JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH
318

David M. Hoffman

The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars in Finnish Higher Education

Emerging Perspectives and Dynamics

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston Agora-rakennuksessa (Ag Aud. 3)
marraskuun 17. päivänä 2007 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of
the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä,
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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2007

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Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

Cover concept by David Hoffman and Martti Minkkinen 2006

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-3369-2
ISBN 978-951-39-3369-2 (PDF)

ISBN 978-951-39-2956-5 (nid.)
ISSN 0075-4625

Jyväskylä University Printing House, Jyväskylä 2007

ABSTRACT

Hoffman, David M.
The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars in Finnish Higher Education. Emerging Perspectives And Dynamics
Jyväskylä, University of Jyväskylä, 2007, 153 p.
(Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology, and Social Research,
ISSN 0075-4625; 318)
ISBN 978-951-39-3369-2 (PDF), 978-951-39-2956-5 (nid.)
Diss.

This analysis considers employment in the Finnish university system from the perspective of migrant academic personnel. The research questions focus on the relationship between the perceptions and experiences of migrant scholars, the nature of their mobility in particular academic fields and distinctions which can be made regarding migrant academics with respect to the shifting demographic patterns of Europe, in general, and Finland in particular.

The topic of migration; especially of highly skilled personnel, is much discussed within an aging, culturally homogenous Finnish population. However, discussion has taken place in the absence of meaningful statistics about migrant scholars. The missing link in policy discussions is the conceptual articulation that would underlie meaningful statistics and empirical analysis focusing on the relationship between migration and university employment.

The qualitative studies comprising this dissertation include a multiple case study and biographically-based methods. The studies establish six types of academic mobility; three of which are well established and three emerging patterns which highlight migration dynamics. This analysis links academic mobility patterns to career potential in different fields of study, mission areas and career stages. A general analysis of the characteristics of migrant scholars in Finnish universities is suggested; as is an indication of groups who may be missing. The perception and experiences of migrant scholars are contextualized with regard firstly, to the contingency which characterizes the presence of many migrant scholars in Finland. Secondly, these accounts underline the nature of the discussion which surrounds migrants in general and the consequences of the lack of conceptual development that characterizes migration-related topics in Finland.

The most significant aspect of this analysis concerns possible stratification, in an educational system usually distinguished by absence of stratification. This remains hidden because the ascriptive characteristics of national origin, ethnicity and skin color are treated differently than gender or age in both discussion of and statistics on higher education employment. The lack of research, policy or practice which accounts for the perspective of migrant scholars exacerbates a lack of awareness regarding a potentially problematic situation. Specifically, the nature of equity that has characterized Nordic educational systems in the past is challenged by a population that is changing more rapidly than conceptual discussions of equity and participation practices in higher education.

This dissertation establishes the theoretical coordinates of academic mobility patterns and illuminates career pattern variation within Finnish universities, as well as providing contrast to countries faced with similar circumstances.

The challenge facing higher education stakeholders concerns approaching this situation in a way that preserves the integrity of individuals, society and institutions like higher education.

Keywords: Higher Education, Migration, Scientific Personnel, Academic Mobility, Finland

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This dissertation is dedicated to my Father – who grasped and supported the nature of my research agenda earlier than most. And to my Mother – who has always provided me with a living example of finding joy and passion in one's professional pursuits.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The kind of research presented in this text entails risk. The issues brought into focus are contentious and certainly not in fashion. Anyone who knows me, also knows this suits me fine; but in higher education research, working a topic 'off the radar screen' has consequences. One of the most interesting consequences is that anyone who helps you assumes a risk not present when you work 'high-profile' topics – the topics *everyone was already talking about* before we (researchers) happen along. Nothing is wrong with those topics by the way. It is a lot smarter to stick to those. But anyone who goes out of their way to help a PhD researcher on a topic like the one presented here – in my eyes – fulfills one of the best traditions of the social sciences. Specifically: Sharing the risk – practicing our craft in a way that challenges widely held assumptions; viewing things from another perspective; formulating questions no one has asked and addressing those questions out on the end of a limb. In this regard, the names of several people I need to thank cannot be typed here: The participants in the studies carried out during my dissertation. It is because of our interaction that I draw many of the conclusions presented in this work. And it is because of the risk these scholars assumed that it must be understood: I am not speaking *for* them, I am speaking *with* them. Ours is a complex, little understood perspective in Finland. Hopefully, this becomes clear in the pages that follow.

I would like to thank my faculty supervisor, Professor Marja Järvelä. As I began this work, she arranged facilities for me in the Institute of Social and Public Policy at the University of Jyväskylä and suggested contacting Professor Jussi Välimaa. I will always be grateful for her support; pointing me in Jussi's direction and helping me see this process through to the end.

Backing up, I need to acknowledge the early encouragement I received from Esko Koponen – then working at CIMO – who took the uncommon risk of helping me voice our concerns about the discrimination sometimes encountered by international students. The service work we did in the mid 1990s, with Katja Vuori and Theo Haugie, illuminated the topic of this dissertation. Esko's support, along with Markus Laitinen – now both at the University of Helsinki – continued throughout my dissertation. It has always been as consistent as it has been effective and deeply appreciated.

Every PhD researcher deserves to be directly supervised by a scholar like Professor Jussi Välimaa, but few are. From the beginning he 'sensed' my topic, prior to the time demographics made many issues we now focus on self-evident. Although I wasn't articulate about getting my point across – especially at first – he patiently assumed the risk of helping me, as I learned the 'nuts and bolts' of research. The most satisfying experiences we shared during the past few years were on our travels, as he introduced me to our counterparts from all over the world. These days, as we research, write and occasionally partake in the odd whiskey seminar, I've begun to harbor a hope that I will someday be able to mentor PhD researchers in the same way.

On many PhD topics – especially in the early going – one needs 'something' beyond the written word: *People*. In this regard, several people proved pivotal and made a big difference. The comments, advice and encouragement I received on my early written work, conference presentations and research protocols from Dr. Yuzhuo Cai, Professor Jim Fairweather, Professor Tuula Gordon, Anita Lehikoinen, Terhi Nokkala, Dr. Mika Raunio, Professor Gary Rhoades, and Dr. Agnete Vabø proved to be right on target and couched in a constructive manner that allowed me to act on their insights.

Dr. Minna Söderqvist has provided me with the type of collegiality that's often written about, but seldom materializes. Minna read my dissertation manuscript and delivered a critique that can only come from a scholar genuinely interested in similar issues and possessing a profound appreciation for the 'fit' between research topic, ontological and epistemological assumptions, methodological approach, use of methods and serious consideration of the audiences we are both interested in reaching. In the same vein, Docent Sakari Ahola took the time to read a preliminary version of my manuscript and posed me some very good questions in a dissertation defense simulation (and even a few excellent ones in the *karonkka* simulation that followed). Docent Sabine Ylönen reviewed two of my article manuscripts, providing the type of comments and critique only a serious scholar can, along with the encouragement that possibly only migrant academics in Finland truly understand. And in the final stages of my work, the sincere encouragement and practical advice I received from Taina Saarinen, Dr. Kris Clarke and Dr. Jani Ursin meant a great deal to me, as their own work constitutes a set of very tough acts to follow.

Throughout this entire process, the discussions I have been privileged to have with my students in Finland, France and Canada continually challenged my assumptions in a very healthy way; and their fingerprints are all over any interesting material found in this dissertation.

Now, at the end of the formal process, it is an honor to thank my thesis opponent, Professor Christine Musselin, for traveling so far to take part in my dissertation defense. In addition, Professor Risto Eräsaari and Professor M'hammed Sabour provided excellent reviews that I sincerely appreciated because of the way those reviews strengthened this work.

I am very grateful to those who have funded my research, including the Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers for covering the expenses of the pilot study of this dissertation and the Finnish Ministry of Education, which funded the graduate school in which I was employed – *The Finnish Network for Higher Education Research and Training* (FINHERT). During my dissertation work, I was also fortunate to be employed as a researcher under funding made available by the University of Jyväskylä and working together with Jussi Välimaa on a European Science Foundation project.

It is difficult to imagine a better working environment than the *Institute for Educational Research* (IER) at the University of Jyväskylä. It would have been impossible for me to accomplish my work – in the way that I did – without the

capacity of the IER; especially the back-up from our excellent publications unit, ICT and administrative support. While mainly a team effort, I need to specifically thank Riitta Pitkänen, Sari Emaus-Valkonen, Ulla-Maija Raiskila, Martti Minkkinen, Seija Mannila and Sinikka Vihne. Over the past several years I have repeatedly sought their expertise and they have consistently, quickly and cheerfully provided it. Working with colleagues like these is a joy. Informally, it is impossible not to comment about the myths concerning *shy, silent Finns – who don't know how to make small talk or be polite…* The colleagues I worked with on a daily basis and shared the first floor coffee room with – these friendly, noisy, polite colleagues made coming to work most days much nicer than a lot of places I've passed through (And *all* of them can 'small-talk' me under the table.)

The *higher education studies research team* at IER was an important part of my socialization into Finnish higher education and I'm very grateful to my colleagues on the team for providing me with an opportunity that doesn't exist in many settings I have visited during my research.

I was also fortunate enough to share the camaraderie with the professors, researchers and my colleagues in the FINHERT graduate school. Especially, the individuals who took those 'extra steps' *beyond what circumstances dictate*, allowing the human dimension of academe to surface; the general social life that made FINHERT so enjoyable during the past few years.

Social scientists don't win too many prizes for clear writing or – obviously – brevity. I am no exception. Because of this, I'm very grateful to my long time friend, Anya Siddiqi and my long time wife, Tiina Hoffman, for the patient editing of my manuscripts and Tiina's translation of my abstract.

Most of the people I've mentioned understand some aspect of the risks inherent in the topics I seem to be drawn to. However, my family is more invested. They share the risk with me in an entirely different way. Especially Tiina, who has watched me either paint myself into a corner pursuing my interests or establish the basis to continue my work; knowing there is no way to tell the difference at this early stage of my academic career. Tiina has done this because curiosity-driven research is important to me, something worth doing despite the risks. That's a lot to ask. My dissertation, unlike most, can be used to indicate the potential for both my family and myself in Finland at this particular point in time. I don't have the words to express how thankful I am to Tiina and my sons, Ville Thomas and Veikko Michael for assuming this risk with me.

Anyone who has read this section might ask themselves if it would actually be possible to 'screw up' with all the help I have received along the way. Over the long run, the answer to that question is: 'No'. But appraising this dissertation is different. That is because the dissertation was a medium-term project at best. As such, it can be evaluated as the scope was limited. The research topic presented here is new in Finland; therefore, the issues raised need to be approached cautiously. I have tried my best in this regard. The real help I have received was, overall – *excellent* – but in the end, the approach, analysis, conclusions and any shortcomings associated with these are mine alone.

STUDIES AND PUBLICATIONS

I Hoffman, D. (2003). Internationalisation at Home from the Inside: Non-Native University Faculty and Transformation. Journal of Studies in International Education 7(1): 77-93.

II Hoffman, D. (2004). 300 Meters. *Koettu Kampus* (The Campus Experienced). In R. Koikkalainen (Ed.) *Jyväskylän yliopiston tasa-arvotoimikunta* (University of Jyväskylä Equality Committee) and *Jyväskylän yliopiston museon julkaisu numero 18* (University of Jyväskylä Museum Publication. Number 18), 53-80.

III Hoffman, D. (2005). The Mobility of Scientists and 'Best Practices', or: The Wrong Answers to the Wrong Questions? In T. Gabaldón, H. Horta, D. Meyer & J. Pereira-Leal (Eds.) Career Paths and Mobility of Researchers in Europe Göttingen: Verlag, 86-97.

IV Hoffman, D. Changing Academic Mobility Patterns and International Migration: What Will Academic Mobility Mean in the 21st Century? *Accepted for publication, 2008:* Journal of Studies in International Education

V Hoffman, D. The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars: A Multiple Case Study of Long-Term Academic Mobility in Finnish Universities. *Manuscript submitted for publication:* Higher Education in Europe

VI Hoffman, D. (2006). *Koulutuksen tasa-arvo ja "meidän" korkeakoulutus?* (Educational Equality and 'Our' Higher Education System?) In. J. Ursin & J. Välimaa (Eds.) *Korkeakoulutus teoriassa - näkökulmia ja keskustelua* (Higher education in theory – viewpoints and discussion). Jyväskylä: Institute for Educational Research, 155-184.

FIGURES USED IN DISSERTATION

CONTENTS

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of three parts. SECTION I is a general introduction to the dissertation. SECTION II (Chapters 1-6) is a synthesis of selected studies which were carried out during the dissertation. In addition, SECTION II contains conclusions which can be made when examining the dissertation as a whole. SECTION III (Annexes 1-6) is composed of six selected studies and publications, which form the basis for the general analysis of work done during the dissertation.

The purpose of this introduction is to explain the relationship between the studies and publications which were produced during the course of the dissertation work, SECTION III, and the synthesis of that work, SECTION II.

The fundamental distinction regarding this relationship is that each study or publication is focused narrowly; on a particular question, set of questions, issues or argument. The synthesis, on the other hand, offers a general, holistic view of an unfolding set of issues concerning the relationship between Finland's university system and Finnish society (Chapter 1.3). The research questions which guided my work (Chapter 1.2) offer an important insight into this changing relationship by focusing on the career potential of migrant scholars in the Finnish university system.

In this introduction, I will briefly describe the contents of the studies and publications and indicate how these relate to the chapters of the synthesis. This is done in order to clarify the way in which the former establish the basis for the latter.

Internationalisation at Home from the Inside: Non-Native University Faculty and Transformation (Annex 1)

The rationale underlying the basis for the dissertation and the central research questions which have guided my work (Chapter 1.2) was initially addressed in this publication, which focused on a single set of related questions: "Why this research problem? What made you think of it? What are your assumptions and doubts." (Hoffman 2003c: 79).

In the beginning of this dissertation , four things were clear to me regarding issues in which internationalization and higher education were being considered by key policy makers in Finnish higher education (cf. Finnish Ministry of Education 2001).

The first was that the perspective of non-native faculty had not been accounted for when considering internationalization strategy at many levels, despite the fact there were considerable numbers of non-native faculty in Finnish universities. Secondly, there were no publicly available statistics on non-native faculty which could serve as a clear empirical inroad to approaching topics which may have been relevant to strategic policy discussion on academic mobility, which was – and is – a key issue. Thirdly, many policy actors in Finnish higher education were not aware of this missing perspective. Finally, the way in which internationalization in higher education was related to globalization had not been considered in the Finnish context in terms of access, specifically "the student population was becoming diverse at as faster rate than the faculty – and in many instances, the communities in which the campuses were located – and that the consequences from this were far from understood" (Hoffman 2003c: 82).

While students were the principal focal point of discussions on academic mobility in Finland at this time (See Chapter 2), my work on student related issues in the mid to late 1990s suggested that university faculty would provide a more interesting empirical focal point when thinking about a rapidly aging, culturally homogenous society challenged by emerging migration issues. The assumptions on which this research was based, were that the circumstances of non-native faculty and staff could provide an empirical glimpse into social dynamics which had not been fully understood in the context of higher education in particular, or society in general. Egalitarian assumptions about Finnish culture in general and within higher education in particular were very challenging in this regard. This is because these assumptions are at the same time hallmarks of Finnish education (Välijärvi 2006; Välimaa 2001a); yet conspicuously absent from discussion on academic mobility in general (Teichler 1996; Scott 2005) and Finland in particular. This specific issue is elaborated in Chapters 5 and 6 and in Annexes 2 and 6.

This publication (Annex 1), which drew on personal experience as a student and employee in Finnish higher education, marked the transition stage from pre-empirical consideration of the dissertation as a research topic (Punch 2000) via the analysis of a pilot case study in my own university. The analysis of the pilot study was the beginning of the empirical investigation of the dissertation and was presented at several conferences and seminars (cf. Hoffman 2003a; 2003b).

Literature on Academic Mobility and Possible Methodological Approaches

The pilot case study for this dissertation (Hoffman 2003a; 2003b) was meant to answer one question: *Was this research topic viable?* I used the articulation of this emerging research problem – as I understood it at that time – to obtain a position in a graduate school to pursue this topic.

This phase of the research process was characterized by a time in which a substantial tension about this topic was resolved. On the one hand, the pilot study produced a certainty that I had located a gap in the literature on academic mobility in terms of substance, the way in which theory was used in studies on academic mobility and the limited range of methodological perspectives brought to bear on this topic (See Chapter 2).

On the other hand the pilot study revealed my lack of knowledge about higher education as a context. For example, I began the pilot study fairly sure that the relationship between university missions (Välimaa 2001b) career trajectory, academic and scientific power (Bourdieu 1988) and several ascriptive characteristics (Beck 1992) had been overlooked in discussions about academic mobility research and policy in Finnish higher education (See Chapter 2.3.1 & 2.3.2) . What I did not anticipate was the degree to which disciplinary cultures shaped these dynamics (Becher & Trowler 2001). (See Chapter 2.3.3)

The results of the pilot study done for this dissertation were presented at several international conferences attended by higher education research specialists and stakeholders. It was the opinion of several higher education specialists attending those conferences that several of the substantive issues identified in the pilot study could be more easily pursued as discrete, analytically clear topics rather than 'bundled together'.

This advice, mainly from higher education specialists based *outside Finland*, indicated a departure from the tradition of doing a monograph, or thesis published as a single work. Monographs are appreciated very much *inside Finland*, particularly within the social sciences. This was and is a dilemma regarding the presentation of this dissertation based on a series of studies, rather than a monograph. While there are disadvantages and advantages to either form of dissertation, the subject matter itself, indicated the best way forward in this particular case. Specifically, as the introduction (Chapter 1) and Annexes 1, 2 and 3 will indicate; the area of academic mobility in general and the circumstances of migrant scholars in particular is not regarded as particularly problematic in terms of the issues which will be raised in this dissertation, particularly equity issues. This circumstance, in and of itself, is problematic. Because the dissertation raises these issues, directly challenging central assumptions about equity, the work can be perceived as polemic. Because of this, delving into this area is better done with a degree of caution, in methodological terms.

Therefore, following the strategy indicated by higher education specialists familiar with the pilot findings, an inductive, qualitative approach was designed, aimed at ultimately highlighting key issues that could be used to design and carry out a program of sustained and robust studies concerning an

area that has remained analytically neglected and undefined in the Finnish context. Those studies are beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, this dissertation establishes both the theoretical focal points for those types of studies, as well as the policy issues implicated by the analysis (See Chapter 6).

The advantage to this approach is that qualitative reflection on unfolding topics allows the researcher to re-think or challenge conventional assumptions or even establish new ideas. The disadvantage is that the iterative nature of this type of process, especially in the early stages, is much slower than working with a deductive approach; where powerful, established theory is applied to unambiguous empirical objects of analysis. While policy makers and stakeholders often hope for the latter; producing the latter before carrying out the former is ill advised in the rapidly changing demographic circumstances Finland currently faces (See Chapter 1).

To proceed with the series of qualitative studies, a case study protocol was prepared which was not intended for publication but which served as a bridging device which enabled me to move further into the empirical phase in a more focused manner. In practice, this meant, for example, the studies I began on academic mobility (Annex 4 & Chapter 4.1) and the career potential of migrant scholars (Annex 5 & Chapter 4.3) were both based on the results from the pilot study, but were developed and pursued as separate studies and publications.

Two studies which characterize the transition between the pre-empirical and empirical phase of research are *300 Meters* (Annex 2) and *The Mobility of Scientists and 'Best Practices', or The Wrong Answers to The Wrong Questions?* (Annex 3). Each of these publications illuminates the general weaknesses of academic mobility literature (See Chapter 2.1) in terms of substantive scope, atheoretical approaches to the topic and lack of methodological variety (Chapter 2.2). The gap in the literature highlighted by these two publications contextualize these general weaknesses in the literature – as a whole – and specifically the gap in knowledge they create in the context of Finnish higher education.

300 Meters (Annex 2)

This essay was written at the invitation of the equality committee of my own university. It is in this essay that I elaborate insights into what I perceived as key elements that defined the gap in the literature which I was working with in terms of substance, methodological approach and methods.

