field* where people work. Few mention instances where they are seen as a threat or a source of insecurity within

competitive field of work, where 'otherness' surfaces in interaction (e.g. Abid, Nabila, Amal, Kamal). The differences between perceptions in the respondents' narratives evidence the significant role feelings and emotion, or individual dispositions, play in defining experiential outlines in their subjective career and process of their labour integration (see Carmel & Cerami, 2011).

A highly significant aspect stressed by the respondents is their view of the space where they work as being more international and diverse, thus possibly enhancing a more interactive and friendly atmosphere between staff members. They do not feel interactive constraints among staff members, which bring forth an effect and spirit of inclusiveness. In fact, ethnicity and nationality as determinants affect the formation of social identity as an international community of HSPs and the degree of receptiveness by locals. For few, social positioning and social inclusion remain questionable in an attempt to get into a society that is seen as closed. The respondents tend to engage more in their occupational life and career mobility and less in penetrating new social spaces. They show a degree of disinclination to participate in social and cultural activities. The majority give most of their time to their professional career life beside their family obligations. They show differences among them in degree of involvement in associative activities within their social group or civic society. In this regard, the question of inclusion needs to be reconsidered and the public and private institutions need to rethink what are the determinants of their social distancing and socio-cultural self-exclusion. It is interesting to see the paradox, in this respect, that majority of these HSPs have propensity to stay permanently in the country though social interaction from within social spaces seems weak. Some respondents conceive Finnish language, customs and belief system as different, building barrier to close interaction in informal fields and outside the workplace.

Concerning socio-cultural inclusion in informal social space, few young researchers in mid-career stage do not master language though they are aware of its importance in the process of social inclusion. For some, language proficiency is a tool to form and strengthen social capital and networks with Finns. Some respondents mention that limited linguistic competence hinders access to important information on the social and political life in Finland and creates distancing in contexts of informal interaction. Moreover, the issue raised by respondents is the existing social closure in Finnish informal social space, where a small ethnic minority usually faces barriers in such an environment. This may result in formation of a 'subculture' and 'subcultural capital' of their own group as a safe haven to face the closed nature of mainstream society and serendipitous but systematic stereotyping occurring sometimes in unfamiliar social spaces to the respondents. One possible consequence is social separation (or exclusion) from society for individual, personal and, for some, cultural reasons. In most cases, a cultural self-exclusion occurs when cultural and interactional distance between both is very large and 'cultural avoidance' is enacted.

Thus, the majority show weak social ties with Finns in informal social space. This becomes exacerbated with the difficulty to decode the modes of social communication with Finns due to cultural differentiations. The respondents, whether married with Finns or not, do not show differences in intensity of social interaction and participation. Normally family ties with Finnish spouse bring social, cultural and symbolic capital to use to legitimise and profitably gain and

guarantee social status in society, as distinction from any ordinary humanitarian immigrant. This distinction might promote a distinguished image in the form of symbolic capital among mainstream society. Beside the exogenous structure, some respondents appear to be inculcated with a *habitus* (occupational and social dispositions) for highly interactive sociability and relationship with natives. The dispositional *habitus* for social interaction and participation indicates a characteristic capability of intercultural decorum in social spaces. This habitus enhances also their acculturation process in Finnish social environment and develop a social identity leaning toward a more transnational and cosmopolitan one (see next chap).

Some respondents recognise the difficulties they meet in penetrating informal social spaces which involve various genres of strategies they use for recognition, reputation and receptiveness in mainstream society. Some have recourse to additional efforts to legitimize their acceptance and inclusion by using their accumulated cultural capital (e.g. professional network, position) or social capital from their Finnish spouses. Further, support of family members is important in career mobility (international mobility experience) and formal and informal socialisation. Sometimes, socio-economic status of respondents is used to gain social legitimation and trust, and a way to distinguish themselves from other immigrant groups in society. However, the symbolic capital through social and cultural capitals does not, in effect, enhance their social positioning concerning symbolic power relations in informal social space. This might be explained by the structured social categorization as an existing social reality perceived by the respondents, despite their attempt in using their dispositional distinction as HSPs and legitimacy in the workplace. The majority seems to socialize with those they are familiar with (e.g. colleagues, family circle, co-ethnic immigrant group).

The respondents' narratives highlight the significance of social capital, in terms of social networks, trust, and acculturation in the social space (norms, rules, values) in social interaction with the locals. Some respondents aspire to construct relationships based on mutual trust and to gain receptiveness, respect and social recognition within the space of the workplace and as members of society though, as they maintain, it is a hard endeavour. Networks of civic participation are one means for burgeoning of social capital and norms of reciprocity as some participate in civic activities (e.g. Sabah, Safaa, Redouane, Meryem, Khalid). Many have mentioned a marked distinctiveness of Finnish culture in social contact that claims Finns to be unfamiliar in interaction with international communities in general as this requires time to build trust within a network of social contact or a group of colleagues who share similar workplace and professional identity (e.g. Yussef, Safaa, Nabil, Ahmed). There are various reasons why the respondents would invest effort to learn and speak Finnish language depending on their social and professional situation (e.g. presence of Finnish spouse, language requirement at work, family responsibilities, temporary nature of stay, and lack of time). Some respondents, however, expressed their career paths have met with some incidents of stigmas regardless of their level of social integration (acculturating language, cultural habits and social interactions).

The subjective perceptions of the respondents show a tendency of many to adopt what seems to be a *deviation*, using Bourdieu's term, in social interaction within society between members of different social groups. The respondents as a distinguished category of immigrants might develop a position

of self-preservation and resistance against the majority group's representations of distinct immigrant population by means of strategies that could be sustained not by hostility but indifference and distancing to face the seemingly 'stratified' social categorisation by mainstream society. A recurrent statement from some respondents is their self-identification as 'cosmopolitan' and 'transnational,' which relate to the workplace as being international and diversity-friendly. This somehow offsets the generally alleged feeling many have as an insular social atmosphere, lacking 'social life' and 'warm social interactivity' within the social spaces. There might be some reasons behind this attitude which accounts for this attitude though, as they maintain, the workplace looks an international space of relief, a disembedded space from the surroundings in the 'social world.' Some with strong cultural identification in their *habitus* would react to this by strengthening their cultural identity (e.g. Amina, Chafiq, Hanane). As a consequence, this process might intensify into a separation strategy from mainstream society. However, for many, the question is solely structural, i.e. the problem of Finnish language or lack of time to get involved in informal social interaction.

Social inclusion of an individual within a social system could not be measured because it can be conceived differently by mainstream society and minority groups or from within each social group's members. The presence or absence of social capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital is influential here in systematic social inclusion. An important denominator in this regard concerns cultural, social and ethnic proximity between different communities. It is basically linked with the endorsement of socio-cultural values and norms of all communities and the socio-economic, political and religious status of the minorities (Sabour, 1999, p. 226). Moreover, beside the individual agentic particularities, the structural and organizational features of the social space constitute other aspects of inclusion. The majority conceives their international mobility and migration experiences as satisfying at the professional level, but their social integration and participation, at least at the informal and interpersonal scale, still need time and efforts to attain a full social inclusion in various social spaces. The respondents appear to resist total assimilation but appreciate much of cultural norms and values in Finnish culture of being, doing and thinking, in social spaces. They seem to cherish social integration by maintaining their cultural and collective identity while endorse a cosmopolitan spirit in their identities. The next chapter would probe into the question stirred in many immigration countries about their interest in recruiting HSPs from abroad but leaving off their cultural recognition for culturally diverse social spaces. The questions that surge up are: How do they conceive of their identity in its different forms? Do they experience personality growth in their international experience? Is ethnic and cultural identity more prominent and most influential than other forms in their career and social mobility? Do they internalise and accept forms of categorization (consensus/conflict) in relation with their self-definition and identification (e.g. consensual/conflictual identity)? These research interests have rarely been examined in later studies on international HSM. The following chapter grapples with these questions on the mutual influences between identity and personality and mobility experiences of the subjects.

6 Mobility, Identity and Personality

To be yourself in a world that is constantly trying to make you something else is the greatest accomplishment
(Emerson, 1983).²⁷

*I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
And what I assume you shall assume,
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you* (Whitman, 2007).²⁸

6.1 INTRODUCTION: MOBILITY, IDENTITY AND PERSONALITY

People move from place to place for various reasons and find themselves accordingly in different situations and statuses. This culminates in a sort of intercultural, inter-ethnic and multilingual societies with their members interacting on daily basis. The contact has various social and psychological imports as they entail various motives for mobility, attitudes and degree of adjustment to new challenges and spaces. International HSPs usually move to new locations by their will and volition for various reasons (chap 2 and 3). The respondents as HSPs constitute a small group in Finland, trying to maintain a sense of social and cultural affinity between their country of origin and new country of residence. The community draws attention to a shared feature they have, the motives behind their move to Finland and motivations to be in such a country. The new space would probably influence their identity, or forms of identity, within a national and transnational context. Previous chapter outlines the areas where inequalities might possibly rise and the processes underlying these inequalities, following their experiential conceptions. It is also significant to see the way respondents engage in social interaction and situate themselves within the societal fabric as a slowly growing multi-ethnic composite and the strategies they use in social interaction. The discussion also reviews and compares this with other studies.

Hypothetically, it is thought the attitudes of foreign-born community members toward this interaction differ according to their motives, status and labour market integration. Individuals who live for a temporary stay tend to be less interested in long-term interactivity and personality development than those living permanently. The dominant group also tends to differ in attitudes toward foreign-born minorities. For instance, the inflow of HSPs working in their country is seen as an economic necessity for growth or as cultural enrichment for diversity. Other natives would probably see them as an economic burden and cultural threat to their homogeneity. The differences, as mentioned above, are tightly linked to the process of acculturation and adjustment at socio-cultural and individual levels. Last chapter discussed the contours of the workplace conditions for these HSPs, showing evidence whether social inclusion exits or not. Bias in labour markets and

²⁷ Emerson, Ralph W. (1983) *Emerson: Essays and Lectures*. New York: Penguin. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

²⁸ Whitman, Walt (2007) *Song of Myself*. In *Leaves of Grass: The Original 1855 Edition*.

employment is specifically relevant in employability and social integration. Personal and situational determinants such as intercultural interaction, labour-force demography and societal attitudes usually buttress social equality or inequality. In fact, policy-makers and politicians can play important role as agents of change and enhancement of equal civic, organizational and professional participation.

Different motivations trigger international mobility and migration of HSPs (see chap 2, 3), mainly looking for better quality of life. International mobility of individuals and communities has tremendously influenced and developed cultural encounter. Social and cultural interaction has become an everyday human experience and a center of research and practice in Social Sciences and other interdisciplinary fields. The processes of international mobility and cultural encounter have come out with cultural diversity in many parts of the globe through a process generally labelled as *acculturation*. The process is thought to produce personal development and cultural adaptation among moving and hosting people. As a consequence, a kind of socio-cultural adjustment would occur through which individuals and communities reach a sort of lifestyle to interact and live by in such complex society. Yet, the social space were they are located is much influential in the process, leading either to adjustment or not. The sociology and social psychology of interaction between diverse communities and cultures in society have been attractive for researchers and policy-makers with the increase in international mobility and migration.

This chapter deals with question of their acculturation process and its effects on personality development as international social group (e.g. transnationalism and cosmopolitanism), the degree of their satisfaction and self-realisation in their international experience, career path and life course in Finland, and the welfare and quality of life in the country, in general. It is important to see the extent to which the sample experience and the way they conceive of their personality and identity development and question the possibility of symbiotic affinity between their culture of origin and personality with the local Finnish space. Transnationality is based on some perception of common identity, while an individual's or group's forms of identities are negotiated within particular social world with multilayered spaces (Vertovec, 2001). The major characteristics of *acculturation* at both the individual and socio-cultural levels are important to discuss, mainly with regard to the extent to which their identity is national, transnational, or cosmopolitan. It is also important to examine personality characteristics as they are very influential in acculturation process. The process of connectivity commences with individuals moving from their country of origin (with its culture and norms) to another country (often with different culture and norms). The move involves various ways of engagement and contact at the social, cultural and professional scales through different strategies to handle eventual developments and encounter in the new social spaces, ending with the way of adjustment to it, and ways transnational spaces and dynamics foster the construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities.

6.2 MOBILITY, SPACE AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is the process of cultural and individual development as an outcome of intercultural contact between individuals and their communities. The interaction usually lingers on for different

lapses of time, creating a kind of diverse transnational environment especially in the context of mobility. Traditionally, culturally distinct communities try to adjust to this climate of interaction and mutual adjustment and the degree of acculturation varies between individuals as well as the kind of existing communities due to different factors (Berry, 2003). The family reunion as a social factor is predominantly much influential in the process of mobility and acculturation (see chap 4, 5). The part of the study here sheds light on the social and cultural aspects with respect to acculturation of respondents in the Finnish context and effects on identity and personality transformations.

With the increasing globalization process, research in the field has touched a new interest in immigrants of host countries, especially ethnic communities and their members, their interaction and development in their attempt to coexist with the new setting of different cultures and social norms. Generally, largest portion of immigration population in host societies changes their status from immigrants to full-fledged citizens and groups. These individuals, as they belong to minorities, try to adjust to the dominant culture in their daily interaction within the cultural context. The response to the new socio-cultural space differs between individuals and thus not all of them are ready to take part in the process of acculturation and personal/collective identity development (see 5.3, 5.4). The factors affecting acculturation might be the family background, social status, class and education background of individuals. The external dominant culture tends to influence directly the individual and their accommodating internal culture in different acculturative arenas (e.g. workplace, public space, family circle). It is deemed important to see the characteristics of the two or distinct cultural groups and the cultural qualities they usually bring to the new context. The compatibility or incompatibility in values, attitudes, religion and personality are elemental in this regard to understand the ongoing acculturation process. Further, it is necessary to see the outcomes of the contact and developments in that process.

Acculturation is basically a mutually influencing process which drives individuals and communities to act and react in various ways to a diverse transnational situation (Castles *et al.*, 2002; Liebkind *et al.*, 2004). In most of the acculturative situations, the dominated groups tend to change and develop at cultural and individual scale, while in some cases metropolitan cities around the world have undergone cultural changes with the presence of culturally diverse environment and communities. The transformations might be large or small depending on the context other factors (e.g. Helsinki and London). The individual as a central agent in the process eventually experiences adjustment in the new social space (Berry, 2002). The community of the HSPs in Finland represents immigrants who are involved in the acculturation process to different degrees. The developments might be an ensemble of behaviour shifts (social behaviour, talk, code of social interaction) or complex psychological stress (Berry *et al.*, 1987) which can take the form of uncertainty or anxiety about the new context. The adjustment might also be internal such as self-satisfaction, sense of wellbeing, self-esteem, or it might be socio-cultural (Ward 1996) in the form of the individual's high interactivity with others through civic participation in social and inter-cultural activities. Some research studies on foreign HSPs (Hindman, 2008; Walsh, 2008) indicate that ethnic networks are crucial for them as they provide important practical information in the new social space. As mentioned previously, the study indicates that respondents usually tend to have less social interaction with Finns outside work

and tend to socialize more occasionally with co-ethnic nationals as a source for information or for informal socialization.

The notion of *acculturation strategies* entails the different ways individuals and communities follow in acculturation. The differences in strategies have lately challenged the sweeping generalisation that all individuals undergo such process and are absorbed within the dominant culture community (Gordon, 1964). It is assumed that all principal communities in the process have some knowledge about the situation and the reasons that led to such encounter (e.g. immigration, studies, and work). At the individual level, people have different statuses, backgrounds and conditions ranging from the educational and occupational, the socio-economic and socio-cultural. The results of acculturation would elucidate the ways they follow in acculturation process in the form of strategies. The results of acculturation at the individual and socio-cultural levels involve the strategic aims by individuals and communities they belong to (Berry, 1997). Berry (1980) proposes that four strategies exist in the process, based on two dimensions: (i) one's group (preference for maintenance of one's culture and identity), and (ii) other groups (preference for intercultural and transnational encounter and activities within a culturally diverse setting).

These two dimensions have been evidenced to be conceptually and empirically independent from each other (Sabatier & Berry, 2008). They both might be examined in correlation with attitudinal dimensions, and they carry quite different names according to whether the dominant or dominated culture and community are considered (e.g. integration, assimilation, segregation). *Assimilation* entails the propensity of ethnic foreign community to interact with, adjust to and maintain the identity and culture of local native community. The *integration* strategy involves the maintenance of their native cultural identity and at the same time cherishing interaction with other communities, mainly the local one. There is here a preserved extent of cultural integrity with that community or its members while participating in social, civic activities and networks. It should be mentioned that integration has a different meaning from assimilation since integration entails significant degree of upholding cultural identity. However, when that community and its members stick to their identity and culture and avoid interaction with native society, they follow the *separation* strategy. *Marginalization* is a more acute level of segregation when a community or its members seek no interaction with other communities usually due to exclusion or bias from mainstream society (Berry *et al.*, 1989) (see chap 5). The goal in this section is an evaluation of these acculturative attitudes from the subjective and objective career viewpoints of the respondents.

When *assimilation* is cherished and adopted by the dominant community, we generally refer to an intercultural *melting pot*, but when it reinforces separation it is called *segregation*, and when it forces marginalization, it is labelled *exclusion*. In the context of cultural diversity in society, integration can be called 'multiculturalism' (Liebkind *et al.*, 2004). Some other important aspects of acculturation studies have tackled questions related to the views of the dominant community in society as ideologies of society and attitudes of individuals (Berry & Kalin, 2000). In contradistinction with the acculturation attitudes of dominated community, we find the *acculturation expectations* and *multicultural ideologies* related to the attitudes of the mainstream dominant society. The former notion equals acculturation attitudes of the ethnic dominated group members in terms of how much the

dominant group need to acculturate in society. The latter concept involves general and important view that cultural diversity is positive for society and needs to be shared and accommodated equally by all communities through interaction and civic participation (Berry, 2002). Individuals who share this view would assume that all communities should preserve their cultural heritage and collective identity to themselves through generations. The acceptance of diversity and equity would be the basis of integration and 'multiculturalism.' This latter concept as an ideology entails the idea that the native community needs to be ready to adjust to the new social space so that they can accommodate minorities within society.

The choice for integration and its success might be achieved by the minority group if the native community cherishes inclusiveness and openness towards cultural diversity; that is when 'multicultural' ideology is largely embraced by mainstream society. *Mutual accommodation*, involving acceptance of all culturally distinct communities to live together as culturally different groups, is then needed so that integration is successful (Raunio, 2003; 2007). This necessitates from the minority group to embrace the values of host society while the dominant group needs to ready itself to adjust public institutions (e.g. welfare, equality, education and labour) to meet the needs of different communities in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. Using this dual framework might be useful in comparing individuals and their community, as well as different communities during acculturation process. Major divergences and differentiations between these acculturation preferences are often difficult for the ones who experience them. The strategies for minority groups and their members are based on the conjecture that they are free to opt for the way they prefer in social practices during their acculturation. Yet, the attitudes and preferences of an individual are not necessarily materialized in their actions (Berry, 2008). In research, the connection and combination between acculturation attitudes and actions has been labelled acculturation strategies (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Berry, 2008).

In this section, a discussion probes into the degree of acculturation and adaptation of respondents to Finnish social spaces. The study here is guided by the three questions. The first question is addressed as to the way they lived and live now during their acculturation with some acculturation variables involving attitudes and behaviours. It is important to consider preferences for the four acculturation attitudes (integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization), as well to examine two cultural identities, namely ethnic-cultural and national-international. The previous chapter has already examined degree of social interaction within informal and formal context with natives and non-natives (whether ethnic-cultural or national-international). When discussing the integration issue, the majority of respondents show a tendency toward having less interaction either with their co-national and co-ethnic group members or Finns. Yet they show great affiliation to their Arab-Islamic cultural heritage as well as their belonging to Finnish nationhood. Their accounts indicate preference of integration/ acculturation attitude and rejection of assimilation, separation and marginalization. They show positive ethnic and national identities and cherish their native cultural identity and Finnish national identity. A large number use Finnish language in daily life at work and outside work, considering it a socio-cultural instrument for interaction and identification as citizens:

... When a person leaves a particular society, his connection with that community represents a specific identity, but he cannot live within a different society with this identity only. There must be a building up of a new identity of which one of its components is part of the old identity. But this part is not enough to construct an international identity. I believe now I have this internationality in my identity... There is a past and roots in some specific country and there is also a present and future in the country where I live. So there should be some kind of balance between all these factors.... I feel that I belong to this world more than my belongingness to 'Arabness.' (Toufiq).

Education and growth in childhood makes you son or daughter of host society. So I am still with my country of origin. But, because of settlement in Finland, I feel that this is my homeland. It's not my country of birth but my homeland. My home is here, my family is here, and my work is here. So this is important. Finland is important to me and native country is important to me, but I am not a strong nationalist. So all of these feelings are inside me and it is difficult to take these feelings away or any other person can in a situation like mine. But feelings are not 100% fair or objective. People everywhere are wonderful, countries everywhere are wonderful, and therefore it is not fair for anybody to be fanatic (Monaim).

I think I'm feeling very good in living here because I get what I found good for me from the Finnish culture. I like very much their way of living and thinking, but of course I didn't forget at all where I am and where I come from and this is something very important to keep my identity and my culture. But there is no problem to live with this in here.... I continue living with my own culture, my own belief. My own way of being and doing things are also accepted here... (Safaa).

Would you believe it if I say that I'm a Syrian with all my soul and my veins. But I'm also a Finn more than Syrian even if I have Syrian citizenship... I was born in Syria and my relatives as well but I feel more Finnish.... I feel part of my being is Finnish, my personality and all the activities I did are in Finland so I feel grateful for that to Finland. This is very important for me and I'm so indebted to Finland (Meryem).

However, some respondents regret their poor Finnish language competence despite its importance for interactional proximity in social spaces. However, many report social interaction is held mostly with co-ethnic community than with Finns (chap 5). As concerns separation (or self-exclusion), the majority is oriented toward their culture of origin, so they prefer separation though they do not rebuff integration process. They show positive ethnic-cultural and collective identity and also positive Finnish national identity. They practically use their mother-tongue in daily life as means of communication with co-ethnic peers in informal settings. Many also have few Finns as acquaintances and friends outside the workplace, despite their willingness and interest to foster social contacts with Finns. This tendency does not seem to indicate their rejection to full social integration, but that their family life and career work take much of their times for informal socialisation to take place. This can be justified by the weak propensity to mix with members of their ethnic group (see chap 5). In a similar fashion, this situation appears like the 'diffuse' period of identity formation (Marcia, 1994) in which individuals tend to be uncertain amidst cultural poles and hesitant about the way to choose in their career path. Concerning the marginalization cluster, some show confusion and exhibit ambivalence and uncertainty. They show preference for marginalization and assimilation at the same time. They do not have negative ethnic and national identities and they use their mother-tongue and Finnish language depending on varying situations.

The profiles of the respondents generally depict clear pattern of variation across the categories of the sample. The integration profiles were more than half of the sample and mostly frequent among all while very few show assimilation profiles according to their subjective experiential conceptions.

However, marginalization profiles are less frequent for those having Finnish spouses. Besides, some respondents, as mentioned above, show both cultural separation and social integration profiles (e.g. chafiq, Amina, Toufiq). The assimilation national profile dominated among respondents while the marginalization profile is much low. For those who have been living in Finland for longer period of time, the social integration profile dominates and the assimilation national profile was very low. Despite these variations, a substantial number of respondents show strong commitment with their ethnic-cultural identity regardless of the length of their stay in Finland or their spatial mobility experiences (see chap 5). Some give some accounts about their concern of their children's education and future life when it comes to cultural assimilation and at the same time experiencing cultural and social marginalisation from the majority social group:

I try my best to preserve the Arabic culture for me and my children. We established an Arabic cultural association... We have 4 to 5 hours work: teaching Arabic language, reading and writing skills, Arabic culture and Islamic education.... This is what concerns the association meant to strengthen the identity of our children, of their culture and civilization (Amina).

The education of our children may be hard as we have our own values, norms and religion. We could not jump over these. But surely I want to be active participant in society but safeguarding our own traditions, values, religion and language. The wonderful thing in Finland is that they give us all these opportunities.... This is of course something good and in Finland we have aspects of good quality in life but at the social level, there is some difficulty. There is not much warm social interaction... (Meryem).

... There are some disadvantages for me as a Muslim individual, always thinking about my family and my children and feel worried about their possible influence by the Western way of life and their distance from our cultural and social norms, values and religion. All these things come to mind all the time and there is a feeling of concern about that (Hassib).

An important point is that caring is not only eating and dressing, but there is also the culture. Culture is very important to inculcate in child like Arabic language and culture and Islam as a religion. These are much important.... Also, one should make some balances between the family household and outdoor life, otherwise the family will collapse and then bigger problems surge. Challenges are present for sure but I hope they will decrease as the child grows up and then I would give more time for more professional activities ... (Toufiq).

What is interesting to note here is that two poles of respondents are noticed as concerns the future of their children, belongingness and cultural identity: one group leans towards an international cultural identification for their children and the other one leans towards safeguarding and strengthening their cultural identity of origin (see chap 2, 5). Perceived stereotyping and bias hypothetically are negatively linked to their social, political and civic participation, i.e. less frequent in integration and assimilation/national profiles. The conclusions from data analysis show important variation among profiles in perceived discrimination. Most of the profiles with integration/assimilation profiles report less discrimination and bias while those profiles with marginalization/diffuse profile indicate some perceived discrimination (see chap 5). This result is fundamentally unchanged with regard to the length of stay but it differs for those having Finnish spouses. A possible implication of these relationships is that people tend to respond to their intercultural attitudes (Berry, 2006). In other words, people return negative affects by distancing themselves and engage in separation or marginalization strategies (self-exclusion) if they undergo bias and stereotypes in informal social spaces. These effects might be strengthened by counteractions from natives, in some ways, and with

repeated processes. Yet, if cultural discrimination is very low, its positive influence leads to integration or assimilation processes. It is considered that discrimination negatively affects integration attitudes and encourages self-exclusion and creation of cultural clusters far distant from mainstream society (chap 5). Discrimination can then be seen as the basis for acculturation strategies.

In relation with the discussion in last chapter on social inclusion, the results in studying the question in general show the integration/assimilation profiles are represented more by those having Finnish spouses and less by those married with co-ethnic nationals. This relationship might be interpreted in a causal way. Finns as spouses could be strong influence in the way HSPs acculturate or simply that because they take on assimilation strategy easily in international experience, they show readiness to enter mixed marriage. The occupational situation shows very weak relationship to the acculturation process of HSPs. The prominent common feature is the integration/national profile though the community of immigrants in such a homogeneous country is very small. As concerns the way they adapt to life in the new social space, two kinds of adjustment can be referred to here: psychological and socio-cultural (Ward, 1996). There are two elements that they express in this respect: the degree of life satisfaction and self-esteem (see section below) and presence of socio-psychological problems (homesickness and cultural shock, depression). The other element involves socio-cultural adjustment (e.g. social decorum, socialization skills, interest in knowing Finnish culture, affinity with Finnish social culture). Adjustment is weakly related to gender since no significant differences are remarked in this regard, with an exception that some women show higher propensity toward psychological and socio-cultural adjustment than men. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that men are less likely to cherish socio-cultural adaptation.