I did this by raising what I believed to be two provocative questions; given the stress policy-makers and stakeholders were placing on the internationalization of Finnish higher education via multiple types of academic mobility: *"Would a migrant or expatriate academic within the same organizational and disciplinary framework(s) see what a native might miss? Would we 'miss' what a native 'sees'?"* (Hoffman 2004a: 57).

In the essay, I attempt to answer that question by firstly connecting academic mobility to migration by drawing attention to a conceptual distinction

first made in the pilot study between lateral and *vertical* academic mobility (Hoffman 2003c). Lateral academic mobility is defined by migrant scholars who compete directly for positions they are qualified for and enter both Finland and higher education employment by crossing an international border. Vertical academic mobility concerns migrants or scholars of migrant origin who enter higher education employment as part of the general population. This occurs when migrants enter student ranks, along with their age cohort, from the general population, and then make the transition from student to their first academic position as faculty or staff. This initial distinction is elaborated in Annex 4 and Chapter 4.1.

That distinction made, I then drew on current examples from national, local and disciplinary-based contexts which were fair examples of state of the art policy and reporting on academic mobility in the Finnish context (See Chapter 2). What these examples have in common is the fact that a comprehensive account of the perspective of immigrant and expatriate scholars employed in the system were missing (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Working Group Report 2003; Academy of Finland 2005). In addition, the examples used are used as the basis for an assertion that large groups of migrants in the general population of Finland were conceptually located outside discussions on academic mobility and the campus I was sitting in. This is because of the combination of a lack of conceptual reflection on academic mobility, the lack of participation by scholars experiencing important types of academic mobility and the narrow range of methods used to approach academic mobility. The combination of these produced the gap in the literature (Chapter 2) my empirical studies would subsequently focus on.

To be clear, the complex academic mobility dynamics I would encounter and elaborate in my empirical studies (Annex 4 & Annex 5) are new phenomena in Finnish society. This analysis offers an example of the way in which the presence of migrants in and of itself raises new – unnoticed – challenges *within* society, not *outside* it. The gap in the literature is neither good nor bad, it has emerged as Finnish society has changed in demographic terms, as have the associated challenges (Chapter 6; Annex 6). The literature gap highlighted in Chapter 2 cannot be 'blamed' on bad policy or bad will on anyone's part. This type of conclusion misses the point of the argument presented in Chapter 2. The point of the conclusions in Chapter 6 and Annex 6, however, strongly assert s this knowledge gap; resulting from a fundamentally new situation that has been *missed* in policy, can also be partially *addressed* by policy.

The Mobility of Scientists and 'Best Practices', or The Wrong Answers to the Wrong Questions? (Annex 3)

During this phase of my research, a key encounter occurred which helped clarify the tension between the gap in the literature articulated in Chapter 2 and the best way forward in substantive and methodological terms. This encounter was with a group of higher education stakeholders assembled to discuss the

'best practices' of Early Stage Research Mobility (ESRM 2004). The conference presentations mainly focused on the geographical mobility of graduate students and post-doctoral students in science, technology, engineering and math.

At this conference the multiple case study protocol was presented (Hoffman 2004c) that was directly based on the results of the dissertation pilot study and the feedback received following presentations of those results in local seminars, national and international conferences. This protocol would directly result in the empirical work that would lead to *The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars: A Multiple Case Study of Long-Term Academic Mobility in Finnish Universities* (Annex 5).

At this conference, I was openly critical of the way in which both substantive issues were being conceptually defined. In addition, I asserted that the methodological approaches used in research on academic mobility exacerbated a state in which researchers, policy makers and stakeholders were not getting conceptual traction on the relationship between emerging and established academic mobility dynamics.

Based on that critique, I was invited to submit an article to the proceedings of this conference (Annex 3; Chapter 4.2). The invitation was not to submit the case study protocol I had presented. Rather, it was to back up my critique in a methodological sense. The way in which I did this was to contrast a recently completed survey report of 'foreign' Ph.D. students and researchers conducted by staff employed by The Academy of Finland (Puustinen-Hopper 2005) and the purposeful selection strategy I had presented at the conference (Hoffman 2004c). The limited utility of the notion *foreign* in research on academic mobility (bracketed in the previous sentence) is the topic of Section 4.5 of Chapter 4.

While this study (Annex 3) and *300 meters* (Annex 2) contain considerable overlap, the justification for that type of overlap – in the qualitative research process – is because the foundation of a new topic in a context where the findings will be controversial cannot be otherwise. These two publications had distinct audiences (local university personnel versus international higher education stakeholders) and two primary focuses (substance and methodology). All possible feedback regarding the combinations of audiences and issues was welcome at this early stage in the research and I benefited considerably from the wide range of viewpoints I sought out.

The key questions focused on in this publication were: "What do we miss by ignoring what is already known about academic mobility, approaching the topic with methods that aren't really designed to illuminate new knowledge – or both – while trying to act in the increasingly complex and competitive world of higher education (HE) and closely related research-intensive occupational sectors?" (Hoffman 2005a: 87). In simple policy terms: Why act before thinking in a complex context?

The methodological assertion made in this publication is that analytical generalizations made regarding established theory (Yin 1994) – applied to a purposeful selection (Creswell 2002) related to those theoretical coordinates – will yield more knowledge than statistical generalizations about a numerically undefined and conceptually ill-defined population.

While the former can be used to design explanatory survey instruments which will produce new knowledge, as is suggested in Chapter 6.3.2, the latter, while useful in producing information, is less likely to inform the state of the art of knowledge on academic mobility.

The insights I gained from the process leading to this publication drove the dissertation process into the next phase of research regarded the way in which disciplinary cultures (Becher & Trowler 2001), in general, were used to form the basic conceptual coordinates of analytically framing the career potential of migrant scholars with regard to disciplines and specialties in which the highest probability of success are quite obvious, as well as the theoretical coordinates of areas in which scholars with a migrant background are very rare (See Chapter 4.2, in particular Figure 5). The most important implication of this is discussed in Section 5.2 of Chapter 5 and concerns the culturally homogenous nature of many academic contexts in which the identification, interpretation and explanation of migration dynamics, academic mobility and their potential relationships to a changing society might occur.

A second event occurred in this phase of the dissertation process and drove the empirical work – as a whole – forward. Immediately upon returning from the above conference I attended a graduate school seminar focusing on the internationalization of higher education. As part of an assignment, a small group I was working in discussed the topic of academic mobility. This group – by coincidence – included four persons born in four different regions of the world, each experiencing distinct types of academic mobility. As sometimes happens in qualitative research, I was presented with an opportunity to follow a hunch. Pursuing that hunch enabled me to move forward into the empirical phase of the research with a study designed to elaborate the initial observations made on conceptual distinctions between distinct types of academic mobility (Hoffman 2003a; Annex 2).

Changing Academic Mobility Patterns and International Migration: What Will Academic Mobility Mean in the 21st Century? (Annex 4)

This qualitative study explores a *spectrum of academic mobility* articulated by Teichler (2005), which empirically contributes to consideration of connections between academic mobility and migration (Chapter 4.1). This analysis of e-mail excerpts from 20 migrant academics, living in 7 countries, illuminates 6 distinct types of academic mobility. This study originated with the hunch in the group work mentioned above.

Narrowly conceiving of academic mobility in terms of traditional internationalization (as defined in Chapter 2.2) finds many universities focused on – and staffed for – academic mobility *between* countries. Other regions have long been focused on academic mobility that occurs *within* countries. These patterns are a result of *long term* migration dynamics. At the conceptual and practical levels, this study distinguishes between the *time-scales* and *contexts* of academic mobility, the theoretical justification for doing this and the policy implications of not making these distinctions.

The resulting analysis invites a re-consideration of basic assumptions about academic mobility dynamics and their implications. This study is described in Chapter 4.1.

Arriving at the final analysis of this data presented me with a set of unique challenges in that I was relating academic mobility patterns and migration dynamics to many higher education audiences who were being presented with empirical connections between these topics for the first time.

My initial analysis of the data (Hoffman 2004b) was met with criticism, especially from higher education specialists. My working assumption was that much research and policy discussion concerning academic mobility rested on unchallenged, context-based assumptions. My initial approach to the topic was not convincing to many of my colleagues.

However, constructive feedback from specialists, a subsequent re-analysis of the data for presentation to a Finnish national workshop on academic mobility for international-office university staff, The Academy of Finland and to the Finnish National Student Union – as well constructive criticism from experienced scholars along the way – has resulted in the present analysis in Annex 4 and Chapter 4.1.

The analysis of my data in this study, which appears in Chapter 4.1, has addressed the early critique of the nature of my assertions connecting migration dynamics to academic mobility and resulted in a typology of three types of conventional academic mobility and three types of emerging academic mobility, in a single conceptual framework.

The significance of this study lay in potential applications in explanatory-level work in which migration dynamics and academic mobility patterns can be considered.

The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars: A Multiple Case Study of Long-Term Academic Mobility in Finnish Universities (Annex 5)

This multiple case study, features interviews with 42 migrant scholars, from 27 countries, in 5 Finnish universities. In Finland, an aging, culturally homogeneous population is experiencing a rapidly transforming labor force and uncertainties about migration dynamics. This analysis illuminates a surprising degree of stratification, in a society normally associated with the *absence* of stratification. The framework presented in this study draws on higher education theory to highlight tension between societal expectations of equity, in the age of global academic capitalism (As defined in Chapter 4.4). The implications, for stakeholders, center on assessing higher educations' capacity for explaining change ***within*** higher education, as well as society.

The analytical generalizations – to theory – which I use to frame my interpretations of the interviews I facilitated with the 42 migrant scholars interviewed in this study are described in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4.

Key topics which arose in the interviews from this study are analytically interesting in their own right. For example the *logics of entrance* elaborated in Chapter 4.4 or the way in which the notion of *foreign(er)* in research and policy

discussion on academic mobility obscures much more than it clarifies, which is addressed in Chapter 4.5.

However, the relationship between conventional and emerging types of academic mobility (Annex 4 & Chapter 4.1), influence of university mission and disciplinary culture on career trajectory (Annex 3 & Chapter 4.2) illuminate structural dynamics which are absent from much of the current research, reporting and policy discussion on academic mobility, particularly in the Finnish context (Chapter 2).

The most significant focal point illuminated within this framework involves the way in which potential relationships between the ascriptive characteristics of national origin, skin color and ethnicity and career trajectory (Bourdieu 1988) are not clear in the Finnish context to the same extent these relationships can be analytically approached with regard to the ascriptive characteristics of gender and age. Ascriptive characteristics are characteristics of a person or group that cannot be changed by individual effort, for example, gender, age, kinship, skin color, national origin, sexual orientation, physical disability and ethnicity (Beck 1992; Marshall 1994).

The methodological basis for highlighting these types of dynamics is significant in terms of both the substantive questions raised in Chapters 5 and the policy implications of those issues highlighted in Chapter 6.

The results of this study are significant because the analytical coordinates of the framework hold the potential to illuminate higher education contexts in which there is stratification in terms of ascriptive characteristics and where there is not. The differences between these two types of contexts are missing topics from current higher education policy discussion regarding several ascriptive characteristics in many countries (Chapter 6, Annex 6).

The analytical framework presented in Chapter 4.3 and Annex 5 allows the articulation of explanatory studies of these issues beyond the methodological limitations of this dissertation, as well as approaching these issues in international comparative studies.

Policy Engagement, Competitive Horizons and Methodological Limitations

The final phase of dissertation work occurred as I became comfortable with the final form of the three research questions I began with in the pre-empirical stage of my work (Annex 1). In the dissertation these research questions are listed in Chapter 1.2 as follows:

1. What are the perceptions and experiences of migrant academic personnel engaged in long term academic mobility?
2. What is the nature of that mobility with regard to particular academic fields?
3. What distinguishes academics engaged in long term academic mobility with regard to the shifting demographic patterns of the European research area in general and the Finnish socio-cultural context in particular?

The reasons it was time to move on was based on new studies that had begun – concurrently – with the main empirical phase of the dissertation research (Annex 4 & Annex 5). These studies had to do with Finland's higher education system – as a whole. Specifically, with regard to the way in which academics – in their basic units – were responding to new demands posed by the Bologna Process, Lisbon Strategy and Ministry of Education initiatives concerning strategic internationalization policy (Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006; Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005). During the empirical phase of my research, those studies gave me considerable insight into both the research questions I had set out to study and the way in which focus on those research questions, in turn, fit into an emerging global discussion on the way in which academic work – globally – was changing for better or worse in specific national contexts (Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

In this stage of the research, I became very focused on new research problems that the analytical generalizations – to theory – in this dissertation made possible in both the Finnish context and in designing international comparative studies focused on these issues.

The limitations of the inductive, qualitative approach I had used throughout this research had been reached and further inquiry into these topics would involve new research questions and different methodological approaches (See Chapter 6.3.2). The two main texts produced in this phase of the research were a summary of my main empirical findings and their policy implications (Annex 6) and the dissertation synthesis (Chapters 1-6).

Koulutuksen tasa-arvo ja "meidän" korkeakoulutus?

[Educational Equality and 'our' Higher Education System?] (Annex 6)
This publication was intended as an empirically-supported policy argument and was directed at higher education researchers, policy-makers and stakeholders in the Finnish context. For this reason, this article was published in the Finnish language.

In this publication I draw attention to a single question I'm asked quite often: *"So, what's it like to work in Finnish higher education?"* (Hoffman 2006). The answer to that question; assuming the person is referencing the career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish universities, is: "It depends." Generally, what my approach to the subject (Chapter 3) my publications and studies (Annex 1-5) indicate is that what it depends on are the general topics and areas I highlight in this publication.

Specifically; the differences between how academic mobility potential is approached and seen by researchers, policy-makers and stakeholders in the Finnish context (Chapter 1 & 2) versus how academic mobility actually works out in practice (Annex 3, Annex 5; Chapter 4). Secondly, this depends on an individual's location in conventional or emerging types of academic mobility pattern or a combination of patterns and if that pattern is recognized (Annex 4; Chapter 4.1). It also depends on whether or not a migrant is entering a viable disciplinary-based field in a recognizable trajectory or if their presence will

constitute an exception or if they end up in a marginal career trajectory (Annex 3; Chapter 4.2). And all these things might be affected by the part of the world the migrant originates from, the color of their skin or their ethnic background (Annex 5; Chapter 4.3).

This publication mainly focuses on the last sentence of the previous paragraph and the fact that writing that sentence challenges unquestioned assumptions about the relationship between those ascriptive characteristics and higher education career trajectories (Annex 5; Chapter 5).

This publication is a presentation of the most important results of my dissertation. It is intended for researchers, policy makers and stakeholders considering current and future change in Finnish higher education connected to the relationship between migration and academic mobility. My argument is that last century's discussion on educational equality in Finnish society will not automatically translate into the same types of equity outcomes (which still constitute a fair characterization of our higher education system and society) during the coming century. Stakeholders interested in seeking those outcomes; especially given the impact of academic capitalism in global higher education (Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*), will benefit from considering the career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish universities and assessing what that potential indicates about a changing Finnish society (Chapter 6).

THE CAREER POTENTIAL OF MIGRANT SCHOLARS IN FINNISH HIGHER EDUCATION: Emerging Perspectives and Dynamics (Chapters 1-6)

Chapters 1 – 6 of SECTION II differ in a single key aspect from the publications on which these chapters rest. This is because the organizing principal I used in the write-up of Chapters 1 – 6 was designed to convey *what* I know about my dissertation topic and the implications of that knowledge. The studies in SECTION III (Annexes 1 – 6), on the other hand, are direct answers to the question *how* I came to this analysis and these conclusions.

To put it differently, if asked today what I know about the career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish higher education – in general – the answer I would give would flow in a manner which mirrors the structure of SECTION II. Specifically, Chapter 1 articulates the most important contextual features needed to consider that question, research questions which shed light on this topic and their significance. In Chapter 2, I propose a way in which the literature most relevant to this topic can be assessed and a significant gap in that literature concerning the Finnish context. Chapter 3 conveys the way in which I methodologically approached this topic with respect to the weaknesses identified in the literature in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 is my presentation of the general empirical findings of the studies I did during the dissertation. Chapter 5 is a critical analysis of the empirical findings of the studies, with respect to the research questions guiding the dissertation work. Chapter 6 presents the critical policy implications of the dissertation, as well as the way forward in terms of

new research which can be done on this topic, based on what was learned while carrying out the dissertation.

On the other hand, if asked a very specific question about the issues highlighted in Annex 6 (above), I would refer to one of the specific studies in SECTION III, which allow quite direct answers to specific questions about my dissertation topic.

The general presentation of the dissertation synthesis (SECTION II, Chapters 1-6) and the specific studies that underlie that general presentation (SECTION III, Annexes 1-6) are as equally useful as they are distinct, because they fulfill very different purposes. The main reason the two ought to be presented together is because this dissertation was based on an inductive process, a series of related qualitative studies on an unfolding research topic (Punch 2000). In these types of studies, the ideal way of framing and synthesizing the study normally occurs at the end of the research, in contrast to a deductive approach (Creswell 2002) in which many framework elements must be specified in advance. The academic mobility of non-Finnish scholars can be – and has been – approached in both ways (See Chapter 2; Annex 2 & 3). However, concerning the topic of this dissertation, a deductive approach will only yield new knowledge if adequate conceptual groundwork has been laid, appropriate empirical focal points are chosen and robust methodological strategies are used (See Chapter 6.3.2). In other words, the results of the inductive methodological strategy used in this dissertation are both complementary and necessary for deductive methodological approaches to the same topic (Annex 2, 3: Chapter 2). Finally, presenting the studies as appendixes allows a robust critique of the way in which the topic has been approached. As the dynamics under study are new in the Finnish context, the best way forward can only be established by such critique, because the policy issues implicated are controversial.

In this case, the framework I propose can incorporate and be used to assess the literature on academic mobility which changes daily with respect to research, policy, reports and information concerning this topic, especially with regard to migration dynamics. And it can be used to move forward on the new research questions and policy issues illuminated by the work as a whole (Annex 6; Chapter 6).

SECTION II

1 AN EMPIRICAL WINDOW: FINNISH SOCIETY, HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE MIGRATION OF ACADEMIC PERSONNEL

1.1 Purpose Statement

> Research on higher education does not have to be driven by public concerns. Higher education researchers could **anticipate changing issues** and make the key actors aware of the salient issues they are likely to face in the near future. We could give greater attention to issues which are looming but have not been analyzed in the public debate. (Teichler 2000: 23, original emphasis)

The purpose of this text is to synthesise several studies I designed, conducted, wrote-up and presented while engaging the research questions guiding my doctoral dissertation. There are two general forms of dissertation available in Finland at this time, a monograph or a thesis that consists of several pieces of separate, but related work. This dissertation is the second type. In this format, separate studies, essays, conference papers and presentations had to stand on their own merits in the context in which they were presented, whether an academic journal, a chapter of a book or as a publication based on an academic conference. This text is different in that a general analysis of my work – as a whole – is presented. This type of synthesis is neither possible nor obvious from examining the individual studies and essays – *the trees* – that comprised the dissertation – *the forest*.

The analyses of the studies presented here were profoundly influenced by ongoing critical dialogue, in the form of several presentations of my work as it unfolded (Punch 2000). These presentations were conducted with and for policy-makers, practitioners and key stakeholders in Finnish higher education who expressed an interest in my research. This process exceeded my expectations regarding the type of interaction a researcher using qualitative methods on public policy issues, might reasonably expect (Rist 1998; Mullard &

Spicker 1998). This *translational aspect* of my work[1], regarding a continual reflection on the implications of analytical findings, is integral to qualitative research aimed at a specific context (Teirney 2005). In this regard, the analysis presented here was much more of a process than a pre-defined project. I recognized – along with many of the people who guided and advised me – that the issues raised in the body of my work concern new, complex relationships in a rapidly changing context. The issues presented in this dissertation are exactly the type referred to by Teichler (2000), at the outset of this chapter. They are well below the radar screen of many policy makers in Finnish higher education, as well as the general public. As such, it is crucial for the reader to note that the study of *the career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish higher education* is much more an *emerging topic*, as opposed to an *established issue* that one will hear about in speeches by policy-makers, or read about in the newspaper.