Concerning the third question, the degree of their acculturation depends on the way they adapt to the new context at the personal, social, cultural, institutional and professional levels. This pattern is quite clear in the profiles of the majority of respondents. The ones spotted with the integration/assimilation profile have the best adaptation at psychological and socio-cultural levels. Yet, many with separation/cultural profiles manage well at psychological adaptation but weak socio-cultural adjustment. If we relate adjustment in its two forms with perceived bias and stereotyping, the profiles show that discrimination is low but negatively linked to both kinds of adjustment. Therefore, in acculturation attitudes, bias is much related to socio-cultural adjustment. In sum, the respondents as foreign HSPs who experience acculturation differ according to their social, educational, and class background, i.e. their dispositional attitudes. I examined in this section the profiles of the sample and compared them with respect to social inclusion (see chap 5). The separation/cultural profile is largely prominent among them while the assimilation/national profile is also present. The social integration profile seems to be dominant though. This is generally linked to the context of a highly homogeneous society with a closed nature to culturally-ethnically different immigrant groups more than to the difficulties of respondents in the process of acculturation.

The motivational factors play an essential part in the process because most of the respondents report their uncertainty about their future career and stay in Finland. Total engagement of these HSPs appears unlikely and toughened by the reasons that Finnish socialisation system is different and the

presence of a small community of immigrants in the country which natives are not much familiarised with yet. However, almost all of them express their intention to stay permanently as the prospects in their countries of origin are dim and hence orient themselves to stay in Finland. Their conceptions as concerns the psychological adjustment seem to be similar and varied mainly by profile irrespective of national origin or gender. It seems higher for integration profiles than assimilation/national ones. This adjustment further appears worse for assimilation/national profiles. This outcome might imply that a link exists between acculturation preferences of respondents and their ethnic community and the psychological adjustment. In other words, if the acculturation process corresponds with their respective community, it results in better adjustment. The opposite way might also be possible. The sample then might be viewed as a minority within their ethnic community as well as a minority within mainstream society. The analysis at the level of socio-cultural adjustment results in similarity. The integration and separation/cultural profiles are higher than the assimilation/national profiles. The latter profiles have also yielded weak socio-cultural adjustment. This outcome is basically caused by their weak socio-cultural adjustment when they try to assimilate to society. The separation/cultural profiles more than integration profile is linked with prominent degree of socio-cultural adjustment. Separation strategy can be explained by the shift in their status from temporary stay to permanent one as well as their marital situation with co-nationals. For those who try to assimilate, the degree of socio-cultural adjustment seems to be high.

6.3 IDENTITY, TRANS-NATIONALISM, COSMOPOLITANISM AND BELONGING

This section delves into the question of the relation between international mobility and identity development. This category of individuals might have multifaceted identity which is constituted of professional career (personal identity), family (role identity), and ethnic-cultural self (collective identity). I examine in this section the way these HSPs' identity is connected to their experiences. As concerns the processes and patterns of their mobility/migration, reference is made to chapter two and three. The author refers to some theories of identity while underlining the multifaceted and competing nature of a HSP's identity which involves various identities, some more outstanding than others, affected more by career path, family, gender, and culture of origin (Tharenou, 2010). This part attempts to evidence the presence of these forms of identity and to indicate which is more salient than others in their social, personal and professional life. As a reminder, many respondents had self-initiated mobility experience for an indefinite duration for career and social mobility (Chap 2). The question of identity for mobile people is related to transnationalism as they usually maintain forms of attachments with people and institutions in their countries of origin (e.g. families, communities, traditions). Transnationalism in migration/mobility studies has developed since 1990s considering the ways in which, and the reasons why, connections are different from, or more intense than, earlier forms (Morawska, 1999; Portes *et al.* 1999; Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). Çağlar (2001, in Vertovec 2001, p. 574) mentions that transnationalism represents 'a new analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labour migration.'

The self-initiated nature of mobility for career mobility is a significant component of their identity. As seen in chapter 3, career mobility, family and children, and social wellbeing are the main drives for the respondents' stay. Thus, family identity is important in their career path and social life and in their mobility schemes and experiences. In situations where one of the spouses is native-born, the family tend to stay permanently in Finland, particularly if the spouse is the wife. Generally, her family identity strongly affects her decision to move to fulfill the needs of her spouse and family. Identification with native country's culture and ethnicity seems an enduring characteristic of an international HSP's identity. The normal trend of self-initiated mobility of HSPs tends to have a direction toward similar cultural ethnic composite of host society. This way, they might easily identify and associate with local society at various levels. Yet, many nowadays like to have an international and transnational experience. They seem to be motivated by interculturality, acculturation and transnationality, in their career mobility and wellbeing of family life. This section asks questions such as: does the sample depict a stronger career identity than family or cultural identities in their schemes of career path, stay or return mobility? Does gender role affects a female HSP in her career upward mobility? What are the aspects of family identity that relate with gender in explaining decisions to move? How do life and career stage relate with career and family identities in influencing decision-makings? How does cultural identity influences mobility and migration schemes and behaviour? Do career, family and cultural constituents of identity interrelate to explain mobility schemes and behavior beyond their individual impacts?

On theorizing identity

To some extent, an individual partly defines themselves in terms of personal identities, characteristics which constitute their individual uniqueness (Hogg *et al.*, 1995). The main aspects of personal identity related to international self-initiated mobility experience involve individual agency, characteristics and needs of the HSPs (Tharenou, 2009). *Theory of identity* supposes that an individual employs role identities to himself as a result of the various positions they have in society (e.g. a HSP, cosmopolitan, husband, co-ethnic national), which affect their dispositions and make them different from others (Stryker, 1987). These various identities differ in degree of importance and self-relevance. These differences constitute the ground of action and agency in the individual's life course (*ibid.*). Moreover, an individual might define the personal to reflect his social identity (Hogg *et al.*, 1995). The theory here advances that he sees his self in terms of his social group membership which indicates value and emotional importance to him (Tajfel, 1972). Further, an individual defines and assesses himself through membership to different groups, either small (e.g. colleagues in workplace) or large one (e.g. co-ethnic or co-national group). According to Hogg and colleagues (1995), two processes occur here: *social categorization* and *self-enhancement* (see also chap 5).

As mentioned before, social categorization is a process when a person uses stereotypic dimensions to emphasize the differences between his group and other ones, and from the similarities between himself and other in-group members, e.g. an individual may see himself as an Arab Egyptian, but not as a Finn of Arab origin. Self-enhancement aims to support in-group on some dimensions and increases self-esteem of its members, using Bourdieu's concept *symbolic capital*. For instance, a HSP might identify with the main co-ethnic and national characteristics of his ethnic group, strengthening

the collective and cultural identity of this social group. This tendency may lead to negative or stereotypical attitudes toward host country's culture and society. Brewer & Gardner (1996) indicate that three orientation of identity exist: (i) *personal identity*, which is an individual source based on characteristics (e.g. career identity based on self-achievement and success); (ii) *relational identity*, which is an interpersonal source based on role relations with people (e.g. family identity as spouse, parent and breadwinner); (iii) a *collective identity*, which is a group source based on a group model and social identity (e.g. ethnic-cultural identity based on the specific collective traits of native country nationals). Brewer & Gardner add that a specific identity orientation is linked with a primary motivation. For instance, a personal identity involves self-interest; a relational identity is related with advantages for others, while a collective identity concerns one's group wellbeing.

International experience might be driven by specific identities. For instance, self-interest and self-realization, from *personal identity*, instigate the respondents to move abroad to achieve upward career mobility and better professional and social life experience. As a *relational identity*, these HSPs may also identify with family role as parent and spouse, so that their mobility schemes in the present and future experience are affected accordingly. They might also participate in cooperative projects or associative activities between their employing institutions in Finland and concerned institutions in native countries or instigate entrepreneurial ventures. These activities reflect somehow their identification with country of origin (OECD, 2008a). The multifaceted identities of these individuals may compete with each other and can possibly have tension either at the professional or personal levels. For instance, a career identity might be in conflict with the relational identity as a dual career partner, either hindering or inducing career mobility of one's spouse. A female spouse might forsake her career, as a tied mover, if her husband has to change his location for a new position in a new destination country or region (chap. 4). Moreover, cultural identity sometimes might obstruct a female spouse to seek a job in the host country due to the family culture that man is the breadwinner of the family and wife takes the role of a housewife. A female HSP's identity as a wife and mother has different identities: professional, wife and caregiver to children and homemaker in household (Tharenou, 2009). Further, the impetus of women who moved to Finland for career mobility might have strong career identity, though their family identity might hinder them to advance in their career path. Their experiences and career paths are, overtly or covertly, influenced by these identities which can be classified: professional, family or national-cultural identities.

It is possible that some identities are liable to trigger international mobility experience than others and undergo personal and professional development (see below). Personal identity has significant motivational role in this regard (Inkson & Myers, 2003). After moving to a new destination, when they advance in mid- or late-career stages, they try to secure their position and settle down. The family identity then surfaces as they develop family roles as spouses and parents as well as a professional and citizen (e.g. national or transnational). Ideally, between the mid-career and late-career stages, the HSPs maintain their progression in their life-career path in a steady dual career situation. They think about permanent settlement, education of children, future of their own career and that of their spouses. In their late-career stage, most of them plan to retire and where they spend the rest of their lives as well as their possibility to continue in academic works if opportunities are

offered. The sample in the study have personal, relational and collective identities which affect their motivational factor for international mobility experience for personal, educational and professional attainments. Following the classification by Tharenou (2009) and Brewer & Gardner (1996), four kinds of identity might partly explain the experiences of these HSPs at the career-related, family, gender-related and cultural levels.

Career identity, family identity, cultural identity

Educational and occupational attainments are one prominent part of international HSPs' identity that trigger mobility abroad. Many studies indicate the initiation of mobility schemes was for upward career mobility and opportunities, increase in expertise and know-how, work conditions, more than family concerns or personal exploratory experience (Suutari & Brewster, 2000; Gill, 2005; Williams & Balaz, 2005; Morano-Foadi, 2006). The drives and needs for their mobility abroad are the significant aspects of their career identity. It is argued that the HSPs who are much motivated for achievement want to select institutions where quality is the standard of excellence (McClelland, 1987; Mahroum 2001). They seem much more motivated in their career path and occupational position and get professional return (Inkson *et al.*, 2004). Predisposition and propensity for an international career experience are important motivational component in career identity for skilled mobility that they could overcome any serious obstacles to actualize their aspiration for career abroad (Tharenou, 2003).

Individual agency is also an important career identity component triggering mobility scheme for a HSP (Tharenou 2003). The career's interests and objectives emanate from the individual's personal agency as well as his perception of the opportunities, support and obstacles in his social space (Lent *et al.*, 2000). Agency is an important factor of career interests and expectations (see chap 2). A HSP often expects an international experience in a developed country would be advantageous for his career and social personal wellbeing (Tharenou, 2003). These HSPs feel the degree of meeting the challenges in social and professional experience, with a culture different from theirs. They feel aware about the process of acculturation and adjustment within a different social space, but nonetheless an international one. Thus, they feel the impetus toward mobility experience through personal agency. Transnationality or internationality of the experience is another component of this personal agency that urges them to go mobile with all possible challenges (Tharenou, 2008).

Those HSPs who have a strong urge for achievement in career path might possibly think not to return to their native countries after an international successful experience (see chap 3). It is argued that *career embeddedness* in the host country is the main factor that affects the duration of stay in host country from short to long-term or permanent one (Tharenou, 2009). Research literature report that good work conditions, career opportunities, social wellbeing are pull factors for these HSPs to stay and not think of return to native country (Hugo *et al.*, 2003; Gill 2005) (see also chap. 2, 3). Many think that in case they return back, they would make much sacrifice for the absence of advantageous pull-factors. By contrast, better work conditions, high remuneration and favourable career opportunities in the native country would impel them to return back, especially for those with strong career identity, as they feel satisfied with their decision to return back to country of origin.

For some HSPs, income does not constitute a highly influential factor in decision-making for professional mobility back to native country, but rather factors such as nationalism, culture and native socio-cultural lifestyle are prominent drives for the cases of return mobility/migration (see also Inkson *et al.*, 2004).

A foreign HSP who has a strong career identity would possibly return to native country once he meets positive return on his career investment abroad, expectations and aspirations in professional socio-economic situation. Yet, the majority of respondents mention their intention not to return at least in the short run as they fear failure to adjust well to the environment and conditions in native countries due to lack of better career opportunities, low status positions, incompatibility with the work offered and living standard. Another important factor that retains the respondents in Finland is not only career mobility but also the presence of family and children (see chap 2 and 3). A person who has strong affiliation motivation wants to build and keep positive and satisfactory relationships with people (McClelland, 1987), especially close relatives. This individual normally would not think of moving abroad away from their family and friends, sometimes to the detriment of their aspirations for achievement. Evidence in the study indicates HSPs' relational identity which corresponds to their developing roles as parents and spouses directly influence their decision-makings, especially in mid- and late-career stage period, that they prioritize their children's future of education and wellbeing. Many of them have their mobility generated by family reunification as married spouse with Finnish nationals, until their last destination Finland, resulting mostly in labour market integration. Some studies support this assumption (see Hugo *et al.*, 2003; Nerdum & Sarpebakken, 2006; Tharenou, 2009). This practice applies to men more than women. Another relational factor affecting mobility of HSPs is social network of relatives and friends who influence the decision for mobility of an individual as trailing spouse to the same destination (see chap 3, 4).

In sum, the data show that the majority of respondents depict high achievement than affiliation motivation in their initial mobility experience and, once in mid- or late-career stage, they lean toward family ties especially with concerns on their children's future. However, in some cases, we find cultural identity is dominant for those whose religiosity is important in their dispositional construct of daily life. Some are much motivated by a need for cultural affiliation and think of moving to some 'developed' Muslim countries (e.g. Golf countries) to provide their children with what they refer to as modern quality education in an Arab-Islamic context (e.g. Amina, Meryem, Chafiq). Hence, family and lifestyle are significant factors affecting their career and social mobility (see Hugo *et al.*, 2003) (e.g. Amina, Chafiq, Ali). Family identity, family ties and education of children, in relation with their cultural identity, are highly significant for some HSPs regardless of where they live and work. They would generally move where they feel their family ties and socio-cultural lifestyle and culture are maintained (see Tharenou, 2008). *Per contra*, a HSP might stay in Finland since she/he is embedded in society as a spouse and parent with a local native spouse (e.g. Kamal, Ahmed, Monaim, Warda, Malak). They may build, after a long lapse of time, a network of family relatives, friends and colleagues, and also venture to do sacrifices for the sake of family stability and for career upward mobility in their decision to stay.

Marriage with a local native would affect the duration of stay for the HSPs and career path and they become embedded in the country. The intention to return back to the native country then weakens through time, as their career advance and children grow up and the spouse has an occupation (chap 2 and 3). Native-born Finnish spouses of the respondents are employed more than spouses from the same country of origin (e.g. Hassib, Toufiq, Mounir, Amina). The latter might meet structural restraints such as qualification equivalence if there is not a possibility of temporary job. Moreover, the propensity to return to country of origin is not also high for those married couples from the same country of origin. Though they embody strong family ties in native country and might be attracted to return for self-identification with the culture and lifestyle of native country, they tend to show uncertainty about return because it might interrupt their children's education and future. The tendency of respondents to return diminishes when they feel their career mobility is disrupted and family life disadvantaged. This indicates the tremendous significance of relational identity in their career paths.

The family role and gender role can be interrelated in relational identity of these respondents. Tharenou (2008) examines the way these roles affect in different ways both men and women in their decisions on career and spatial mobility as they both look at the experience from various corners though they might both have different roles in family life. Some women might see their geographical move for their own career pursuits as inconvenient for family, mainly if the husband's work position is consequently jeopardized. The traditional family role of a female spouse is a caregiver and male spouse a provider. Sometimes, family identity of a woman as provider and caregiver produces conflict for her and a social pressure to leave her work if the husband has to relocate for a new occupational position in a new location (see chap 2, 4). This kind of situation would not occur for an unmarried childless woman since her identity does not involve parenthood and breadwinning responsibility. She could easily relocate as she wishes whenever occasions happen for a new work position. Gender role theory supports these assumptions of family-gender roles of spouses in situation of mobility (see Markham, 1987). The male HSPs tend more often to move and relocate for basic reasons of career mobility and opportunities. On the other hand, female HSPs tend to follow their male spouses because of family responsibility as caregiver and mother (see Hugo *et al.*, 2003; Tharenou, 2008).

However, parenthood does not deter women from seeking occupational success when they move with their male spouses. The main trend thus is that these women with family tend to be trailing wives while men tend to move often for employment opportunities and upward career mobility. An important question that has been raised in chapter two is the way their family and career roles could influence family decision-making about mobility. If the spouses might define their identity following traditional gender role, the family identity would be much stronger than career identity for female HSPs with family. The data show single women moved to Finland for career pursuits in academia or vocational institutions (e.g. Safaa, Nabila, Sabah, Hanane, Malak) while those married with either co-nationals or Finns moved to Finland as trailing spouses (e.g. Amal, Amina, Hanane). As concerns men, they mostly relocated to Finland as trailing husbands due to their marriage with Finnish spouses or through self-initiated mobility. However, if the identities of married couple are defined

by equitable gender roles, they both move for professional or personal reasons. As mentioned earlier, those who have high affiliation for family and religious lifestyle might think of return after a period of time, while those with higher achievement motivation might think of staying permanently in Finland for career pursuits and progression.

The gender role theory is also supported by the research literature which reports that most of female HSPs with family and having a job are bound to stay in the host country along with their spouses and children (Hugo *et al.*, 2003). The most important factor for their stay is the embeddedness in host society by their family identity as a spouse, caregiver and sometimes also breadwinner. Yet, some women with dual-career work tend to concede to their family responsibilities to stay abroad and quit their jobs, if employed, so as to avoid role conflict caused by their individual aspirations and different roles (see chap 4). Contrary to Tharenou's (2009) study, some women in the study do not wish to return to native country because they have strong family role of care-giving in their identity than their male spouses (e.g. Amina, Amal, Sabah, Hanane). The male contend that their stay in Finland is meant for career pursuits and also social wellbeing for their families, but when suitable conditions for return are offered, they would think of return (chap 2 and 3). This might be explained by their identity as family breadwinner, so that decision of return is much influenced by considering the degree of career and socio-economic benefits than women's. When female HSP begins her family responsibilities, her identities as a wife, mother and caregiver surface in her daily life, and influence her career path (see Kofman & Raghuram, 2005; Raghuram, 2004; 2009). It is worth-noting that if a female HSP has less family responsibilities, i.e. unmarried and childless, it is her career identity that is a salient motivation for her mobility schemes.

Cultural identity constitutes part of the collective consciousness and identification derived from membership of a group that shares ethnic-cultural attributes differentiating it from other groups (Sussman, 2002). An international HSP categorization of the self and the others as being either a member of an in-group or an out-group heightens the conceived proximity of the self to its in-group and its difference from the out-group on characteristics which ideally describe the groups (Hogg *et al.*, 2003). It is assumed that individuals who have strong cultural identity hold positive attitudes and sentiment toward their belongingness to native country and consider their nationality is important part of their identity (Cameron, 2004). However, the sample here as foreign-born HSPs in Finland with Arab-Islamic background tend to identify with their native countries and Finland as second country because they feel their identity has developed into a more transnational and cosmopolitan one. For female HSPs, some have described their mobility experience as an escape from a much patriarchal and largely gender-based society with an alien and unfounded tradition that undermines their position in general (see chap 4). These women as well as many male respondents believe that their decision to move to Finland was dictated by their individual and cultural identification with a more egalitarian, humane and libertarian regime which they perceive absent in their native countries. From this angle, they identify themselves as Finns and second as nationals from their native countries:

I can see myself as a Finnish public official. All these elements affect the international identity I have. I belong to this place and I am connected with it. This connection involves the past, the present and the future in this place, my professional connection with this place... (Toufiq).

... Now I am his [my husband] wife, sister, mother, his religion and everything ... I give him much importance because he has no relative... Well, it is me who takes care of everything, like the basics of family household. Though the house is 100% Finnish style but the cultural side of me is present at home (Warda).

I am a national from Tunisia who is accustomed to all kind of conditions in any country of the world. When I return there, my language has not changed and my character and so I have remained the same person... You have to be part of Finland and deal with it but your origin remains the same... Of course, because there is your identity of origin ... but sometimes we find individuals being quite rigid in identity development and remain unchanged though living for more than 20 years but there is rigidity ... (Hanane).

... Do I feel as national from country of origin? Yes, I do. Do I feel Finnish? Yes, I am a Finnish citizen and I am very proud to be..... But if you ask me what your worldview is, it is cosmopolitan. It is not just the native country's world and not just a Finnish world only (Mourad).

I do not know what to say. On the one hand, I am still from Syria, but maybe I am more cosmopolitan person, especially in my work. People of similar research interest know me everywhere and personal relations are wide... Actually, I have very wide network of professional relations (Monaim).

Trans-nationalism, cosmopolitanism and belonging

As the above quotes indicate, the majority of respondents think their cultural identification plays important role in their professional and personal life because they embraced all through their duration of stay in Finland a sense of affinity with the social and institutional regime which respect talents and intellectual productivity and give them dignity and recognition (see below). Thus, they tend to categorize themselves as being similar to the attributes of the Finnish culture, except with differences in the religious attributes of both their respective national culture of origin and the local Finnish culture. The cultural identity of a HSP can develop and change and becomes more hybrid and cosmopolitan or it might remain unchanged during the transnational experience for career pursuits. Both these tendencies would surely affect their trajectories either for further *hypermobility* or return to native country. In fact, Portes (1997, p. 812) indicates that through transnational networks, 'an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both.' The process and degree of acculturation in the social space where this HSP is employed plays crucial role in this respect. The respondents show their self-identification as being nationals of native countries and sometimes bi-national or transnational according to the degree of their acculturation and reaction to other cultures (see Hugo *et al.*, 2003). A high degree of assimilation implies that the possibility to return to native country is weak (see chap 5):

... My identity is a basket of everything, my jobs, experiences, languages etc. I can't rely on one thing. ... Everything is made of a kaleidoscope of this and that, and I never know if this goes away, at least I have these too little things. When it comes to my daughter, well you never know the world.... I want her to be able to have options. She has 3 passports from 3 continents, African, European and Asian. It's always like building on bits of pieces if something breaks it ... (Amal).

At least in my mind, I feel quite like cosmopolitan although I'm not thinking of going somewhere else from Finland right now at least. But I still feel like cosmopolitan. I'm travelling within my job here to different countries and I have friends in many working places and colleagues. When I go somewhere, I don't feel there is a difference between me and the locals. I feel that there is no gap between us, neither cultural nor from the work perspective. In that sense, I feel like I'm quite cosmopolitan. I can work with whomever and wherever... I almost feel I'm more Finnish than national from native country sometimes... (Nabil).

I mean this is exactly who I am, a cosmopolitan. I think I am not the only case in this world, very many cases are present and common and I enjoy it, I recommend it... it is a question of attitude. How you regard things and how you see things from a ... you know, I do things which delight me. I don't follow traditions and customs and strict system, no! (Khalid).

I'm a transnational in many ways, but a transnational to some degree with an appreciation for what I have been through as transnational (smiling)... I have a great deal of appreciation for my roots and where I came from, I strongly believe. I also believe that the experience I had in Canada as a transnational in education, learning about freedom and openness in Canadian society, and seeking opportunity is very great. Finland is another great experience, I'm very grateful as I have been travelling in the Far East and I'm hoping I will acquire more experience. I'm more interested in trips for learning, acquiring skills and cultures of other countries, and finding myself adapted as well... (Idris).

Sussman (2002) indicates that an individual with an affirmative identity consolidates their national identity in their international mobility experience and strengthens its cultural attributes and feeling for the country and co-nationals. This situation might probably lead to failure to adjust to the host country's culture and the individual orientation would be that of *separation* (i.e. self-exclusion), otherwise identity would develop into a more hybrid and cosmopolitan one embracing cultural diversity attributes though they identify more with their native cultural traits and community. An important conclusion from the data analysis is that the majority do not wish to return and feel more comfortable in the personal and professional life course in Finland. They strongly identify with their native culture and community but still conceive Finland as their second country. Wiles (2008) advances that many studies show a large number of international HSPs strongly identify with their native country (i.e. ethnicity and culture) whether as the only national cultural identity or as dual identity (i.e. citizenship and culture), including host country or other countries where they experienced international mobility and migration.

Thus, a HSP might have an orientation toward integration and maintains, at the same time, his cultural traits and norms and adjust to the host society's culture and norms. The majority of the respondents depict this tendency. Language proficiency and cultural proximity usually reflect a degree of social inclusion in a host society. Some research studies evidence that proficiency of Finnish language and the work environment where employees are mostly Finns influence negatively the HSPs in their integration (Heikkilä, 2005). *Per contra*, those HSPs who are characterized with cultural affinity with the host society and culture embrace the culture and develop hybrid cultural identity while maintaining their cultural and national identity of origin (see Sussman, 2002). Thus, the self-initiated mobility experiences affect individuals in different ways, their identities as well as their career mobility. Many would have dual cultural identity, feeling secure in Finland and reducing possibility of further mobility schemes, while others maintain their native cultural identity as predominant. Hugo and colleagues (2003) report international HSPs generally tend to feel estranged from their

native culture through time in the experiences abroad. They also gradually see the option of return as unviable until their retirement (OECD, 2008a). However, the data report that only few cases show a weakened culture of origin as they still identify with it, regarding it an identity of 'the world.' They see their national and cultural identity as undeniably present either as the only one they abide by or as one beside a trans-national identity.

To conclude, career and socio-economic motivations are behind the international mobility of HSPs. A personal identity with salient career and family roles for a female HSP influences her decision-making for mobility. Especially, family and lifestyle motivations affect the decision to stay in Finland or return to native country as she usually follow her husband when he relocates for a new position. More importantly, many respondents were trailing spouses with their Finnish spouses to Finland from European countries or outside it. Family identity prototypically may not result in return with family to settle down, live and work in good conditions. However, embeddedness in Finnish society through family members especially if one spouse is native-born and the presence of children refrain them from moving anywhere. The family identity of a female HSP affects her decision to move abroad so as to meet with her husband's conditions of work in case of relocation, mainly if traditional gender roles are respected in the family circle. As concerns a male HSP, his identity as a breadwinner is much important to his career path, while his career identity is much salient and influential. Moreover, his family identity as a male spouse to Finnish wife has been influential in his career path when moving to Finland.