The most important effects this has on research of this type is that the methodological choices available are restricted, limiting the researcher, in many cases, to analytical generalizations, to theory, because migrant academic personnel, as a group, are an undefined population in the Finnish university system. The terms *migration* and *migrant* will be used throughout this analysis in a way consistent with the general definition proposed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). That definition states:

> Migration is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, wishing to settle definitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin. (IOM 2003: 8)

As this dissertation will show, using the term migration is conceptually and empirically more precise when speaking about the academic mobility of scholars. This is because, unlike *immigration* or *emigration*, neither direction nor final destination is implied. This general definition assumes migration to be voluntary, as a number of specialized terms exist which apply to migration which is not. This definition of migration, generally covers lengths of time *over* 12 months, but can be used when *patterns of regular migration* at regular, but shorter intervals are clearly defined.

Finally, although the geographic movement of academic personnel across an administrative or political border is not the only type of academic mobility that will be discussed in this analysis; the intersection of *migration phenomena* and *national systems of higher education ultimately define the scope of the study*.

During the time this research has been carried out, between 2000 and the present time, the number of migrant academics engaged in medium and long-term mobility employed in Finnish universities was not accessible in publicly available statistics on the 29,417 university higher education employees who serve the nation's 5.2 million inhabitants in 20 public universities (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Statistics Finland 2003; KOTA Database 2003; S. Mäkinen,

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1 By *translational*, I mean a purposeful researcher-initiated dialogue between academics and stakeholders, who may otherwise not be aware of academic debates and research findings relevant to the stakeholder (Tierney 2005).

Academy of Finland, personal communication, April 21, 2004; T. Halonen, Finnish Ministry of Education, personal communication, October 10, 2005). By medium and long-term mobility, I refer specifically to the mobility of academic personnel which fall *outside* arrangements of temporary exchange and short sojourns.

In the Finnish context, significant demographic trends underlying this analysis include; the impending retirement of the baby boom generation; the labor force transformations associated with mass retirements, and discussion by policy-makers about attracting highly skilled migrant labor to offset forecast shortages of employees (Raunio 2003, 2004; Koivukangas 2002; Heikkilä & Peltonen 2002; Vilkama, Keskinen & Sorainen 2005; Karjalainen et al. 2006[2]). These trends are discussed much more urgently now, than when the first studies of this dissertation were designed.

However, the synthesis of the work presented in this text reveals the possibility of structural dynamics that are not often referred to in policy discussions in many national higher education systems in the European Research Area[3] (2002) in general and are absent in Finnish higher education in particular. The relevance of these structural dynamics goes to the fact that the need for highly skilled migrant labor in strategic research-intensive sectors, crucial to the competitiveness of the Finnish economy, is often couched in terms of the future (Koivukangas 2003; Heikkilä & Peltonen 2002). However, the analysis of the studies presented in this dissertation, on the other hand, suggests *established dynamics*, as well as *unresolved dilemmas*. In plain terms, while the analysis presented in this text might be perceived as 'new information' to many policy makers and stakeholders, the length of time many of the research participants have been working in Finnish higher education, if reflected upon, reveals, 'existing information' indicating that much of Finland's current strategic higher education internationalization policy was formulated without the knowledge of the dynamics presented in this dissertation.

Therefore, the ultimate purpose of synthesizing my empirical material in this manner is aimed at contributing to policy discussion based on *policy analysis*, as opposed to conventional *policy research* in which policy formulation, or the way in which policy is formed, is examined (Hines & Goodchild et al.

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2 In this seminar, *How to attract experts to Finland*, the urgent need, potential and complications of attracting highly skilled migrant labor into strategically important, research-intensive occupational sectors was discussed by 11 Finnish experts from the Ministries of Education, Labor, Trade and Industry, in addition to the Academy of Finland and researchers from several research institutes. Of the 118 seminar participants, including the 11 speakers, there were no presentations or any form of direct participation of highly skilled migrants themselves (the purported subject of this seminar). Methodologically, the results of examining complex topics in this manner are discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, as they, in part, produce the literature gap I address in this dissertation. The analysis and implications of this type of approach, in this context, are examined in Chapter 5 and 6.

3 This area was articulated during the March 2000 Lisbon European Council in order to strengthen European-wide cooperation in science and technology policy across the European Union (European Commission 2002).

1997)[4]. Policy analysis addresses "a continuous review and evaluation of new information against existing information. It is a process that is sensitive to organizational culture and politics, and that continually scans the environment looking for important interactions among people, resources and organizations." (Gill & Saunders 1997: 225).

A shorter working definition of policy analysis is supplied by Wildavsky (1987), who defines the process as the analysis of the interaction between planning and intellect. The selection of policy analysis and this topic versus policy research was due to a hunch that the former would yield new knowledge, while the later, more of the same type of literature I critique in Chapter 2 of this text.

In policy terms, a global debate on the nature of change and the public good in global higher education (Currie & Newson 1998; Marginson 2006; Torres 2006; Slaughter & Leslie 1997; Rhoades & Slaughter 2004) is the basis for my assertion that the policy issues outlined in the conclusion of this text cannot be avoided. That is, if the economic goals of improving the global competitiveness of the Finnish national economy in the 21st century include incorporating the equity outcomes enjoyed by those living in Finnish society in the 20th century (See Kivinen & Kaipainen2002; Välimaa 2001a; Malin 2005; Välijärvi 2006).

1.2 Research Questions

> The first fruit of this [sociological] imagination – and the first lesson of the social science that embodies it – is the idea that the individual can understand his own experiences and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances. In many ways it is a terrible lesson; in many ways a magnificent one. (Mills 1959: 5)

Public policy analysis is an interdisciplinary, applied process which in its broadest sense uses inquiry rooted in particular disciplines to carry out applied research conducted for policy makers to assist them in decision-making. This type of research is not limited to the examination of policy documents or the policy making process, but also includes research with direct and indirect relationships to policy issues (Gill & Saunders 1997; Rist 1998; Wildavsky 1987).

While the intended audience of this research are policy makers and practitioners in Finnish higher education, whose purposes are mainly applied; an equally important audience of this thesis is disciplinary in nature. The way in which this second group views this research is different in terms of scholarship and the disciplinary traditions which drive particular forms of inquiry. With regard to this second audience, the three research questions which have linked and guided the efforts leading to this doctoral dissertation

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4 For a review of the characteristics of the policy-making process in Finnish higher education, see Välimaa (2005).

are presented below. To use a nautical metaphor, the research questions and their disciplinary basis form the 'red thread' or the connection which guided the inquiry, provided the rationale for specific studies and forced continual reflection on the research process. The questions are based on C. Wright Mills (1959) articulation of the sociological imagination: "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersection within a society has completed its intellectual journey" (Mills 1959: 6).

Reflection on Mill's work led me to engage a situated set of research questions about the types of individuals and groups in a particularly interesting 'intersection': Finnish higher education, in a unique point in history.

1. What are the perceptions and experiences of migrant academic personnel engaged in long term academic mobility?
2. What is the nature of that mobility with regard to particular academic fields?
3. What distinguishes academics engaged in long term academic mobility with regard to the shifting demographic patterns of the European research area in general and the Finnish socio-cultural context in particular?

The exact wording of these questions has changed over the course of this dissertation, as the qualitative distinctions of most relevance became clear. This is normal in inductive qualitative research on emerging or unfolding topics (Alasuutari 1996; Creswell 2002; Seale 2004; Mullard & Spicker 1998; Punch 2000). The reason for this is, as the word *qualitative* implies, because what is being sought are *analytical generalizations to theory*. While theory is normally clear, complex social phenomena are often anything, except clear.

1.3 Conceptual Voids: The Spaces Between 'International', 'Migrant' and 'Finnish'

1.3.1 Finnish demographics and recent migration trends

> *… taking into account the demographic prognosis – I mean these are scientific facts – the kids who will work as university teachers in 20 years have been born already. We know them. They're somewhere at school, or in kindergarten. We can count them and we know the number of them is very small. We need more people. We HAVE to become more international. Otherwise, we will not manage.* (Migrant Professor, employed in Finland)

The combination of a rapidly aging, culturally homogenous population (Jaakkola 2005; Koivukankas 2003), situated in an enlarging and integrating European Union (Holzmann & Münz 2004), in an era of intense global university competition for students, faculty and funding (Marcus 2004), constitutes a situation many small nations currently face. The professor quoted immediately above, one of the participants in the multiple case study conducted

as part of this thesis (Hoffman 2005b, 2006b[5]), articulates an era in which Finnish society will increasingly be defined by the relationships between these demographic and socio-economic focal points.

In this era, migration is not expected to compensate for the forecasted labor market impact associated with 41% of the workforce population being over the age of 65 by 2020. This is compared with 25.9% of older workers in 2000, i.e. an increase of 15.5%, compared to a 9% average increase for all EU countries (Koivukangas 2003). Therefore the small, yet potentially crucial role of labor migration is increasingly in the spotlight (Karjalainen et al. 2006; Koivukangas 2003; Raunio 2003; 2004; Jaakkola 2005).

Some researchers specializing in Finnish attitudes towards migrants, highlight gradually changing attitudes on the part of the Finnish population. Jaakkola points out that the attitudes of the Finnish population towards immigrants during the past two decades[6], in general, are gradually turning more favorable among all groups defined by age, gender, political disposition and educational status. However, she qualifies her findings by pointing out that while highly educated persons identifying with the Green party, especially women, living in the country's single metropolitan, are increasingly in favor of selective immigration policy targeting highly skilled workers; the majority of respondents *do not want* migrants working in positions such as doctors, teachers, social workers, childcare workers or police officers. According to Jaakkola, the general hope is that migrants would pursue 'traditional' migrant occupations, such as taxi drivers, cleaners or working as entrepreneurs in the food service sector. The majority of Finnish respondents in these studies are more ready to accept migrants as co-workers than supervisors (Jaakkola 2005).

The work of other migration specialists underlines the low aims many have about the 'place' reserved for migrants in the tightly structured labor force of the Nordic Countries and the fundamental challenges this presents to ideals of Nordic egalitarianism. "European states, especially those in Northern Europe, have difficulty in integrating immigrants into the labour market and into society in general … the model of welfare state most radically challenged by immigration is the Nordic Model." (Forsander 2004: 208).

Researchers like Wahlbeck (2003) note that not only do people working in Finnish migration contexts tend to ignore the well established theory pertaining to the context in which they work; he has empirically underlined this by demonstrating the social exclusion of ethnic groups like Kurdish refugees or the labor-market concentration of Turkish immigrants, over 95% of which are concentrated in Finland's restaurant industry (Wahlbeck 1996, 2003, 2004).

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5 The central findings of this study were presented at the annual conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education in November, 2005 and the Ramses[2] Seminar on the Mobility of Students and Circulation of Competences and Ideas in Europe in Joensuu, Finland in November 2006. Following the feedback from these presentations, the study has been submitted for publication.

6 The most significant studies of Finnish attitudes regarding migration occurred during this time because larger groups of migrants began to routinely arrive in larger numbers and because the shift between more people arriving in Finland than leaving occurred (Jaakkola 2005).

Labor-market concentration regarding unskilled migrants can be asserted as a credible or possible explanation for Wahlbeck's findings. However, the problematic challenge introduced by migration in Finland mainly concerns the degree to which children with an immigrant background experience the equity outcomes enjoyed by the general population (Malin 2005). This introduces the question as to whether highly skilled and qualified scientists with an immigrant background are likely, considering the socioeconomic starting point of their parents. In the past, socioeconomic status has not proved to be an insurmountable challenge to the Finnish educational system because of the vigorous debate on educational quality (Kivinen & Kaipainen2002; Välimaa 2001a; Välijärvi 2006). However, the problematic aspect of the state of the art of this debate is that the nuanced empirical proxies of migration like ethnicity, national origin or skin color are not accounted for.

Others are quite blunt about the situation when it comes to the potential of attracting highly skilled migrants into this type of general context, concluding: "Finland is far from *The* Option" (emphasis in original), due to considerable push factors like obvious, but unexplainable glass ceilings, immigration bureaucracy, lack of understanding of the implications of multicultural work environments and a corresponding lack of commitment to the work community (Raunio 2004).

As in other countries around the world, Finnish higher education stakeholders have recently begun to focus attention on international degree students, increasingly viewing them as potential labor force recruits (Tremblay 2004; de Wit 2006; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Garam 2003; Ally 2002). In Finland, emerging challenges result from this, like, the transition of non-Finnish or international students completing higher education degrees in Finland into the local labor force. Söderqvist (2005), points out that non-Finnish graduates of Finnish higher education institutes face considerable challenges in finding their first jobs, because the idea of an applicant having a migrant background has not been recognized as having any value by the majority of Finnish employers contacted in her research. Over 70% of those respondents report never having received an applicant from a non-Finnish job seeker (Söderqvist 2005). Whether that figure says more about how vacant positions are filled, than the number of qualified non-Finnish applicants who would like to apply, was outside the scope of her analysis (M. Söderqvist, personal communication, May 4, 2006).

Researchers using anthropological approaches, like Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004) and Wahlbeck (1996) chronicled new groups, like Kurdish immigrants and the Somali refugees who arrived in the early 1990s. Alitolppa-Niitamo coined the term 'icebreakers' for the Somali refugees, an apt culturally grounded metaphor for a group which comprises the fourth largest group of recently arrived migrants (Statistics Finland 2003), and who will not be found

among the 859[7] respondents in a recent Finnish academy survey of foreign PhD students and research personnel (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Hoffman 2004a, 2005a).

A reviewer of research focusing on migration issues in the Finnish context will have difficulty avoiding the general conclusions of Lepola (2000), Suurpää (2002) and Söderling (1997), who assert emerging ethnic hierarchies in which a persistent bifurcation persists firstly between persons of ethnic Finnish identity and non-Finns or 'foreigners' (Klarke 1999; Forsander & Similä 2003 et al.; Sabour 1999). A second inescapable conclusion concerns the considerable variation that exists about the attitudes towards migrant groups in Finnish society which are significantly related to the socioeconomic class, geographic location, educational level and the reasons respondents attribute to the circumstances surrounding a migrant's arrival[8] (Jaakkola 2005; Söderling 1997; Koivukangas 2002). A third general conclusion is that although emerging stratification, in a society known for the absence of stratification, could be perceived as a self-evident problem, potential approaches to this are highly context dependent. This has been demonstrated by the sustained efforts of Rastas (2005), who demonstrates the complications associated with the social construction of the concept of race, as it applies to migration issues in the Finnish context. The same can be said for Tanner's (2003, 2005) analysis of the limited nature of benefits associated with the international migration of labor. While focusing mainly on the policy of countries with high stocks and flows of migrant labor (Salt 2005); it is clear Tanner's efforts are aimed at migration policy discussion in countries like Finland. Tanner highlights the complex interplay of issues in terms of sending countries, receiving countries and individual migrants themselves, bringing to mind discussions based on the notion of 'brain drain'[9]. While interesting many of these conclusions focus attention away from many of the relationships considered in this dissertation, rather than on them.

Therefore, in an attempt to say something conceptually meaningful about current migration-related phenomena within Finland, there is considerable

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7 It is possible that the reason for this was that respondents from Somalia had become Finnish citizens (18 of whom responded to this survey). It is also possible that Somali respondents did not list their citizenship (seven respondents did not).

8 In general a person arriving in unfortunate circumstances, for example a war-orphan is viewed differently – and more favorably – than a migrant who might be competing directly upon arrival with Finnish nationals for jobs in the labor market.

9 While interesting, notions like brain drain (Giannoccolo 2004), brain gain (Kelo & Wächter 2004), brain exchange (Straubhaar 2000) and brain circulation (Saxenian 2005) fall outside the scope of this research. This is because the research questions guiding this dissertation focus on dynamics within a particular institution (higher education) and society (Finland). Discussions of the aforementioned terms, on the other hand, mainly attempt to provide insight into dynamics between societies and regions. Regarding those discussions, the terms seem much more descriptive or prescriptive than useful in terms of interpretation or explanation. As such, they are somewhat useful in policy discussions, but become more analytically limited in scientific analysis. Greater conceptual insight is provided by analysts like Salt (2005) and Tanner (2005) who tie empirical data to theory in a more convincing fashion that many discussions which use 'brain drain' type discourse as a point of departure.

justification for selecting a specific focal point, like higher education, when attempting interpretation of emerging migration-related phenomena.

No matter which contextual focus is selected, it might be easy to dismiss international migration and ethnic relations issues in Finland as 'so many storms in a teacup'. Contextual focus involves a very small national population to begin with and smaller scopes of analysis yield yet even tinier numbers of individuals directly involved in any given context.

However, the rationale for a closer look is found precisely in the opaque conceptual space studied by and maintained within the power structures of reproduction and transformation (Brennan 2002; Husu 2000). Of these institutions, none has the past demonstrated power and future potential as higher education to examine – or ignore – its inner workings, the way in which power manifests and for whose benefit (Bourdieu 1988; Marginson 2006; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

1.3.2 International migration, highly skilled migrants and shifting geopolitical reference points

In a world where one in 35 people are international migrants (IOM 2003), the Finnish higher education system is faced with complex changes as a fundamentally new situation arises: More migrants are arriving than leaving (Jaakkola 2005; Forsander 2004). Concerning the general topic of academic mobility, transient exchange, degree students and increasingly early stage researchers are often the focal points of research and policy efforts (Blumenthal et al. 1996; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Kelo et al. 2006). However, higher education stakeholders often fail to consider two critical points regarding the implications of long-term academic mobility as it relates to the era of demographic and economic transformation which societies like Finland are now entering. The university is run by academic faculty and staff, albeit with student representation. More importantly, the transient nature of individual students and the positions held by early stage researchers, by definition limits the extent of their impact on campus. In contrast, senior faculty and staff carry the statutory responsibility of accomplishing the missions of the university and often combine vested interests (Archer 1995) with decades of service at the same institution in the Finnish context to do this (Välimaa 2001b).

A potentially more heterogeneous student body population is interesting and merits study (Otten 2004). However, the nature and extent to which academic personnel (Enders et al. 2001) is – or is not – changing with respect to demographic shifts in society and the implications of this, may prove to be a more relevant focal point when considering the social, cultural, economic and political transformations Finnish society faces during the next several decades[10].

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10 In 2011, it is estimated that 700,000 persons will retire, coupled with 400,000 additional jobs created by economic growth. Between now and 2010, net immigration into Finland is expected to be 3000 persons per year (Koivukangas 2003). Given the total population of 5.2 million, labor shortages are increasingly a subject of public debate (Välimaa 2004).

This is because it is academic personnel occupy the positions through which academic and scientific power are exercised within the domain of higher education (Bourdieu 1988, 2004). Although several types of interests can be brought to bear on higher education, empirical focus on *who* occupies these positions and *who does not* highlights a fundamentally different aspect of the relationship between a higher education system and society than studies focused on students. Finland is not unique in this regard. However, before attempting a comparative analysis of these phenomena, as is suggested in the conclusion of this dissertation, conceptual articulation within one case is clearly warranted as a beginning point.

One starting point for this type of focus is literature on the nature of internationalization in higher education. Before elaborating on that literature, however, a relevant observation that specialists on migration might make is that this literature mainly has originated from a very small group of countries which can generally be characterized by four features. These features are strong national higher education systems; established traditions into inquiry on higher education; emerging concerns about the impending retirement of the baby-boom generation and the fact that the majority of the world's population resides outside their borders.

There is an interesting irony in that the increasing focus on aging labor force issues is frequently voiced within the same countries preoccupied about rising economic powers on different continents (Economist 2006a, 2006b). The irony being that citizens of the most competitive of those young, increasingly skilled populations may be studying on the very campuses in which policy makers and researchers are speculating on the likely outcomes of globally shifting socioeconomic centers of gravity. As this research will indicate, by the time those same policy-makers realize they could have walked across the street to get to know an individual from one of those countries, that individual may have left some time ago. Their location: working for the most serious competition of the policy-makers who provided their training (Hoffman 2003a, 2004b, 2006b).

1.3.3 Blind corners, fashions and fads on the road to Lisbon

> Education is the most accessible public institution yet also the most remote. Everything (and nothing) we want seems to go on there. Faddishness is in vogue. Excessive (almost instantaneous) responses to surface discontents stand side by side with bureaucratic procedures and deep seated resistance to institutional change. (Wildavsky 1987: 320)

In the late 20th and early 21st century, three important sets of policy objectives were conflated in Finnish higher education policy. The first concerned the

Bologna Process which, broadly speaking meant the harmonization of higher education degree structures and encouraging student mobility in the European nation states who have signed up for the process. The underlying idea was to promote labor force mobility in the region. The second important set of objectives was supplied by the Lisbon strategy, that is, the goal of the EU

becoming the world's most competitive and sustainable knowledge-based economy by the year 2010. The third set of objectives was supplied by the Finnish Ministry of Education, which pushed through a set of reforms designed to make the Finnish system more competitive and address what have come to be seen as key problem areas in the Finnish system. (Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005; Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006).

During this same time period, policy makers in Finnish higher education and around Europe have had their choice of several topics, trends, fads and fashions (Birnbaum 2000; Treuthardt 2004; Czarniawska & Joerges 1996). These ideas offered potential insight into the way things should be or the way things could be with regard to the vision of policy makers promoting the internationalization of Finnish higher education in order to capitalize on the increasingly available flow of knowledge, currency of various types, goods, services and people (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Hoffman 2004a). The promise envisioned in large scale *student exchange*, *internationalization at home*, development of *the international campus*, efforts aimed at articulating the *international attractiveness* of European campuses, *intercultural interaction*, *diversity* and regions harnessing *international innovation in Europe's creative, multicultural age* have all captured the imagination of policy-makers and researchers in Finnish higher education (Kelo, Teichler & Wächter et al. 2006; Working Group Report 2003; Enders & de Weert et al. 2004; Laurilla 2006; Nilsson & Otten et al. 2003; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Florida & Tinagli 2004; Otten 2004; Khem & DeWIT 2006).

The empirical work on which thesis is based, on the other hand, is not about how things should be or could be; it is about the way things are in the sense that the design logic avoids both *prescription of ideals* or *subscription to ideas* that address possible policy alternatives, directions or focus areas for interventions (Cohen 1995; Gundara & Jacobs 2000; Kearney 1999; Koivukangas 2002).

This dissertation instead focuses on analysis of phenomena that predate much current discussion of trends or fads that implicate or assume mobility dynamics or potential which, in many cases, do not exist. The design logic stems from a desire to shed light on a conceptual void and blind corners which exists in many places where an idea, for example, the international campus (Working Group Report 2003), is advanced as desirable, although it corresponds much more with a future state of desired affairs more than an easily achievable policy outcome, intervention or concept. This void prevents policy makers from discussing many of the dynamics and issues which will be presented in this work. No alternative policy vocabulary or ideas unconnected to data are assumed in this analysis, lest the unwary begin a quest for terms to use in policy conversations that take place on conceptual roads to nowhere. Instead, concepts already worked out in previous research will be used to focus on key relationships which illuminate contexts in which we have no conceptual vocabulary that corresponds with the dynamics already in place. In some of these cases, new concepts are proposed (See Chapter 4) in lieu of proceeding 'as

if' internationally attractive academic careers, diverse, international campuses or internationalization at home empirically corresponded with phenomena which academics in this context agreed on, or even argued about. Those empirically-rooted concepts, in turn, could be used when speaking about, for example, international academic attractiveness (Enders & de Weert et al. 2004) in the Finnish context.

This analytical step is necessary because the demographics of the national population are changing at a much quicker pace than conceptual vocabulary which would make this more obvious if it existed. It does not.

While the professor quoted at the outset of section 1.4.1 speaks of becoming 'international', a more precise question highlighted in the studies that follow concerns the conceptual imprecision, distance, obstacles and differences between being 'international' and 'Finnish'.

The tension between these two constructs justifies the scepticism of policy analysts like Wildavsky, whom I quote at the outset of this section. And it is with the disciplinary scepticism built into social sciences, particularly sociology (Macionis & Plummer 1997; Heilbron 2005) that the studies underlying this analysis approach a narrow, but illuminating topic.

Within the shifting hierarchies composed of faculties, institutes and basic units in Finnish universities, patterns of long-term academic mobility associated with the circumstances of migrant academic personnel, or their absence are already in place and underline emerging challenges. Many of the challenges presented in this analysis have yet to be detected or seriously engaged by many of Europe's societies in general and national higher education systems in particular.

2 FROM TEICHLER'S DILEMMA AND THE CULTURAL SHORTCUT TO ZOMBIE CATEGORIES AND METHODOLOGICAL BLIND SPOTS

2.1 Academic Mobility and University Personnel

> In the main, the research preformed has adopted surveys of students, staff or administrators by questionnaire or interview as the principal information gathering techniques. Although this approach has its merits, it is hard to avoid the impression that much of the research in question is more strongly determined by the potential of the methods at hand than by genuinely thematic options. (Teichler 1996: 342)

When the types of mobility afforded by university-level employment are considered in the broadest sense[11], several types of literature and texts become apparent. Most studies of academic mobility elaborate only a single dimension, context or perspective of higher education (Hoffman 2004b); for example, within a *national higher education system* (Välimaa 2001b); by focusing on a *stage of study* (Kelo, Teichler & Wächter et al. 2006; Musselin 2004); a *geographical region* (Blumenthal et al. 1996); *career stage* (Baldwin & Blackburn 1981); on *discipline-based* academic mobility (McBader et al. 2004); within a single mission area of the university, like research (Galbadón et al. 2004; Puustinen-Hopper 2005); relationship to a particular *occupational sector* (Gulbrandsen 2003); or as a type of *social mobility* (Ryan & Sackrey 1996).

While each of the above perspectives highlight at least one particular type of academic mobility; mobility within and between these dimensions is not necessarily visible when discussions of mobility begin with context-based assumptions which may unnecessarily mask the presence of other types of mobility, as well as conflate possible relationships between forms of mobility in which higher education plays a significant role. In other words, examining a

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11 Including a focus on Master's-level students of migrant origin who are in a transition from finishing their degree to beginning their first academic post.

'single' type of academic mobility can oversimplify the actual complexity present in a concrete context; in this case, the Finnish university system.

As there are a variety of ways in which academic mobility concerning university personnel can be approached, it is not surprising that there are recurring tensions in higher education research on this topic. The most prominent of these centers on the contrast between the myth of higher education as a universal, international institution contrasted with the empirical reality that higher education is in fact thoroughly national in character (Scott 1998; Teichler 2000). Many authors writing about the academic labor market agree that academic mobility is important, but they are at pains to qualify this with the limited nature of knowledge in this area, which is characterized by "barriers and traps" (Enders 2001: 10) and in which "there are no reliable statistics. Staff flows include everything from permanent relocation to short-term visits," (Scott 1998: 118). Musselin (2004) argues that Europe is still far from the type of academic labor market that would correspond to the idea of a European education and research area, because labor markets remain national in character, and because mobility – where it exists – is mainly used to enhance attractiveness in one's native country.

In the Finnish context, the Ministry of Education's strategic internationalization policy asserts a vision of higher education becoming 'international' by 2010, characterized by several types of mobility (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001). However, during the late 1990s, leading up to this time period, it could be fairly stated that international academic mobility for academic staff in Finnish higher education was not an issue of significance for the majority of academic personnel in Finland (Välimaa 2001b). The opaque topic of academic mobility is complicated by a lack of methodological variety which warrants both Teichler's characterization of research on academic mobility as "occasional, coincidental, sporadic or episodic." (Teichler 1996: 341); and Scott's recent criticisms which indict academics for inattention to structural inequities inherent in the very assumptions on which past academic mobility programs and discussions have been based (Scott 2005).

For the purposes of analyzing literature relevant to the research questions of this study, two meaningful dimensions I will point out refer to the degree to which texts refer to empirical material and the degree to which they are analytical. These coordinates, in turn, highlight four general types of literature amongst:

> "…the selection of available documents (both published and unpublished) on the topic, which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfill certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research…" (Hart 1998: 13).

The four types of literature encountered and reviewed during this research, generally speaking, fell into categories whose basic essence can be conveyed by the terms **Research, Ideas, Policy** and **Reports** (Refer to Figure 1).

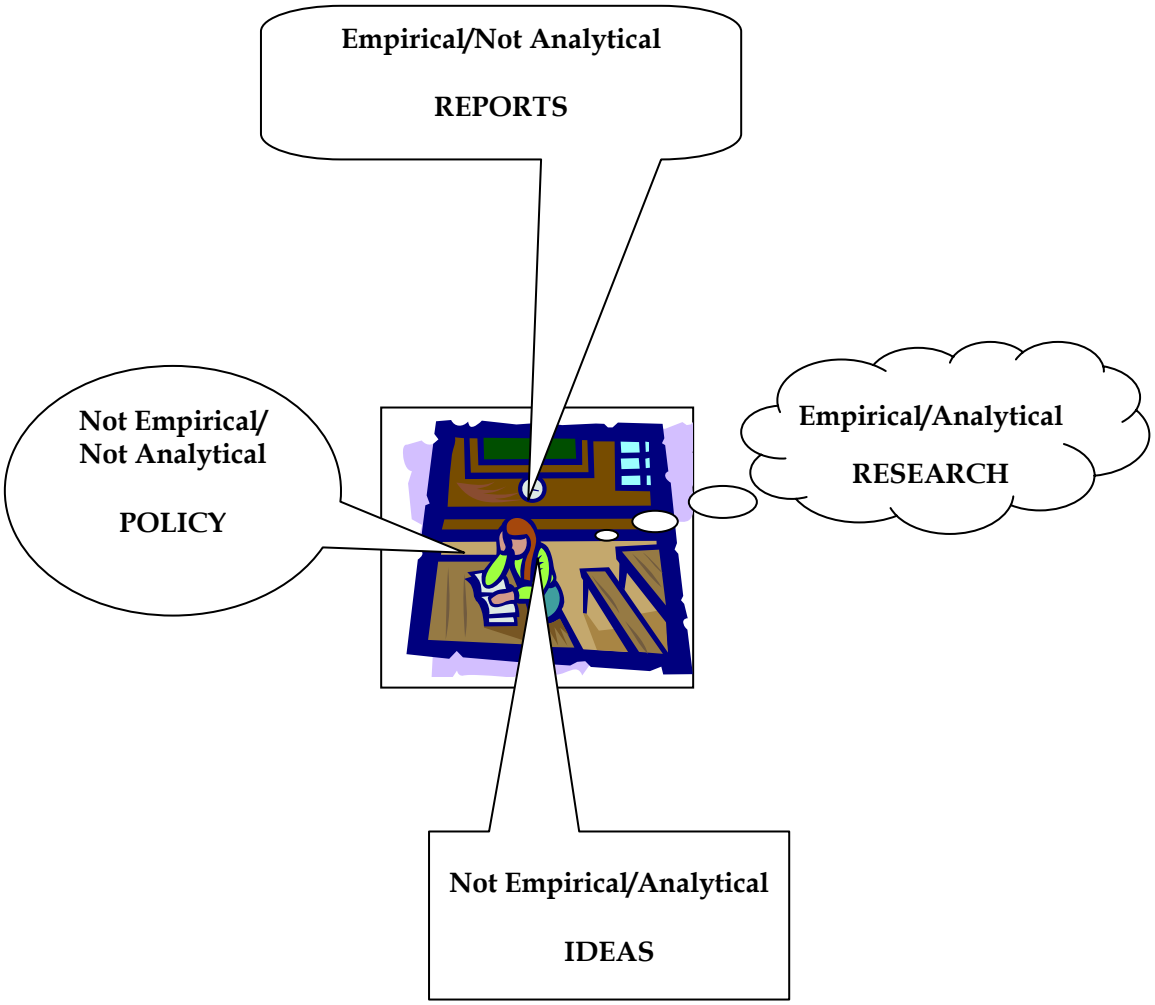

FIGURE 1 Considering General Types of Academic Mobility Literature

These categories are more ideal type than absolute, in that there are overlaps, juxtapositions and degrees to which any given text conforms to this type of classification[12]. In addition, there is considerable variation in both the types of approaches which can be used within each category regarding a policy discussion or activity pertaining to a policy discussion, the quality of effort and the ultimate impact any given text has within the policy context.

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12 For example all *policy*, *research* and *reports* contain *ideas*, but not all ideas are policy, research or reports. *Ideas*, whether in the form of social theory or a high impact social diagnosis like Beck's (1992) *Risk Society*, Castell's (1996) *Informational Age* or a local attempt to promote an *international campus* (Working Group Report 2003). These ideas may make extensive reference to empirical material, and be subjected to, or a product of, analysis. But the essence of an *idea* – whatever its impact – is fundamentally different than theoretically based *research* that incorporates the same idea, whether as a guiding metaphor, to articulate analysis or define and delimit an object of investigation. In the same way *policy*, like the *Bologna Process* or *Lisbon Strategy* is associated with *ideas*, *research* and *reports*, but these policy efforts are much more than a mere *ideas* and distinct from *research* and *reports*.

That said, the categories are useful when considering social and public policy analysis, because the classification draws attention to the dynamics and variety of forms of knowledge and information policy-makers deal with in complex contexts. Policy makers are responsible for far more knowledge and information than the academic term 'literature review' suggests. Regarding any topic of significance; neglecting any of these categories and their relationships to each other invites ignorance in the best of cases, harm in the worst.

In the broadest sense, there are several interesting examples of literature in which **research** has been done on the way in which important types of mobility dynamics, related to academic personnel within or because of higher education, reference empirical material grounded in theoretical analysis. These types of studies include reviews and macro-level analysis on empirical and analytical work done specifically related to *academic mobility* (Leyton-Brown 1996; Teichler 1996; de Wit 2006; Cradden 2007; Marginson *forthcoming*), theoretical work on *elite reproduction, generational shifts during social transformations* and the *circumstances of intellectuals from one region of the world, bound up in the traditions of another* (Bourdieu 1988; Sabour 1985), factors associated with *career stage* options available within large national systems (Baldwin & Blackburn 1981), the *social mobility* of academics affected by higher education careers (Ryan & Sackrey 1996), *disciplinary-based forms of mobility within and between economic regions* (Musselin 2004; Ackers et al. 2005; Galbadón et al. 2004). Related to this yet distinct is the interplay of *higher education and identity found in the life stories of highly educated migrants in the labor market* (Ahmad 2005; Liversage 2006) and the *analysis of the working lives of faculty of color* (Ponjuan 2005; Turner 2002; Winkle, Morelon, Johnson & Carter 2005). *Comparative and historical accounts of internationalization policy research administration and management issues* which make extensive references to various forms of academic mobility (de Wit 2002; Söderqvist 2001; 2002; Huisman & van der Wende 2004; 2005; Kehm & DeWit et al. 2006), *regional* and *country-specific studies* focusing on mobility, including those incorporating specific issues related to brain drain (Kelo & Wächter 2004; Nerdrum & Sarpebakken 2005; Abe 1996; Brandi & Cebarrea 2004) and studies of the obstacles to mobility (Vabø 2003; Raunio 2003). This type of literature also includes studies addressing mobility issues in Finland (Ally 2002; Garam 2003; Huso 2000; 2001; Lestinen & Riitaoja 2006; Välimaa 2001b; Zirra 2006).

Distinct from empirically-based accounts are the broad analytical assertions which constitute significant **ideas**, for lack of a better word. These often address one of the principle questions sociology seeks to answer, that is *the defining features of a particular era* (Giddens 1997), or significant ideas which provide insight into key features of an era, for example, the discussion sparked off by the idea of *Brain Drain* (Refer to Footnote 10). These ideas find resonance within and across multiple social contexts. While this type of work often makes extensive references to empirical material associated with widespread trends, the main point of this work is to provide analytical insight which transcends multiple contexts. Work concerning the context and differentiation of knowledge production in higher education and closely associated knowledge-intensive occupation sectors would fall within this area. Examples of this

include the characterization of modes of knowledge production (Gibbons et al. 1994; Nowotny et al. 2001); as well as assertions about the changing nature of the way in which knowledge is regarded and produced by Lyotard (1984) Bauman (1989) or Bourdieu (2004). The example I will elaborate in Section 2.2 (below) concerns Beck's (1992) hypothesis about the features which characterize the era of what he termed *Risk Society* in which new forms of academic mobility, or rather, the lack of mobility, emerge because of the relationships between individualization, competitiveness and higher education. Beck's hypothesis, in turn, falls within Held et al.'s general definition of globalization:

> A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation of the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power. (Held et al. 1999: 16)

Here four different categories of globalization discourses are identified, all of which generally compete in the arena of ideas for resonance with those seeking a broad, analytically-based diagnosis of features and trends which capture the essence of today's world, or at least an important aspect of the world. In a more contextually specific way, Scott's (1998) analysis of the relationship between globalization, internationalization and massification falls within this tradition. Scott (2005) recently asserted that new mobility paradigms be considered, particularly focused on aspects traditionally ignored by academic policy makers, like structural inequalities associated with academic mobility. The work of Blumenthal et al. (1996) on regionalization fits in this category as does Välimaa's (2001c) contextualization of Finnish higher education which draws on this discourse to explain specific national dynamics, which is in turn, elaborated in Välimaa and Hoffman (*forthcoming*).

When asserting that new forms of academic mobility potentially *emerge*, this refers to *emergence* as defined by Archer (1995), in her explication of the analytical dualism that characterizes realist social theory. Specifically, Archer asserts structure and agency are analytically distinct and that the properties of each cannot be reduced to one another. This is because firstly, the properties and powers in each most often can be traced to anterior elements (from which they emerged, over time). Secondly, once new properties emerge, they can become relatively autonomous. Thirdly, these new elements can exert causal powers that validate their existence before they have been understood or observed, hence the usage of emergence (Archer 1995: 14).

Much information comes in the form of **reports** that concentrate on research and staff mobility. Examples of this include informational studies done in connection with recent systematic attempts to assess information about problem areas related to researcher mobility in Europe in the UK, The Netherlands and Finland connected to the *European Research Area – Mobile Researcher Project* (ERA-MORE). These reports are conducted by international and national agencies concerned with mobility like The British Council, the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), the Academy of Finland, the Centre for International Mobility

(CIMO) and the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB) (Steegar 2004; River Path Associates 2004; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Zirra 2006; ESIB 2006). Unlike research, these reports are pragmatic in that new knowledge per se is not sought in terms of established theory. Rather practical information of immediate use to policy-makers and practitioners about acute problems, such as needs concerning information and support systems available for mobile researchers. The limitations of information gathered in these types of reports is generally understood and acknowledged by the authors of these reports, although the understanding of these limitations by policy-makers, practitioners and higher education stakeholders cannot be assumed, particularly if this type of information is the only type they are aware of. Bearing that in mind, these types of reports do play an important role in practical day-to-day operations of higher education institutions as they normally convey practical problems directly related to the mobility of academic personnel.

When reflecting, in a comparative sense, on the phenomena presented in this dissertation compared to similar phenomena in other societies, the single most important distinction to draw is between research and reporting. For example, the new knowledge and conceptual frameworks presented in two types of research is often very synergetic with reporting. These include the macro-level analysis on empirical and analytical work done specifically related to academic mobility (cited above) and robust country studies like those reported by Nerdrum & Sarpebakken (2005) on Norway; Abe (1996) on Japan; Brandi & Cebarrea (2004) on Italy and Richardson, McBey and Mckenna (2006) on Canada. Reporting done by national mobility agencies becomes more fruitful for considering new research designs or policy action when viewed in light of these types of studies. This is because the research indicates they ways in which global or regional dynamics are affecting the way in which academic mobility dynamics play out in specific countries or regions. Research of these types is very useful for framing reporting and reflecting on new research designs, while the reverse is not the case.

In addition to these types of informational reports, media reports often contain and convey a great deal of information about issues pertaining to the mobility of academic personnel, particularly in the areas of patterns of *international recruitment of personnel and students* (Shephard 2005; Dillon 2004), the *experiences of mobile staff* (Hall 2005), *early stage research mobility* (Johnston 2004), and the broad economic *policy discussion* that forms the backdrop of these specific mobility issues (Hart 2004; Jobbins 2005; Economist 2006a, 2006b). In addition to these issues, discourse not always seen in continental or Northern Europe – connected to *academic mobility, race and diversity issues* can be found within other national contexts (Sanders 2006; Howard 2005). Trade Union and internal university publications also periodically report on mobility issues and the context in which mobility is approached (Keinonen 2000; Working Group 2002).