The respondents show identification with their native countries as a strong and enduring characteristic of their identity. They mostly opted to move to Finland for career progression and family reasons. The ones who identify with their native national culture are not likely to return back after a period of work experience as well as those who gradually acculturate with local mainstream culture. A large number of research studies have dealt with the question with the outcome that those who have strong cultural and national identity usually opt for return to native country (see Berry, 1997; Sussman 2002). The question of the link between the individual identity and international HSM experience remain still under-researched. The examination of the individual, relational and collective identities of this category's experiences need more attention. It deems crucial to research the main constituents of these HSPs' career identity (i.e. professional aspirations, needs, expectations). Concerning the family, these HSPs have strong family identity. It is important consider their identity development which combines career, family and cultural components, of which one or more are stronger than the others, in professional and personal life experiences. The motivational drives would be career pursuits, family life, self-interest, a collective welfare and cultural identity.

6.4 CONCEIVING MOBILITY AND PERSONAL GROWTH

Personality is part of identity and especially individual identity. People usually migrate for different reasons and for different purposes. Some personality factors, such as success and self-realization, might impinge on their propensity to move abroad, especially if the conditions at home are not very satisfactory for them (see chap 2 and 3). This section deals with the question of the personality motivations that drive the respondents to move to Finland and also the resulting personality

development they feel they achieved across their mobility/migration experiences and career paths. The conclusions from the data analysis support these assumptions about the aforementioned drives of mobility (chap 2) and also the conceived growth in their personality as individuals and as HSPs. Therefore, some underlying motivations might relate to the inflow of HSPs to developed countries (see chap 2). In other words, mobility is partly linked to these two personality constructs. For instance, individuals tend to settle in places that are familiar to them, meeting their aspirations or where relatives or friends are located, going into some sort of affiliation. They also often show motives that fuel their international mobility and goals to satisfy their personality along the career path experiences.

The narrative stories evidence that many respondents had never thought initially that their destination country for an international experience would be Finland if they had thought to move abroad (chap 2). Many people from developing countries who feel totally desperate and unsatisfied in their countries and hope to move out to new destinations are believed to have qualifications and skills, contrary to what is reported in the migration literature (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001). Decision-makings for career and spatial mobility then are believed to be related to the underlying personality of the individual. They aspire for reaching places where they could advance in their career path or satisfy themselves with better living conditions. As mentioned earlier, the study involves HSPs who have actually experienced circular mobility in their career paths, their personality characteristics, changing and developing, as well as those who tend to have experienced less frequency of moves and have strong sense of attachment to their countries of origin. Some research literature show almost similar results for the factors of decision-making for career mobility abroad, mainly from developing or emerging nations to more developed countries such as US, UK, Canada, and Australia (Williams & Balaz, 2008).

A major characteristic feature of international mobile individuals is their dissatisfaction with their initial conditions of departure country (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001; Silventoinen et al., 2007). The causes behind their dissatisfaction might be manifold, namely satiation of one's basic motives for better life at different levels. These motives influence their process of decision-making for mobility and migration. Motivation theory (McClelland, 1987) advances that three sorts of motives, which might be linked to human mobility, drive an individual behaviour: affiliation, achievement and power. The latter two are basically related to personality of a person on the move, while affiliation involves attachment to a location rather than mobility. Achievement motivation is the aspiration to do or have the best things such as competitiveness, performance and excellence, especially in connection with emotional, symbolic or economic return for the individual as well as economic success for the region where individuals with high achievement motivation work (McClelland, 1987). An individual with strong achievement motivation tend to have stronger belief in their personal capabilities and professional advancement. Moreover such individuals tend to break routine and feel uneasy in the life course or occupational career seeking self-achievement in the form of upward career mobility and better quality of living (*ibid.*, p. 249). Chapter two, with regard to immigrant's personality, hints to the role played by higher achievement motivation as an impetus for prospective move(s), mainly when departure place witnesses socio-economic *dire straits* or socio-political instability.

The propensity to move then grows for individuals such as international students, professional managers, and academics for self-achievement somewhere else (Boneva, 1998, Mahroum, 2001). The vertical south-north mobility scheme entails that some people are also induced to move due to their high power motivation beside career aspirations and achievement, which all constitute the general forms of mobile personality (Boneva, 1998). Thus, due to their dissatisfaction with the conditions in their countries of origin, they move abroad for opportunities of self-achievement and success (see section below). Building on these ideas, I examine here the mobility aspirations of the respondents, including questions on their personality development in this section, and how they perceive their success and self-achievement so far, the reasons behind it and the prospects of their future in career path in the subsequent section. The majority have expressed their desire to live for longer time in Finland, if not permanently, as they feel satisfied with the dual life-work conditions. But few are uncertain about the prospect in future while reporting their self-satisfaction in their life-career paths. Those who plan to stay in Finland see that the symbolic capital of living in Finland and being a Finn would allow them more fluid career mobility, especially within the EU space.

In the accounts given by respondents, comparison is made between those who show propensity to initiate further move from Finland and those who wish to stay or those who are uncertain about future. Yet, this study finds no important difference in achievement motivation between them. This might be explained by their impetus toward more career advancement and high quality of life for them and their families. This would be considered as the prominent outlets for self-achievement and their expectations from their mobility experience. The majority conceive of their experiences as rewarding and self-satisfying as the work conditions are very good and encouraging to perform well in their respective areas of work on the basis of respect, autonomy and flexibility. In addition, social security system is family-friendly, which incite many to stay in Finland:

I think it's important to feel that you are respected and, more importantly, that you feel you are contributing and also inspiring others to contribute. In my position, my company gives me the ability to build very solid network around, likeminded individuals and professionals. That's at the professional level... (Idris).

... We have to compare the model we have in Tunisia and other countries. If you compare them, you will clearly find that if you compare it with France, France is not really the best model. If you ask yourself what I have in this job, I do my duties and work, I have respect, so what could I say? It's good, I'm satisfied (Ahmed).

Thanks to God, I'm happy with it. Frankly speaking, this is what is good in it. Now that my children are growing up, my aspiration is that I have good work projects, and then I will have my own working time because you are free when you have your own projects.... (Kamal).

I have seen always that quality of life everywhere is how I could be a good citizen anywhere, in my native country and elsewhere and how to integrate myself in society. I know that I'm and I was foreigner everywhere... I was also a foreigner in Finland. Now I am not alone as I have my daughter and how to be a member of society that is a bit a distinction of quality of life, what do you get as positive things and how you could be productive to society where you are living.... But it's mainly how to be a good citizen everywhere (Sabah).

Motivation for power seems to be significant as drive, linked with aspirations for higher vertical career mobility in career path to impact on the field of their professional life, or earn prestige and

recognition from among colleagues and organization where they work, or society at large (Winter, 1973; OECD, 2008a; 2008b). Individuals having such power motivation might also be unable to express it in their departure location and conditions. This might explain the attraction of developed countries with large opportunities especially related to professional or educational fields as their preferable target destination. Power motivation can be high also in occupations with activities which impact on people's lives and wellbeing (Winter, 1973) such as health-care, social work, education and research. In case work opportunities in such areas are scarce in their initial locations, they tend to look for new destinations where they might attain their goals through geographical mobility. In a sense, aspiration for international mobility is related to upward career mobility testified and supported by many empirical studies, especially on international students and researchers, mainly from developing to developed countries (OECD, 2008a; 2008b).

The last motive highlighted by McClelland (1987) is affiliation, delineated as the need to create and maintain relationships with people. Individuals having such motivation tend to keep close contact with kin and friends and they are also likely to perform well when this motivation is high. Moreover, they can build social networks and capital through their social interaction and meetings (*ibid.*). They are also shown to be more collaborative and accommodating in social space. A result of a research work in Canada (Ali & Toner, 2001) is consistent with this contention as it shows that the Caribbeanians who emigrated to Canada do not value much interpersonal relationships than those who did not emigrate. The result also points out there is no gender difference in the effect of affiliation motivation in this respect. The affiliative needs are generally spotted in the personality of those who plan to stay in the country. Moreover, it might be note-worthy that international mobility today could not disrupt distant connectivity between people since the development of ICTs has made such contact easier, though virtually. The respondents' perceptions support this assumption because most of them use internet and phone as means of communication with their family and friends, on regular basis, in native countries. In other words, this factor of affiliation may not inhibit their international experience for any reasons that might be.

The tendency for the majority of respondents to settle down in Finland instead of undertaking further mobility to other destinations is related to their self-satisfaction and possibly with such notions as 'secure home', 'family', 'social justice' and 'self-realisation.' Despite their strong attachment to their origin but still they prefer social security and welfare in Finland. It is argued that the longing for mobility or settlement can be a function of the individual and the context (Frieze *et al.*, 2006; Ackers & Gill, 2008), and that the less attachment one has for a location, the more impetuosity they have for moving away. Those who are comfortable and secure for family or occupational reasons appear less likely to move. Yet, as Fisher (1989) claims, people with strong cultural identity and emotional tie with native country have strong ties to it. However, the ties and proximity with their family niche and place in Finland might be strong enough to restrict any possibility of subsequent re-emigration, showing uncertainty and possible risk in one's career path. Thus, permanent stay might be linked with a high level of affiliation, such as longing for career mobility and securing family life future. The motivational factors for their decision-makings are different, based on the advantages that the new destination would provide them (chap 2). Some might trigger spatial mobility for professional and

occupational advancement in one's career path while others seek security, comfort, homeliness and wellbeing. A HSP who aspires for career mobility might have different perspective and choice than the one whose move has been driven by family reunification (see chap 2, 3). For instance, if one's mobility is driven by family reunification, they possibly would prefer to live in a metropolitan space than small city to maximize opportunities for social and professional self-satisfaction (see Hyndman *et al.*, 2006).

6.5 EXPECTATIONS, SELF-SATISFACTION AND SELF-REALISATION

Individuals usually act according to their intentions and aspirations (Perugini & Conner, 2000), but still some act following some unexpected circumstances (chap 2). The data show that early-career workers have much freedom in their decision-making than late-career or married HSPs due to barriers such as children education or wives' occupations in the same location. Thus, the propensity to move is higher for younger unmarried workers than married ones with children. Besides, there might be some gender differences in the drives for international mobility. Yet, the data indicate such variations do not predominate as influential factors in decision-making for mobility and prospects in career path (chap 4). A significant feature the data report is gender difference in achievement motivation and primacy of occupational career are absent, though level of vulnerabilities and opportunities differ between them (see chap 5). This entails both men and women can equally have higher aspiration for career mobility and international experience in their respective fields. Many respondents moved to Finland because of social networks or social ties informing them about opportunities in Finland or through marriage with Finnish spouse. The majority of women moved to Finland due to spousal relationship, while men aspired for career advancement and exploration of new international experiences in a Nordic country known with welfare and knowledge economy. In general, the conclusion signals that the relationships discussed here are quite complex and interwoven, and that adjustment would possibly involve factors for spatial mobility and the various opportunities provided in Finland for self-satisfaction and self-achievement. These seem the main drives that stir career and spatial mobility for the respondents as individuals.

Moreover, some early and mid-career stage workers find in general mobility as a cultural experience beside a professional one because they are not yet involved in family life course. They feel much enthusiastic towards mobility experience that benefits them professionally, socially, and culturally through their building social network and social capital in their career path at the workplace or elsewhere, locally and globally. The building of social networking differs according to the frequency of moves a person makes and the kind of activities they do. Such connections are important in social inclusion mainly in further occupational activities or projects as well as social integration in local social space. Moreover, short moves might not be much beneficial doing the same tasks because the degree of expertise progression and the scale of social network may stay limited. A long expatriation period has positive outcomes for appointments abroad as late-career workers show. Transcultural and social experience has significant impacts on professional and social development of these HSPs in their work and social space. The cultural skills in a different setting are one reason why transnational workers are demanded today in big multinationals or other organisations (Raunio, 2003; 2007).

Moreover, the respondents have the strong fascination of Finnish way of life characterised with orderliness and efficiency, and honesty and credibility of people, which some respondents think are almost absent in their native countries. Some have become enamoured of the country to the point of thinking to stay after retirement if they decide to continue work in Finland. Many have developed some social connections in their career trajectory in or outside Finland with significant others. Chafiq and Yusef are mobile telecommunications specialists who represent an example of HSPs with career histories of the way development in this field has created an unprecedented rise in mobility of international experts since the 1990s. Many have considered the destination country as the main part of the equation of mobility with a secured satisfying occupational career. The personality characteristics of international HSPs are indeed influenced by their experiences within various contexts of moves. It is argued that three levels of choice making impinge on mobility experience for HSPs: international 'nomadism' for economic opportunities, quality-of-life and social relationships (e.g. marriage and family) (Forsander *et al.*, 2004, p. 121). The data show a large number of respondents moved to Finland due to social relationships rather than academic or professional reasons as this latter came as an outcome of the former.

Raunio (2002; 2003) examined foreign highly skilled labour mobility from an individual perspective of this social group on their motivational drives and choice-making, and from an economic perspective (Raunio, 2005; Raunio & Forsander, 2009). He finds most of his respondents are 'global nomads' driven by socio-economic wellbeing and upward career mobility. Hautala (2006), however, indicates the main drive for foreign-born highly educated in their mobility to Finland is the quality of life. Moreover, Raunio & Sotarauta (2005) evidence that Finland is usually selected as a destination due to a position offered and given once settled down in the country. Following the same line, Trux (2002) argues HSPs decide to work in it due to appreciation for Finland and the existing sense of organization in the country compared with other countries. The international mobility of students and young researchers might augur significant for their personality as they interact in a cosmopolitan space within international community, sharing similar goals and personality traits (Bell & Ward, 2000; van Mol, 2011). They tend to have different perception of and level of adjustment with the host society and culture (Navara & James, 2002). For some, as mentioned earlier, they may decide to move permanently abroad and leave their native country which holds what is called 'anomie society' (Dann, 1977, p. 187), where they do not meet the conditions and opportunities they aspire for in their lives (chap 2 and 3). The respondents who belong to this category have expressed their positive reception of the conditions in Finland because of the good work conditions and flexibility of the work life system. These aspects are family-friendly and associated with good working and holiday schedules. Raunio (2007) found similar results in his study of foreign experts in Finland.

Other research studies demonstrate that other positive feedback are cherished by the respondents such as social security, equality, and safety (Forsander & Raunio, 2005), while others indicate the aspects of healthy nature and cleanliness (Raunio, 2003). In this study, the majority of respondents also reiterate the importance of these aspects of wellbeing and settling down. Few respondents see the welfare system not that attractive and incentive for long-term or permanent stay in Finland since health-care service is growing expensive and payable, added to high salary taxation (chap 5). The

welfare model is considered simply not in tune with the expectations and aspirations of these HSPs community, though some underline the important benefits of social security system and good education system for children. Yet, not all these HSPs have children and many have their health-care covered through the organization that employs them. They also highlight the quality of health service such as long waiting list and payment of medical visits. In sum, some respondents reiterate the characteristic feeling that they pay large portion of their income monthly to a welfare system they do not profit much from. Consequently, it appears a large number of HSPs follow the logic of socio-economic benefits as evidenced in the study for their dissatisfaction with local tax system.

Self-satisfaction and self-fulfilment for social and professional status, for them, are attainable in Finland. Mobility and migration experience may also bring them recognition, respectability and prestige in the local environment, even though this motivation might fade away through time for different reasons. These people also like to explore their personality as part of their achievement. Their intent for social interaction and civic participation in society might give them a sense of affiliation to both local native and co-ethnic communities, and thus boost the process of acculturation and social inclusion. These underlying motives participate in the process of self-realization at the professional and personal scales, and developing sense of a trans-national and national personality. Many respondents experienced self-initiated mobility schemes to Finland, based on educational or family reasons, and consequently personal growth is significant effect of their experiences. The need for autonomy, advancement and wellbeing are important factors driving their mobility schemes, met with various challenges and opportunities:

Here, the fact that you have a job is already a satisfaction. If you are not educated and compare yourself with others who are unemployed, so But we have competences because here you won't be employed without any basis. There are competences which Finns have considered and have utilized. For me personally, at the family level, *alhamdulillah*, my children are growing up and I'm living very well... (Ahmed).

... The first stage of self-assertion at work has passed by in the first years of my work. I used to do multiple tasks and accept everything just for self-assertion. But now I have started to select the works I want to do according to my interest. I just want to give time to my family beside my work. If it were only for my professional position, I could work 24 hours a day. But if some work which cannot bring me some personal satisfaction, I would decline it (Kamal).

... I left the university hospital by myself in 1999.... because I was not satisfied.... [I worked there] since I got that position in 1986... I could take free time needed for study or specialization, one year or two. But I kept that position so that I could come back to it. That is, I was having occupation but, at a certain time, there were some problems and I wasn't so satisfied in the ways things were going on and I left the job definitely. But before I left, I was insured about another position for me somewhere else (Mourad).

As a job, I am satisfied, I cannot say anything more. If I don't like a job, I cannot stay in it for long. I like to feel comfortable in my workplace so I can be very productive in it. Also, we should bear in mind that in a laboratory, we should be very careful because many micro-level testings are done... I did 1730 tests and the result was 97.7 % successful. This is good and important for me because as a foreigner, you are not well trusted. Working here for them, you are third class citizen but when you are the best of employees, this is much important for me (Meryem).

Some respondents also show exploration of the Nordic region and culture as another motive for mobility. They like to learn new things especially since they seek high professional attainment and

social wellbeing. Their living in a different socio-cultural setting allows them to see and learn from a different perspective, as this might be interesting for those with high expectations and aspirations. Apart from their geographical and career mobility, they have personality characteristic induced by change and exploration of new places with new experiences (e.g. Idris, Amal, Sabah). Yet, it is still possible that they are motivated by self-achievement and success. The respondents report they like the social space where they live and work despite the challenges met of the weather and the distinct socio-cultural construct of society (see chap 5). They have the opportunities but still have attachment to their native country and culture. This might imply they have high achievement and affiliation motivation, which do not disrupt their proper identity characteristics. The personality features might be linked with their aspirations and expectations from their moves. Since their international mobility experience emanates from their own volition, they incur a personality that develops through time in their life course and career path.

Respondents may depict their self-achievement not just at professional or educational levels, but also at the individual personality level through their acculturation motives which influence their adjustment within Finnish society and culture. Other respondents might be driven by self-development which has characteristics linked with achievement such as intercultural learning and international academic opportunities. These two values are highly cherished by these mobile individuals, though the financial socioeconomic drive is not much emphasized in their mobility experience. Yet, their high level of academic activities show their main goal is to advance in their career path. These differentiations certainly indicate that personality factors underlying their mobility are complex and require more attention in international skilled migration/mobility research. Some of them also show volunteering and altruistic motives in their aspiration in taking part in their countries of origin's development, in one way or another, through initiatives of cooperation or exchange with their respective employing institutions in Finland (chap 3).

6.6 CONCLUSION: IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION

This chapter seeks to present some theoretical concepts and conclusions on the respondents as foreign HSPs from MENA region settle down in Finland. Individuals tend to adjust to new social spaces as some social and cultural aspects appear to influence their adjustment in various degrees. This process affects identity and personality as well as their legal status in the new setting. The first section assesses acculturative attitudes (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation) from subjective and objective career perspectives of the respondents. One major conclusion from this part of study is the existence of different ways individuals follow in their process of acculturation. The four acculturation frameworks are supported by the available data analysis that indicates it is a content-valid way to fathom the possibilities these individuals experience in their international career paths. This existence of various forms of acculturation signals the need to consider the sorts of goals and achievements the individuals seek during the process of acculturation. It is indeed not enough just to report that they follow a natural acculturation in different ways, but it is also important to find ways to spot and evaluate these variations, and to differentiate between the goals behind acculturation of these HSPs in comparison with the interests of the host society in general. Many respondents prefer integration

process in the sense of preserving n their ethnic-cultural identity and embracing some Finnish socio-cultural norms and values.

The way to manage cultural diversity in society is important in this regard as a positive support to handle cultural pluralism (Berry, 1991). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that both options are not the best way to deal with this context because the strategy that these HSPs and their own social group have might be different from the strategy other immigrant groups and their members follow in the acculturation process. This is one reason why it is deemed important to examine acculturation process of the host society in the situation of multi-ethnic and intercultural space. The second significant point discussed is the differences in the way individuals adjust to their acculturation experiences. The data depict large differences in adaptive outcomes for the participants. The degree of adjustment is generally in the same level for them with some discrepancies related to gender and length of residence in Finland. In fact, it would be significant to examine these differences in research because it is unviable to assume almost all of the respondents undergoing acculturation cannot adapt to the new social spaces in Finland.

It is possible that some respondents could not adjust socio-culturally and psychologically. These cases need to be identified and examined to find the deficiencies at the social, institutional and political levels. Thirdly, the link between the way individuals acculturate and the way they adjust has implications at all levels. At the cultural level, the pattern appears to alarm policy-makers in society that this category of minorities undergoes almost similar consequences as other low-skilled immigrant groups in social interaction with the natives in the social space, while they tend to maintain cultural and collective identity. They, hence, see advantageous sometimes when they prefer separation through ethnic-cultural maintenance (socio-cultural self-exclusion). At familial level, the attempt for majority of respondents to balance their cultural identity, mainly within family circle and a larger co-ethnic group, and socio-cultural participation in civil society and social gatherings might be the ideal way to perform and adjust to family life in the process of acculturation.

At the individual level, integration process has a significant adaptive value, as the basic analysis of data indicates, showing the personality and identity development of the majority in their experiences. They mostly identify themselves as 'cosmopolitan' and 'transnational' citizens while emphasising their identity of origin. Personality is part of identity, especially the individual aspect of it. Some personality factors such as success and self-realization may affect their tendency to move abroad. Mobility of these HSPs is partly related to success and self-realization motivations as they often show motives that fuel their moves and goals to satisfy their personality as well as their career paths. The data show gender variations in the drives for mobility do not predominate as influential factors in the drives for mobility and migration and career prospects. An important feature data report, however, is gender difference in achievement motivation and the primacy of occupational career is absent. The conclusion signals the relationships discussed here are complex and interwoven, and the adjustment may involve factors for spatial mobility and the various opportunities given in Finland for self-satisfaction and self-achievement. Self-satisfaction and self-realization for social and professional status, for them, are attainable in their experiences. This experience may bring them recognition and respectability as HSPs, and seem to explore their personality as part of their achievement.

These underlying motives participate in the process of self-realization at the personal and professional levels and a sense of a transnational and national personality. Many through their self-initiated moves or other forms of mobility have felt personality growth as an outcome. Cultural exploration, to learn about the Nordic culture and live its lifestyle, is one motive some have mentioned for mobility/migration. They are, however, mostly motivated by self-achievement and success. The majority like the social space where they live and work despite the challenges met in socialisation, the nature of society and the geographical Nordic climate. Yet, they tend to strengthen their cultural identity and family, and at the same time growing a social trans-national identity in the local social space. This generally supports the argument set by the literature of transnationalism (Sassen, 2000; Harvey, 2011). Significantly enough, the respondents seem to have high achievement and affiliation motivation which do not disrupt their identity characteristics. Their personality traits might be linked with their aspirations and expectations from their mobility experiences. They incur a personality that develops through time in their life-career paths. They also may depict their self-achievement at the individual personality level through their acculturation motives that affect their adjustment within Finnish society and culture. The majority is driven by career mobility and self-development, which are characteristic to trans-cultural learning and international academic opportunities. The respondents in their accounts tend to highlight the importance of these while the financial return from their experience is not much emphasized. These variations point to personality factors underlying their mobility are complex and require attention in international HSM research.

7. Rethinking Career and Spatial Mobility: Conclusions and Discussion

I think that I could create two intellectual biographies for myself that were completely different- one which made all my successive choices appear to be the product of a project directed in a methodical way, since the beginning; the other, also completely accurate, that described a chain of chance, of more or less fortuitous encounters, happy or unhappy (Bourdieu in interview with Yvette Delsaut 2002, in Danahay, 2005).

The universality of Knowledge and *know-how* and the specificity of 'high-skills' labour markets unquestionably have been the motor for the increase in the mobility and migration of knowledge workers. However, the literature on HSM has traditionally focused on brain drain approach and consequences for developing countries while the sort of processes and patterns of international HSPs' moves, social and occupational integration, influence of gender in mobility, their acculturation process, and identity and personality development in international mobility experiences are under-researched. These remain as "an almost hidden aspect of the international labor market" (Jokinen *et al.*, 2008, p. 979). Their international mobility can be more self-initiated than organizationally driven for reasons other than professional or occupational. Thus, their career paths from a different geographical and social setting of MENA to Finland might be characteristically distinct as they represent a pool of HSPs providing alternative outcomes or diversity in HSM. It deems important to examine the structural and individual labour market, opportunities and constraints they may face in their career paths, the different strategies they use to attain their career expectations and goals, the benefits they accrue by using their capitals through their career paths, and the impacts of their experiences in their identity development and acculturation.

The narrative of mobility and migration experience of an individual involves factors that trigger it and the degree of its necessity and volition. The last two decades has witnessed the shift of mobility and migration to Finland from low-skilled to highly skilled mobility though in a slow pace. The main driving force of their entry to Finland is not necessarily taken to be human capital accumulation, but also marriage migration in the form of family reunification or even serendipitous factors. This corroborates with recent findings in some research works on international HSPs migration, refuting the past assumption of human capital approach in research. The respondents in this study, coming from the Middle East and North African countries, as HSPs generally depict the incentive of career mobility and better work conditions as they maintain in their narratives. Many use their pragmatic rationality (strategic-opportunistic and evaluative-aspirational aspects) in having the best choices in career and spatial mobility schemes. Yet, happenstance sometimes directs their career pathways and spatial mobility as they react to such serendipitous events. The important factors that have triggered their moves geographically prior to their entry to Finland range between family reasons of marriage

with Finnish natives, career advancement especially for young and unmarried HSPs, and sometimes serendipitous events such as political upheaval or intervening social network.

The respondents' mobility and migration is not just to improve their lifestyle conditions and economic situation but, more importantly, to seek upward career mobility and occupational attainments. They came to Finland through channels other than occupational mobility. Their life stories unveil quite similar commonalities though their individual trajectories are quite different and non-linear. They converge in their intention to stay rather than move back to native country or re-emigrate somewhere else. For many who graduated from their native countries' universities, they felt an urge to fly abroad for better future career and life. These students used means to access information such as ICTs and accumulated social capital (formal or informal) prior to entering Finland. There is the rational element in the decision-making and the arrangement to move to Finland. It is worth-noting that a number of them faced financial, social or structural pressures, along their career paths, failing to advance in career path in countries of origin, or other countries. Some have been forced to continue study under unfavorable conditions in native country and then were led to move to ex-Soviet Union, for instance, due to lower study costs or politically institutionalised conventions between their countries and ex-Soviet Union, or they move to other countries free of tuition fees such as France or Germany.