Mobility research of the type done for this dissertation also requires general knowledge of **policy** documents themselves, for example the wide-

reaching documents like the Sorbonne (1998) and Bologna Declarations (1999) or the Conclusions of the European Council which resulted in what has come to be know as the Lisbon Strategy (2001) and the official documents connected to those efforts and processes (European Commission 2006; Haug & Kirstein 1999, 2001; Reichert & Tauch 2003, 2005; Kok 2004). Policy discussion can also be found in the dissemination efforts by policy makers and stakeholders regarding mobility (Coyne 2003; Bettini 2004). In addition to these, insight in this area can be gained by examining key national-level strategic documents (Finnish Ministry of Education 2003), especially regarding internationalization (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001) as well as focusing on regional or local attempts to create 'innovation areas' or an 'international campus' (Karjalainen et al. 2006; Working Group Report 2003).

When considering the four types of literature outlined above; **research, ideas, reports** and **policy,** one aspect seems clear with respect to the generation of new knowledge on policy issues connected to migrant academic personnel and various forms of long term academic mobility. The further away one moves from the combination of robust analysis grounded in empirical material – in a complex institution like higher education – the less likely it is that new insights are to be found.

The well-known trap in store for policy-makers or stake-holders willing to prove Teichler's assertion that 'higher education administration is the last bastion of amateurism' (U. Teichler, personal communication, August 28, 2002) is well known:

> Ironically, research on all higher education, as well as the mobility and international aspects of interest to us here, is paradoxically both a rich and vulnerable position because it addresses actors who, besides believing that the nature of society and culture can only be fully understood through systematic research, are also convinced they understand their own living environment (i.e. higher education) perfectly well without it. (Teichler 1996: 343)

This statement explains, in part, why the relationships elaborated in Chapters 4 – 6 might appear 'new' to some policy makers and stakeholders in Finnish higher education, even those who have paid attention to current mobility literature.

Regarding both the substantive issues discussed above *and the way in which those issues are approached*, the full range of paradigmatic starting points, methodological traditions and methods available to the social sciences, humanities and education are available when approaching academic mobility (Creswell 2002; van Dijk et al. 1997). Because of this variety and the wide range of possible approaches, finding gaps in this literature poses little problem. In section 2.2, I elaborate only one.

2.2 Teichler's Dilemma

> … social scientists had to confront this entity, society, and deal conceptually with its three unique characteristics. Firstly, that it is inseparable from its human components because the very existence of society depends in some way upon our activities. Secondly, that society is characteristically transformable; it has no immutable form or even preferred state. It is like nothing but itself, and what precisely it is like at any time depends on human doings and their consequences. Thirdly, however, neither are we immutable as social agents, for what we are and what we do as social beings are also affected by the society in which we live and by our efforts to transform it. (Archer 1995: 1)

The issues Archer describes have never disappeared as central tensions which generally guide much inquiry in the social sciences, despite the proliferation of programs of study, academic or research units which are focused on interdisciplinary fields, topics or activity-based phenomena, like regional studies, policy research or higher education studies (Heilbron 2005). The main point Heilbron makes is that although topic-based fields of study might appear to currently attract more interest, funding and students, than the traditional disciplines, the fundamental questions posed by sociological inquiry remain important – waiting in the wings to disturb and disrupt the doings of our fellow academics, lest they become too self-satisfied (Heilbron 2005).

When viewed from this point of departure, much of the discussion about academic mobility, internationalization and Finnish higher education in the age of globalization seems heavy on the 'what' and 'how' – at a very concrete, pragmatic level. The small the question 'why?' often seems missing from the exercise. When invited to address the annual conference of the *European Association of International Education*, Sipilä said as much when he pointed out:

> When internationality develops further and further, its outcome is called globalisation. Globalisation is a concept that at the moment is very central for governments and international business. For governments and multinational enterprises, globalisation in the first place means competition. The problem is not only that they understand the purpose of human existence in terms of competition but also that their time perspectives are becoming shorter and shorter. This shortening of time perspectives seems to mean that almost no important organisations care about how our world will be in ten years' time. Even the institutions of higher education are included in this short term thinking. Twenty years ago they were still allowed to be institutions preparing students for their lives and discussing future alternatives for the world. Today governments ask them to concentrate on their yearly output numbers. Public authorities speak of skills and qualifications. We seldom hear the word 'understanding' as an aim for education. (Jorma Sipilä, EAIE Conference Opening Plenary. Tampere, Finland. 6 December 2001)

The question, 'Why?' is central to Archer, Helibron and Sipilä's disciplinary-based motives. It is the need to explain *why we do what we do*, recognizing that the topics of focus in human activity society are often 'moving targets', like the debates surrounding globalization, which regularly feature unanticipated consequences and opaque relationships (Beck 1992; Bourdieu 1990). Shedding light on these things demands interpretation or explanation: Something beyond mere description. This necessarily involves using abstraction which the

individuals caught up in the relationships studied; or those who are affected by the consequences, may not have the need, interest or time to consider. This is the basis of what I term Teichler's dilemma. This tension is based on his observation that higher education policy-makers and researchers are normally focused on a 'short list' of issues which have already been widely recognized – by somebody else, often somewhere else – as important in the field of international comparative higher education (Teichler 2004). Teichler asserts that thoroughly explaining any one of these complex topics is normally not possible, because the time-frames of problem-solving, policy-making and political discussion are not synchronous (U. Teichler, personal communication August 28 2002; El-Khawas 2000). In the case of higher education, discussions in the policy-making and political spheres often determine both the 'short list' of topics and funding associated with those topics. Therefore, a researcher interested in policy issues may feel compelled to move on to new topics, knowing the topic s/he is currently investigating have not been explained as thoroughly as their curiosity, intellect or both indicate is possible. Addressing the 'big questions' of sociology that Archer articulates – which in fact underlie many basic research designs – is not necessary, required or desired in the short time frames Sipilä warns us about.

This is not the same as saying curiosity-driven research is not done in higher education research. However, there are significant restraints on doing it.

That said; the analysis in this dissertation will begin the approach to explanatory-level work regarding the relationships implicated by the research questions which guided the work presented in this text. These research questions have been framed as 'what questions' (Yin 1994). This is because of the conceptual and methodological limitations of approaching the topic as specified by the research questions. Conceptually, before a researcher or policy maker can explain anything, basic concepts and their possible relationships must be identified in a meaningful way. A review of the literature in this field did not turn up that type of work specific to this scope of this analysis. Establishing the theoretical coordinates of those relationships is the analytical goal of this thesis. Regarding the specific research questions of this study, the type of generalizations that can be established at this time in the Finnish context are *analytical generalizations to theory*; not *statistical generalizations to populations* (Yin 1994). The former are possible because of the wide range of theories of the middle range[13] (Merton 1968) which directly apply to the types of social dynamics and context examined in this thesis. Statistical generalizations are not possible at this time, because the groups implicated by the established concepts used in the empirical work do not correspond to groups which have a clear

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13 As opposed to what Mills termed 'Grand Theory' which purports to explain sweeping societal changes in broad brush strokes (Mills 1959). Theories of the middle range, on the other hand, correspond more closely to the term 'focal theory' used by Phillips and Pugh (1987) Specifically, this type of theory is developed to explain a specific and delimited context, for example, the theory on *disciplinary cultures* (Becher & Trowler 2001) as defined in Section 2.3.3; or the *field-specific capital* associated with higher education (Bourdieu 1988, 2004) as defined in Section 2.3.1.

basis in the social contexts that would allow valid statistical generalizations to be made (Cf. Chapter 6).

Although the analytical generalizations by themselves cannot be used as the sole basis for statistical generalizations, those asserted in this work have been generated with the purpose of designing research which can be used as the basis for explanatory designs, as well as informing policy discussion on long-term academic mobility and university personnel with a migrant background.

The reason for this approach is that the basis for deciding on a course of action in the policy sphere, using public resources, can benefit from qualitative analysis of this type (Rist 1998). In simple terms, before deciding 'what' to do, or 'how' to do something, questions containing the word 'why' can be useful.

In light of Teichler's dilemma, and as this analysis will establish, these types of questions are not possible without first identifying 'what' (we are talking about).

Re-casting this generic policy dilemma in Teichler's name because of the character it takes on in higher education is apt. Teichler has consistently delivered the most important analyses of academic mobility in the European context (See for example Teichler 1996; Kelo; Teichler Wächter et al. 2006). Yet, Teichler can be counted on to regularly upset and confound the promoters of mobility, especially student mobility, with his frank assessments of the limitations, especially methodological limitations of researching mobility.

2.2.1 Internationalization and equity: Zombie categories for the 21st century?

> Education and culture concern us all as individuals, and as members of society. Equal access to education and culture underpins the Nordic welfare society. By securing these services we contribute to the population's intellectual, physical and economic well-being. The Ministry of Education creates conditions which enable people to make individual choices concerning education, culture and leisure-time pursuits and assures the impact of education and culture in society. (Finnish Ministry of Education *Strategy 2015*: 1)

In a panel discussion entitled *Advancing Research on Higher Education and the Public Good*[14], several internationally distinguished scholars advanced a well articulated set of ideas for higher education stakeholders to consider regarding the opening of "academic identities to subversion by economic capital" (Marginson 2005: 1).

The Finnish higher education system was singled out twice during this discussion, as a laudable counter-example to the global trends which formed the basis of the concerns voiced by the panellists. Finnish higher education was held up as a shining case-in-point of what the panellists thought higher education should be; not what it is fast becoming. The panellists knew about the best feature of the Finnish higher education system, the universal, tuition-free

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14 The title of the Symposium where this paper was presented was *Advancing Research on Higher Education and the Public Good*, presented on 19 November 2005 at the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education by Pusser, B., Slaughter, S., Marginson, S., Ordorika, I. and Bensimon, E.

access afforded to the general population. It can be asserted that this access is directly related to the *massification* of the system during the 20th century, ideologically underpinned by an ever-present debate on the best way to achieve the doctrine of *educational equality* (Välimaa 2001a). Generally, in the Finnish context, the doctrine of educational equality, emerged as a guiding principal of Finland's educational system as a constituent element of the Nordic welfare state and its associated goals of minimizing inequities amongst the general population (Malin 2005; Välimaa 2001a; Välijärvi 2006).

The meaning of massification – as a concept – is established in international comparative higher education literature as indicating the shift from higher education as a form of elite social reproduction into a broader, more open domain in which higher education systems have changed over time from elite (less than 5% of the population have access to higher education); to mass (40% of the population have access) and finally universal systems (70% have access) (Trow 1974)[15]. As this shift takes place, the relationship between higher education and society fundamentally changes, which reflects the tension between the reproductive and transformative potential of higher education (Brennan 2002).

The nature of debate on educational equality in Finland has been explained by the unique social, cultural, demographic, geographical and historical factors which formed the context in which the Nordic welfare state – in its present form – could emerge in the first place (Esping-Andersen 1998; Välimaa 2001a; Lehtonen et al. 1999).

What many who praise Finland's educational system have not considered, is the idea that the equity outcomes associated with the Nordic welfare states in the past century (Kivinen & Kaipainen 2002; Välimaa 2001a; Malin 2005; Välijärvi 2006) do not automatically translate into similar outcomes in this century.

In a methodological and theoretical sense, the research questions guiding this study could be approached in a variety of different ways, and several combinations of analytical constructs and methods could be used within those different traditions, methodological approaches or strategies of inquiry (Creswell 1998; Creswell 2002; Denzin & Lincoln et al. 1998). However, while these alternatives can be viewed as 'choices', Becker makes the point that in fact by the time most people are engaging a research problem, they're most probably dealing with assumptions which – while corresponding to scientific debates – have not been 'chosen', but instead are 'defaults' that reflect researcher beliefs regarding the way a given research problem *should* be approached, not how it *could* be approached (Becker 1986).

The most important consequence of not considering Becker's point more carefully is articulated by Beck, who warns of *zombie categories*, concepts or

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15 The variation of meaning which the notion massification is assigned – or takes on – within particular societies, other than as conceptually defined by Trow, is considerable. See Välimaa (2001c) for the meanings associated with massification in the Finnish context. In this dissertation, the concept is used as defined by Trow (1974).

notions which were once regarded as widely important – often the *ideas* referred to in Figure 1. – but which later lose both explanatory significance and resonance in the societies they once illuminated (Beck 1992).

As the analysis in chapters 4 and 5 will show, discussions involving the *internationalization of* higher *education* and *educational equality* easily take on a zombie-like tone in Finnish higher education. Specifically, this happens when the assertions about 'equal access' and 'individual choices'; which appear in the Finnish Ministry of Education publication cited at the outset of this chapter, are considered.

These assertions correspond closely with the assumptions expressed by members of the Marginson panel (2005), that is, assertions *believed to be the case* in Finnish higher education. However, the relationship between internationalization and equity, on closer examination, are more illustrative of Beck's assertion. Specifically, they way in which equal access and individual choices are discussed, routinely avoid emerging sets of relationships in which Finnish higher education plays an important part.

This is not meant to devalue past achievements in these areas, which are considerable (OECD 2003; Välimaa 2001a; Välijarvi 2006). The two most important forms of mobility afforded by higher education occurred under the umbrella of equity and internationalization.

The first type of historically important mobility directly connected to higher education is the social mobility associated with the rapid expansion of Finnish higher education during the 20th century (Välimaa 2001a). The massification of Finnish higher education took place under the banner of educational equality and was such that access was guided by the principal that one's gender, birthplace, geographic location and socioeconomic status should not present major obstacles to accessing the education system at any level, nor hinder career advancement career within that system (Kivinen & Kaipainen 2002; Välimaa 2001a; Academy of Finland 2005; Välijarvi 2006).

The second type of mobility afforded by higher education is most often associated with " 'traditional patterns of internationalization' … persistent and 'old' patterns of internationalization of international cooperation and competition in research and higher education, such as student and research mobility, large-scale research collaboration and conventional export/import relations." (Trondal, Gornitzka & Gulbrandsen 2003: 25 original emphasis; Also see Kehm & DeWit et al. 2006; Dervin & Rosa 2006). The empirical proxies for traditional internationalization have become established as indicators of internationalization (Enders & De Weert 2004; Kehm & De Wit 2006). In the Finnish case this assertion can be underlined by the fact that short-term researcher mobility, student and teacher exchange are operationalized as precise numbers in both the national higher education database, as well as being reflected by numerical targets in strategic internationalization policy (KOTA database; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001).

However, the emerging relationships – and shifting meanings – between the internationalization of higher education and educational equality

corresponds to the wider global debate which in which Marginson (2006), McElhinney, (2005), and May (2005) discuss how – or if – *academic capitalism* fits within the relationship between a national higher education system and the society in which it is embedded (Currie 1997 et. al).

Academic capitalism occurs as "faculty implement their academic capital through engagement in production" (Slaughter & Leslie 1997: 11). This notion is associated with issues like the degree to which neo-liberal new public management systems are adopted by public education systems and the recognition, production and reproduction of emerging global status hierarchies in higher education. The Finnish system now finds itself entangled in such debates (Slaughter & Leslie 1997; Rhoades & Slaughter; Curry et al. 1998; Ylijoki 2003; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

In higher education, it is ultimately the relationship between globalization; whose meaning can only be precisely defined in relation to context and perspective (Held et al. 1999); internationalization and massification in which meaningful analysis can be drawn regarding these types of research problems (Scott 1998). No matter which research approach is chosen, discussions about educational equality that are limited to gender[16] and age – which is presently the case in many Finnish contexts – in an era which has seen scientific – and legal – discussion on other *ascriptive characteristics* gain considerable ground, are likely to be found lacking. These discussions will regarded as incomplete in the best of cases, empty in most; especially by persons aware that some ascriptive characteristics determine more than others. Ascriptive characteristics are characteristics of a person or group that cannot be changed by individual effort, for example, gender, age, kinship, skin color, national origin, sexual orientation, physical disability and ethnicity (Marshall 1994). In the case of higher education and employment Beck elaborates:

> …permanent conflicts tend to arise along the lines of ascribed characteristics, which now as much as ever are undeniably connected with discrimination. **Race, skin color, gender, ethnicity, age, homosexuality, physical disabilities** – these are the major ascribed characteristics. Under the conditions of advanced industrialization, such quasi-natural social inequalities lead to the development of quite **specific organizing effects**. These attempt to gain political muscle by focusing on the inescapability and permanence of such inequalities, as well as their incompatibility with the achievement principle, their tangibility, and the fact that – as a result of their direct visibility – they make possible independent social and individual identifications. At the same time, individual fate is increasingly determined in a new way by economic trends and by the historical necessity, as it were, for example by economic crisis or boom, restricted admission to universities and to the professions, the size of age cohorts, etc. (Beck 1992: 101 *author's original emphasis*)

The homogeneity of the Finnish culture, in terms of ascriptive characteristics, suggests explanatory insights as to why migrant scholars – and phenomena

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16 It is somewhat ironic that while the Finnish system is often noted with exceptional regard concerning gender equity, the relationship between gender and other ascriptive characteristics is unknown because of the way in which ascriptive characteristics have been regarded. It is also important to note that gender relations, within Finnish higher education, are not uncontested (See Husu 2000; 2001).

related to migrant scholars – are not 'seen'. This may be because these scholars can be thought of as 'outside' a cultural boundary ultimately defined by ascription. However, insights to be gained from inquiry in that direction, that is, explaining the general historical, cultural and political reasons underlying Finnish attitudes about migrants has been outlined in the previous chapter and lay outside the direct scope of this dissertation. This is firstly because sustained research on those questions has been done by others (See Chapter 1). Secondly, what remains to be done are context-specific studies. This is because the most interesting observations to on the emerging relationship between internationalization and equity in the Finnish context are not to be found in books. In the context of Finnish universities, the most interesting perspective on this relationship involves academics who have arrived precisely because of traditional internationalization in the 20th century and who remain here, without being included in discussions on equity in the 21st. These individuals, because they are part of Finnish culture and society, offer an interesting perspective compared to a research design which would place them 'outside' the socio-cultural context in which they live and work. The explanation of the persistent tendency to conceptualize migrants in that manner – in any culture – is left to others.

Ascriptive characteristics are important because they are empirical proxies which can be used to answer Scott's evocative question: "Can we reach out to the disadvantaged and excluded in our own societies at the same time as reaching across national frontiers to other systems of higher education?" (Scott 1998: 109). Discussions on equity outcomes in the Finnish context have only recently begun to consider variables like 'immigrant background' (Malin 2005). However more nuanced and accurate differences linked to ascriptive differences like skin color, national origin, and ethnicity are not included in publicly available databases on university staff[17]. This is not the same as saying those ascriptive characteristics are unimportant. It is saying whether or not they are, in a structural sense, is unknown at this time. Indicators and categories based on past discussions about traditional internationalization and educational equality which *do not* account for the empirical realities of ascription can be used in research involving long term mobility of migrant academic personnel. In fact, most of the research and reports reviewed for this research, especially those from continental Europe and the Nordic region, do exactly this. The absence of social statistics which can be used to examine current academic mobility trends within the Finnish context underlines Becker's point about *assumptions* which have become part of *research designs* – whether or not we are aware of this. In this dissertation, it is assumed all ascriptive characteristics may

17 This is ostensibly because collecting data connected to these categories is against the law (See Personal Data File Act of 1987, Section 417 §6.). However this matter is under discussion in Academy of Finland working groups, as well as the Finnish Ministry of Education. There is active discussion of these issues with the goal of taking these categories into consideration for various purposes (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Academy of Finland 2005a; Halonen *personal communication,* 5 October 2005).

be related to career potential in statistically significant relationships, especially those we don't keep track of in official statistics.