The good conditions of institutions and organisations in Finland have been an incentive to choose it as the best potential destination. The technological development and innovation system are among the best in the world, while R&D sector is important. They would find it an attractive option for engineering students, researchers and potential managers from abroad in various fields. This reputational capital constitutes a significant factor for the rise of foreign HSPs moving to Finland, alongside the Nordic social welfare system. If they do not take such risks, they would meet employment difficulties and *deskilling* in their native countries. Many take rational decision-making at the times of constrained or unfavourable situations such as informal temporary work or negative prospects for future career prior to their mobility/migration abroad. In fact, the temporal (duration) aspect of their experiences remains also an important aspect to consider since the flow of time is a factor affecting process of social inclusion (in labour market and social spaces) in Finland.

The point where a mobile individual such as a HSP is seen as an immigrant is regarded differently in the literature of migration/mobility studies. The career path of a HSP is open and developing at different levels, personal, social, occupational and professional. International HSM shapes successive events and conditions the individual undergoes even if the effects come strong or weak through passing time. The temporal aspect after entry to the country might help transcend difficulties met. Those who have been resident in Finland for a long lapse of time may solve subsequent problems much easily than new comers especially as related to social security and employment (e.g. regulations, information and labour market integration). They get access to relevant information, suitable employment opportunities (e.g. Mourad, Jawad, Warda, Malak). However, the reasons for mobility/migration to Finland are highly influential and decisive for future life to many of them. For instance, those mid-career researchers who moved to undertake postgraduate and postdoctoral studies might easily get integrated into labour markets. Their international mobility represents a source of social and career mobility and symbolic capital, whereas those who came initially as a

spouse under family reunification process in the 1970s or 1980s, or those immigrants with status of refugee might encounter structural constraints (e.g. Finnish language skills, accreditation of degrees).

The push-pull factors are influential in decision-making process, which subsequently affect the patterns and effects of mobility and migration. Social capital is an important influence in the process (e.g. the presence of Finnish spouse). The dynamics between family situation and mobility either enhance or restrain career and spatial mobility, and henceforth career paths. In this respect, two forms of mobility are noted here: self-initiated and tied mobility. Most of the respondents had self-initiated mobility for Higher Education and then developed into tied mobility due to family reunion. The presence of children and social contacts (e.g. friends and family members) also affect the choice to move or stay in Finland. The respondents seem to share similar values and aspirations for career paths and family life (e.g. stability, social wellbeing, good career prospects, and children future). The process of decision-making for the majority involves evaluative-aspirational and strategic-opportunistic aspects. However, deficiency of social and symbolic capitals might hamper their aspirations and expectations as they face dislocating and contradictory routines in their career paths (e.g. Amal, Monaim, Hanane and Amina). Further, the presence of a spouse and grown-up children in personal life of the respondents influences the process and patterns of mobility/migration. This leads to in a process of negotiations and compromises between their needs and those of family.

The respondents' patterns of mobility/migration experiences and career paths would affect the way they interact in the social space and the long-term or permanent duration of stay would eventually influence the way they would manage their social and professional life. The questions handled in this respect concern the duration, frequency, return option and career stage of the respondents. There is a tight relation between mobility, employability and length of stay since permanent employment leads to permanent stay. The data show that the majority of respondents think of permanent stay. The uncertainty scale is still present for few about their future career life, depending mostly on family circumstances and the socio-cultural dispositions of the HSPs (e.g. degree of acculturation and religiosity). The majority of them entered Finland in early- or mid-career stage. Graduated students tend to opt for stay in Finland either to work or continue doctoral or postdoctoral research as they adjust to the new location and life conditions. The majority see their career prospects as rewarding and promising if they stay despite the difficulty they find in Nordic climate. They generally assume the best living and work conditions and the future of their children as major factors of retention. They generally conceive the social, educational and professional support people get in the country is a great satisfaction for them. However, few cases epitomize the situation of *deskilling* or *brain waste* which HSPs might face in career paths by taking up odd jobs initially in their native countries and possibly in host countries (e.g. Amina, Hanane, Amal).

The question of return to countries of origin is tightly related with push-pull factors. Many of them have expressed their apprehension to return back to native countries as they find it difficult to reintegrate into labour market and cope with the conditions present therein. The support they get in Finland seems more efficient and productive for them than in their countries of origin. They mostly require that institutions in their native countries provide a convenient landscape of reintegration into labour market in such a way to benefit from their accumulated knowledge and *savoir-faire* abroad.

However, they generally cherish the possibility of transfer, exchange and cooperation initiatives between their respective employing institutions and countries of origin. The degree of their volition to initiate such activities depends mainly on their respective occupational positions and individual dispositions. For instance, few with higher senior positions have already been involved in some cooperation and exchange conventions on individual basis between Finland and their native countries, while some lament the absence of conventions and policies to stir up initiatives, monitoring and involvement of these HSPs in such initiatives (e.g. absence of formal HSPs network in Finland, linking public or private institutions in countries of origin).

The female respondents as HSPs are considered in relation to family life context and the specificities of their background. Their accounts in interviews indicate their heterogeneity depending on their status, level of education and family situations, meeting different opportunities and vulnerabilities in career paths as HSPs and/or as spouses. The respondents show different paths and directions of career mobility with the majority being established in convenient positions and few working in ubiquitous jobs such as 'cultural brokers' in social service sector (e.g. Amal, Hanane, Amina). They show dismay in their experiences due to their failure to get fully integrated into labour market. Many in the sample did undergo temporary work as they face structural constraints in the recruitment process (e.g. lack of experience or credentials, higher or suitable qualifications). Another characteristic is the primacy they give to family household and their concerns for their children's education and future. Some women moved along with their husbands as the latter got new work destinations. Hence, they turn into tied-movers and get involved in domestic and family duties, sometimes to the detriment of their career work (e.g. Amina, Hanane, Meryem), whereas unmarried women show more commitment to work and career mobility (e.g. Sabah, Safaa). Thus, female HSPs' career paths are affected mostly by their family role, which can be explained by the change in the pattern of their mobility from self-initiated to tied-moves.

International research on female HSPs indicate the tendency of negative effects of mobility/migration on their career paths with increase of family duties and gender role of 'housewife,' low-paid and underemployed positions or change of direction in career. However, the majority have support from their husbands in their career pursuits while they show varying degree of compromise in dual career context according to their work positions and family situation (i.e. presence of children). Some women engage in cultural and social activities at the socio-cultural level. They seem to identify with local society since their mobility is a way for social mobility and empowerment, a search for personal freedom and better socio-cultural lifestyle and gender equality (e.g. Warda, Malak, Nabila, Hanane). This may represent an important factor supporting their social identity and the collective wellbeing of society through their involvement in social networks, associations and organizations that are motivated by intercultural mobilisation and cultural proximity with Finnish culture and society. These women believe social justice and social democratic regime in Finland is important factor in their wellbeing and career mobility. They generally conceive quality of life and children's future are good and prioritize family life stability to career mobility. Yet, some did not meet their aspirations in reality as they could not secure jobs or good living standard. Another important point stirred by these women is their tendency to keep their children in touch with the culture of origin while fostering a

Finnish social and national identity. In sum, the female HSPs see their experiences not confined to work and household only, but the wellbeing of family and stability.

Another research dimension the study has probed into is social inclusion of the respondents. Their accounts give important insights into their experiential perceptions on inclusion in different social spaces as foreign-born HSPs in Finland. Individual and situational factors affect social inclusion, and its examination needs to be stretched to experiential, reciprocal, and relational aspects, beside its institutional ones. Their perceptions fluctuate according to their individual *habitus* and mobility experiences, between the feelings of uncertainty and frustration about some respondents' family life future and the sense of security within the welfare regime system in the country. Yet, the majority tends to epitomize the kind of positive social inclusion (institutional, social and occupational) during their stay in Finland as international HSPs. Their experiential perceptions of characteristic Finnish society and culture is coloured with positive and negative undertones and understandings. Their ethnic visibility covers the attempts to social integration, or assimilation, with different degree of uncertainty about what social integration within society entails. The study discusses the respondents' employability with the various opportunities and vulnerabilities they perceive being or having been influential in their career paths, the strategies they used through their spatial and career mobility experiences, the role different forms of capital play in social inclusion and building social interactivity, trust and reciprocity within society in formal and informal spaces. Despite the good and friendly atmosphere at the workplace with Finnish colleagues, the degree of social proximity is much restricted within this formal space.

Furthermore, they see the degree of socialization with Finns disappointing, viewing it the only negative side-effect in the process of social inclusion. They tend to blame the cultural differences between their culture of socialization and local mainstream culture. Individual social agency is also blamed for some in this social reality as they allude to lack of time for more informal socialization apart from family circle. The majority of respondents show also weak social interaction among their acquaintances originating from MENA countries. They have limited social circle of interaction that is confined to the family as they give much of their time to their work and career mobility, and the rest to their small family's daily living (see chap 2 and 3). Yet, career and social mobility, sometimes, do not seem to improve their social positioning in an unfamiliar social space which some respondents take as a natural and normal discursive perception if locals are not personally acquainted with them. Some respondents get involved in a sort of small social networking of their ethnic group of friends or cultural associations or socialize with international colleagues since they feel themselves more proximate as an international community. Few respondents indicate their experiences of informal social encounter where Finns do not know them usually have the kind of boundaries related to apprehension, unwelcome, insecurity, and mistrust. They see the interiorized, sometimes imperceptible, feeling of acceptance without indulging a characteristic of Finnish interactive practice, which might be read as a form of 'distancing' from significant others rather than a sign of bias.

Various reasons why respondents would, or would not, invest effort to learn Finnish language depend on their personal and professional situation (e.g. family responsibilities, temporary nature of stay, lack of time, presence of Finnish spouse, language requirement at work). Knowledge of Finnish

language plays important role in enhancing informal interaction in a social space. Some report the difficulty to build friendship and social connection with Finns due to attitudes of mistrust and caution toward immigrants in mainstream society. They mention the difficulties encountered in breaking the wall of cultural differences and informal social categorization which appears for them as covertly structured within mainstream society. This situation somehow reflects an inequality in symbolic power relations in the 'social world,' which, according to some, is due to dispositional attitudes to what social/collective identity and socialization entail for different social groups and the stratification of socio-cultural norms and values in society.

The social adjustment and socialization of respondents' spouses and children in the local social space might vary, which might impact on the relationships and networks family members have or build. While the social resources might be present in one social space, it can be absent in others. The colleagues' professional network might be diverse providing network opportunities while social networking of co-ethnic group members is restricted to few gatherings. Some respondents working as social workers have a restricted social network as they work mainly for immigrants' social service, restricting their activities to form larger network. This kind of isolation may restrain building social and transcultural capital. However, senior academics may have larger international networks due to the nature of their activities. The kind of work environment has a significant role in the way social networking is formed and maintained with members from different majority and minority social groups. Hence, understanding the way micro-level support network affects social inclusion requires consideration of individual variations in how and when social networks are beneficial in the process of social inclusion. The features of social network built in the population of respondents are important to consider since they are basically made up of the family network of Finnish spouse or relatives, old university friends and rarely with Finnish colleagues, or accidental acquaintances that influence the dual career paths of the subjects (chap 2 and 3).

The respondents as a category of HSPs living and working in Finland have cultural and symbolic capitals. However, the subjective power relations outside the workplace seem to denote a *misrecognition* of this symbolic capital seldom in the daily life of the respondents. Moving outside in the social world of informal spaces, the perceptions of ordinary people in mainstream society brings to the fore the significance of attitudes, worldview, social positioning and categorization. Some respondents acknowledge the difficulties encountered in penetrating social spaces which involve various genres of strategies used for recognition and receptiveness in mainstream society. Some have recourse to additional efforts to legitimize their acceptance and presence by using their cultural capital (e.g. professional network, position), doing anti-social overwork activities and occupational efforts in the workplace or social capital from their Finnish spouses. Also, the support of family members for the respondents is important in career mobility (international mobility experience) and social interaction. Further, their socio-economic status sometimes is one way to gain social legitimation and trust, and a strategy of distinction from other categories of immigrants in society. However, the symbolic capital through social and cultural capitals does not, in effect, enhance their social positioning in informal social space.

Thus, the majority seems to socialize with those they are familiar with (e.g. colleagues, family circle, co-ethnic immigrant group). Many respondents' accounts show the significance of social capital, in terms of social networks, trust, and acculturative norms and values, in formal and informal social interaction within society. Some respondents aspire to construct relationships based on mutual trust and to gain receptiveness and social recognition as members of society. For some respondents, networks of civic participation are one means for fostering social capital and norms of reciprocity as they participate in associative activities to build spaces of social interaction. Yet, the data indicate very few illustrate a category that follows self-exclusion and retreat from social participation. Hence, it is possible that an individual's life circumstances and experiences would influence the kind of people s/he likes to be part of and in what context, rather than whether one appreciates or not social participation (see Brewer, 1991). It is possible that proximity and tight interaction with co-ethnic members help preserve socio-cultural habits, socialisation and language. *Strong ties* might, however, have side effects with regard to social inclusion within society and dissuade group members from cherishing social interaction, while social connections and social roles in mainstream society are weak (see Granovetter, 1995). Some respondents show frustration about language difficulties which impede social and cross-cultural interactions. In-group interactivity thus could work as a protective factor but may cost them opportunities to build social networks within mainstream society.

Social interaction between diverse social groups may foster a transnational social space in the context of mobility and migration with socio-cultural adjustment of individuals and groups to the new context (Castels *et al.*, 2002). This process thus affects their identity and personality. The study sees it relevant to examine these issues as they develop in the career paths of the sample in the context of Finland. It discusses the degrees of acculturation and adaptation of respondents through acculturative attitudes (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation) from subjective and objective career perspectives of the respondents. The respondents show a pattern of variations across the different categories in the sample. The majority is oriented toward their cultural identity of origin and have integration attitude and rejection of separation, marginalisation and assimilation (see also chap 5). Thus, they show both positive ethnic-cultural identity and Finnish national identity as career mobility and family life are prioritized in the process. Very few show both separation and social integration profiles (e.g. Chafiq, Amina, Toufiq), while national-assimilation profiles dominate among respondents regardless of length of residence in Finland or their spatial mobility experiences as they conceive themselves as Finnish nationals. The respondents with integration preference were more than half and very few show assimilation. There is significant variation in perceived stereotyping and bias: those with integration and assimilation profiles report less discrimination and bias while those with separation (self-exclusion) profiles indicate some perceived bias (see chap 5). They return negative effects by distancing themselves and engage in separation strategies if they experience bias and stereotypes in informal or formal spaces.

In sum, the respondents as foreign HSPs experiencing acculturation differ following the processes and patterns in career paths, mobility/migration experiences and their dispositional attitudes (i.e. social, educational, personal, and occupational background). The sample may be seen as a minority within their ethnic minority group in Finland. Integration-social and separation-cultural profiles are higher

than assimilation-national profiles, showing weak socio-cultural adjustment and socialization. The respondents may have their self-identification and identity made up of professional career (personal identity), family (role identity), and ethnic-cultural self (collective identity) (see Brewer and Gardner, 1996). A particular identity orientation is related with a primary motivation: personal (self-interest), relational (other's benefits), and collective (one's group wellbeing) (*ibid.*). The study examines how they identify themselves in relation to their mobility experiences. Reference is made to theories of identity underlining multifaceted and competing nature of HSP's identity, affected by career path, family situation, gender or culture of origin. The issue of developing identities for HSPs is often linked to transnationalism and spatial mobility as these individuals maintain forms of attachments, or *habitus* (e.g. family, cultural values, traditions, and immigrant groups). For example, self-interest and self-realization from personal identity incite a person to move abroad to attain career and social mobility.

The respondents have personal, relational and collective identities that affect their motivational factor for mobility/migration experience. Four kinds of identity are identified to explain the experiences of these HSPs at career, family, gender and cultural related levels. Respondents with strong career identity would stay in Finland if s/he meets good work conditions, cultural capital, better lifestyle, and would not return to her/his native country if better return, expectations and aspirations are met (chap 2, 3). Another factor for stay in Finland is the presence of family and children. They tend to have strong affiliation motivation with close relatives. Relational identity (e.g. as parent and spouse) influences their decision-making. Many have their mobility generated by family reunion with native or naturalised Finnish nationals. This practice applies more to men than women among respondents. Family identity, in relation with cultural identity, is a priority for some regardless of where they live and work. Being embedded in society as a spouse and parent with local native spouse is one factor for their stay in Finland. Social network is another relational factor affecting mobility decision-making as trailing spouse, for both men and women, to same destination (chap 3, 4). They build social network of family, friends and colleagues, and venture to do sacrifices for family stability and career mobility in their decisions to stay. The data show many depict high achievement than affiliation motivation in their initial mobility experience and, in later stage, they lean to family ties and career future. This indicates the tremendous significance of relational identity in their career paths. Family role and gender role can be interrelated in the relational identity of the respondents as they affect both men and women as spouses in their decisions on career and spatial mobility and migration, though they may have different roles in family life. For example, if a female HSP has less family responsibilities, her career identity is the salient motivation for her mobility schemes than family identity.

As mentioned above, the respondents identify with their countries of origin and with Finland as second country because they feel their identity has developed into a more transnational and cosmopolitan one. Many believe their decisions to move to Finland were dictated by their individual identification with a more egalitarian, humane and libertarian regime many view as absent in their native countries. They identify themselves as Finnish nationals and nationals from their countries of origin. The majority of respondents think their cultural identification plays important role in their personal and professional life because they embraced through their stay in Finland a sense of affinity with the values of the social and institutional regime that respects intellectual productivity work

performance and give them dignity and recognition. They see themselves as sharing these attributes within Finnish culture. Their identification as nationals and sometimes bi-nationals or transnational depends on the degree of their acculturation and responsiveness to other cultures. Cultural identity is dominant for few respondents whose ethnic-cultural affiliation is high and predominant in their dispositional construct of social life practice. However, very few having cultural affinity and embrace the local culture and develop hybrid cultural identity while maintaining their cultural identity of origin. On the other hand, some personality factors such as success and self-realization may induce international skilled mobility and migration abroad. The data indicate the presence of personality motivations driving respondents to move to Finland. Generally, mobility of international HSPs is partly related to success and self-realization motivations as HSPs often show motives that fuel their moves and goals. They aspire to go where they achieve career mobility and satisfy their expectations and where opportunities are available (chap 2, 3, 4).

The data show gender variations in the drives for mobility do not predominate as influential factors in processes of decision-making and career prospects. Yet, a significant characteristic the data report is absence of gender difference in achievement motivation and primacy of occupational career. Both men and women have high aspirations for career mobility, generally dictated by major push-pull factors. The conclusion signals the relationships discussed here are complex and interwoven, and the adjustment may involve factors linked to spatial mobility and the opportunities given in Finland for self-satisfaction and self-achievement. Self-satisfaction and self-realization for social and professional status, for the majority, are attainable in their mobility/migration experiences, possibly bringing them recognition, respectability and prestige as HSPs. The accounts many respondents seem to picture their personality as part of their achievement, while their social inclusion may give a sense of affiliation to local mainstream society and also co-ethnic social group. These underlying motives participate in the process of self-realization at personal and professional levels, and a sense of transnational and national self-identification. They may depict their self-achievement at the individual personality level through their acculturation motives that affect their adjustment (or social integration) within Finnish society. They tend to emphasize the importance of their career mobility, social mobility and self-achievement. These variations point to the personality factors underlying their mobility and migration as complex and requiring regard in international HSM research.

The career path of a HSP involves ongoing and complex experiences which are unique to this individual. The career mobility is a daily and real life experience which individuals in all walks of life have to encounter. Understanding this experience becomes pertinent and insightful in generally developing our knowledge on human ways of being and specifically the occupational aspects of life. An individual can have a single career which has an evolutionary process at occupational level (i.e. employment), but non-occupational experiences (social, psychological and cultural) are important as well. Research in Finland has been done on questions such as the issue of integration process of immigrants. The ethos and attitudes of natives towards immigration and immigrants' integration as well as the foreign-born communities towards the social constructs of Finnish society are important to consider here in relation to the issue of social inclusion. The accounts of respondents give important clue to the way inclusion can be promoted for foreign-born HSPs in social and occupational spaces of

the host society. The respondents in the study seem to stay in Finland because of the quality and conditions of work, and quality of life. The policies implemented in Finland are critical in this regard. Many developed nations consider economic development rests partly on attracting skills and knowledge workers (e.g. the quality of urban life, social security, remuneration, salaries, standard of life). Many HSPs move abroad to their destination of choice for better living conditions and family reasons, beside career mobility. Nowadays, *cultural diversity* has moved from being a 'soft' and contextual issue to a decisive component of explicitly major national policy-making (Raunio, 2007). Kepsu and Vaattovaara (2008) maintain cultural diversity and locals' attitudes to it are as significant influences as the work conditions, salary and public services. Recognition of the role of intrinsic and extrinsic factors influencing members in their personal life and professional career paths requires its contextualization within a multi-layered relational perspective, hence a *socio-analysis* taken as a methodological, often rhetorical, strategy meant to engage the respondents into re-reading and rewriting their personal and career paths (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), in the context of their mobility and migration experiences.

Sources

- Abrams, Dominic Hogg, Michael A., and Marques, José M. (2004): A social psychological framework for understanding social inclusion and exclusion. In D. Abrams, M.A. Hogg, and J.M. Marques (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Inclusion and Exclusion* (1-23). New York: Psychology Press.
- Ackers, Louise (2007): Legislating for equality? Working hours and progression in science careers. *European Law Journal*, vol. 13 (2), 169-85.
- Ackers, L. (1998) *Shifting Spaces: Gender, Citizenship and Migration in the EU*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Ackers, Louise and Gill, Bryony (2008) *Moving People and Knowledge*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Ackers, L. and Stalford, Helen (2004) *A Community for Children? Children, Citizenship and Internal Migration in the EU*. London, UK: Ashgate.
- Agullo, Bernat and Egawa, Midori (2009): International careers of Indian workers in Tokyo: Examination and future directions. *Career Development International*, vol. 14 (2), 148-168.
- Ahmad, Akhlaq (2005) *Getting a Job in Finland: The Social Networks of Immigrants from the Indian Subcontinent in the Helsinki Metropolitan Labour Market*. PhD Dissertation: University of Helsinki Publication.
- Al-Ariss, Akram and Syed, Jawad (2011): Capital Mobilization of Skilled Migrants: A Relational Perspective. *British Journal of Management*, 22, pp. 286-304.
- Al Ariss, A. (2010): Modes of engagements: migration, self-initiated expatriation, and career development. *Career Development International*, 15, 338-358.
- Al Ariss, Akram and Özbilgin, Mustafa (2010): Understanding self-initiated expatriates: Career experiences of Lebanese self-initiated expatriates in France. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, vol. 52 (4), 275-285.
- Alheit, Peter (1994) *Taking the Knocks: Youth Unemployment and Biography - A Qualitative Analysis*. London: Cassell.
- Ali, Alisha and Toner, Brenda B. (2001): Symptoms of depression among Caribbean women and Caribbean-Canadian women: An investigation of self-silencing and domains of meaning. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 25 (3), 175-180.
- Arnold, John (2005) *Managing Careers into the 21st Century*. London: Sage Publications.
- Arthur, Michael B., Khapova, Svetlana N. and Wilderom, Celeste. P. M. (2005): Career success in a boundaryless career world. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, vol. 26 (2), 177-202.
- Astin, Helen, S. (1984): The meaning of work in women's lives: a socio-psychological model of career choice and work behavior. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 12, 117-26.
- Axhausen, Kay W. (2008): Social networks, mobility biographies and travel: the survey challenges. *Environment and Planning B, Planning and Design*, vol. 35 (6), 981-996.
- Bagchi, Ann D. (1999): Making Connections: A Study of the Social Network of Immigrant Professionals. University of Wisconsin at Madison Dissertation Abstracts International. *The Humanities and Social Sciences*, 60 (6).
- Baier, Annette C. (1995) *Moral Prejudices: Essays on Ethics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bailey, Kenneth D. (2005): Beyond system internals: Expanding the scope of Living Systems Theory. *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*, 22 (6), 497-508.
- Balaz, Vladimir., A.M. Williams, Allan M. and Kollar, Daniel (2004a): Temporary versus permanent youth brain drain: Economic implications. *International Migration*, vol. 42 (4), 4-34.
- Balaz, V. and Williams, A. (2004b): Been there, done that: International student migration and human capital transfers from the UK to Slovakia. *Population, Place and Space*, vol. 10 (3), 217-37.
- Barber, Pauline Gardiner (2000): Agency in Philippine women's labour migration and provisional diaspora. *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 23 (4), 399-411.
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2006) *Liquid Fear*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2003) *Liquid Love*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1998a) *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1998b): Identity-then, Now, what for? *Polish Sociological Review*, vol. 123 (3), 205-16.
- Bauman, Z. (1993) *Postmodern Ethics*. Oxford: Backwell.