2.2.2 Aging European societies and international migration

> …research on migration and ethnic relations in Nordic countries is approaching the most essential core of the Nordic system: the structures of the Nordic universalistic welfare state and power structures maintaining and reinforcing structures. (Forsander & Similä 2003: preface)

As an aging Finnish population shifts from being a society where more people migrate to Finland rather than away from Finland (Jaakkola 2005), the presence of migrants reveals important general features about Finnish society, as the above quote indicates. The most interesting feature of migration dynamics which supports approaching topics associated with *international migration and ethnic relations* from the perspective of the 'world of work' in Finland is that the primary ministry responsibility for the "integration of immigrants and the promotion of ethnic equality" is the Ministry of Labor (Finnish Ministry of Labor 1999; Also see http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/04_migration/index.jsp), as opposed to a ministry whose primary mission involves social affairs and health, legal affairs or security. How this fact can be interpreted is interesting, but outside the scope of this research. What remains interesting is the idea that although many societies face the same general dynamics as Finland, that is, a shrinking workforce, aging population and changing migration dynamics (Papademetriou 2005; Holzmann & Münz 2004; Zoubanov 2000; Coussey 2000); the issues and debates associated with the relationship between these broad trends remain very specific to the particular society in which these dynamics unfold (Castells 1996).

If we limit general focus to the European Union, during the time this dissertation was carried out; riots in several towns in the UK and France occurred associated with the structural discrimination experienced by young people of migrant origin. Large-scale terrorist attacks occurred in Spain and the UK carried out and aided by domestic migrant individuals and an international debate on freedom of the press began after cartoons that were regarded as offensive to many migrants – as well as considerably more persons – were published in several newspapers.

How Finnish society in general and institutions in particular are handling challenges associated with rising migration rates is an open question which several researchers have engaged in recent years (See Chapter 1).

The intersection of research on *international migration and ethnic relations* and *international comparative higher education* will highlight an increasing emphasis on attracting highly skilled migrants (Raunio 2004; Karjalainen et al. 2006; Academy of Finland 2005b). It will also highlight earlier generations of migrants who entered Finland under very different circumstances (Hoffman 2003a; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004), and who have yet to enter or are isolated in the labor market (Whalbeck 2004). These groups remain difficult to locate and legally undefined in much higher education discussion (See Chapter 4). Finnish

migration research – taken as a whole – often seems a bit far from the 'power structures' Forsander and Similä identify in the quote at the outset of this chapter. In power structures like higher education, this sets up a type of discussion, or more accurately the absence of discussion – which Hansen (2000) terms: *The Cultural Shortcut*.

2.2.3 The cultural shortcut

When writing about identity politics in the European Union, Hansen (2000) warned of an emerging and paradoxical 'cultural short cut', which may be particularly pronounced in countries like France and Finland, where beliefs about widespread equality in society – although taking different forms – are assumptions held by many individuals within Forsander and Similä's 'power structures'.

In brief, the cultural shortcut involves an emphasis on integration within the emerging European Union, particularly with reference to the notion of a 'European culture'. Hansen points out this culture is not supported by empirical evidence, rather it is a social construction, like all other forms of identity. This type of integration emphasizes the integration of 'European' 'national cultures' of member states, conflating cultural and national boundaries. This conflation, according to Hansen, simultaneously excludes marginalized cultural groups within and between states, for example the indigenous Roma, Basque and Saami people and the members of newly arriving migrant groups from outside EU boundaries (Hansen 2000).

In the context of this research problem, a national higher education system can show considerable evidence of being both 'international', especially regarding established indicators of traditional internationalization, and devoting considerable resources to programs and the studies of this type of 'European integration'. Hansen asserts it is possible to do both, taking a 'cultural shortcut' which insures – whether purposeful or in ignorance – that existing power relations remain in no danger of discussion, therefore disruption.

The quickest empirical proxy to detect 'invisible' or emerging hierarchies, as Beck suggests, are ascriptive characteristics, in these kinds of cases, the categories there are no need to speak about because *internationalization* and *equality* 'exist'. They do exist, if the meanings and activities carried out under the banners of *higher education* internationalization and *educational equality* are defined as clear, simple, static notions, as opposed to ambiguous, complex and dynamic. However, to assume 'internationalization' and 'equity' actually mean the same things now as they did in the past, commits the analyst – often at the design stage of research – to a **conceptual** *cultural shortcut* to a discussion on equity which focuses on a few ascribed characteristics – age and gender – in the Finnish case, while ignoring the majority of them. In the same way, it is possible to refer to 'internationalization' without ever contemplating differences in national origin once inside Finland – or in the case of refugees, the lack of one.

Neither of these points of departure is a problem, if Hansen's assertion is correct.

2.2.4 From 'Between societies' to 'Between and within' societies

> They successfully perform what they (objectively) have to do only because they **believe** that they are doing something different than what they are actually doing; because they are actually doing something different from what they believe they are doing; and because they **believe** in what they **believe** they are doing. As mystified mystifiers, they are the **first victims** of the operations they perform. (Bourdieu 1988: 207 original emphasis)

The indicators of traditional internationalization in Finnish higher education are heavy on 'what' and 'how'; mainly based on the indicators of traditional internationalization, especially short term exchanges of students and staff, research cooperation and publication activity (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Välimaa 2004; Trondal, Gornitzka & Gulbrandsen 2003) and 'when', that is the short-term time frames Sipilä (2001) cautions about (See section 2.2 above). Empirical proxies that are used as the basis for discussions on equity in Higher education employment are equally clear: gender and age (Välimaa 2004; KOTA database).

However, in the spheres of problems, policy and politics (El Kawas 2000) which underlie strategic higher education policy in universities in the 21st century, a *methodological blind* spot is present when speaking about categories whose meanings have subtly, but fundamentally changed from one century to the next.

After the economic "global shock" (Välimaa 2005) of the late 1980s and early 1990, associated with the recession which accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries , Finland's higher education system underwent profound changes in which it could be said the system as a whole began a more pronounced drift from its philosophically-based roots to the high-tech, global, socioeconomic competitive reality of the 21st century informational economy (Beck 1992; Castells 1996; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

In this type of climate 'all internationalization was good internationalization' (Ollikainen 1999) and research and policy-making reflects a light, fast, competitive system (when viewed from the outside looking in), rapidly adjusting to a stormy sea in which much of the Eastern European block, with which Finland was heavily interdependent, still remains lost when compared to using conventional internationalization indicators.

During this time, the majority of important work on internationalization – especially regarding mobility issues – was necessarily bold in vision (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001), as strategic **policy** needs to be. As the blizzard of activities and **reports** issued promoting mobility to and from Finland filled up the shelves of the nation's higher educations policy makers and stakeholders, there understandably may have been little need or time to seriously consider the **ideas** of scholars like Beck, Scott and Bourdieu. Teichler was vilified amongst administrators of international programs – including in Finland –

when he coined the term 'The dark side of mobility'. His assertion was that the 'rose-colored glasses' of internationalization may have obscured the limitations and problems associated with wide-scale short term exchange programs implemented during this time (Teichler 1996).

While interesting **research** has been done in Finland regarding *international migration and ethnic relations* and much has been **reported** about traditional internationalization; it is with rare exceptions that we have shifted our analytical gaze to the dynamics associated with international migration and ethnic relations to relationships emerging within our own campus buildings (Ally 2002; Taajamo 2005).

In other words, as migration dynamics between countries, cultures and institutions have resulted in new dynamics within countries, cultures and institutions, the concepts and indicators which adequately captured the 'between' of the traditional internationalization in the last century indicate next to nothing in terms of analysis 'within' changing knowledge-intensive institutions in Finnish society especially in this century. Finland's university system is no exception. As to the assertions of *'equal access'* and *'individual choices'* quoted at the outset of Section 2.2.1. , for some migrant groups in the Finnish context, those will remain a methodological mystery as long as we take the cultural shortcut (Hansen 2000) and avoid discussing ascriptive characteristics associated with international migration (Hoffman 2004a).

2.2.5 Smoking out conceptual and methodological blind spots

> We are well aware that the book raises more questions than it resolves. We could not have expected otherwise, given the complexity of its subject matter … Such open-endedness may appall those who aim to reach firm conclusions and clear guidelines; perhaps it will better please those who constantly aim for the challenges of new frontiers. (Enders & Fulton 2002 Foreword: xvi)

The current changes in Finnish higher education, caught up in the effects of globalization do, as Enders and Fulton (2002) conclude, introduce far more interesting questions than answers (Hoffman 2006; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*). As discussed above, this is due to globalization and massification, which indicate different things in different contexts and to different groups; and internationalization, the meaning of which is much more circumscribed than once thought, that is, discussion around internationalization does not shed much light on many of the important dynamics that will define the era society is entering. The same can be said about ascriptive characteristics, many of which are studiously avoided in countries opting for 'cultural shortcuts' to equality. Current literature indicates that analytical histories of emergence (Archer 1995) will provide more insight into current dynamics, rather than folk psychology that – at most – produces the illusion of common sense 'explanations' in a complex world.

In order to address Teichler's Dilemma in the Finnish context, regarding academic personnel experiencing long-term mobility, it seems a good idea to approach research problems linked to *international migration and ethnic relations*

in the Finnish context – to paraphrase Leibkind (2004) – from any paradigmatic angle, using whatever theoretical frameworks, methodological approaches and methods are indicated within those types of inquiry. Most authors writing on academic mobility in the Finnish context have either worked with small, defined populations (Ally 2002; Tajaamo 2005) or assumed conventional traditional or normative definitions of academic mobility, internationalization and educational equality (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Finnish Ministry of Education 2003; Dervin & Rosa 2006; Garam 2003; Välimaa 2004; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Zirra 2006)[18]. Therefore, there are considerable gaps in this literature due to the sheer number of ways in which the topic can be approached and the uncritical manner in which it normally has been; especially in reports and policy discussion. By uncritical, I mean that the ascriptive characteristics which are inextricably linked to long-term academic mobility are absent from much literature and discussion, as are discussions about their relationship to the discussion on educational equality. Considering the nation's enviable record of equity outcomes (Malin 2005; Välijärvi 2006) and the considerable demographic challenges elaborated in Chapter 1, the literature gap is as apparent as it is problematic.

From the beginning of the dissertation process (Hoffman 2003c), it was clear that ascriptive characteristics were related to dynamics in Finnish higher education and the society in which the system was embedded in different ways; which were not widely discussed, nor understood in either context.

Therefore, rather than beginning the studies which led to this dissertation, methodologically speaking, with 'more of the same', in other words, approaching the topic in the way Teichler has criticized, I chose to initially pilot my assumptions, relating them to established theoretical constructs developed mainly in other higher education contexts. Methodological traditions (Creswell 1998) such as case studies were selected, because they allowed theoretically-based, purposeful selection, as did biographically-based approaches featuring participant inquiry. These seemed to be missing from the regional, national and local literature, and I felt these approaches might illuminate dynamics missed in what is regarded as current literature and discussion on the long-term academic mobility of migrant university personnel in the Finnish context.

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[18] An important point to make about this spectrum of studies is that the small scale research of Tajaamo (2005) and Ally (2002) examine topics like racism and discrimination which are missing from many larger studies, reports and policy.

2.3 Conceptually Grounding Discussion of Long-Term Academic Mobility

2.3.1 Ascriptive characteristics, field, capital and trajectory

At the outset of the studies presented in this dissertation, the conceptual relationships which could meaningfully be used to address the three research questions guiding this work were unclear. Methodologically, a qualitative approach was indicated in that concepts like ascriptive characteristics (as defined in Section 2.2.1) could be considered in relation to theories of the middle range (as defined in Section 2.2) that were absent from much of the literature and policy discussion on long-term mobility and migrant academics in the Finnish context. The most important principal used in approaching the studies was that *inductive logic* was used. This meant assuming that concepts and theory which had been useful elsewhere might also be quite useful here, but that relationships between concepts had not yet been established in this research setting. The most significant assumption in this area related to potentially explanatory empirical proxies associated with migration, particularly national origin, skin color and ethnicity. These were conspicuously absent from general discussions on equity[19] and internationalization in the Finnish context, as well as many other European countries, alongside the prominent conceptual equivalents, gender and age, during the time period of the studies comprising this dissertation.

In the pilot of the study, the idea was that approaching a broader range of ascriptive characteristics in terms of established concepts would yield an analytical focus ultimately able to address the research questions guiding this dissertation. Initially, other concepts focused on were Bourdieu's (1988) articulation of trajectory, field and field specific capital (defined immediately below), as well as specific dynamics associated with academic personnel in the Finnish context (Välimaa 2001b; Aittola 2001) as defined in Section 2.3.2.

The findings of this dissertation are directly tied to the methodological manner in which conceptual relationships became apparent following the initial pilot study (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b).

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19 This does not mean these ideas are not addressed by law. The Non-discrimination act (21/2004, amended by 50/2006 prohibits many types of discrimination based on ascriptive characteristics, including age, ethnic or national origin, language, religion, belief, opinion, health, disability, sexual orientation or other personal characteristics. The equality plan of the Academy of Finland (2005b), for example, addresses this legislation. It is of conceptual interest that neither skin color, nor the concept of race are mentioned in this legislation. While it may be presumed that the notion of ethnicity or 'other personal characteristics' somehow covers the ascriptive characteristic of skin color and this may be an arguably better idea than the social construct of 'race', the analysis presented in Chapter 4.3 highlights a vague area which legal scholars might find troubling. This conjecture is outside the conceptual scope of thesis, but worth noting, because it is foreseeable that the issue will be raised in both the context of research and law.

The distinction between an inductive exploration to illuminate a set of analytically meaningful relationships; or deductively asserting relationships, then establishing whether or not the assertion holds, is fundamental (Rosenberg 1995). While this distinction seems sharp, appearing to introduce a cleavage into ways in which inquiry concerning human activity can be carried out; many claim the positions are complimentary, as long as the limitations within these general approaches is understood (Creswell 2002; Punch 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003).

The qualitative, incremental way in which the studies were approached meant that established concepts and procedures were used to illuminate other relevant concepts, and in some cases led to the formulation of new concepts, avenues of approach and ideas used to purposefully select individuals who could inform the emerging relationships under study or contexts which rendered emerging dynamics visible.

Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *capital* and *trajectory* were initially used as they had provided considerable insight into the social transformation associated with the student movement in France in the late 1960s. The full significance of the insight that would be provided with these concepts was not foreseen at the beginning of the study, but as the nature of the hierarchical shift in faculties became apparent in subsequent studies, the initial selection of these concepts was borne out (Hoffman 2005a, 2005b; Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

The homology of *trajectory*, as used by Bourdieu (1988) proved central, from the first pilot study (Hoffman 2003a). This homology is useful regarding insight into the path of individuals with respect to the tension between *a priori* social relationships and the human capacity for change. Trajectory is used to analyse the degree to which the career path of an academic is in part determined by essential properties which define a given *field*. A Field is defined as a delimited social space where positions and relationships between positions are defined in terms of the possession of forms of *capital*. Different forms of capital are specific types of power, used in a given field, that determine specific position, movement and indicate potential relevant to both. (Bourdieu 1988; Wacquant & Bourdieu 1992). The positions an academic has occupied in the past, presently occupies, and is likely to occupy in the future, correspond to clear positions which are normally not created by that academic. Rather, the positions exist in the field of higher education, in this case, the Finnish national university system.

Whether or not movement between positions within a field is understood by the persons occupying them is clear in some fields, where the form(s) of capital are very clear, e.g. on a soccer field or battle-field, less clear in others, e.g. kinship relations in extended families in unfamiliar societies (Bourdieu 1990; Wacquant & Bourdieu 1992). In any case, what remains clear in many fields is that objective positions exist, regardless of the people who occupy those positions. This in and of itself makes analysis of movement between those positions possible.

The field-specific capitals of *academic and scientific power* are two important forms of capital which govern durable social relationship patterns that simultaneously delimit and determine power relations within distinct academic fields, as well as one's trajectory through those fields. Academics who act with respect to *academic power* are focused on the social dynamics which will reproduce *the next generation of academics* in a given faculty, institute, department or basic unit. Academics concerned with *scientific power* are concerned with *the advancement of state-of-the-art knowledge in their discipline*. Relative position in either type of field is maintained in fundamentally different ways; for example, the control of a subordinate's time and departmental politics in the former and the publication of scientific texts and innovative lectures concerning disciplinary developments in the latter (Bourdieu 1988).

2.3.2 University mission, career-stage and academic generations

Välimaa (2001b) elaborates academic trajectories in Finnish universities in terms of movement within and between the fields of *temporary* and *permanent* positions. Välimaa uses the notion of field metaphorically to reconcile the principles and practices which govern career development that "consists of various paths leading from one position to another" (Välimaa 2001b: 85). Each of these fields is connected by vertical and horizontal relationships based on distinctions between research, instruction and administration.

The most significant dynamics are explained by the different *gatekeepers* controlling access to each field. Individual academics control access to the field of temporary positions, while collegial bodies regulate entrance into the field of permanent positions.

An initial assumption was that *career-stage* would have an important influence on this analysis. Feedback during the pilot bore this out. Accounting for career stage, especially the critical transition between the completion of the PhD and one's first academic position, for example research posts, lectureships and professorships (Baldwin & Blackburn 1981) provided considerable insight from the beginning of the study. When considering migrant academic personnel and forms of long-term mobility, efforts which focus on only one level of career stage run the risk of being one dimensional, unless clear reasons exist for doing that (See Musselin 2004). Multiple perspectives can be used contrast individuals with long experience with the fresh insight that only a newcomer to the system has.

A complimentary notion to career stage is articulated by Aittola (2001), who points out that there are different *academic generations* in Finnish higher education. These generations can be broadly thought of as outcomes of academic training practices and socialization that reflect the major influences on the development, reforms and priorities which have been emphasized within Finnish higher education (See Välimaa 2005) and the relative value that individual academics attach to these influences. These types of generational differences are empirically described by Aittola, who applied the metaphor

'generational lens' to the differences in perspectives that Finnish academics had of the changing nature of Finnish higher education (Aittola 2001).

2.3.3 Disciplinary cultures

Although the initial concepts and pilot design were adequate as a starting point, I did not begin the research with a comprehensive knowledge of higher education theory. Feedback on the pilot study (Hoffman 2003c, 2003a) revealed that previous work done on differences between disciplinary cultures was missing from the initial design. Based on this, new concepts were incorporated into the case study protocol prepared for the multiple case study reported in this analysis (Hoffman 2004c).

The most meaningful theoretical framework located in this regard was pointed out by several active higher education specialists who commented on my initial studies: *Academic Tribes and Territories* (Becher & Trowler 2001). In the Finnish context, the tribal metaphor was appealing given the fact that the pilot had already illuminated an in-group/out-group dynamic which several participants had articulated (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b). This, combined with the fact that until a few centuries ago the geographic territory of Finland was mainly inhabited by persons whose original affiliation is most accurately described as tribal, living a subsistence, agrarian lifestyle, made the tribal metaphor interesting (Lehtonen et al. 1999)[20].

Regarding Becher and Trowler's (2001) theoretical framework; the most relevant concepts in the emerging analysis regarded the *cognitive* distinctions between the *hard* and *soft* disciplines on the one hand, and the *pure* and *applied* specializations on the other. When these oppositions are put in the form of intersecting continuums, disciplinary clusters form in which the *'hard-pure'* sciences, like physics can be distinguished from *'soft-pure'* humanities, like history or pure social sciences, like anthropology. The same can be seen when examining the *'hard-applied'* technologies like mechanical engineering, clinical medicine and the *'soft-applied'* social sciences like social work or law. (Becher & Trowler 2001; Ylijoki 2000).

A further set of distinctions can be made with reference to the *social* component, which characterizes the relationship within and between the disciplinary and specialist networks. However the relationships between the

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20 While not all Finnish persons would appreciate this metaphor, the in-group/out-group distinction that exists in many Finnish settings remains one of the most important – and ignored – pieces of information which must be communicated to migrants in order to provide an accurate basis for interpreting specific social settings. The basis for inclusion/exclusion dynamics is not as important as the meaning migrant academics assign behavior. For this reason though , the basis offers insight into other research topics.

cognitive and social components are beyond the immediate scope of this analysis[21].

2.4 Methodologically Based Insights Into an Emerging Topic

An initial review of literature, coupled with researcher hunches (Hoffman 2003c) were used in the beginning of this research process. One of these hunches was the idea that the nature of internationalization was changing in Finnish higher education and that ascriptive characteristics provided an empirical route into unreported, emerging dynamics inside the buildings in which we work (Hoffman 2003a). However, it was the use of the general qualitative procedures (See Chapter 3) which underpinned the methodological insights regarding the *most relevant methods*; the *participants* who could inform the research and *the settings* in which these participants would be located. This approach highlighted the phenomena and theory relevant to informing the research questions guiding the dissertation, in some cases laying the foundation for new concepts (See Chapters 4 & 5).

The analytical outcome of this type of process is new research questions for the future (See Chapter 6). These questions can be approached in a more robust manner, methodologically speaking, than the analysis based on the data available at this time this dissertation was carried out. However, to go beyond these methodological limitations first requires an analysis which frames issues more appropriately discussed in the spheres of policy and politics (See Chapter 6); in order that their relationship with the potential of research is clarified. This is the task of policy analysis, the task of this dissertation.

Policy analysis is appropriate at this time because the way in which academic mobility has been approached; in general, and in Finland in particular makes this topic a prime candidate for Teichler's dilemma. Specifically, a zombie-like notion of equity; a cultural shortcut embodied in laws like the *Personal Data File Act*, masks dynamics which can be approached only by accounting for the broad range of ascriptive characteristics relevant to current demographics[22]. If assumptions based on past demographics are used, policy-makers, researchers and stakeholders cannot hope to grasp or content with present or future demographic complexity.

Because of the narrow way internationalization has been operationalized within higher education; indicators based on the demographics of previous

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21 Regarding translational practice, the social component is important in explaining differences in academic practices to incoming Master's degree and PhD students to the extent that this has been designed into a course I currently teach to incoming non-Finnish students and researchers.

22 It should be noted that the rational basis of laws like these is based upon concern that individuals cannot be identified in a way that may cause foreseeable harm. This concern is rooted in the genocide that took place in the Second World War and may partially explain the reasons why the question of social statistics remains particularly contentious in Europe.

centuries and associated assumptions about equity will suggest nothing out of the ordinary is occurring or will occur in this century.

At the same time, recent laws like the *Non-Discrimination Act*, have been drafted to address discrimination based on the ascriptive characteristics. However, the older *Personal Data File Act* prohibits the use of ascriptive characteristics in transparent, public data available to researchers or stakeholders.

Therefore, a cultural shortcut that benefits the majority of scholars in many national higher education systems currently has been institutionalized in a legal 'Catch-22' that greatly limits the potential of data collection for anyone interested in emerging dynamics on topics related to migration and stratification. As this is the case, and not otherwise, the methodological point of departure of this dissertation will attempt to illuminate ways in which the career potential of migrant scholars in the Finnish university system might be quite different than what current literature and policy discussion suggests.

3 AVOIDING THE WRONG ANSWERS TO THE WRONG QUESTIONS

3.1 Problems, Policy, Politics and Position: Qualitatively Approaching Long-Term Mobility in Finnish Higher Education

> …[t]here are two types of interpreters: people who have actually experienced what has been described, and those who are often ethnographers, or field workers, so-called well–informed experts. These two types (local and scientific) often give different meanings to the same set of thickly described/inscribed experiences. (Denzin 1998: 325)

> *They're commercializing our problems*. (University Lecturer, PhD Pilot Study)

> Early in my pilot study I realized that some research stories ought to be told in first person. Within the biographical tradition (Creswell 1998) "sometimes, the social scientist becomes his or her own object of study: it is their life which is the focus … the focus may be on the sociologist's own 'insider' life but it is connected through sociology to an 'outsider' world of wider social processes" (Plummer 2001: 32). When the biography connecting history to a particular intersection in society – in this case Finnish higher education – belongs to the researcher, it is hard to deny Ellis and Bochner's claim "to show how important it is to make the researcher's own experience a topic of investigation in its own right", stepping away from writing "in passive third-person voice … …written from nowhere by nobody" (Ellis & Bochner 2000: 734).
> This effort – to avoid "contributing to the flotilla of qualitative writing that is simply not interesting to read because adherence to the model requires writers to silence their own voices and view themselves as contaminants" (Richardson 1998: 347) – involves connecting my own observations to a wider set of concerns central to social science and higher education during a socio-cultural transformation that will shape the 21st century.
> (Hoffman 2003c: 79)

In most of the studies I wrote up for my dissertation, I could not use the words 'I' or 'my'. The studies were written in third person, because the studies comprising this work fall under the potential umbrellas of three interdisciplinary fields of studies in which authors, while often conducting

qualitative research, do not often explicitly position themselves in the manner which is actually possible in qualitative research work (Creswell 2002; Seale 2004; Johnson 2002).

As a migrant academic, doing research with other migrant academics, it is not possible for me to gloss over my position for two reasons. The first is that I would never have noticed this particular research problem if not for my position in the very field I'm studying (Hoffman 2003c). The second reason is that the quality of my findings can only completely be evaluated if this position is made clear. However, a third reason is as important as to why I would claim this position is particularly relevant in this context.

While the specific application of this research is *Public Policy Analysis* (As defined in Chapter 1); the two topic-centred areas where I found the most interesting scholarly activity in the Finnish context were *International Comparative Higher Education* (ICHE) and *International Migration and Ethnic Relations* (IMER). Within those two fields, the conceptual and methodological blind spots articulated in Chapter 2 are complicated by this 'third reason'.

Since both ICHE and IMER inform this work, I regularly attended academic conferences which were focused on these areas, as well as interacting with policy actors in the Finnish context as much as possible.

In Europe in general and Finland in particular, ICHE specialists were not always sure where I was coming from, speaking about migrant academics, as I was normally the only migrant academic in the room[23]. Moreover researchers who focused on IMER issues did not always seem to understand the reasons why I insisted speaking about universities at 'their' conferences. This probably had as much to do with my inexperience with trying to effectively convey the essence of my topic, as any perceived difficulties I understood local academics had in grasping the emerging connections I was speaking about.

However, what was equally clear, in the Finnish context particularly, was that although the specialization areas I was dealing with - *higher education internationalization* and *highly skilled migrant labor* - often concentrated on 'people from elsewhere', there were very few if any 'people from elsewhere' involved in articulating and shaping the problems, policy or politics of these areas[24].

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23 This assertion only applies to European contexts. When the studies comprising this thesis were presented in the USA and Canada, there were normally several academics of migrant origin present. My research was received quite differently in these contexts.

24 There are a few important exceptions to this, for example work done by Sabour (1999), Hearn (2003), and Clarke (1999) are important contributions within the specific domains they have addressed. However, a more accurate gauge of the place of non-Finnish academics in the intersection of ICHE and IMER would probably be the relationships between funding and a comprehensive set of ascriptive characteristics in programs and organizational efforts directed at the university missions and migration-related issues (including higher education and internationalization) in the Finnish context. This idea is outside the scope of this study, but raises an interesting set of possible issues and potential research problems (See Section 6.3).

This is not the same as saying these types of relationships have not been considered, researched and discussed, which is far from the case, particularly in countries and regions with long-standing patterns of heavy migration.

It is saying the gap in literature, policy and practice into which my work fits is in part shaped by the fact that persons of recent migrant origin are not normally principal investigators in consistently well-funded positions associated with research falling under either the ICHE or IMER umbrellas – in Finland. Whether or not they take part in policy-making or politics is outside the scope of this research.

It would be incorrect to say highly skilled migrants are not involved in well-funded research, which is clearly not the case (Raunio 2003; Hoffman 2005a; Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005; Puustinen-Hopper 2005). It is saying that in many fields of research and policy regarding migrants in Finnish society, migrants are normally not the authors of their own existence. Denzin underlines this distinction in the quotation at the outset of this chapter; as does the lecturer, whose quote referred directly to her perception that the only academics who consistently obtain senior positions and funding to study the circumstances of migrants in the Finnish context, are Finnish (Denzin's 'experts'), not migrants (particularly migrant academic personnel) in contexts found interesting by Finnish academics.

The point of drawing attention to the methodological distinction Denzin and the lecturer who participated in this research are making is not to claim that either the *expert* or *the person with direct experience* are in superior positions to inform research problems like this. A more accurate assertion would be that the absence of either indicates a less than fully informed academic discourse on these types of topics.

That said, my interest in the relationships between the research questions guiding this analysis results from reflection on my position in Finnish higher education after arriving in 1992, to pursue an MA in Social Policy. This position grew increasingly complex, as I made the transition from student to instructor, administrator, followed by service projects and different types of research from 1996 to the present time (Hoffman 2003c). During this time I found myself among an increasing number of academics experiencing various forms of long term academic mobility. While the perceptions and experiences of this group are quite distinct from transient exchange students or visiting scholars, I noticed the dynamics and implications of these experiences remain largely uncontextualized in terms of theory, despite increasing attention to mobility issues related to scientific careers in Europe, in general and Finland in particular (Ackers et al. 2005; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Gabaldón et al. 2005; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Karjalainen et al. 2006). Working in a small, culturally homogenous country as policy-makers attempt to carve a niche in an increasingly competitive global economy presented a rare opportunity. However, qualitative research originating within this type of setting carries risks regarding bias, privacy concerns and establishing validity amongst researchers and policy makers more comfortable with quantitative methods

(Johnson 2002; Creswell 2002). These risks have been addressed methodologically (See Section 3.2).

In 2001, based on my experiences of studying and working in Finnish higher education and the idea that meanings and outcomes of equity and internationalization were changing quite fast (As described in Section 2.2.1), I conducted a pilot case study focusing on ascriptive characteristics among faculty and staff experiencing long term mobility in my own university (Hoffman 2003c, 2003a). The pilot confirmed my initial hunches and subsequent feedback on the study illuminated appropriate theories of the middle range (as defined in Section 2.2), as well as methodological approaches with good potential to approach questions and that have not been posed and issues which have not been noticed in Finnish higher education (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b).

The thread that runs through the qualitative approaches I used in subsequent studies; whether *multiple case study* (Yin 1994; Stake 1995; Hoffman 2003a, 2005b, 2006b), *participant inquiry* (Reason 1998; Richardson 1998; Ellis & Bochner 2000; Hoffman 2004a, 2006c) or *social science biography* (Creswell 1998; Plummer 2001; Hoffman 2004b) is their methodological potential to take into account a perspective which does not widely inform the problem definition, policy discussions or politics concerning migrant academic personnel, that is the participation of *migrant academics*.

3.2 General Features and Procedures Used in the Qualitative Studies

> For many years, a proposal writer had to discuss the characteristics of qualitative research and convince faculty and audiences as to their legitimacy. Now there seems to be some consensus as to what constitutes qualitative inquiry and such discussion is not needed. (Creswell 2002: 179-180)

Creswell asserts a basic truth about the current status of qualitative approaches to scientific inquiry. However, I encountered an equally compelling truth in the questions posed in the service presentations I made on this topic, for organizations expressing interest in this dissertation. These questions indicated Creswell's assertion does not extend to many stakeholders and policy-makers in Finnish higher education. The assertion especially does not extend to those unfamiliar with the methodological distinctions academics in the social sciences, humanities and education must be familiar with in order to go about our daily work. Therefore, in order to lay a foundation for my analysis, I will summarize the general procedures followed throughout the series of studies presented here. These general procedures constitute a self-reinforcing set of principals that do not have a hierarchical nature. Rather, they are like the outer anchors of a spider's web, equally important. Reflection on the position of the researcher in relation to what s/he studies; ethical concern regarding

participation in the research; purposeful selection and design; the incorporation of practices to insure quality and validity are all features of qualitative research which form the backdrop of this research, whatever particular tradition of inquiry is chosen (Creswell 1998, 2002).

In this dissertation process, the traditions used to approach different types of empirical material were; broadly speaking, the case study, and biographically-based methods (Creswell 1998; Yin 1994; Plummer 2001). Under these general umbrella terms, specific methods, for example, interpretive socioanalysis of thematic interviews in case studies, social science biographical analysis and participant inquiry were carried out (Bourdieu 1999; Sabour 1999; Kvale 1996; Plummer 2001; Reason 1998; Richardson 1998).

However, the following general procedures and areas of attention were present throughout these studies.

3.2.1 Ethical concerns and participant privacy

'Backyard research' involves well-known difficulties, particularly regarding power issues, information disclosure and assumptions of bias (Creswell 2002: 184). These difficulties can be outweighed by the fact that one's 'backyard' can also be a unique context which would pose other researchers significant access problems (Johnson 2002). Methodologically, the safeguard used in this research was to limit the initial inquiry within my own university to the pilot phase. An initial pilot, which may be quite different than the subsequent cases, is often used by the investigator "more formatively, assisting the investigator to develop relevant lines of questions – possibly even providing conceptual clarification for the research design as well" (Yin 1994: 74).

From the beginning, the most important ethical consideration that arose throughout the studies was the sensitivity of the data and the necessity to safeguard the anonymity of the participants. Data that would reveal the identity of the pilot participants has been altered or withheld in a manner that leaves the substantive meaning of data unchanged, including names, positions, ascriptive characteristics and uniquely identifying details. The technical nature of this exercise must not obscure the underlying value-laden nature of qualitative research that in many cases "has reproduced a contradiction-filled colonizing discourse of *'Other'* " (Fine 1998: 130). It is not difficult to imagine circumstances in which participation in this type of research could lead to harm.

One alternative in a case like this is not to inquire – leaving the matter to Denzin's (1998) 'well-informed experts'. However, since the perspective offered here is something complementary to that position, the answer is not to "abandon the interview, a position that would be as counterproductive as it would be unrealistic" (Briggs 2002: 912). Rather, the answer involves the recognition that interviews are "politically situated and interested practices for producing and recontextualizing discourse" (Briggs 2002: 916). In order to address the ethical issues of the pilot, each participant was provided with copies of manuscript drafts, in order to check for material they felt compromised their anonymity, confirm that information had not been taken out

of context and raise any other concerns – including substantive critique. This procedure produced several comments that improved the analysis.

3.2.2 Emergent design and purposeful selection

The primary analysis which addressed the research questions guiding this study resulted directly from pursuing the results of the pilot case study (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b), which was then used to develop a protocol for a multiple case study (Hoffman 2005b, 2006b). While that multiple case study in and of itself did not directly address all three research questions, the comprehensive development of the multiple case study directly illuminated two other potential studies (Hoffman 2004a, 2005a) which were followed up separately, allowing the research problem as a whole to be addressed. A third study indirectly resulted from the presentation of the multiple case study protocol at an international conference, combined with graduate school course work (Hoffman 2004b). Therefore, the procedures I will elaborate applied primarily to the initial development of the multiple case study protocol (Hoffman 2004c).

When discussing the "knowledge about the different methodological traditions that researchers use, but do not always discuss, as the epistemological basis of their research" (Hart 1998: 58), Creswell points out that specific standards of quality and verification criteria exist for what he terms different 'traditions' of qualitative research, including the case study (Creswell 1998). The question that preoccupies case study researchers is "do we have it right … are we generating a comprehensive and accurate description … are we developing the interpretations we want?" (Stake 1995: 107).

The central feature which linked the underlying incremental and flexible emergent design of these studies to the process of conducting them was *purposeful selection*. Specifically, the continual deliberate consideration of potential relationships between people and contexts with respect to theory which could illuminate analytical generalizations in the absence of statistics; alternative sources of data on migrant academics, or by using the conventional or traditional approaches reviewed in Section 2.2. In other words – given this research problem – it was my belief, following Wahlbeck (2002), that theory would indicate a better set of questions and ultimately interpretations than the low-level of abstraction that is characteristic of much discussion about migrants and academic mobility in the Finnish context. To that end, the steps undertaken in this dissertation to produce a high quality study with regard to process and quality are outlined in Sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4. In Section 3.3 I will elaborate a few specific examples which demonstrate the utility of qualitatively approaching a research problem in this manner.

3.2.3 Process features

The preparation of this study has consisted of conducting a *pilot study* (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b), attending *researcher training*, conducting a *preliminary literature review* and continually *soliciting* critique on the relationship between the research process and substance.

The pilot study was primarily useful in that the analytical focus of the case was established, which in turn indicated the focus that the literature review has taken. The literature review in this type of qualitative research is continual and does not cease until the final write-up of the dissertation (Creswell 2002).

The main focus of researcher training has concerned interview methods and analysis. The interdisciplinary community of qualitative researchers utilizing interview methods was highly important to this research in that these scholars have also been able to provide both substantive and methodological insight into this research problem in addition to their technical expertise.

The studies which make up the dissertation have been regularly *presented* – at all stages – to students and colleagues at the local, national, regional and international level. The *multiple case study protocol* in particular was sent for comments to several scholars and field experts for review and presented at an international conference on early stage researcher mobility in February 2004.

Additional procedures used included *peer debriefing*, that is, sharing proposals and manuscripts with scholars and field experts knowledgeable about aspects of this research; *publishing*; *sharing analysis* or doing a '*member check*' (Stake 1995; Creswell 1998) with research participants for their critique. Finally, explaining the implications of the studies to higher education stakeholders was integral to this process. All of these processes are useful in qualitative research because the anonymity and privacy of the participants must be maintained, while using a set of conventions with established quality criteria (Creswell 1998; Yin 1994).

In addition to the interviews facilitated in the multiple case study and the e-mail correspondence analyzed in the study on migrant academics (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b, 2004b), *multiple types of data* were collected, including texts and documents. Although the communication with participants ultimately proved to provide the best source of data to inform the research questions, the unanalyzed documentary data was valuable with regard to context. Data was kept in a secure *case study database* with a strict *chain of custody* maintained at all times.

3.2.4 Quality criteria: external and construct validity, reliability

Yin elaborates four tests commonly used to establish the quality of empirical social research: internal, external and construct validity, and reliability. *Internal validity* is not an issue in this case as the studies comprising this dissertation are more exploratory and interpretive than explanatory. No causal inferences are made and no methods of analysis used in which internal validity would be an issue.

When dealing with the circumstances of migrant academics within specific contexts, establishing the correct operational measures for concepts being studied – *construct validity* – is the major concern alongside establishing the domain (higher education) to which findings can be generalized – *external validity*. Regarding the latter, the parameters of this case leave little doubt that the findings of this study are meant for consideration within the context of Finnish higher education in general and the specific sites studied in particular.

The more challenging aspect – in terms of validity – concerns construct validity. The analytical focus initially highlighted in the pilot needed to be continually refined and examined, particularly by integrating the insights from the studies of disciplinary cultures (Becher & Trowler 2001). Over the course of the studies, the increasingly refined *purposeful selection* of interview participants and contexts of focus in relation to established concepts in sociology and higher education produced the final analysis.

The interplay between validity and reliability presents a special challenge in cases like these which are simultaneously 'progressively focused' (Stake 1995: 133) in an analytical sense, while at the same time the result of personal insight within a unique unfolding social context (Johnson 2002). While "researchers are encouraged to include their own personal perspectives in the interpretations" (Stake 1995: 135), this flags a tension regarding reliability in qualitative research, i.e. the tension between the value assigned by an audience over the potential replication (Yin 1994) by anyone other than a particular researcher within a particular case.

The best way forward regarding quality is attention to the interplay between people, process and theory, in this case, the researcher, participants and other persons whose perspective suggests their ability to critique the process and analysis as it happens. The approach to interview analysis as an interpretive socio-analysis was chosen, following the example of Bourdieu (1999) and Sabour (1999). The aim of the analysis was establishing an 'inter-view' (Kvale 1996) which can be scrutinized by the routine of member checking as described above[25], as well as facilitating the analytical framing of participant accounts in a manner which illuminates relationships between theory and context. A second aspect of member checking – since the participants are academics – is the solicitation of methodological and substantive comments.

3.3 The Relationships Between Specific Studies

> "The analyst's path is unlikely to be a straight line from beginning to end"
> (Gill & Saunders 1997: 225)

The general inductive logic of conceptually grounding long term mobility to theory, with the purpose of allowing better insights into the relationships

[25] This same method of analysis was used with the e-mail correspondence used as the data for Hoffman (2004b).

implied by the research questions, indicated an incremental approach to the work comprising this dissertation. Specifically, the individual studies comprising the thesis differed in terms of substance and method because each topic was engaged as it was conceptually illuminated, not necessarily because a particular topic or relationship had been anticipated.