- Beaverstock, Jonathon V. (2005): Transnational elites in the city: British highly-skilled intercompany transferees in New York city's financial district. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* vol. 31 (2), 245-268.
- Beaverstock, J. V. (2002): Transnational elites in global cities: British expatriates in Singapore's financial district. *Geoforum*, vol. 33 (4), 525-38.
- Beck, Ulrich and Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (2002) *Individualisation*. London: Sage.
- Becker, Gary S. (1993) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Beine, Michel, Docquier, Frédéric and Oden-Defoort, Cecily (2011): A Panel Data Analysis of the Brain Gain. *World Development*, vol. 39 (4), 523-532.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Hillel Rapoport (2008): Brain Drain and Human Capital Formation in Developing Countries: Winners and Losers. *The Economic Journal*, 118, 631-652.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Rapoport, H. (2007): Measuring International Skilled Migration: A New Database Controlling for Age of Entry. *The World Bank Economic Review*, vol. 21 (2), 249-254.
- Bell, Martin and Ward, Gary (2000): Comparing temporary mobility with permanent migration. *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 2 (1), 87-107.
- Benson-Rea, Maureen and Rawlinson, Stephen (2003): Highly skilled and business migrants: Information processes and settlement outcomes. *International Migration*, 42 (2), 59-79.
- Bergman, Manfred Max (1998): A theoretical note on the differences between attitudes, opinions, and values. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 2 (4), 81-93.
- Bergman, Mindy E. and Chalkley, Katherine M. (2007): "Ex" marks a spot: The stickiness of dirty work and other removed stigmas. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 12, 251-265.
- Bergman Manfred, Lambert Paul, Prandy Kenneth and Joye, Dominique (2002): Theorisation, construction, and validation of a social stratification scale (CAMSSIS) for Switzerland. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 28 (1), 7-25.
- Bergman, M.M. and Joye, D. (2001): Comparing social stratifications schemas: Camsis, CSP-CH, Goldthrope, ISCO-88, Treiman, and Wright. *Cambridge Studies in Social Research*, 9, 1-37.
- Berry, John W. (2008): Globalization and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 328-336.
- Berry, J. W. (2006): Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethno-cultural groups in plural societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 30, 719-734.
- Berry, J. W. (2003): Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. Chun, P. Balls-Organissta, and G. Martin (eds.), *Acculturation*. Washington: APA Press, 3-37.
- Berry, J. W. (2002): Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista and G. Marin (eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 17-37.
- Berry, J. W. (1997): Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An international Review*, 46, 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (1991): Understanding and managing multi-culturalism. *Journal of Psychology and Developing Societies*, 3, 17-49.
- Berry, J. W. (1980): Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: Theory models and findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder: Westview.
- Berry John. W., Phinney Jean S., Sam David L. and Vedder Paul (2006) *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition: Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation Across National Contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Berry, J. W. and Kalin, Rudy (2000): Multicultural policy and social psychology: The Canadian experience. In S. Renshon and J. Duckitt (eds.), *Political Psychology: Cultural and Cross-cultural Foundations* (pp. 263-284). London: MacMillan.
- Berry John W., Kim, Uichol, Power, S., Young, Marta and Bujaki, Merridee (1989): Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38, 185-206.
- Berry J. W., Kim Uichol, Minde Thomas and Mok Doris (1987): Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review*, 21, 491-511.
- Bevelander, Pieter (1999): The employment integration of migrants in Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25 (3), 445-68.
- Bhandari, Rajaika and Blumenthal, Peggy (2011): *International Students and Global Mobility in Higher Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Bielby, Denise (1992): Commitment to work and family. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 281-302.
- Bimrose, Jenny, Brown, Alan and Barnes, Sally-Anne (2008): Career progression, career decision-making and professional learning. *4th Annual Conference of the EARLI Special Interest Group: Learning and Professional Development*. University of Jyväskylä, 27-29 August.
- Blau, Peter, and Duncan, Otis Dudley (1967) *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: Wiley.
- Blustein David. L., McWhirter, Ellen H. and Perry, Justin C. (2005): An emancipatory communitarian approach to vocational development theory, research, and practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 33, 141-179.
- Blustein, D. L. and Hartung, Paul (2002): Reason, Intuition, and Social Justice: Elaborating on Parsons's Career Decision-Making Model. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, vol. 80 (1), 41-47.
- Blustein, David L. and Ellis, Michael V. (2000): The cultural context of career assessment. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 8, 379-390.
- Boneva, Bonka S. (1998) *The motivational structure of potential migrants: A cross-cultural comparison of central and East European countries and the United States*. Masters thesis: University of Pittsburgh.
- Bonney, Norman and Love, John (1991): Gender and migration: Geographical mobility and the wife's sacrifice. *Sociological Review*, vol. 39 (3), 335-48.
- Borjas, George J. (1999): Immigration and Welfare Magnets. *Journal of Labor Economics*, vol. 17 (4), 607-37.
- Borjas, G. J. (1989): Economic Theory and International Migration. *International Migration Review*, vol. 23 (3), 457-485.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999) *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society* (trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996) *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990a) *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990b) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989): Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7 (1), 14-25.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988) *Homo Academicus*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986): The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980): Le capital social [Social capital]. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 31, 2-3.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, Loic J.D. (1992): Sociology as Socioanalysis. In P. Bourdieu and Wacquant, Loic (eds.), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (pp. 62-74). Chicago, US: University of Chicago Press.
- Bouoiyour, Jamal (2006) *Migration, diaspora et développement humain* [Migration, Diaspora and human development]. <http://www.rdh50.ma/fr/pdf/contributions/GT3-8.PDF>.
- Boushey Heather, Fremstad, Shawn, Gragg, Rachel and Waller, Margy (2007) *Social inclusion for the United States*. Working Paper, Center for Economic and Policy Research. kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/.../socialinclusionusa.pdf.
- Boyd, Monica (2000) *Matching workers to work: the case of Asian immigrant engineers in Canada*. Working Paper 14. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, San Diego, University of California,
- Boyle, Paul, Cooke, Thomas, Halfacree, Keith and Smith, Darren (2001): A cross-national comparison of the impact of family migration on women's employment status. *Demography* 38, 201-213.
- Bozkurt, Odül (2006): Wired for Work: High-skilled employment and global mobility in mobile telecommunications multinationals. In M.P. Smith and A. Favell (eds.), *The Human Face of Global Mobility*, vol. 8. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.
- Brewer, M. B. and Gardner, William (1996): Who is this we? Levels of collective identity and self-representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 83-93.
- Brewster, Karin L. and Rindfuss, Ronald P. (2000): Fertility and women's employment in industrialised nations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 271-296.
- Bright, Jim E.H., Pryor, Robert G., Wilkenfeld, Sharon and Earl, Joanne K. (2005): The Role of Social Context and Serendipitous Events in Career Decision Making. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 5, 19-36.

- Brodmann, Stefanie, Pouget, Yann and Gatti, Roberta (2010) *Labour Mobility in the Middle East and North Africa: Challenges and Opportunities. MENA Knowledge and Learning: Quick Notes Series 30*, World Bank.
- Brown, Duane and Associates (2002) *Career Choice and Development* (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brown, Phillip, Lauder, Hugh and Ashton, David (2011) *The Global Auction: The Broken Promises of Education, Jobs, and Incomes* (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Budig, Michelle J. and England, Paula (2001): The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review* 66, 204-225.
- Bushin, Naomi (2009): Researching Family Migration Decision-Making: A Children-in-Families Approach. *Population, Space Place*, 15, 429-443.
- Çağlar, Ayşe S. (2001): Constraining Metaphors and the Transnationalism of Spaces in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), 601-613.
- Cameron, Jim E. (2004): A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and Identity*, 3, 239-262.
- Campani, Giovanna. (2010): Gender, education and migration: Women with professional qualifications. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 47, (1), 119-137.
- Carlson, Sören (2011): How to explain the transnational occupational mobility of former international students? Suggestions for a change in research and theoretical perspectives. In F. Dervin (ed.), *Analysing the Consequences of Academic Mobility and Migration* (pp. 115-129). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Carlsson, Janne, Jensen, Hans Peter, Nyborg, Per, Pall, Skulason and Uronen, Paavo (2009) *The Internationalisation of Higher Education: The Nordic Experience*. THE Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, July 2009. International Strategic Information Service.
- Carmel, Emma and Alfio Cerami (2011): Governing Migration and welfare: Institutions and emotion in the production of differential integration. In E. Carmel, A. Cerami and T. Papadopoulos (eds.), *Migration and Welfare in the New Europe: Social Protection and the Challenges of Integration* (pp. 1-22). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Carr, Stuart, Inkson, Kerr and Thorn, Kaye (2005): From global careers to talent flow: Reinterpreting brain drain. *Journal of World Business*, vol. 40 (4), 386-398.
- Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (4th ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, Stephen, Korac, Maja, Vasta, Ellie and Vertovec, Steven (2002) *Integration: Mapping the Field*. London: Home Office.
- Castells, Manuel and Himanen, Pekka (2002) *The Information Society and the Welfare State: The Finnish Model*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Castells, Manuel. (2000a) *The Power of Identity* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (2000b) *The Rise of the Network Society* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Cervantes, Mario and Guellec, Dominique (2002): The brain drain: Old myths, new realities. *OECD Observer*, 230, 40-42.
- Cha, Youngjoo (2010): Reinforcing the 'separate spheres' arrangements: The effect of spousal overwork on the employment of men and women in dual-earner households. *American Sociological Review*, 75 (2), 303-329.
- Chen, Charles P. (2006) *Career Endeavour: Pursuing a Cross-cultural Life Transition*. University of Toronto, Canada: Ashgate.
- Chudzikowski, Katharina and Mayrhofer, Wolfgang (2011): In search of the blue flower? Grand social theories and career research: The case of Bourdieu's theory of practice. *Human Relations*, vol. 64 (1), 19-36.
- Cismas, Crina (2004) *Young researchers in Romania: Survival and hope*. Paper presented at the workshop on 'The special Situation of Young Researchers in Central and Eastern Europe.' The European Science Open Forum, Stockholm, August 25-28, 2004.
- Coleman, James. C. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Coleman, J. C. (1988): Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 95-120.
- Collin, Audrey and Patton, Wendy (2009): Towards dialogue between the vocational psychological and organizational perspectives on career. In A. Collin and W. Patton (eds.), *Vocational Psychological and Organizational Perspectives on Career: Toward a Multidisciplinary Dialogue* (pp. 209-226). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Côté, Andrée, Kérisit, Michèle and Côté, Marie-Louise (2001) *Sponsorship... for Better or for Worse: The Impact of Sponsorship on the Equality Rights of Immigrant Women*. Ottawa, Canada: Status of Women Canada.

- Cooke, Fang Lee (2007): Husband's career first: Renegotiating career and family commitment among migrant Chinese academic couples in Britain. *Work Employment and Society*, vol. 21(1), 47-65.
- Crossley, Nick (2001): The phenomenological habitus and its construction. *Theory and Society*, 30 (1), 81-120.
- Danahay, Deborah (2005) *Locating Bourdieu*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Dann, Graham M. S. (1977): Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4, 184-194.
- Davenport, Sally (2004): Panic and Panacea: Brain drain and science and technology human capital policy. *Research Policy*, 33, 617-630.
- D'Costa, Anthony P. (2008): The international mobility of Technical talent: Trends and development implications. In Andrés Solimano (ed.), *The International Mobility of Talent* (pp. 44-83). Oxford: OUP.
- Deakin, Nicholas (2001) *In Search of Civil Society*. London: Palgrave.
- Dervin, Fred (2011): Introduction. In F. Dervin (ed.), *Analysing the Consequences of Academic Mobility and Migration* (pp. 2-10). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dervin, F. (2009): Impediments to engulfment into Finnish society: Exchange students' representations on their experiences in Finland. *Research on Finnish Society*, 2, 19-27.
- Dervin, F. (2008): Métamorphoses identitaires en situation de mobilité [Identity Metamorphoses in Situation of Mobility]. *Humanoria*. Turku.
- Dickmann, Michael, Doherty, Noleen and Brewster, Chris (2006) *Why do they go? Individual and corporate perspectives on the factors influencing the decision to accept an international assignment*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Atlanta, US. 11-16, August.
- Docquier, Frédéric, Lowell, Lindsay B. and Marfouk, Abdeslam (2009): A Gendered Assessment of the Brain Drain Emigration. *Population and Development Review*, vol. 35 (2), 297-321.
- Docquier, Frédéric, Faye, Ousmane and Pestieau, Pierre (2008a): Is Migration a Good Substitute for Education Subsidies? *Journal of Development Economics*, vol. 86 (2), 263-276.
- Docquier, Frédéric and Rapoport, Hillel (2008b): Brain Drain. In Steven N. Durlauf and Larry E. Blume (eds.), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Docquier, F. and Rapoport, H. (2007): Skilled migration - The perspective of sending countries. In Jagdish Baghwati and Hanson, Gordon (eds.), *Skilled migration: prospects, problems and policies* (pp. 247-284). NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Docquier F., Lowell B. Lindsay and Marfouk Abdeslam (2007): A gendered assessment of the brain drain. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 3235*. Institute for the Study of Labour, Bonn.
- Docquier, F. and Marfouk, A. (2006): International migration by education attainment, 1990-2000. In Caglar Özden and Schiff Maurice (eds.), *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain* (pp. 151-226). Washington, D.C. and NewYork: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan.
- Docquier, F. and Marfouk, A. (2004): Measuring the international mobility of skilled workers - Release 1.0, *Policy Research Working Paper No. 3382*, World Bank.
- Doherty, Noleen and Dickmann, Michael (2008): Self-initiated expatriates - Corporate asset or a liability? Presented at the 4th Workshop on Expatriation, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain.
- Driouchi, Ahmed and Djeflat, Abdelkader (2003) *Le Maroc dans l'économie de la connaissance* [Morocco and Knowledge Economy]. Al Akhawayn University Publications, Ifrane, Morocco.
- Duque, Richard B. (2008) *Is the internet accelerating brain drain and brain waste or is it creating opportunities for brain gain and brain circulation?* American Sociological Association. Boston, MA. www.allacademic.com/meta/p243120_index.html.
- Dumont Jean C., Martin, John P. and Spielvogel, Gilles (2007): Women on the Move: The Neglected Gender Dimension of the Brain Drain. *IZA Discussion Paper 2920*.
- Dumont, J. C. and Lemaitre, Georges (2005): Counting immigrants and expatriates in OECD Countries: A new perspective. *OECD Social Employment and Migration Working Papers 25*, Paris: OECD.
- Earley, P. Christopher and Mosakowski, Elaine (2000): Creating hybrid team cultures: An empirical test of transnational team functioning. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43, 26-49.
- Edwards, Martin B. (2005) *Migration in the Middle East and Mediterranean*. A Regional Study prepared for the Global Commission on International Migration. Panteion University, Athens, Greece, http://mmo.gr/pdf/news/Migration_in_the_Middle_East_and_Mediterranean.pdf.
- Edwards, R., Franklin, J. and Holland, J. (2003): Families and social capital: exploring the issues. *Families & Social Capital*. ESRC Research Group, Working Paper 1. South Bank University, London.

- Elkjaer, Bente (2003): Social learning theory: Learning as participation in social processes. In Mark Easterby-Smith and Marjorie A. Lyles (eds.), *The Blackwell Handbook of Organisational Learning and Knowledge* (pp. 38-53). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Erikson, Robert and Goldthorpe, John H. (1992) *The constant flux*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- EUMC (2003) *Migrants, Minorities and Employment: Exclusion, Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination in 15 Member States of the European Union*. Report submitted by the ICMPD on behalf of EUMC.
- European Commission (2011): *The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility*. Brussels, 18.11.2011, COM (2011), 743 final. http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/1_EN_ACT_part1_v9.pdf.
- EC (2008) *Discrimination in the European Union: Perceptions, experiences and attitudes*. (http://ilga-ropc.org/home/news/latest_news/discrimination_in_the_european_union_perceptions).
- Faist, Thomas (2008): Migrant as transnational development agent: an inquiry into the newest round of the migration-development nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, 14, 21-42.
- Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Farsakh, Leila (2000): North African labour flows and the Euro-Med partnership. *The European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 12 (1), 58-79.
- Favell, Adrian, Feldblum Miriam and Smith Michael P. (2006): The human face of global mobility: A research agenda. In M. P. Smith and Favell A. (eds.), *The Human Face of Global Mobility: International Highly Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific* (pp. 1-26). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.
- Favell, Adrian and Hansen, Randall (2002): Markets against politics: migration, EU enlargement and the idea of Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28 (4), 581-601.
- FEMIPOL (2006): *Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society: Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations*, Ron Ayres and Tasmin Barber (eds.). Statistics on female migration in European countries. http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/docs/working_papers/wp3/Statistical_analysis.pdf.
- Ferdman, Bernardo M., Barreta, V., Allen, A.A. and Vuong, Vung (2009): Inclusive behaviour and the experience of inclusion. In B.G. Chung (ed.), *What Makes an Organisation Inclusive: Measures, HR Practices and Climate*. Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Chicago.
- Ferdman, B. M. (2003): A matter of difference - Accounts of inclusion (and exclusion). *The Industrial-Organizational Psychologist*, vol. 40 (4), 81-86.
- Ferro, Anna (2006): Desired Mobility or satisfied immobility? Migratory aspirations among knowledge workers. *Journal of Education and Work*, 19, 171-200.
- Findlay, Allan M. (2005): Vulnerable spatialities. *Population, Space and Place*, 11, 429-439.
- Fine, Ben (2001): It ain't social and it ain't capital. In Ginny Morrow (ed.), *An appropriate capital-isation? Questioning social capital*. Research in Progress Series. Gender Institute, London School of Economics. Issue 1, October 2001.
- Fisher, Shirley (1989) *Homesickness, cognition, and health*. East Sussex, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Flamm, Michael and Kaufmann, Vincent (2006): Operationalizing the concept of mobility: A qualitative study. *Mobilities*, vol. 1 (2), 167-89.
- Fletcher, Michael (1999) *Migrant settlement: A review of the literature and its relevance to New Zealand*. New Zealand Immigration Service and Department of Labour, Wellington.
- Fletcher, Garth J. O., and Ward, Colleen (1988): Attribution theory and processes: A cross-cultural perspective. In M. H. Bond (ed.), *The Cross-cultural Challenge to Social Psychology* (pp. 230-244). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Florida, Richard (2005) *The Flight of the Creative Class: The Global Competition for Talent*. New York: Harper Business.
- Forsander, Annika (2007): Integration into a gendered labour market? Immigrant labour market position after a decade in Finland, in Tuomas Martikainen and Marja Tiilikainen (eds.) *Immigrant women: integration, family, work* (pp. 485-97). Helsinki: Publications of the Population Research Institute D 46.
- Forsander, A. (2004) *Labour market integration in the Nordic welfare state- does work make you into a real Finn?* Paper presented at the 13th Nordic Migration Conference, The Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark. www.amiddk/ocs/viewabstract.php?id=140&cf=1.
- Forsander, A. (2003): Insiders or outsiders within? Immigrants in the Finnish labour market, in Ismo Söderling (ed.), *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland* (pp. 55-72). The Population Research Institute, Helsinki.

- Forsander, A. (2002): Globalizing capital and labor – old structures, new challenges. In A. Forsander (ed.), *Immigration and Economy in the Globalization Process: The Case of Finland* (pp. 81-118). Helsinki, Sitra.
- Forsander, Annika, Salmenhaara, Perttu, Melegh, Attila and Kondrateva, Elena (2008): Economy, Ethnicity and International Migration: The comparison of Finland, Hungary and Russia, in Söderling, Ismö (ed.) *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 85-114). The Population Research Institute, Helsinki.
- Forsander, A. and Raunio, Mika (2005) *Globalisoituvat työmarkkinat – asiantuntijamaahanmuuttajat Suomessa* [The globalization of labor markets: professional immigrants in Finland]. In Pirkko Pitkänen (ed.), *Kulttuurien välinen työ* [Cross-cultural work], Helsinki, Edita.
- Forsander A., Salmenhaara P. and Kondrateva E. (2004) *Sykettä ja suvaitsevuuutta: Globaalin osaamisen kansalliset rajat*. Helsinki, Edita.
- Fouad, Nadya A. and Byars-Winston, Angela M. (2005): Cultural context of career choice: meta-analysis of race/ethnicity differences. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 53, 223-33.
- Foroutan, Yaghoob (2009a): Migration and Gender Roles: Typical Work Pattern of the MENA women. *International migration Review*, vol. 43 (4), 974-992.
- Foroutan, Y. (2009b): Gender and Religion: The Status of Women in the Muslim World. In Peter B. Clarke and Peter Beyer (eds.), *The World's Religions: Continuities and Transformations* (pp. 223-235). London and New York: Routledge Publication.
- Foulkes, Nicol (2010) *Encountering difference. The experience of Nordic highly-skilled temporary migrants in India*, PhD research project. Department of Social Research, University of Tampere.
- Frieze, Irene H., Hansen, Susan B. and Boneva, Bonka (2006): The migrant personality and college students' plans for geographic mobility. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 26, 170-177.
- Gaillard, Jacques and Gaillard, Anne Marie (1997): Introduction: The international Mobility of Brains: Exodus or circulation? *Science, Technology & Society*, 2 (2). New Delhi: Sage. London:Thousand Oak.
- Gamlen, Alan (2005): The brain drain is dead, long live the New Zealand diaspora, *COMPAS Working Paper*, No. 10, Oxford, UK: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS).
- Geets, Johan (2010): Overqualification as an indicator of labour market integration: Findings from the Labour Force Survey in Belgium. *Policy Research Centre on Equal Opportunities*. Arbeidsmarktcongres Steunpunt WSE. Universiteit Antwerpen.
- Gent, Saskia and Skeldon, Ronald (2006): Skilled migration: New policy options. *Briefing No. 5*, March. Sussex, UK: Development Research Center on Migration, Globalization and Poverty (DRC).
- Gershuny, J. (2000) *Changing Times: Work and Leisure in Post-industrial Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, Anthony (2009) *Introduction to Sociology*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gill, Bryony (2005): Homeward bound: Return mobility for Italian scientists. *Innovation*, 18, 319-341.
- Glavan, Bogdan N. (2008): Brain drain: A management or a property problem? *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 67, 716-737.
- Gonzalez, Patricio A. and Maloney, William F. (2005): Migration, trade and foreign direct investment in Mexico. *Research Working Paper*, No. 3601, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Gordon, Milton M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goss, Jon and Lindquist, Bruce (1995): Conceptualizing international labour migration: A structuration perspective. *International Migration Review*, 29, 317-51.
- Grandjean, Burke D. (1981): History and career in a bureaucratic labor market. *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 86 (5), 1057-92.
- Granovetter, Mark (1995) *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Graverson, Ebbe K. (2001): Human capital mobility into and out of research sectors in the Nordic countries. In *Innovative People: Mobility of Skilled Personnel in National Innovation Systems* (p. 115-124). Paris: OECD.
- Graverson, Ebbe K., Ekeland, Anders, Nas, Svein Olav and Åkerblom, Mikael (2001): Job-to-job mobility rates in the Nordic countries, 1988-98. In *Innovative People: Mobility of Skilled Personnel in National Innovation Systems* (p. 91-114). Paris: OECD.
- Greenwald, Anthony G., Banaji, Mahzarin R., Rudman, Laurie A., Farnham, Shelly D., Nosek, Brian A. and Mellon, Deborah S. (2002): A unified theory of implicit attitudes, stereotypes, self-esteem, and self-concept. *Psychological Review*, 109 (1), 3-25.

- Gubert, Flore and Nordman, Christophe J. (2009): Migration from MENA to OECD Countries: Trends, Determinants, and Prospects. In *Shaping the Future: A Long-Term Perspective of People and Job Mobility for the Middle East and North Africa*. The World Bank, March 16, 2008.
- Haapakorpi, A (2004) *Kulttuurista rajankäyntiä - nuorten ja korkeakoulutettujen maahanmuuttajien koulutus- ja työmarkkinahistoria ja –orientaatio* [Culture of boundaries - young people and high-skilled migrants, education and labor market history and orientation]. Helsinki: Helsinki University, Palmenia Centre for Continuing Education.
- Habti, Driss (2010): The Bologna Process and the Economic Impacts of Research and Development within the Context of Europeanization: The case of Finland. *European Educational Research Journal*, vol. 9 (1), 92-104.
- Hagendoorn, Louk (1993): Ethnic categorization and outgroup exclusion: Cultural values and social stereotypes in the construction of ethnic hierarchies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 16 (1), 26-51.
- Hansen, Randall (2009): The poverty of postnationalism: Citizenship, immigration, and the new Europe. *Theory and Society*, vol. 38 (1), 1-24.
- Harker, Richard (1992): Cultural capital, education and power in New Zealand: An agenda for research. *New Zealand Sociology*, 7(1), 1-19.
- Harper, Rosalyn (2001) *Social capital: a review of the literature*. London: Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office of National Statistics.
- Harris, Eva (2004): Building scientific capacity in developing countries. *European Molecular Biology Organisation (EMBO) Reports*, vol. 5 (1), 7-11.
- Harvey, William S. (2011): Immigration and emigration decisions among highly skilled British expatriates in Vancouver. In Katerina Nicolopoulou, Minne Karatas-ozkan, Ahu Tatli and John Taylor (eds.), *Global Knowledge Work: Diversity and Relational Perspectives* (pp. 33- 56). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Harvey, W. S. (2010): Methodological approaches for interviewing elites. *Geography Compass*, vol. 4 (3), 193-205.
- Harvey, W.S. (2009): British and Indian scientists in Boston considering returning to their home countries. *Population, Space and Place*, 15, 1-16.
- Hautala, Johanna (2006) *Oulun yliopiston ulkomaalaiset osaajat* [Skilled foreigners in the University of Oulu], Pro Gradu, University of Oulu, 109 p.
- Hassan, Khaled El-Sayed (2009) *Levels and trends of international migration in North Africa*. A paper prepared for International Population Conference, Marrakesh, 2009.
- Hassan, K. E. (2008): Estimation of the Arab brain drain and the associated socio-economic push factors. In *The Regional Report of Arab Labor Migration 2008*. Population Policies and Migration Department, League of Arab States.
- Heikkilä, Elli (2010) *Labour Market Participation of Immigrants in Finland and its Regions*. Institute of Migration Nordic Demographic Symposium, 17-19 June, Lund, Sweden.
- Heikkilä, Elli (2005): Mobile Vulnerabilities: Perspectives on the Vulnerabilities of Immigrants in the Finnish Labour Market. *Population, Space and Place*, 11, 485-497.
- Heikkilä, Elli and Pikkarainen, Maria (2008) *The internationalisation of population and labour force from the present to the future*. Institute of Migration, 2008.
<http://www.migrationmuseums.org/web/index.php?page=internationalization-of-population-and-labour-force-from-the-present-to-the-future>.
- Heikkilä, E. and Jaakkola, Timo (2004): Immigrants and Their Employment Problems in Finland. International Immigration and Naturalization Conference: *Global Problems of Immigration - Challenges and Prospects in the New Century*, PWSBiA, Warsaw, Poland, 16-17 June.
- Heikkilä, E. and Järvinen, Taru (2003): Migration and employment of immigrants in the Finnish local labour markets. *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland* 39 (pp. 103-18). Helsinki: Population Research Institute.
- Hemerijck, Anton (2010): Social cohesion, welfare recalibration and European Union. In M. Zupi and E.E., Puertas (eds.), *Challenges of Social Cohesion in Times of Crisis: Euro-Latin American Dialogue* (pp. 71-150). Madrid, Spain: Editorial Compluense & FIIAPP.
- Herr, Edwin. L., Cramer, Stanley H. and Niles, Spencer G. (2004) *Career Guidance and Counseling through the Lifespan: Systematic Approaches* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

- Hindman, Heather (2008): Shopping for a hypernational home: How expatriate women in Kathmandu labour to assuage fear. In Anne Coles and Anne-Meike Fechter (eds.), *Gender and Family among Transnational Professionals*. New York: Routledge.
- Ho, Christina (2006): Migration as feminisation? Chinese women's experiences of work and family in Australia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 23 (3), 497-514.
- Ho, C. and Alcorso, Caroline (2004): Migrants and employment: challenging the success story. *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 40 (3), 237-259.
- Hodkinson, Phil (2008): Understanding career decision-making and progression: Careership revisited. Woburn House. http://www.crac.org.uk/CMS/files/upload/fifth_johnkilleenlecturenotes.pdf.
- Hoffman, David (2007) *The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars in Finnish Higher Education: Emerging Perspectives and Dynamics*. PhD Publication, University of Jyväskylä, 2007.
- Hoffman, D. (2004) Emerging Academic Mobility Patterns: What Will Academic Mobility Mean in the 21st Century? Conference Paper, 17th CHER Annual Conference, Enschede, Netherlands.
- Hogg Michael A., Terry Deborah J. and White Katherine (1995): A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 58 (4), 255-269.
- Holland, Janet (2007): Fragmented youth: social capital in biographical context in young people's lives. In R. Edwards, J. Franklin and J. Holland (eds.) *Assessing Social Capital: Concept, Policy, Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Holland, John L. (1997) *Making Vocational Choices: A Theory of Careers* (3rd ed.). Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Hugo, Graeme, Rudd, Dianne and Harris, Kevin (2003) *Australia's Diaspora: Its Size, Nature and Policy Implications*. Melbourne: CEDA.
- Hyndman, Jennifer, Schuurman, Nadine and Fiedler, Rob (2006): Size matters: Attracting immigrants to Canadian cities. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 7 (1), 1-26.
- Inkson, Kerr and Thorn, Kaye (2010): Mobility and Careers. In Stuart C. Carr (ed.), *The Psychology of Global Mobility. International and Cultural Psychology* (pp. 259-278) Part 4. New York: Springer.
- Inkson, Kerr and Myers, Barbara A. (2003): The big OE: Self-directed travel and career development. *Career Development International*, 8, 170-181.
- Inkson, Kerr, Carr Stuart, Edwards Margot, Hooks Jill, Johnson Duncan and Thorn Kaye (2004): From brain drain to talent flow: views of Kiwi expatriates. *University of Auckland Business Review*, vol. 6 (2), 29-39.
- International Organization for Migration (2003) *World Migration Report: Managing Migration – Challenges and Responses for People on the Move*. IOM.
- Iredale, Robyn (2005): Gender, immigration policies and accreditation: Valuing the skills of professional women migrants. *Geoforum*, 36, 155-166.
- Iredale, R. (2001): The migration of professionals: theories and typologies. *International Migration*, vol. 39 (5), 7-24.
- Iredale, Robyn and Appleyard, Reginald (2001): International migration of the highly skilled: Introduction. *International Migration*, vol. 39 (5), 3-6.
- Jaakkola, Magdalena (2005) *Suomalaisten suhtautuminen maahanmuuttajiin vuosina 1987–2003* [the Finnish attitudes towards immigrants in 1987-2003]. Labour Policy Studies 286, Ministry of Labour, Helsinki.
- Jaakkola, M. (2000): Finnish Attitudes towards Immigrants in 1987-1999. *The Population Research Institute, Yearbook of Population Research in Finland*, 36, 129-161.
- Jacobsen, Michael H., Marshman, Sophia and Tester, Keith (2007) *Bauman Beyond Postmodernity*. Aalborg: Aalborg University Press.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga, Liebkind, Carmela, Jaakkola, Magdalena and Reuter, Anni (2006): Perceived Discrimination, Social Support, Networks, and Psychological Well-Being among Three Immigrant Groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 37 (3), 293-311.
- Jenkins, Richard (2004) *Social Identity* (2nd ed.), London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2003): Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization, and Power. In J. Stone and R. Dennis (eds.), *Race and Ethnicity: Comparative and Theoretical Approaches*. Blackwell Publishing: Oxford.
- Jezewski, Mary A. (1990): Culture brokering in migrant farmworker health care. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, vol. 12 (4), 497-513.
- Jobst, Solvejg and Skrobaneck, Jan (2010): Cultural differentiation or self-exclusion: On young Turks' and repatriates' dealing with experiences of discrimination in Germany. *Current Sociology*, vol. 58 (3), 463-488.

- Johnson, Monika K. and Mortimer, Jeylan T. (2002): Career choice and development from a sociological perspective. In D. Brown & Associates (eds.), *Career choice and development* (pp. 37-81).
- Jokinen, Tiina, Brewster, Chris and Suutari, Vesa (2008): Career capital during international work experiences: Contrasting self-initiated expatriate experiences and assigned expatriation. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 19, 979-998.
- Kangas, Olli and Palme, Joakim (2005) *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries* (eds.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Katainen, Antti (2009) Foreigners receive a worse salary in most fields, *Tieto & Trendit* 2/2009, Helsinki: Statistics Finland. http://stat.fi/artikkelit/2009/art_2009-04-14_001.html?s=0
- Katseli, Louka T., Lucas, Robert E.B. and Theodora, Xenogiani (2006): Effects of migration on sending countries: What do we know? *OECD Development Centre Working Paper* 250, Paris: OECD. http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P11_Katseli.pdf.
- Kaufmann, Vincent, Kesselring, Sven, Manderscheid, Katharina and Sager, Fritz (2007): Mobility, Space and Inequalities. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 33 (1), 5-6.
- Kepsu, Kaisa and Vaattovaara, Mari (2008) *Creative knowledge in the Helsinki Metropolitan area: Understanding the attractiveness of the metropolitan region for creative knowledge workers*. Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies, Amsterdam.
- Khachani, Mohamed (2010): Skilled and qualified mobility from North Africa to the European Union: A brain drain approach. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 47 (1), 59-79.
- Khadria, Binod (2004) *Migration of Highly Skilled Indians: Case Studies of IT and Health Professionals*. STI Working Paper 2004/6, OECD, Paris.
- Khadria, B. (2001): Shifting paradigms of globalization: the twenty-first century transition towards generics in skilled migration from India. *International Migration*, vol. 39 (5), 45-71.
- King, Russell (2002): Towards a new map of European migration. *International Journal of Population Geography*, vol. 8 (2), 89-106.
- King, Russell and Ruiz-Gelices, Enric (2003): International student migration and the European "year abroad": Effects on European identity and subsequent migration behaviour. *International Journal of Population Geography*, vol. 9 (3), 229-52.
- Kiriakos, Carol M. (2010) *The world is my workplace? The meaning of locality and distance for Finnish professionals in Silicon Valley*. PhD thesis Publication. European University Institute, Florence. http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/14712/2010_Kiriakos.pdf?sequence=1.
- Kobayashi, Audrey and Preston, Valerie (2007): Transnationalism through the life course: Hong Kong immigrants in Canada. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, vol. 48 (2), 151-67.
- Kofman, Eleonore (2004): Family-related migration: a critical review of European studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 30 (2), 243-62.
- Kofman, E. (2000): The invisibility of skilled female migrants and gender relations in studies of skilled migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography*, vol. 6 (1), 45-59.
- Kofman, E. and Raghuram, Parvati (2006): Gender and Global Labour Migrations: Incorporating Skilled Workers. *Antipode*, vol. 38 (2), 282-303.
- Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2005): Gender and skilled migrants: into and beyond the work place. *Geoforum*, 36 (2), 149-154.
- Koikkalainen, Saara, Tammilehto, Timo, Kangas, Olli, Katisko, Marja, Koskinen, Seppo and Suikkanen, Asko (2011): Welfare or work: migrants' selective integration in Finland. In E. Carmel, A. Cerami and T. Papadopoulos (eds.), *Migration and welfare in the new Europe: Social protection and the challenges of integration* (pp. 143-158). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Koikkalainen, S. (2011): Highly skilled Finns in the European labour market. Why do they move abroad?, in Elli, Heikkilä and Koikkalainen, Saara (eds.), *Finns Abroad: New Forms of Mobility and Migration*. Turku: Finnish Institute of Migration.
- Koikkalainen, S. (2009): Europe is my Oyster: Experiences of Finns working abroad. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration*, vol. 4 (2), 27-38.
- Koenigsberg, Lyle W. and Frankenberg, Susan R. (1994): Paleodemography: Not quite dead. *Evolutionary Anthropology*, 3, 92-105.

- Kontos, Maria, Slany, Krystyna and Liapi, Maria (2009) *New Female Migrants in European Societies: Current Debates and Perspectives*. Cracow: Jagellonian University Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud (2010): Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36 (1), S. 1-26.
- Koskela, Kaisu (2010) *New explorations in Finnish migration studies: the emerging case of the skilled migrants*. *e-migrinter*, 5, 2010, 57-67.
http://www.mshs.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter/e-migrinter/201005/e-igrinter2010_05_057.pdf.
- Kovalainen, Anne (2005): Social capital, Trust and dependency. In S. M. Koniordos (ed.), *Networks, Trust and Social Capital: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations from Europe* (pp. 71-88). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kovalainen, A. (2004): Rethinking the revival of social capital and trust in social theory: possibilities for feminist analysis. In B. Marshall and A. Witz (eds.), *Engendering the social: feminist encounters with sociological theory*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Krumboltz, John D. and Levin, Al (2004) *Luck is no Accident: Making the Most of Happenstance in your Life and Career*. Atascadero, CA: Impact.
- Kyhä, Henna (2011) *Educated Immigrants in Employment Markets: A Study on Higher Educated Immigrants' Employment Opportunities and Career Starts in Finland*. PhD thesis Publication, University of Turku, December 2011.
- Kyhä, H. (2006) *Miksi maahanmuuttajalääkäri ei työllisty lääkäriksi?* [Why a doctor cannot be a doctor?]. Kansanvalistusseura, Aikuiskasvatuksen tutkimusseura. *Aikuiskasvatus* 26, 2. Helsinki.
<http://elektra.helsinki.fi/se/a/0358-6197/26/2/korkeako.pdf>.
- Labdelaoui, Hocine (2005): *Migration et Développement en Algérie* [Migration and development in Algeria]. Genève, BIT.
- La Madelaine, Bonnie Lee (2007): Lost in translation. *Nature*, 445, 454-5.
- Lareau, Annette and Weininger, Elliot B. (2003): Cultural Capital in Education Research: A Critical Assessment. *Theory and Society* 32, 567-606.
- Larsen, Jonas, Urry, John, and Axhausen, Kay (2006) *Mobilities, Networks, Geographies*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Lazonick, William (2007) *Foreign direct investment, transnational migration, and indigenous innovation in the globalization of high-labour*. Paper presented at the international forum of comparative political economy of globalization, September 1-3 2006, Renmin University of China, Beijing.
- Leichtman, Mara A. (2002): Transforming Brain Drain into Capital Gain: Morocco's Changing Relationship with Migration and Remittances. *Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 7 (1), 109-137.
- Lent, Robert W., Brown, Steven D. and Hackett, Gail (2000): Contextual supports and barriers to career choice: A social cognitive analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47, 36-49.
- Leong, Chan-Hoong (2008): A multilevel research framework for the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 115-129.
- Leong, C.-H. and Ward, Colleen (2006): Values and attitudes toward immigrants: Convergence of individual and cultural level data. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 799-810.
- Liebkind, Karmela, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga and Solheim, Erling (2004): Cultural identity, perceived discrimination, and parental support as determinants of immigrants' school adjustment: Vietnamese youth in Finland. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, vol. 19 (6), 635-656.
- Lin, Nan (2001) *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Liversage, Anika (2009): Vital conjunctures, shifting horizons: high-skilled female immigrants looking for work. *Work Employment and Society*, vol. 23 (1), 120-141.
- Lowell, B. Linndsay (2003): The need for policies that meet the needs of all. *SciDevNet: Policy Brief*, May 2003.
- Lowell, B. L. and Findlay, A. (2001): Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries: Impact and policy responses. *International Migration Papers* 44, *Synthesis Report*. Geneva: ILO.
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/imp/imp44.pdf>.
- Löw, Martina (2006): The Social Construction of Space and Gender. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 13: 119.
- Löw, M. (2005) *The constitution of space, the double existence of space as structural ordering and performance act*. Lecture at Paris I/Sorbonne, 14 March 2005: <http://www.raumsoziologie.de>.
- Mahroum, Sami (2005): The international policies of brain gain: A review. *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management*, 2005.

- Mahroum, S. (2003): Brain gain, brain drain: An international overview. Background paper for the Austrian Ministry for Transport, *Innovation & Technology Alpbach Technology Dialogue*, 22-23.
- Mahroum, S. (2001): Europe and the immigration of highly skilled labour. *International Migration*, vol. 39 (5), 27-42.
- Mahroum, S. (2000a): Scientists and global spaces. *Technology in Society*, vol. 22 (4), 513-22.
- Mahroum, S. (2000b): Highly skilled globetrotters: Mapping the international migration of human capital. *R&D Management*, 30, 23-31.
- Marcia, James E. (1994): The empirical study of ego identity. In H. A. Bosma, T. L. Graafsma, H. Grotevant, and D. De Levita (eds.), *Identity and development: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 67-80). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Markham, William T. (1987): Sex, relocation, and occupational advancement. In A. H. Stromberg, L. Larwood, and B. A. Gutek (eds.), *Women and Work* (pp. 207-232). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Marx, K. (1990) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, (2nd ed.) London: Penguin.
- Massey, Doreen (2005) *For Space*. London: Thousand Oaks.
- Massey, D. (1991): A Global Sense of Place. *Marxism Today*, 24-29.
- Massey, Douglas S., Arango, Joaquin, Hugo, Graeme, Kouaouci, Ali, Pellegrino, Adela and Taylor, J. Edward (1993): Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19, 431-67.
- Maynard, Douglas C. and Ferdman, Bernardo M. (2010): Mobility and inclusion. In S.C. Carr (eds.), *The Psychology of Global Mobility* (pp. 211-33). New York: Springer.
- Mayrhofer, Wolfgang, Meyer, Michael and Steyrer, Johannes (2007): Contextual issues in the study of careers. In H.P. Gunz and M.A. Peiperl (eds), *Handbook of Career Studies* (pp. 215-240). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Marx, Karl (1990) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (2nd ed.) London: Penguin.
- McClelland, David C. (1987) *Human Motivation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Meares, Carina (2010): A fine balance: Women, work and skilled migration. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33, 473-481.
- Menz, Georg (2009) *The political economy of managed migration: Nonstate actors, Europeanization, and the politics of designing migration policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meyer, Jean Baptiste (2010) *Highly skilled mobility and diasporic dynamics for development*. CAAS 2nd Symposium *Migrations, Mobility and Globalisation*. INALCO, Paris, November 25th-26th, 2010.
- Meyer, J-B. (2007): Towards Sustainable Knowledge Diasporas: Implementing an Equitable Brain Circulation. In M. Sabour, and D. Habti (eds.), *Migration of Highly Skilled Persons and Circulation of Competences to and in Europe*. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, 47 (1), 41-58.
- Meyer, J. B. (2003): Policy implications of the brain drain's changing face. *SciDevNet: Policy Brief*, May 2003.
- Meyer, J. B. (2001): Network Approach versus Brain Drain: Lessons from the Diaspora. *International Migration*, vol. 39 (5), 91-110.
- Meyer, J. B. and Wattiaux, Jean-Paul (2006): Diaspora knowledge networks: Vanishing doubts and increasing evidence. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 8, 4-24.
- Meyer, J. B., Kaplan, David and Charum, Jorge (2001): Scientific nomadism and the new geopolitics of knowledge. *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 53 (168), 309-21.
- Mghari, Mohamed (2004): Exodus of Skilled Labour: Magnitude, determinants and impacts on development, in *Arab Migration in a Globalized World* (ed.), IOM, 91-113. Geneva.
- Mignot, Phil (2000): Metaphor: A paradigm for practice-based research into "career." *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, vol. 28 (4), 515-31.
- Millar, Jane and Salt, John (2008): Portfolios of mobility: The movement of expertise in transnational corporations in two sectors: aerospace and extractive industries. *Global Networks*, vol. 8 (1), 25-50.
- Millard, Debbie (2005): The impact of clustering on scientific mobility. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences Research*, vol. 18 (3), 209-23.
- Miller, Mark K. (1983): The role of happenstance in career choice. *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, vol. 32 (1), 16-20.
- Ministry of Education (2009) *Evaluation of the Finnish National Innovation System: Policy Report*. Taloustieto Oy. http://www.tem.fi/files/24930/InnoEvalFi_POLICY_Report_Figures_28_Oct_2009.pdf
- MIPEX (2011): <http://www.integrationindex.eu/finland>.
- Misztal, Barbara A. (1996) *Trust in modern societies*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Moore, James L. and Flowers, Lamont A. (2003): Collecting qualitative data on the world wide web: A step-by-step guide for counselor educators and student affairs professionals. *Journal of Technology in Counseling*, 3 (1).
- Morano-Foadi, Sonia (2006): Key issues and causes of the Italian brain drain. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 19, 209-223.
- Morawska, Ewa (1999) *The new-old transmigrants, their transnational lives, and ethnicization: A comparison of 19th/20th and 20th/21st century situations*. Florence: European University Institute Working Papers EUF 99/2.
- Morgan, Stephen L., Grusky, David B. and Fields, Gary S. (2006) *Mobility and Inequality: Frontiers of Research in Sociology and Economics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Morrison, Andrew R., Schiff, Maurice and Sjöblom Mirja (2007) *The international migration of women*, Palgrave McMillan.
- Mortimer, Jeylan T. and Johnson, Monica K. (1999): Adolescent part-time work and post-secondary transition pathways: A longitudinal study of youth in S.T. Paul, Minnesota. In W. Heinz (ed.), *From Education to Work: Cross National Perspectives* (pp. 111-148). Cambridge: CUP.
- Mortimer, Jeylan T. (1996): Social psychological aspects of achievement. In A. C. Kerckhoff (ed.), *Generating Social Stratification: Toward a New Research Agenda* (pp. 17-36). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Munz, Rainer, Straubhaar, Thomas, Vadean, Florin and Vadean, Nadia (2006): The costs and benefits of European immigration, *HWWI Policy Report No. 3*, Hamburg, Germany: Hamburg Institute of International Economics.
- Myers, Barbara and Pringle, Judith K. (2005): Self-initiated foreign experience as accelerated development: Influences of gender. *Journal of World Business*, 40, 421-431.
- Navara, Geoffrey S. and James, Susan (2002): Sojourner adjustment: Does missionary status affect acculturation? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 695-709.
- Nee, Victor, Sanders, Jimmy M. and Sernau, Scott (1994): Job transitions in an immigrant metropolis—ethnic boundaries and the mixed economy. *American Sociological Review*, 59 (6), 849–872.
- Nerdum, Lars and Sarpebakken, Bo (2006): Mobility of foreign scholars in Norway. *Science and Public Policy*, 33, 217-229.
- Antikainen, Kaisa (2010) *Finland is the best country in the whole world*. *Newsweek*, February, 2010, Embassy of Finland, Washington D.C.
<http://www.finland.org/Public/default.aspx?contentid=198513&nodeid=35833&culture=en-US>
- Nohl, Arnd M., Schittenhelm, Karin, Schmidtke, Oliver and Weiss, Anja (2006): Cultural capital during migration—a multi-level approach to the empirical analysis of labour market integration among highly skilled migrants. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 7 (3), 1-23.
- O’Dowd, Robert (2011): Virtual academic mobility: Online preparation and support for the intercultural experience. In F. Derwin (ed.), *Analysing the Consequences of Academic Mobility and Migration* (pp. 97-112).
- OECD (2010a): Sustainability of the Nordic Model: the role of the state, in *Public Governance Reviews Finland: Working Together to Sustain Success* (chapter 2). Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2010b) *International Migration Outlook*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2008a) *The Global Competition for Talent: Mobility of the Highly Skilled*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2008b) *International Migration Outlook*, SOPEMI 2008. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2008c) *OECD Employment Outlook 2008*, Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2007a) *International Migration Outlook: Annual Report 2007 Edition*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2007b) *Policy Coherence for Development: Migration and Developing Countries*. Paris: OECD.
- Olwig, Karen F. (2011): Integration: Migrants and refugees between Scandinavian welfare societies and family relations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 37 (2), 179-196.
- Özbilgin, M. and Tatli, Ahu (2005): Book Review Essay: Understanding Bourdieu’s Contribution to Organization and Management Studies. *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 30 (4), 855-877.
- Özden, Çağlar (2006): Brain drain in Middle East and North Africa: The patterns under the Surface. *International Migration and Development in the Arab Region*, Population Division,
http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Itmig_Arab/P10_Ozden.pdf.
- Paananen, Seppo (2005) *Life of immigrants in Finland*, Helsinki: Statistics Finland.
- Patterson, Rubin (2006): Transnationalism: Diaspora-homeland development. *Social Forces*, 84, 1891-1907.
- Pehkonen, Aini (2006): Immigrants’ Paths to Employment in Finland. *Finnish Yearbook of Population Research*, 42, 113–128.

- Peri, Giovanni (2005) *International Migrations: some comparisons and lessons for the European Union*. Davis: University of California, mimeo.
- Perry-Jenkins, Maureen, Repetti, Rena and Crouter, Ann (2000): Work and Family in the 1990's. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 981-998.
- Persson, Lotta (2010) *Trend reversal in childlessness in Sweden*. Paper presented at Eurostat/UNECE work session on Demographic Projections. 28-30 April, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Perugini, Marco and Conner, Mark (2000): Predicting and understanding behavioural volitions: The interplay between goals and behaviours. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30, 705-731.
- Piracha, Matloob E. and Vickerman, Roger (2002): Immigration, mobility and EU enlargement. *University of Kent Studies in Economics No. 02/09*, Department of Economics, University of Kent.
- Pixley, Joy E. and Moen, Phyllis (2003): Prioritizing Careers. In P. Moen (ed.), *It's About Time: Couples and Careers* (pp. 183-200). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Porter, Michael E. and Schwab, Klaus (2006) *The Global Competitiveness Report 2006-2007*. World Economic Forum, 2006.
- Portes, Alejandro (1998): Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1), 1-24.
- Portes, A. (1997): Immigration theory for a new century: some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, vol. 31(4), 799-825.
- Portes, A., Fernandez-Kelly, Patricia and Haller, William (2005): Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second Generation in Early Adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, 1000-1040.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, Luis E. and Landolt, Patricia (1999): The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promises of an emergent research field (eds.), *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 22 (2), 217-37.
- Postone, Moishe, LiPuma, Edward and Calhoun, Craig (1993): Introduction: Bourdieu and social theory. In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma & M. Postone (eds.), *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives* (pp. 1-13). Cambridge: Polity.
- Powers, Bethel A. and Knapp, Thomas R. (2005) *A dictionary of nursing theory and research* (3rd ed.). Springer Publishing Company.
- Pratto, Felicia and Lemieux, Anthony F. (2001): The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for selling immigration policy. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 413-430.
- Preston, Valerie A. (2003): Gender, inequality and borders. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, vol. 2 (2), 183-187.
- Purkiss, Segrest. L., Perrewé, Pamela L., Gillespie, Treena L., Mayes, Bronston T. and Ferris, Gerald G. (2006): Implicit sources of bias in employment interview judgments and decisions. *Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 101 (2), 152-167.
- Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling alone - the collapse and revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, Robert and Rafaella Y. Nanetti (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Puustinen-Hopper, Kaisa (2005) *Mobile Minds: Survey of Foreign PhD Students and Researchers in Finland*. Helsinki, Finland: Academy of Finland.
- Pyrhönen, Niko J. and Creutz-Kamppi, Karin (2010) *Boundary-Work of National Unity: Legislative Discourses Framing Representations of Finnish National Identity in Political Rhetoric and Media* (pp. 1-17). Julkaisussa: Eurosphere Working Paper Series, Online Working Paper 27.
- Raunio, Mika (2007): Foreign ICT experts in Finland. In P. N. Cooke and D. Schwartz (eds.), *Creative regions: technology, culture and knowledge entrepreneurship*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Raunio, M. (2005) *Aivovuodosta Aivokiertoon: Huippusaajat talouden voimavarana [From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Top experts as a resource economy]*. EVA, Tampere. Taloustieto Oy.
http://www.eva.fi/wp-content/uploads/files/1382_aivovuodosta_aivokiertoon_Net.pdf.
- Raunio, M. (2003): Should I Stay or Should I Go? The images and realities of foreign top professionals in Finnish working and urban environment: *Sente-working papers* 6.
- Raunio, M. (2002): Image of Finland Divided Among Foreign ICT Professionals. *Economic Trends* 2, 21-28.

- Raunio, M. and Forsander, A. (2009) *The Welfare State in Competition for Global Talent: From National Protectionism to Regional Connectivity - the Case of Finland. Foreign ICT and Bioscience Experts in Finland*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang.
- Raunio, M. and Sotarauta, Markku (2005) *Highly Skilled Labor Force in the Global Field of Choices: Case Finland*, http://www.uta.fi/~atmaso/verkkokirjasto/Raunio%20&%20Sotarauta_Highly%20Skilled%20Finland.pdf.
- Raghuram, Parvati (2009): Situating women in the brain drain discourse: discursive challenges and opportunities. In H. Stalford, S. Currie and S. Velluti (eds.), *Gender and migration in 21st century Europe* (pp. 85-106). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Raghuram, P. (2008): Migrant women in male dominated sectors of the labour market: a research agenda. *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 14 (1), 43-57.
- Raghuram, P. (2004): The difference that skills make: Gender family migration strategies and regulated labour markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration*, vol. 30 (2), 303-21.
- Raghuram, P and Kofman, E. (2004): Out of Asia: Skilling, re-skilling and deskilling of female migrants. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27 (2), 95-100.
- Rapoport, Rhona and Rapoport, Robert N. (1976) *Dual-career families re-examined*. London: Martin Robertson & Co.
- Remennick, Larissa (2003): Career continuity among migrant professionals: Russian engineers in Israel. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (4), 701-721.
- Regets, Mark C. (2001): Research and policy issues in high-skilled international migration: A perspective with data from the United States, *IZA Discussion paper* 366.
- Riaño, Yvonne and Baghdadi, Nadia (2007): Understanding the labour market participation of skilled immigrant women in Switzerland: The interplay of class, ethnicity and gender, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 8 (2), 163-183. A Special Issue, Springer.
- Rice, Diana R. and Mullen, Brian (2004): Cognitive representations and exclusion of immigrants: why red-nosed reindeer don't play games. In D. Abrams, M.A. Hogg & J.M. Marques (eds.), *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion* (pp. 293-315). New York: Psychology Press.
- Rindfuss, Ronald P. and Brewster, Karin L. (1996): Childbearing and fertility. *Population and Development Review*. 22 (suppl), 258-89.
- Rosenthal, Robert and Jacobson, Lenore (2003) *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. Norwalk, CT: Crown House.
- Rudmin, Floyd W. and Ahmadzadeh, Vali (2001): Psychometric critique of acculturation psychology: The case of Iranian migrants in Norway. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 42, 41-56.
- Saarikallio-Torp, Miia and Wiers-Jenssen, Janneke (2010): Nordic students abroad Student mobility patterns, student support systems and labour market outcomes. *Studies in Social Security and Health* 110. Kela, Research Department: Helsinki.
- Sabour, Mhammed (2011): Entrepreneurship and Cultural Diversity in a 'Homogeneous' society, in Max Koch, Lesley Mcmillan and Bram Peper (eds.), *Diversity, Standardisation and Social Transformation: Gender, Ethnicity and Inequality in Europe* (pp. 155-76). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Sabour, M. (1999): The social-cultural exclusion and self-exclusion of foreigners in Finland: The case of Joensuu, in P. Littlewood, I. Glorieux, S. Herkommer and I. Jönsson (eds.), *Social Exclusion in Europe: Problems and Paradigms*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Sabour, M. and Habti, D. (2010): The one-way mobility of North-African highly skilled to Nordic countries: Facts, constraints and aspirations. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 47 (1), 139-62.
- Sainsbury, D. (2006): Immigrants' social rights in comparative perspective: Welfare regimes, forms in immigration and immigration policy regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 16 (3), 229-44.
- Salaff, Janet W. and Greve, Arent (2006): Why do skilled women and men emigrating from China to Canada get bad jobs? In E. Tastsoglou and A. Dobrowolsky (eds.), *Women, migration and citizenship: Making local, national and transnational connections* (pp. 85-106). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Salaff, J.W. & Greve, A. (2003): Gendered Structural Barriers to Job Attainment for Skilled Chinese Emigrants in Canada. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 9, 443-56.
- Salmenhaara, Perttu (2004): Towards proactive migration policy? The Case of Finland in 1998-2004. Licentiate thesis Publication, University of Helsinki.
- Salonen, Annamari and Villa, Susan (2006), *Rasismi ja etninen syrjintä Suomessa 2005* [Racism and ethnic discrimination in Finland 2005] (eds.). Helsinki: Ihmisoikeusliitto.

- Salt, John (1997) *International movements of the highly skilled*. Paris, France: OECD.
- Sassen, Saskia (2003): Global cities and survival strategies. In B. Ehrenreich and A. R. Hochschild (eds.), *Global Woman. Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy* (pp. 254-274). New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Sassen, S. (2000): Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization. *Public Culture*, vol. 12 (1), 215-232.
- Savickas, Mark L. (2002): Career construction: A developmental theory of vocational behaviour. In D. Brown & associates (eds.), *Career Choice and Development*, (pp. 149-205).
- Saxenian, AnnaLee (2008): The international mobility of entrepreneurs and regional upgrading in India and China, in Andrés Solimano (ed.), *The International Mobility of Talent* (117- 144).
- Saxenian, A. (2006) *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Saxenian, A. (1999): Silicon Valley's new immigrant entrepreneurs, *CCIS Working Paper 15*, California, USA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.
- Saxenian, A., Motoyama, Yasuyuki and Quan, Xiaohong (2002) *Local and global networks of immigrant professionals in Silicon Valley*. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California.
- Sayad, Abdelmalek (2004) *The Suffering of the Immigrant*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Schmidt, Garbi (2011): Migration and marriage: Examples of border artistry and cultures of migration? *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, vol. 1(2), 2011, 55-59.
- Schmidt, Garbi, Gravarsen, Brian Krogh, Jakobsen, Vibeke, Jensen, Tina Gudrun and Liversage, Anika (2009) 'Ændrede familiesammenføringsregler: hvad har de nye regler betydet for pardannelsesmønstret blandt etniske minoriteter? [Amendment to family reunification rules: What do the new rules mean for marriage patterns among ethnic minorities]. *SFI Report 09:28*. Copenhagen: SFI - The Danish National Centre for Social Research.
- Schulze, Günther (2005) *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart* [Experiencing society: Contemporary cultural sociology]. Frankfurt/Main: Campus.
- Schwab, Klaus (2011) *The Global Competitiveness Report 2011-2012*. World Economic Forum, 2011.
- Scott, Sam (2006): The social morphology of skilled migration: The case of the British middle class in Paris. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 32 (7), 1105-29.
- Sebatier, Colette and Berry, John W. (2008): The role of family acculturation, parental style, and perceived discrimination in the adaptation of second-generation immigrant youth in France and Canada. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, vol. 5 (2), 159-185.
- Shauman, Kimberlee A. and Noonan, Mary C. (2007): Family migration and labour force outcomes: Sex differences in occupational context. *Social Forces*, vol. 85 (4), 1735-1764.
- Sheller, Mimi and Urry, John (2006): The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning, A* 38 (2), 207-26.
- Schneider, Barbara and Stevenson, David (1999) *The Ambitious Generation: America's Teenagers, Motivated but Directionless*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Siisiäinen, Martti (2000): Two concepts of social capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam. Paper presented at ISTR International Conference, *The Third Sector: for what and for whom*. Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.
- Silventoinen, Karri, Hammar, Niklas, Hedlund, Ebba, Koskenvuo, Markku, Rönnemaa, Tapani and Kaprio, Jaakko (2007): Selective international migration by social position, health behaviour and personality. *European Journal of Public Health*, vol. 18 (2), 150-155.
- Skinner, Denise A. (1980): Dual career family stress and coping: A literature review. *Family Relations*, vol. 29 (4), 473-80.
- Skrobaneck, Jan and Jobst, Solvejg (2010): Cultural differentiation or self-Exclusion: On young Turks' and repatriates' dealing with experiences of discrimination in Germany. *Current Sociology*, vol. 58 (3), 463-488.
- Söderling, Ismö (2010): Making a Success of Integrating Immigrants into the Labour Market: Finnish integration policy meets the future. Institute of Migration. *Peer Review*, 18-19 November, 2010. www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/...immigrants.../finland.../download.
- Solimano, Andrés (2008) *The International Mobility of Talent: Types, Causes, and Development Impact* (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sorokin, Pitirim (1927) *Social Mobility*. New York: Harper and brothers.

- Stalker, Peter (1994) *The Work Of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Stamm, Hanspeter, Lamprecht, Markus and Nef, Rolf P. (2003) *Soziale (un)gleichheit in der Schweiz: Strukturen und Wahrnehmungen* [Social (in)equality in Switzerland: Structures and perceptions]. Zurich: Seismo.
- Stark, Oded (2004): Rethinking the brain drain. *World Development*, vol. 32 (1), 15-22.
- Statistics Finland: (2008) http://www.stat.fi/til/tyoolot/index_en.html.
- Stephan, Walter G., Ybarra, Oscar, Martinez, Carmen M., Schwarzwald, Joseph, and Tur-Kaspa, Michal (1998): Prejudice towards immigrants to Spain and Israel: AN integral threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 29, 559-576.
- Straubhaar, Thomas (2000) *International Mobility of the Highly Skilled: Brain Gain, Brain Drain or Brain Exchange*. HWWA Discussion Paper No. 88, Hamburg, Germany.
- Strauss, Anselm (1962): Transformations of Identity. In A. Marshall Rose (ed.), *Human Behaviour and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stryker, Sheldon (1987): Identity theory: Developments and extensions. In K. Yardley and T. Honess (eds.), *Self and Identity* (pp. 89-104). New York: Wiley.
- Sullivan, Sherry E. and Arthur, Michale B. (2006): The Evolution of the Boundaryless Career Concept: Examining Physical and Psychological Mobility. *Journal Of Vocational Behavior*, 69, 19-29.
- Super, Donald. E. (1976) *Career education and the meaning of work: Monographs on career education*. Washington, D.C.: The Office of Career Education, US. Office of Education.
- Sussman, Nan M. (2002): Testing the cultural identity model of the cultural transition cycle. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 391-408.
- Suto, Melinda M. (2009): Compromised careers: The occupational transition of immigration and resettlement. *Work- A Journal of Prevention Assessment & Rehabilitation*, vol. 32 (4), 417-429.
- Suutari, Vesa (2003): Global managers: career orientation, career tracks, life-style implications and career commitment. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, vol. 18 (3), 185-207.
- Suutari, Vesa. And Brewster, Chris (2000): Making their own way: International experience through self-initiated foreign assignments. *Journal of World Business*, vol. 35, 417-436.
- Syed, Jawad (2008): Employment prospects for skilled migrants: A relational perspective. *Human Resource Management Review*, 18, 28-45.
- Syed, J. (2007): Career choices of skilled migrants: A holistic perspective. In M. Özbilgin & A. Malach-Pines (eds.), *Career Choice in Management and Entrepreneurship: A Research Companion* (pp. 464-483). Cheltenham & New York: Edward Elgar.
- Tahvanainen, Marja and Suutari, Vesa (2005): Expatriate performance management in MNCs. In H. Scullion and M. Linehan, (eds.), *International Human Resource Management: A Critical Text* (pp. 91-113). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tanner, Arno (2011): Finland's Balancing Act: The Labor Market, Humanitarian Relief, and Immigrant Integration. *Migration Information Sources*, University of Helsinki. Finnish Immigration Service. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?id=825>.
- Tajfel, Henri and Turner, John C. (1986): The social identity of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worshel and W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tajfel, H. (1972): Social categorization (trans. of 'la categorization sociale'). In Serge Moscovici (ed.), *Introduction à la Psychologie sociale* (pp. 272-302). Paris: Larouse.
- Tartakovsky, Eugene and Schwartz, Shalom H. (2001): Motivation for emigration, values, wellbeing, and identification among young Russian Jews. *International Journal of Psychology*, vol. 36 (2), 88-99.
- Teferri, Damtew (2005): Brain circulation: Unparalleled opportunities, underlying challenges, and outmoded presumptions. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, vol. 9 (3), 229-250.
- Thang, Leng L., MacLachlan, Elizabeth and Goda, Miho (2002): Expatriates on the margins - A study of Japanese women working in Singapore. *Geoforum*, vol. 33 (4), 539-551.
- Tharenou, Phyllis (2010): Identity and mobility. In Stuart C. Carr, *The Psychology of Global Mobility* (p.105-123).
- Tharenou, P. (2009): Self-initiated international careers: Gender differences and career outcomes. In G. S. Baugh and S. E. Sullivan, (eds.), *Maintaining Focus, Energy, and Options over the Career* (pp. 197-226). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

- Tharenou, P. (2008): Disruptive decisions to leave home: Gender and family differences in expatriation choices. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 105, 183-200.
- Tharenou, P. (2003): The initial development of receptivity to working abroad: Self-initiated international work opportunities in young graduate employees. *Journal of occupational and organizational Psychology*, 76, 489-515.
- Thorn, Kaye (2009): Influences on Self-Initiated Mobility Across National Boundaries. *Research Working Paper Series 2009*, 2. Department of Management & International Business. Massey University, Albany.
- Thorn, Kristian and Holm-Nielson, Lauritz B. (2008): International mobility of researchers and scientists: Policy options for turning a drain into a gain. In A. Solimano (ed.), *The International Mobility of Talent* (pp. 145-167).
- Tikka, Ilona (2010) *Transcultural Capital - A power struggle for social justice: The Case of academic immigrants in Finland*. Sociology of Education: Research Training Course. University of Iceland, 2010.
- Tilly, Charles (2004) *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Press.
- Tilly, C. (2001): Historical Analysis of political processes. In J. H. Turner (ed.), *Handbook of Sociological Theory* (pp. 567-88). New York: Kluwer/Plenum.
- Tonkiss, Fran (2000): Trust, social capital and the economy. In F. Tonkiss and A. Passey (eds.), *Trust and civil society*, London: Macmillan Press.
- Touraine, Alain (2000). *Can We Live Together? Equality and Difference* (trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Trux, Marja-Liisa (2002): Diversity under the Northern Star. In A. Forsander (ed.), *Immigration and Economy in the Globalization Process: The Case of Finland*, Reports series 20. Helsinki, Sitra, 175-225.
- UNDR (2009): *Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*. *Human Development Report, 2009*. New York: UNDP. http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Complete.pdf.
- UN (2000) *Report on Replacement Migrations*. www.un.org/esa/population/publications/ReplMigED/migration.htm.
- Urry, John (2007) *Mobilities*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van de Sande, Daphne, Ackers, Louise and Gill, Bryony (2005): Impact Assessment of the Marie Curie Fellowships Under the 4th and the 5th Framework Programmes of Research and Technological Development of the EU (1994-2002): *Final Report*, Brussels: European Commission.
- Van Mol, Christof (2011): The influence of European student mobility on European identity and subsequent migration behaviour. In F. Dervin (ed.), *Analysing the Consequences of Academic Mobility and Migration* (pp. 29-49).
- Veggeland, Noralv (2007): The service economy trilemma of the regulatory state. In N. Veggeland (ed.), *Paths of public innovation in the global age: Lessons from Scandinavia* (pp. 80-96). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Vertovec, Steven (2001): Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 27 (4), 573- 582.
- Vertovec, Steven and Cohen, Robin (1999): Introduction. In S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (eds.), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Aldershot, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Vlasceanu, Lazar and Barrows, Leland C. (2004): Indicators for Institutional and Programme Accreditation in Higher/Tertiary Education. *Studies on Higher Education*: <http://www.cepes.ro/publications/pdf/Indicators.pdf>.
- Voci, Alberto, and Hewstone, Miles (2003): Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: the meditational role of anxiety and the moderational role of salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 37-54.
- Volmari, Kristiina, Kyrö, Matti and Turpeinen, Jaakko (2009) *National Research Report (NRR) Finland 2009*. Finnish National Board of Education, CEDEFOP.
- Wacquant, Loic J.D. (1990): Sociology as Socioanalysis: Tales of *Homo Academicus*. *Sociological Forum*, vol. 5 (4), 677-689.
- Waldinger, Roger, Bozorgmehr, Mehdi, Lim, Nelson and Finkel, Lucila (1998) *In search of the glass ceiling: The career trajectories of migrant and native-born engineers*. The Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Working Paper 28. Los Angeles, CA.
- Wall, Karin and Sao José, José (2005): Managing work and care: A difficult challenge for immigrant families. In T. Kröger & J. Sipilä (eds.), *Overstretched: European families up against the demands of work and care* (pp. 34-63). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Wallace, Claire (2002): Opening and closing borders: Migration and mobility in East-Central Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 28 (4), 603-25.

- Wallenius, Tapio (2001) *Vieraassa vara parempi? Suomen maahanmuuttopolitiikan haasteet* [Finnish Immigration Policy Faces New Challenges]. Helsinki, Taloustieto Oy, Eva, 48 p.
- Walsh, Katie (2008): Travelling together? Work, intimacy, and home amongst British expatriated couples in Dubai. In A. Coles and A.-M. Fechter (eds.), *Gender and Family among Transnational Professionals* (pp. 63–89). New York: Routledge.
- Ward, Colleen (1996): Acculturation. In D. Landis and R. Bhagat (eds.), *Handbook of Intercultural Training* (pp. 124–147). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Weiss, Anja (2005): The transnationalisation of social inequality: conceptualizing social positions on world scale. *Current Sociology*, vol. 53 (4), 707-28.
- Welch, Anthony (2008): Myths and modes of mobility: The changing face of academic mobility in the global era. In M. Byram and F. Dervin (eds.), *Students, Staff and Academic Mobility in Higher Education* (pp. 292-311). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.
- West, Linden, Alheit, Peter, Andersen, Anders S. and Merrill, Barbara (2007) *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European Perspectives*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Wilber, Ken (1989): Let's nuke these transpersonalists: A reply to Ellis. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 67, 332-335.
- Wiles, Janine (2008): Sense of home in a transnational social space: New Zealanders in London. *Global Networks*, vol. 8 (1), 116-137.
- Williams, Allan M. and Baláž, Vladimír (2008) *International Migration and Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, A. M. and Baláž, V. (2005): What human capital, which migrants? Returned skilled migration to Slovakia from the UK. *International Migration Review*, vol. 39 (2), 439-468.
- Williams, A. M., Baláž, V. and Wallace, Claire (2004): International labour mobility and uneven regional development in Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 11 (1), 27-46.
- Williams, Glyn (2010) *The Knowledge Economy, Language and Culture*. Multilingual Matters: Bristol, UK.
- Winter, David G. (1973) *The Power Motive*. New York: Macmillan.
- Xiang, Biao (2005) *Promoting Knowledge Exchange through Diaspora Networks (The Case of People Republic of China)*. Oxford: University of Oxford, ESRC Center on Migration, Policy and Society.
- Xiang, B. (2003): Emigration from China: A sending country perspective. *International Migration*, vol. 41 (3), 21-48.
- Yeoh, Brenda S.A. and Willis, Katie (2005): Singaporeans in China: Transnational women elites and the negotiation of gendered identities. *Geoforum*, 36, 211-222.
- Yin, Robert K. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (4th ed.). Los Angeles, US: Sage.
- Young, Richard A., Valach, Ladislav and Collin, Audrey (2002): A contextualist explanation of career, in D. Brown & associates (eds.) *Career Choice and Development* (pp. 206-252).
- Zhou, Yu (2000): The fall of the other half of the sky? Chinese immigrant women in the New York area. *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 23 (4), 445-459.
- Zlaoui, Leila (2009) *Shaping the Future: A Long-Term Perspective of People and Job Mobility for the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMENA/Resources/Shaping_Future.pdf.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1. SYNOPTIC BIOGRAPHY OF RESPONDENTS

Redouane, Jordan, age 39: I finished my secondary school in 1988, then I studied one year of veterinary medicine in France and I fell ill and decided to return to my country. I did studies in the faculty of Sciences, field of biology and I got my bachelor degree in 1994. Because of scarce opportunities for graduates of biology to find jobs, an idea came to my mind to do pharmacy in France. I hesitated quite a lot and most of the graduated students with me with bachelor degree decided to move to Russia. I went to Saint Petersburg and spent one year there in 1993 for language courses and afterwards we went to the academy of pharmacy. At the time, when I was studying in Russia, I had been married with my wife, a Russian but originally a Finn. After I finished my doctorate in pharmacy in 1996, I went back to Jordan and I worked about 7 months in a pharmaceutical company. We went to my country to settle down. But finally we opted for moving to Finland even if I never thought of migrating to Finland, well immigration in general. Things turned a bit differently to what was expected. We had the idea to move to Finland. It was a difficult choice which I had been thinking about long. I contacted the faculty of pharmacy in one big university. After they evaluated my entire degree credentials, I had to re-study almost three years with examinations and a final thesis at that university for around 2 years and a half. After graduation in 2002, I found work in the field then. I live in Tampere and I have two daughters.

Yussef, Algeria, age 37: I first graduated with high school degree in electronics in 1990. Then, I worked for about two years while doing university studies. I had my first undergraduate degree in physics in 1992; meanwhile I was working as a technician. Later on, I joined another school for automation engineering and studied for about two years. I had a bachelor degree in engineering in automation in 1997. In that year, I came to Finland for a training of six month which resulted in a graduate thesis in automation at the University of Turku. Afterwards, I came back to Finland from 1997-98, and I continued as a research assistant until 2001 while doing an international master degree program in Communication engineering. After that, I joined an IT company for about 6 months as research and teaching assistant while studying, mainly in microelectronics. Then, I had two job offers in Helsinki and I chose to work with one big firm as an engineer since 2002. Now it is 2009, so I have been working as engineer, then a senior design engineer, then technical project manager, then project manager and then program manager, it has been changing. My wife joined me from my country of origin few years ago and she is finalising her bachelor degree. We decided that we postpone having children after she finished her studies.

Sabah, Algeria, age 39: After I graduated from secondary school in 1988 in Algeria, I decided to move to Russia for graduate studies in Saint-Petersburg. I entered the field of hydraulic construction. First, I studied civil engineering for 4 years from 1989 to 1994. After getting Bachelor of Science in Engineering in 1994, I decided to continue studying for a Master degree of Science in the same university and I graduated in 1996. Yet, during the 7 years I had been studying in Russia, I used to work every year part-time in summer in Finland in a company of paper mills and water treatment and wood mills as part of my practical training. There was a possibility to finish my doctoral degree but I chose to start working life after 7 years of trainings in summer. I began my work life in 1996 as civil engineer in Paraguay after I finished studies in Russia because my ex-husband is from Paraguay. We met at the university as he studied Telecommunications field and we married in Russia. Later on, we moved on to some better jobs until 2002. In between, there were some work trips to other Latin American countries for short-time. Afterwards, I got some position offer in Finland. I was in contact with some old colleague and some friends and they needed job applicant who speaks foreign languages and at the same time had some work experience in engineering field and website design. I decided to come here in 2005 along with our daughter that was aged 7. It was a good decision as work prospects was positive and my tasks became larger. Now I am involved in different national and international projects and still hold my work with the university. I divorced few years ago and my daughter aged 11 lives with me here.

Idris, Lebanon, age 49: I graduated from secondary school in 1978 in Sciences in Lebanon. Afterwards, I studied one year in American University of Beirut and then I moved Canada where I got my bachelor degree in Computer Science. Thereafter, I studied for my master degree in business administration from 1984 to 1987 and I moved to Finland to start work with a big IT company. In the beginning, I worked as an assistant analyst in the IT division in information assistance and I left the company in 1991 for International Computers Limited (ICL). Then, I went to Canada in 1993 to work for the same IT Company in Canada. I came back to Finland again to the same firm in 1996 where I worked as senior project manager for a European project and became a director of technology licensing in 1999. I have worked in Finland for a couple of years and went back to Canada in the same business and back to Finland in 2002. I have been working as a director of strategic alliance with the same company until now. I have been in this position for 6 or 7 years. International Computers Limited (ICL). Prior to that, I worked in different positions within the firm. I started my career path as software engineer and then I gradually developed business knowledge and skills for marketing and sales. My wife is Finnish and I have one daughter.

Nabila, Egypt, age 32: after I finished my secondary school in 1995, I entered university to study for bachelor degree in English language literature as major between 1995 and 1998. After graduation, I went to a Higher Institute of translation for a master degree. I graduated in 2000 and then began my working life. I worked in a research center as translator between 2000 and 2001. Then, I came here in 2002 for one year before starting Doctoral studies in Egypt. I liked Finnish culture and language and the lifestyle. I went to the University of Jyväskylä and I found it interesting to study here. I began my PhD research in 2002. I first studied the language and then I registered for a master degree program in 2004. Then, I was offered a short work position in 2005 with a specialisation in Arabic and Semitic studies while doing my doctoral research in translation. I am still working on my research and teaching courses as well. Meanwhile, I do frequent official translations with different state department and administrations. I am married with a Finn and we don't have children yet. I established a translation firm few years ago and I think it is successful because I have established good relationships with important institutions.

Safaa, Morocco, age 36: I graduated in Mathematics/Physics from secondary school in 1991. Then, I went to university and studied Biology for three years and obtained bachelor degree in 1994. I found a part-time job in a laboratory dealing with analysis in the central hospital. I wanted to continue studies and there wasn't any possibility at that time to continue in my country. I moved to France after I applied in different universities. Because I had good credentials, I went to the University of Lille in 1995. I had to make the equivalence of the degree in molecular biology. I studied one year for accreditation and equivalence in France and received my licentiate degree in 1997-98. I was interested in my field of interest and started my doctoral research until 2003 in which I got my doctorate. This opened my eyes and encouraged me to continue further. One of my opponents in dissertation's defence was involved in one European project in Belgium. He informed me about a post-doctorate position there, which was a very nice opportunity for me to work with known researchers in the field. I started to know scholars from Finland involved in it. Because this project ended after two years, I had contact with a professor from Finland leading a research group. He was interested and asked me if I want to move to Finland to work with him in Tampere. In 2005, I started working in the first year as postdoctoral researcher and then got funding for 3 years. I am a senior researcher now at the University of Tampere and I am single right now.

Warda, Algeria, age 41: I'm a health-care nurse at the central hospital of Oulu. I had university studies in Algeria for a bachelor degree in the Humanities, in the field of Rural Geography. Before I obtained my bachelor, a group of people from the University of Oulu, including students and researchers, came to my hometown university as part of a research project in the same place where I was doing my bachelor degree research. They chose me to be an assisting translator and a guide of 12 Finnish students. I was working with them for one year. I got my bachelor degree in 1991 and at the same year the students went back to Finland. They offered me a chance to come and attend their symposium in their university in 1992. I returned again to Finland in the same year but this time to start university studies. Things did not turn out as expected as I started having small odd jobs and I got married with a Finn. I studied for the diploma of nursing few years after between 2001 and 2004. After I received my diploma, I immediately found a position in a hospital within my field. I started working with full-time position as a medical nurse. I am still living with my husband and I don't have children yet.

Ali, Egypt, age 36: I finished my secondary schooling in Mathematics in 1992 in Egypt and then I did two preparatory university studies in Engineering in the school of Telecommunications between 1994 and 1995. Then, I studied three years in the same field to be an engineer. Subsequently, I worked two years in the capital city for an important multinational IT company. Then, I decided to continue higher education studies and got a chance to do it in Finland. A relative of mine who was studying at the time in Finland gave me some information about the possibility of doing studies here because there were great opportunities to do it. I quitted my job and moved to Finland in 1999. I officially started my telecommunications studies here after completing 6 months as degree program student in the same field. In 2000, I began my doctoral study at the University of Helsinki. After few years producing publications I got my degree in 2008 in in Telecommunications. Later on, after getting the degree, my supervisor suggested to me a postdoctoral position and so I continued in the same department for post-doctorate study as a researcher in the area of Telecommunications. I got married this year and I am expecting my wife to join me from Egypt by the coming month of September.

Amina, Jordan, age 41: I originate from Jordan but lived since my first years in the Emirates, where I did my high school education. Then, I entered University in 1986 until 1990 for a bachelor degree. I went to the faculty of Education but later changed it to faculty of Sciences where I studied Mathematics as a major subject. I got married at that time and so I moved with my husband consequently to Finland after marriage since he lives here. In Finland, once I arrived, I studied Finnish language, and for a period of time I stayed at home because I had children, and then I tried to continue my university studies, a master degree in mathematics, but I didn't succeed in it. Approximately for two years, I was a housewife taking care of my children and after that I tried to go for education when I began studies to be teacher assistant from 2000 to 2002. After graduation, I got a part-time job as a multicultural assistant in the municipality of Turku. I worked in one project for two years. I did some activities and work for Arab immigrants and other foreigners at the cultural level. Then, I moved to another work as a teacher of Islamic education in some project. After I finished that project, I stayed home for two years from 2004 to 2006. In relation to my job as a teacher of Islamic education, I plan next September to do studies for master degree in Education so it could support my taking up the current position. I had divorced from husband few years ago and I have two young children.

Toufiq, Lebanon, age 47: I have been living here for about 18 years. In 1980, I entered University of Beirut in the faculty of Economics and political sciences to study Political Sciences. I got my bachelor degree in 1985 and then I pursued my master degree studies in the same university but I decided to continue my studies in some European or American university. I went to the US in 1990 to enter some university but due to some economic conditions, I could not afford it. Then, I found as an alternative the University of Jyväskylä to further my studies in political sciences. I got married in early years and I used to study and work at the same time. I have not completed yet my studies for the master degree as it remains the final dissertation paper. I worked in the multi-media press in different lapses of time as part-time jobs for few years. I had divorced from my Finnish wife few years after our marriage. I changed my direction towards the area of immigrant integration programs and culture. I was involved in some important projects for immigrants and I became a permanent employee in an immigrants' center... which works for the immigrants. This service aims to ease their integration into Finnish society. In 2006, I also worked as senior officer with government institutions. It was a fruitful experience and then I got a permanent position as an immigrant consultant in the municipality of Jyväskylä until now. I still live in Jyväskylä with new Lebanese wife and we have two children.

Abid, Syria, age 69: I think I made my first university degree in the University of Damascus in 1958. Then, I had my master degree in the same university in 1964 and worked in the ministry of industry from 1960 to 1965 and did the army service for a while. After I got my master degree, I came to Finland, and I completed my licentiate and doctorate degrees. I got a position of assistant professor in 1993 in my field, and after few years I was appointed as professor in the University of Oulu. I retired at the age of 68 but I still have research activities within the network I have built along my academic career at the international level. In education, I'm an economist. I started as an economist and I shifted to social sciences in general. So I was teaching in the field of international economics and business. But currently, since I retired 5 years ago. I have two daughters and two sons: two are healthcare doctors, one journalist and one computer engineer.

Malak, Algeria, age 38: I had my secondary school degree in 1999, in Algeria. I applied to study nursing to both France and Finland, but I got the one of Finland earlier and so I decided to move here. I had a chance to visit France in 1999, but when some Finnish acquaintances of my family told me that the field is of very good quality in Finland, I decided to come here and study it after I compared the conditions there with Finland. I noticed the difference between both as the Finnish level is better than the French. I entered the University of Helsinki in 1999 to study nursing. It took three years and half because I had to study Finnish language for one year. Thus, it took me overall 4 years. I had 7 months in Finnish language courses including 2 months language training which I took in hospital because it is in the field and I didn't want to lose these language learning courses. I was working there until I obtained a permanent work until now. After I got my degree in nursing, I started working in a hospital in Espoo. I got married with my Finnish husband in 2003 and we do not have children yet.

Khalid, Jordan, age 72: I graduated from secondary school in literature in 1957, in Jordan. Afterwards, I worked as a primary school teacher there for three years. Then, I moved to Sweden to University of Stockholm in early 1960s. I had to learn Swedish and it took me some years to continue my studies. In Stockholm, I entered the field of sociology as my first subject I studied, and later I moved to linguistics, Semitic languages and history of religions. It was a curious combination. I got an MPhil degree, a combination of philology and history of religion in 1972. Actually, in 1972 I had another degree from Uppsala University and I was appointed then as a part-time teacher at Stockholm University. Then I had another part time position in Uppsala University, and during a lapse of time I completed some degree in Arabic in that university. Then I was travelling between both universities for three years until I received a permanent assistantship at the University of Uppsala. Also, during these years I used to have some part-time teaching at the University of Vaasa. I received my permanent position here in Finland at this university working as a permanent senior lecturer until 2000 when I retired. My life has been shared between Jordan, Sweden and Finland. I married my Swedish wife in Sweden. My children were born in Sweden but grew up in Finland. My daughter is married and living in the United States. My son is married and living in Dubai.

Jawad, Lebanon, age 52: I finished secondary school in 1975 in the field of Sciences in Lebanon. I moved to Holland at the end of 1976 and I studied Dutch language in the first year. Then, I did a study module of one year before starting medical studies in 1978. It was a complementary year for the minor studies I did before. I had an entrance exam in 1978 and I completed my studies in medicine in 1987. I got a degree in generalist medicine. It took around 8 or 9 years. The financial situation was no very good during those years which affected the duration for completing the studies. I had to do part-time jobs to cover living expenses. I obtained a licentiate degree and then left Holland at the end of 1989. I decided to move to Finland at the beginning of 1990 by applying for a position at some hospital. I came here directly for work as I applied for a position in a hospital. In the beginning, I had amanuensis as qualified medical doctor in the transitory period of taking Finnish courses. I completed the requirements for accreditation by these courses and a period of training in Helsinki in 1992. Later on, I was supposed to work as a supervised doctor until I received a permanent position as a doctor and I got a degree as a free medical practitioner in 2002 in Kotka when I asked for it. I am divorced from my Japanese ex-wife and I live with my grown-up son and daughter here in Kotka.

Monaim, Syria, age 65: I finished secondary school at the age of 16 and university at age 21 in 1961 in Mathematics. I completed my bachelor degree in 5 years with a grade of *distinction*. Because of high competition for places in education, getting assistant position is not easy. This is my starting-point to become a researcher in 1966 at my home-town University of Damascus. I started Postgraduate study in Methods of teaching which I covered in 3 years with the highest grade in the degree. This eventually gave me more chance to get an assistant position at university. In 1972, I had a chance to go for PhD study at the University of Princeton or any other prestigious American University of my choice, but due to political circumstances between my country and the Western countries, I got another chance from ex-Soviet universities in an institute of Saint Petersburg. I studied for 5 years to get my doctoral degree. I got married with my Finnish wife when I was in Russia. I came to Finland for one year around 1977 and 1978. I came with my wife and daughter to Turku. Afterwards, I applied for a position in Dubai, in the Emirates, to work for a UN organisation. I worked there six years in one university as a lecturer and then as an assistant professor between 1981 and 1984. I came back to Finland with my wife, daughter

and son in 1984. We lived at the beginning in Helsinki, and I got some chance to have part-time work at the University of Turku and then I started permanent work in university till now.

Kamal, Tunisia, age 44: I studied semiotics in Arabic in bachelor degree study at the University of Tunis. I continued in this area until the fourth year in which I specialised in Theatre of Brecht. After getting undergraduate degree, I continued into graduate studies in semiotics of theatre and cinema. There was not much prospects in the field at the time in Tunisia. I had the idea that the place to study cinematography is in Western countries. I went to France to study it and I found a supervisor for my master degree. I studied one year and a half in research in Paris in 1988. Yet, I was still thinking about the option of studying in Finland. The financial conditions were not as expected for me and thus I had to do odd jobs to cover living expenses. When I was in Tunisia, I already had applied for a place in the University of Jyväskylä in Finland and later got acceptance. Thus, I entered in the academic year 1989-1990 and began my studies but realised that the language of instruction in all courses is Finnish. It was hard for me to learn it well. I did one course of practice my field for six month in that first year. In 1991, I married my Finnish wife at that time and now we have one son and one daughter. I eventually met some Americans participating in movie festival in Tampere. One of them suggested coming to the US to follow a career in the field. After discussing with my Finnish wife to join me to America, she agreed and we moved there in 1993. We stayed there for about 5 years in which I studied for a master degree while doing part-time work as an assistant to young trainee in multi-media as director and co-producer. I studied for 2 and half years. I worked on some small projects, and later graduated. Soon after, my wife and I decided to return back to Finland for family reasons. Before that, we stopped in France and stayed one year, but decided to settle down in 2001 in Finland. I found opportunities to work on my own projects until now, which I have enjoyed much.

Hanane, Tunisia, age 48: after finishing high school, I entered university of Tunis in 1979-80 and studied for about 6 or 7 months only. I decided later to move to Belgium to study oriental languages like Chinese and Japanese in the University of Liege. I stayed the first year and then moved to China and got Master in business administration in mandarin Chinese 1982. At first, I went to Hong Kong, but I found difficulties to enrol and then I went to China to University of Beijing. I continued my university studies in Chinese language. I was obliged to do some part-time work and study at the same time for financial reasons. I completed my studies of business administration and Chinese language in 1987. Meanwhile, I was working in the media as an Arab speaker, an interpreter, and teacher of French and Arabic. Beside these studies, I continued my studies of Oriental languages at the University of Liege concomitantly. I managed to fulfil the requirements of studies at that university. I went to Qatar in 1988 after I finished my studies for a 6 month work contract as a translator and also began my own small business. I extended my stay there around 5 years, working as translator for Arab businessmen. At that time, I met with my Finnish ex-husband with whom I married in 1992. We both started doing some business. Then, we moved to Finland and started a business with some big company for marketing their products in some MENA countries. However, the work was broken up and got divorce for personal reasons. This affected much the course of my life and I became more concerned with educating my two children while doing part-time works as translator for immigrants and some state departments.

Mohamed, Lebanon, age 36: I moved to Russia, or the ex-Soviet Union, in 1991 to do university medical studies at the University of Saint Petersburg for 7 years. I became a generalist practitioner after graduation in 1998. First, I studied Russian language in my first year. Afterwards, I made internship in my specialisation in Petroskoi for about one year in 2000. Afterwards, I left Russia to Ghana where I joined my parents who were living and working in there. My father was a surgeon in central hospital of Accre and informed me about the opportunity to work there. I soon joined him and started working with *Medecins sans Frontiere* in 2001 in my speciality for about two years. I later joined an international project to develop the local main hospital. During the period I was working in Accre, I met my Finnish wife who was an exchange nurse student in Accre central hospital. She returned back to Finland and soon came back to Ghana for our marriage in 2002. She had to return back to Finland after spending one and we agreed that I would join her to Finland if there is job offer. After one year, I received acceptance for a temporary position from a hospital of Espoo in 2002. I was given an occupational visa to come to Finland for three months and I started to work. Later, I had to pass three exams before getting the accreditation and permit to work with an equivalent Finnish status of a healthcare doctor. At present, I work in Jyväskylä main hospital. I still live there with my wife and three children.

Mourad, Morocco, age 54: I finished my secondary school in 1973 in The Hague, Holland. I studied in The Hague but the studies were connected with the University of Bordeaux where I had to do the written exams. Afterwards, I started my medical studies in that university for two years. Yet, I didn't succeed to get through with my studies. I decided then to move to Saint Petersburg in Russia in 1977 to do my studies. I finished in 1984 as a generalist healthcare doctor. Meanwhile, I learned Finnish language during the last one year and half before entering Finland. I thought about the possibility to work in Finland because it was the nearest country to Russia and because I knew that going back to France would not be much successful due to difficulties in process of equivalence. I entered Finland in 1984 and started work in different hospitals and at the same time I got immediately involved in working for equivalence and accreditation of my my specialization. I had to make all practical stages that anyone undertakes prior to degree equivalence and intergration into work as physician. I had language exam and training in surgery in Tampere central hospital in the beginning. The period of specialization took around three years and later on I received my degree of specialty in 1999. At that time, I quitted my permanent position in the central hospital. From 2002 till 2003, I did training in my medical field and also got my medical MBA. Lately, I opened a private medical center with 70 doctors and 20 nurses. I still live in Tampere with my wife and we have one son and one daughter.

Ahmed, Tunisia, age 45: After I did my secondary school in Sciences, I enrolled in university in the field of Mathematics/ physics. I actually didn't study in the first year but moved to France in 1983. I stayed a while then moved to Russia in the same year to study Automation. I got my Master degree in Mechanical engineering and continued for a PhD at the University of Moscow. Afterwards, I worked in a Finnish-Russian company. Subsequently, I began working officially as an engineer for a firm of energy. The firm required that I work for the company in Finland and, thus, I was appointed for a permannet position since 1996. I got married with my Finnish wife in in Finland around 1997. I began moving a lot in parts of the world representing the company, mainly in Asia. My responsibility in the field was that of marketing, changes in materials of automatic machines, especially with Asian countries. Afterwards, I found a job offer of two positions in some universities in Finland, one here in Oulu and one in Rovaniemi. I made applications and interviews in both universities. I started in that year in Oulu for a part-time work and in Rovaniemi as full-time. I later got permanent position here in Oulu as full-time and decided to stay here. Now, I still hold a position at the university here. I live with my Finnish wife and four children.

Hassib, Egypt, age 41: I finished my secondary school in Sciences with highest grade which allowed me to enter the faculty of Engineering in 1986. I started my university studies in 1987 at the University of Cairo. I obtained my bachelor degree of Engineering in 1991 with a grade of honour. Then, I was appointed as an assistant in the faculty. Because I did military service for two years, I started my work as assistant in 1993. I later got my master degree in Communications Engineering in 1995 in the same university. It is, in general, Electrical and Electronic Engineering but I had personal interest in Communications engineering. Later, I was accepted to be sent to study in the country and university of my choice with public financial funding. My interest fell on Canada, but due to some political reasons, I chose to move to the University of Tampere in Finland temporarily in 1998. My choice of Finland was a good one. I was accepted in the area of my interest. I finished the licentiate and then my doctorate in 2004. One month before obtaining the degree, I was accepted in the position I am now in the University here. I became an acting professor in 2008 doing research and lecturing. I am married with a wife from my country of origin and I have two daughters.

Meryem, Syria, 35: I finished my secondary school in Syria and graduated in Humanities in 1992. Later, I did studies in midwifery a higher institute for 5 years. I studied 3 years and I got married with my husband living here in Finland and joined him immediately after. I studied Finnish language in the first two years in addition to two years and a half in the college here to get the equivalent degree of my field with an exam. I finished my studies in 2000. I enrolled in the University of Helsinki for a master degree for scientific health-care in 2001. I started the master degree program and finished it with good in grade. I started working in my field and within my specialization. Also, I chose cultural activities in the municipality for integration of immigrants in society. My husband moved from Helsinki to Lahti. I left everything and I followed my husband in 2006 to the new town here because he started a business here. I left the municipality of Helsinki after working two years with them. After

one month and half of moving, I found a job in a laboratory. I am still working in that laboratory and I think of completing my master degree program soon. I live with my husband and we have one son and one daughter.

Chafiq, Algeria, age 39: I finished my secondary school in Mathematics/Physics in 1989 in France. I grew up in France and have been living for many years with my family originating from Algeria. I studied Mechanical Engineering for about 4 years 1993. Later on, I did studies in general IT and another year in Commercial Engineering. I decided to move to the IT area and found some job opportunities since the 1990s was a time for booming in ICTs but also time of economic recession. I sought some kind of traineeship program and I got the opportunity to join a big Finnish IT company in the beginning of 1996. I moved to Finland to work for 6 months as a trainee in ICTs. After that, I tried to change it into a long-term work contract but I didn't manage. Thus, I returned to France in the end of 1996. I got a job as GSM operator in my hometown for two years. GSM was booming at the time but I was interested in working with a Multinational Company. Afterwards, I began looking for job and I joined the same Finnish firm again in 1998 for a short-term job. Then, I found one in a special group in international support engineers. My position was system engineer in the field of Telecommunications, starting from the end of 1998 with a permanent contract. I still hold the position there. I live with my wife from my country of origin and we have two small children.

Nabil, Tunisia, age 44: I finished my high school in 1983 in Mathematics/Physics and then entered university for a bachelor degree study. I studied 4 years and graduated in 1988. Then, I tried to look for a job but it was difficult in my native country. I decided to go to France to pursue my doctoral study. One year later, I went to France and I tried to get enrolled for doctoral study but I couldn't make it. I decided to apply for studies in Finland and Norway. Before receiving the decision for enrolment, I went to Finland and I enrolled at the University of Tampere. In the beginning, I studied Finnish language for one year and half in 1991-92. It wasn't required but I felt I cannot live here without communicating in Finnish language. By the end of 1992, I met a friend of mine who was in the University of Technology and he suggested that I should apply to study there. By 1994, I got married with my Finnish wife. I got a place in the University of Technology and I made the equivalence of my previous studies. I graduated as an engineer in 1998 after 4 years. Then, I started my postgraduate studies in the same year and at the same laboratory. I completed my licentiate thesis and then my doctoral thesis by 2004. I was offered a job at the same laboratory, and so I stayed as a post-doctorate researcher in the laboratory and then senior researcher. I have a permanent position since 2008 in the same university. I live with my wife and we have two children.

Amal, Jordan, age 49: I graduated from high school in 1978 in Jordan. I wanted to study Art due to the political situation of my country and the high expenses of university studies. Due to a special political context, you cannot do whatever you want. In the following year, I decided to study interior design and I went to a polytechnic. I studied there one year and went back again to university. I studied psychology, educational psychology in 1980-81. Then, I moved to Finland in 1981 after marrying a Finn. Actually, I wanted to go abroad and study Arts. The first problem I met once I arrived is an absence of places where to learn Finnish since not all people speak English. In 1983, I applied for a place at the University of Jyväskylä and I didn't know what I could do because everything was in Finnish. Yet, I managed somehow to get through with it. I started studying Communication and the media at some stages. My studies were not getting much further. Meanwhile I was jobless and did small odd jobs sometimes with little income. I had already divorced my Finnish husband by 1984. Later on, I applied for a master degree program in my field and I was accepted. It took 2 years of study and I graduated during the recession in Finland. I did some small projects in multi-media as freelance with little money and temporary contracts. Then, I was unemployed again for some years. I also wrote in some papers and magazines. Then, I was given a position in a university to teach the field of Communications. I enjoyed it much as a lecturer and I had an international experience in Europe. Later on, in 2005, I started working as cultural diversity coordinator for 3 years. Afterwards, I decided to have a adoptive child as my daughter around 2007. I was jobless again and started doing again small jobs. Recently, I had chance to get a position as cultural diversity advisor. I am single and live with my daughter.

Mounir, Morocco, age 35: I studied Electrical Engineering, mainly power engineering, at my hometown university and graduated with a bachelor degree around 1996-97. Then, I worked in the field of power plant,

which is a power generation station for four years. In 2001, I had the opportunity to study in Finland at the University of Turku. I intended to go to Germany initially, while Finland seems an unconventional destination for students from Morocco. I went to Germany in the beginning in 2000. I stayed one year studying the language. However, when I came back, a friend of mine was studying in Finland informed me about good opportunities for studies in Finland. University of Turku started to develop and promote international master programs and encourage international enrolment. I was among the second generation of students in my field of engineering. I applied in 2001 and was accepted. I obtained my master degree in Engineering in the same area of my specialty. Then, I was accepted for a doctoral degree study in the same university. After 4 years of research work, I obtained my doctoral degree in my specialization of Engineering. In 2004, I got married with my wife from my country of origin and she joined me the same year while I was doing my doctoral research work. I started my postdoctoral study this year in the same department but with a different subject. I still live here in Turku with my wife and we have three children.

APPENDIX 2. INITIAL COMMUNICATION TO RESPONDENTS

Dear candidate,

The Nordic countries have developed policy measures to funnel human resources into initiatives that attract and retain non-traditional qualified populations mainly in fields of S&T. Only recently some scholarly works have touched on academic and scientific career choices and experiences. There is still a dearth of research study which can identify the driving forces in their decisions to trace their careers route and professional performances. I plan to study the Movement of these Arab highly skilled/qualified, to the Nordic countries at a micro-level. This qualitative study will look at their experiential underpinnings, at the professional and personal levels, and as a minority with a full-fledged integration within a locally different social and societal context.

In this regard, I would be grateful if you could participate in my PhD research study and co-operate in data collection as a participant. This will ultimately contribute into the accomplishment of this research work and its overall goals to shed light on the situation of Arab highly qualified/skilled people therein. Indeed, the anonymity of all informational data will be respected accordingly as they will be used for academic purpose only. If you have any question or you would like to have the interview questions before doing it, I'd be pleased to forward them to you. I would like to schedule an interview with you in May at a convenient time for you if possible. Please, email me if you suggest a specific date to meet in your city of residence.

Best regards,
Driss Habti

University of Joensuu
Department of Sociology and Social Policy
Faculty of Social Sciences
Email: driss.habti@joensuu.fi

APPENDIX 3. LETTER OF CONSENT FOR INTERVIEWING

Dear participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. As part of this project I will make one or more audio recording(s) of our discussion, which will be transcribed (written out). You will have the possibility to read draft publications based on the transcript when they are ready. In this way you can comment on, correct, add, change, clarify and/or delete issues which are a cause of concern. I would request you to indicate (below) which uses of these records you are willing to agree to consent to. This is completely up to you.

I will only use the records in ways that you agree to. **In the use of this material, the names of interview participants will not be identified.**

1. The records can be studied by the researcher for use in the research project.

(please use initials)

2. The records can be used for scientific publications.

(please use initials)

3. The records can be shown at meetings of researchers interested in the study of Higher Education and the academic disciplines which contribute to these studies.

(please use initials)

4. The records can be used for teaching purposes.

(please use initials)

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the records as indicated above.

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 4. Interview questions

Introduction of interviewer:

1. Introducing myself, my research work, and asking permission, with signing formal consent to interview, record and quote-anonymity and blurring of identity guaranteed, sending analyzed data later to the respondent for review.

The Individual, social and personal

2. Could you tell me about your personal, educational and professional background, your current job?

3. How do you evaluate your personal/family experience here in Finland (compared to your home country)? Explain? What does 'quality of life' mean to you (Satisfaction, advantages and disadvantages)?

4. Can you talk about your daily interaction with people (Finns and non-Finns) and your friends? Is your network work-centered or ethnically-based? What kind of things do you do socially (gatherings, going out, leisure-time activities)? What have your dealings with the local commune been like? (e.g. Registration, vote, police)

5. How do you manage questions linked to personal welfare? (Social insurance, financial security, plan of retirement). Have you thought about these and your future plan? (e.g. Social system)

6. What are your future plans: staying here or moving somewhere else? Do you think of this in terms of where you belong and your identity? Do you identify yourself as a cosmopolitan and international?

7. How do you manage relations with your family, friends and culture (of the country of origin)? Do they mind being away? If it is so, in what ways?

Skilled mobility and transfer of knowledge/skills

8. What are your professional (or scientific activities) in a normal day? Please specify particularities of your field of work/research? Why have you chosen your present occupation and career? Is it temporary or permanent?

9. How do you conceive of your work conditions here? Are you satisfied with your work conditions and environment?

10. What are the reasons, in your mind, which drive a highly skilled/qualified to build career prospects in a foreign country? Do you have good prospects for your professional career?

11. Are you a member of some professional/occupational network of your field? What kind of scientific activities do you pursue beside your work?

12. How do you see the situation of highly skilled/educated persons in the native country (e.g. the production and management of human resources)?

13. Being a skilled/qualified expatriate abroad, do you have or feel any constraints on your identity and culture of origin?

14. How do you assess the position and status of female highly skilled in S&T and R&D in your native country? How could you compare the situation today with the past few decades?

15. What kind of contacts do you have with your country of origin in Science and academia? How could you possibly contribute to your native country's (scientific) development? If yes, how and in what forms (initiatives)? What are the reasons? What strategies have you run to attain these developmental initiatives?

(e.g. *Knowledge transfer, Diaspora association/network; R&D, Participation in research projects within north-south partnership*).

16. Have you ever met with difficulties in taking part of any initiatives benefiting your home country? What were the conditions under which you have worked and what lessons can you draw from the experiences?

Migration/Mobility trajectory

17. What were/are the motives for your decision to opt for tri- or multi-layered mobility to other destination countries, if any?

18. Did you plan prior to movement that the duration of stay to every destination country to be temporary or permanent? Have you ever considered return to your country of origin?

In the host country:

19. Can you describe in details the importance of scientific and academic achievements reached so far? Have you experienced period of unemployment or underemployment?

20. Have you experienced any eventful time of exclusion/discrimination at any level based on your ethnicity culture or religion? If so, in what circumstances and how do you explain it?

Career progression (for female skilled expatriates):

21. How has your career evolved progressively? Can you tell me the evolution of your career from your beginning?

22. Dual career situations are prevalent and 'normal', placing more pressures on married HSP, trying to combine the demands of a professional career with personal domestic life. How is the situation in your case in this respect?

23. Is the time given for work disproportionate to your field of activities which can promote your career progression (e.g. networking and publications)?

24. Mobility involves a contractual "insecurity" and the predominance of fixed term positions for HSP who want to advance in their career. Do you think it beneficial or detrimental to career advancement?

25. As a female HSP, do you feel that there are more requirements on you than man?

Brain circulation and highly skilled networking

26. Do you think that the knowledge and experience you have internalised during your stay here or anywhere else can valuably contribute to the development of your country of origin?

27. Do you think your mobility experience changed your professional and personal position? Explain why and how?

28. What genre of relationships do you still maintain with your country of origin? Specify the nature of this connection(s) (professional, familial, cooperative etc.) and what is its frequency? Do you maintain any connections with other countries? What is its nature? Please explain in detail?

29. How could you describe and evaluate the situation of the different institutions (governmental and non-governmental) and policies measures involving highly skilled and qualified persons and human capital development in the native country?

30. Do you have any other information that might have been missed here in the interview and which might contribute to this research?

I will be grateful if you could provide me with information about any highly skilled expatriates in Finland who might be interested in taking part in this study.

APPENDIX 5. FIGURES

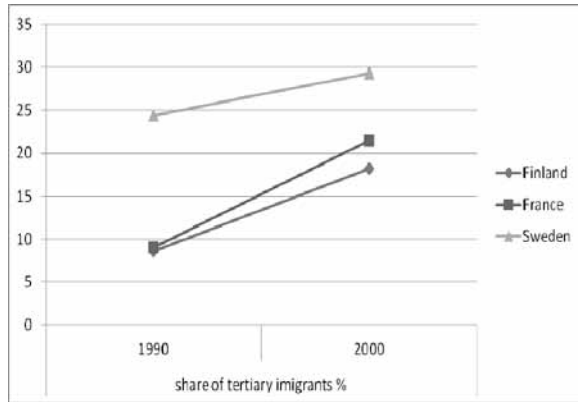


Figure 1: The Percentage of North African migrants with tertiary education in Finland between 1990 and 2000. Source: Docquier & Marfouk (2006)

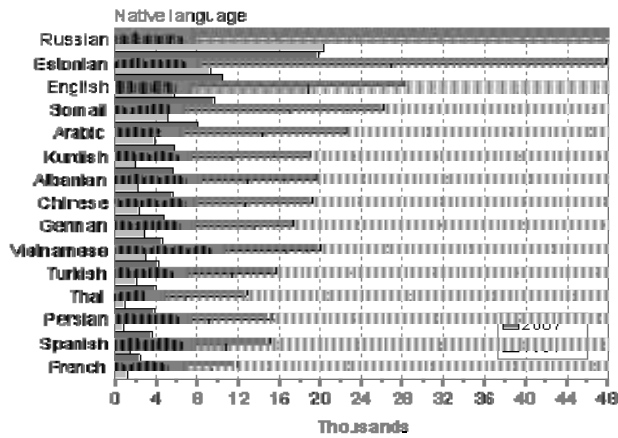


Figure 2: The largest foreign-language groups in Finland between 1997 and 2007. Source: *Population and Cause of Death Statistics*, Statistics Finland.

DRISS HABTI
*Highly Skilled Mobility and
Migration from MENA
Region to Finland:
A Socio-analytical Approach*



Global highly skilled mobility and migration across borders is one of the most pressing issues worldwide at different levels. Finland has sought to get into the stream in recent two decades with the visible increase of foreign-born tertiary educated and knowledge workers. This study gathers some of the most important questions on the phenomenon in the current literature, taking on a new approach within Finnish context. It gathers discussion of the category originating from MENA countries, considering different dimensions in an attempt to answer important questions and point to possible challenges faced in migration policy reform.



UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND
Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies

ISBN: 978-952-61-0862-9 (NID.)

ISSN: 1798-5749

ISSN-L: 1798-5749

ISBN: 978-952-61-0863-6 (PDF)

ISSN: 1798-5757