The different methods of the studies, for example, the multiple case study (Hoffman 2005b, 2006b), social science biography (Hoffman 2004b) and participant inquiry (Hoffman 2004a) reflect specific methods that were suitable for approaching particular concepts with regard to a particular group of participants in the first two cases and the relationship between higher education and society in the third.

Three specific examples which correspond to the three research questions guiding this study are briefly outlined below, to illustrate the rationale of the inductive approach used to this topic. The process is represented in Figure 2.

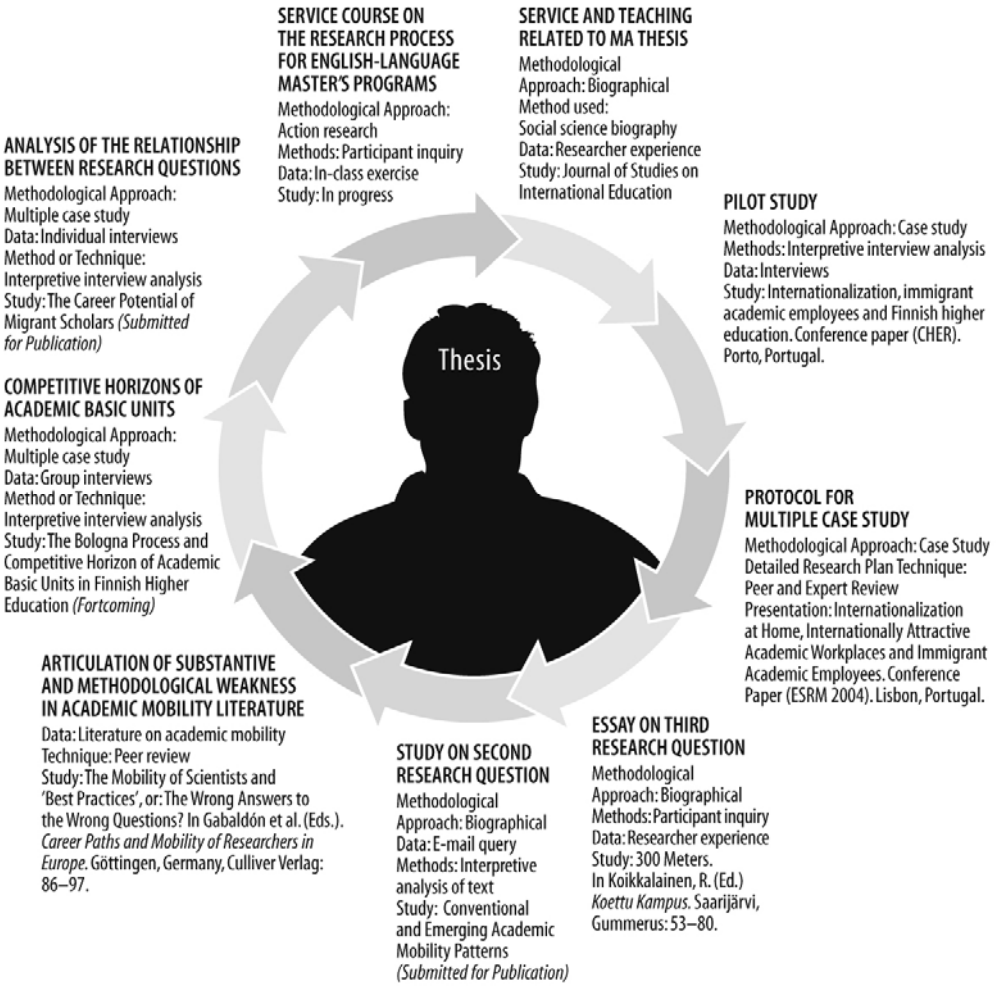

FIGURE 2 Research, Teaching, Service and Administration as a Process

3.3.1 Disciplinary cultures

I initially believed that Research Question two: *What is the nature of (long-term) mobility with regard to particular academic fields*, would have to be addressed after I finished the multiple case study. However, the fundamental importance disciplinary cultures would have on the final analysis emerged very early, during the feedback I obtained from the pilot study. During this feedback I discovered that while I had taken a wide variety of ascriptive statuses into account, as well as several career stages and mission areas, I had selected participants from disciplines which were too similar in terms of both the cognitive territory that was covered and possible ways in which science could be approached. Specifically, in Becher and Trowler's (2001) terms (As defined in Section 2.3.3), I had too many *soft-pure* and *soft-applied* academics in what I would later find out is a system increasingly geared toward what is perceived as a *hard-applied* world built on *hard-pure* theory (Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

Correcting for this in the purposeful selection criteria I developed in the multiple case study protocol immediately lit up two kinds of territory. The first is the *hard-applied* disciplinary contexts which are most frequently referred to in national and local discussions on early stage research mobility (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Raunio 2003; Karjalainen et al. 2006) in which it is very easy to find a high level of short, medium and long-term academic mobility. The second is the *soft-pure* territory (as defined in Section 2.3.3) in which it is even more difficult than I imagined locating any form of faculty and staff mobility involving migrant personnel in the universities chosen for the multiple case study (Hoffman 2005a, 2004a).

3.3.2 Forms of academic mobility

The most relevant forms of academic mobility in Finnish higher education came as a rather quick surprise that also emerged quite early in the study. This specific study emerged from the combination of attending a conference to get feedback on the multiple case study protocol (discussed above), preparing a guest lecture on academic mobility to be given in North America and doing a group assignment as part of the course work required to obtain a PhD in Social Sciences. The proximity of these activities quite vividly highlighted the context-specific ways in which most of the persons I was encountering conceived of academic mobility and the fact that – in an analytical sense – the meanings and implications of mobility forms fostered by higher education were fundamentally different in a way that very few persons appreciated.

3.3.3 The 'missing' migrants

I had originally considered the third research of my thesis: *What are the characteristics of academics engaged in long term academic mobility with respect to shifting demographic patterns of the European research area in general and the Finnish*

socio-cultural context in particular, as the most challenging to address. However, as the multiple case study went forward, the types of mobility that had already been identified, in the disciplinary areas in which this was possible, highlighted the most important 'gap' I found while working on this thesis. It was not a 'gap' in the literature, it was the difficulty I was having finding academic personnel from *particular types of migrant groups* – the types which were missing from survey data, policy discussion and labor market research, but who were present in society (Hoffman 2004a). These were potential participants who – following my original hunch – can be described in terms of ascriptive characteristics, specifically national origin, ethnicity and skin color.

When I was looking for academics of migrant origin entering the scope of this study vertically, that is, after gaining entrance to the university along with their age cohort after gaining admission to a Finnish university, I immediately realized this particular group of people was very small (Hoffman 2004a). And when considering the largest groups of recently arrived migrants in terms of ascriptive characteristics along with the fact that many ascriptive characteristics are not spoken about when discussing the problems, policy and politics of higher education personnel in the Finnish university system, I realized that this research question did not have a conventional 'answer'. All I could do – from this perspective – was point out a set of questions which no one had asked about groups of people not included in discussions on some of the most urgent dynamics and topics of this era (Hoffman 2006c).

4 BEYOND FOLK PSYCHOLOGY

> *"…much of the debate about the role of universities, in both policy and theoretical terms, lacks adequate reference to sound empirical knowledge of what is happening to universities and the people who pass through them."* (Brennan 2002: 74)

The empirical study of the circumstances of migrant academic personnel – with respect to the established theories of the middle range discussed in Section 2.3 – reveals dynamics which have not been widely discussed in the Finnish context, in other words, an unfolding or emerging research topic (Punch 2000, Archer 1995). In addition, established concepts and emerging dynamics provide the basis for *new concepts* and analytical frameworks (See Sections 4.1, 4.3, 4.4) which more precisely define relationships with respect to the research questions guiding this thesis. These relationships lay beyond the boundaries of folk psychology, or 'common sense' (Rosenberg 1995). This is because the experience of the majority of stakeholders in Finnish higher education does not include an attempt at long term mobility *within their own system – as a migrant.* Therefore, even though there is considerable interest in attracting migrant expertise into strategically important research-intensive occupational sectors, including higher education (Academy of Finland 2005a; Karjalainen et al. 2006; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Raunio 2004); stakeholders have limited options when trying to apprehend the context, conditions and consequences they are asking migrant academic personnel to accept[26] associated with migration to Finland.

Two starting points are combined in this analysis to avoid getting bogged down at an unnecessarily low level of abstraction – folk psychology – which produces an endless supply of anecdotes, while critically and systematically shedding light on none of them. This combination is the use of established concepts which have been used to successfully approach international

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[26] The main options would be to rely primarily on the reports and policy discussion discussed in Section 2.1 or the generalization – more accurately *projection* – by individual academics of their own academic mobility experiences (normally in very different cultures) to the Finnish context, that is 'common sense' or folk psychology. Since both of these are easier than conducting empirical research in which central cultural assumptions are directly challenged, it seems likely that this partially explains the limited nature of knowledge about migrant academic mobility in this context.

comparative higher education in several contexts with a methodological approach that assumes persons with direct experience of phenomena may hold strikingly different views than 'experts', and visa versa.

The empirical findings of these studies will be introduced as a set of analytical *distinctions* and *relationships* which represent elements of the findings in an order which makes the emerging nature of these phenomena, and the way in which they can be critically appraised, more apparent.

My original research questions (See Section 1.2) were initially formulated with the assumption that approaching *individuals* would result in interviews in which the participants' perceptions and experiences could be analyzed. This is why the first research question concerned the perception and experiences of migrant academics. It seemed like a logical starting place. What I did not anticipate – especially during the pilot stage – was the degree to which the opportunity to engage in the analysis of the second and third research questions would present themselves early in the study[27]. Specifically, the second and third research questions refer directly to *academic mobility dynamics in the context of Finnish universities* and *the relationship between Finnish higher education and society*.

Out of the three focal points from which relationships could be articulated: *individuals*; *higher education* and *society*; it was the strong indication that the structural dynamics of higher education within Finnish society were much 'closer to the surface' than I had imagined, which actually allowed the central studies addressing the three research questions to be engaged in reverse order of what I originally anticipated (Hoffman 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006b).

Therefore, in the analysis which follows, I will firstly present findings I would characterize as *structural* in nature. These findings include the *types of academic mobility* (Section 4.1), distinctions which become apparent when *disciplinary profiles* (Section 4.2) are accounted for and *emerging career path potentials for migrant academics* in Finnish higher education (Section 4.3).

Secondly I will attempt to convey the essence of *personal experience* in two key areas (Sections 4.4 and 4.5) which as outlined in Chapter 2 confound discussion on academic mobility, much more than clarify it. These are based on experiences and perceptions of individual migrant academics. These perceptions center on the participants' experience of working in a vital occupational sector, in a fast-changing society. However, as will become clear, this is a context in which an accurate conceptual framework that successfully conveys *who these participants are* does not exist. And this thoroughly obscures *what they have to say*.

The reason for presenting major points of the analysis in a different order than the research questions references the analytical significance and potential of these findings. When the relationship between these findings, future research and policy implications (See Section 6.3) is considered as a whole, the rock-

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27 My original assumption was that I would need methods and data which were quite discrete from the interview data itself to engage the relationship between the three research questions.

paper-scissors relationship between history, biography and their intersection in society indicates that the dynamics of structure are more approachable from policy and politics than either the history of the circumstances we are now living or the contingent circumstances of the individuals who will actually pass through or populate Finnish society in the coming decades.

4.1 Multidimensional Academic Mobility in One-Dimensional Worlds

> ***DH**: How many years of experience regarding academic mobility do you have?*
>
> ***Professor (North America):** Pretty much since 1958 when I first dropped out of school…*
>
> ***DH**: In how many countries or regions have you lived and worked?*
>
> ***Professor**: Very hard to answer with a number. Our work in the north of our country is largely regarded by other academics as being in a different country. Would you count the few days on occasions that we've been in your university? Terry and I have lived in 32 homes in 20 different places over the past 30 years or so if that helps with a figure.*
> (Hoffman 2004a)

While the majority of empirical data analyzed for this dissertation was directly or indirectly connected to my pilot case study or the multiple case study which followed (Chapters 4.2 – 4.5), the study outlined in this section is different.

This was the only study I did which was not limited to Finnish higher education in terms of participation. This was because discussions about academic mobility in presentations in Finland had been unnecessarily difficult; as stakeholders often limited their focus to conventional notions or traditional internationalization indicators as outlined in Section 2.2, rather than the actual variety which is present, albeit normally not perceived.

Although this study began in Finland, the participants were bound by membership in a loose network based on an *interdisciplinary, trans-national field of study*, rather than a *national boundary*. The shift between two boundaries familiar to most academics is justified when phenomena invisible in one field, become visible in another.

In this study, the question ***'What do you mean by academic mobility?'*** prompted me to consider the variety of ways in which academic mobility is conceived by migrant academic personnel[28]. In this study, I directly contacted

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[28] This study was first presented at the Intercultural Development Institute at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada in 2004 and at the Annual Conference of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (Hoffman 2004b). The analysis was subsequently developed for service presentations at the annual conference of Finnish international mobility administrators, The Academy of Finland in the Spring of 2004 and the Finnish National Student Union in 2005. After extensive feedback in multiple contexts, the final analysis of this study will be published in 2008 in the Journal of Studies on International Education. A Finnish-language summary of this typology can be found in Hoffman (2006c).

academics who were actually experiencing the types of academic mobility Finnish policy-makers are now hoping for (Karjalainen et al. 2006; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Raunio 2004).

The rationale for the study was based on the context-bound definitions of academic mobility normally used or implied by higher education stakeholders asking me to define it. Specifically, my observation was that these definitions were, depending on the context, based on a mix of assumptions linked to *geographical*, *cultural, stage of study, disciplinary/field of study*, *career-stage*, *generation, social class* or *occupational sector*s which were held by stakeholders expressing interest in academic mobility. I further observed that these assumptions often excluded many more interesting forms and combinations of academic mobility than they included. For example, when academic mobility is defined and operationalized strictly in terms of traditional internationalization (as defined in section 2.2.1), that is, exchanges or short term visits (Dervin & Rosa 2006; Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; National Unions of Students in Europe 2006), the importance of a few types of mobility are conflated and complexity is difficult to comprehend. This conflation corresponds to the myth of the oft-cited (and oft-debunked) romantic theme of the wandering scholar, which dates back to Europe's earliest universities (Scott 1998; Musselin 2004; Enders 2001). However, this conflation obscures links between academic mobility and migration (Avveduto 2005; Tremblay 2004; de Wit 2006). Current forms of academic mobility that assume a return, exist side by side with forms which do not (IOM 2003). And neither capture the complexity that characterizes the contingent, open-ended career of the professor quoted at the outset of this section.

While many assert 'more statistics' be of help, researchers that have attempted international comparative analysis are quick to point out that data, where it exists, is riddled with construct problems (Di Pietrogiacomo & Da Costa 2005; Scott 1998; Enders et al. 2001). The Professor quoted at the outset of this section, for example, had a career which spanned three continents over his working life. While his story cannot be characterized as typical, it is not difficult to find others like him. However these persons are often statistical outliers if viewed in conventional terms. The types of mobility salient to the quoted professor are not reflected in Finland's KOTA database, nor envisioned in Finnish Ministry of Education's internationalization policy (2001). In the recent expert seminar described in Footnote 2 (Karjalainen et al. 2006), this perspective was not voiced and it will not be found in many recent attempts to analyse academic mobility in the Finnish context (Hoffman 2005a).

Therefore, in order to advance a non-conflationary typology which can be used to approach to academic mobility dynamics, an inductive empirical approach to this topic was selected for this e-mail based study. This study was designed to produce analytical generalizations, which could in turn provide valid, theoretically grounded research questions, as an alternative to generating statistics which do not mean anything (Hoffman 2005a). In other words, in order to design explanatory-level research on academic mobility dynamics,

which answers the question, *why*, one first needs to identify *what* (we are really taking about). This cannot be done by beginning with starting points connected to definitions that have not produced startling insight into this topic in the past few decades (Teichler 1996; Teichler et al. 2005; Scott 2005).

The basic idea of this study was to reconcile the perspectives and experiences of academics experiencing long term mobility with respect to the current literature on the topic, outlined in Section 2.1.

The selection of the participants was based on their *present or past involvement in seven interconnected intercultural communication programs and networks,* which all utilized *higher education* to address at least one aspect of the university missions of teaching, research and service, including professionals from closely related, research-intensive professional fields (Nowotny et al. 2001). These were either adjunct instructors or professional practitioners enrolled in MA or PhD programs.

In addition, participants had to be *living in a society or culture other than the one they were born in*, or otherwise experiencing or having experienced an exceptional type of mobility connected to higher education.

Regarding **participant** details, ten are academics moving **within and between** the three central higher education missions: research, instruction, and service and/or the administration of those missions. Three would be more accurately described as moving **back and forth** between higher education and professional practice; two moving **from higher education to professional positions**; two moving **from professional positions back into higher education** and three as **professional practitioners**. Of these persons, nine could eventually **go either way**, i.e. their eventual career trajectory is unclear at this time.

This study was based on an e-mail query. The question: *What will Academic Mobility Mean in the 21st Century?* – was the 'subject line' of an e-mail I sent to 29 colleagues around the world in order to pose the following open-ended query:

> **"When considering your life and career experience, the places and settings you've worked in – and the times in which we live – what has academic mobility meant to you in the past?**
> **What does it mean now? What do you think it will hold for the future?"**
> (Hoffman 2004b)

I used a qualitative data analysis software program (ATLAS.ti, 4.1) on 77 e-mail messages I received from 27 of 29 participants. They were from eight different countries, presently living in seven and ranged in age from 22 to 65. Their average age was 42.

Based on the analysis of e-mail correspondence with thirteen men and seven women who supplied detailed responses to the e-mail query, I elaborated ***six analytically distinct forms of academic mobility*** which I believe will be interesting topics of research and policy discussion in the coming decades in the Finnish context, as well as other countries. The distinctions articulated below allow for the relationship between academic mobility and migration phenomena to be considered with more precision than is the case at present.

The relationships between these six types of mobility will present several challenges to researchers and other higher education stakeholders. This is because these types of mobility often occur in combinations, are extremely contingent and – as Teichler pointed out – have no defined 'end point'. To paraphrase him: *'You either don't know when mobility ends – or it never does'* (Hoffman 2003a; Teichler 2005 et al.).

The type of ***assumptions*** this study addressed, that is, that mobility issues mainly involve *students, early stage researchers or short visits* is no doubt exacerbated by the fact that faculty and staff – even those who are experiencing long-term mobility – frequently do the same. When I contacted this professor, she initially indicated a reluctance to participate:

> *I don't think I'm a very good subject. Academic mobility for me is not really an issue. In a teaching or research capacity I don't travel and am firmly anchored in Europe. My only (limited) international mobility is as an administrator for summer programs or student exchange programs. This takes up a maximum of 2 weeks a year at the moment and involves visiting partners in institutions in North America and other parts of Europe … I am more involved in getting people to come here than thinking of my own mobility. Sorry not to be able to give you anything more concrete.*

After probing her initial answer, a qualitatively different kind of mobility story emerged:

> ***>Just a quick follow-up question - what year did you move to Europe?***
>
> *I came to Europe in 1985, the year I graduated because I didn't know what I wanted to do. I had done a degree in the language spoken here and wasn't happy with my level of spoken language. The plan was to stay for a year and then get a real job back home. I got a job as a teacher, fell in love with the place and teaching (later Stacey) and have never been back.*

Although the professor 'has always been at the same university', it can be assumed that the trajectory that brought them through the ranks in their university – from an instructor to Department Head; and which also comprised 20 years of experience living in another culture has provided her with information relevant to several 'expert' discussions referred to in this study (See Footnote 2). It can also be inferred that she may not have been approached regarding those discussions, as she herself does not regard the fact that spending an entire career in another country constitutes academic mobility.

4.1.1 Conventional academic mobility: National career patterns, ICT-based mobility, short-term exchange and sojourns

National Career Patterns are rooted in history, geography, language, culture and the national hierarchy of disciplinary cultures, among other things. National career patterns indicate important clues as *to the nature of the relationship between the university – and the particular socio-cultural context in which it is embedded* (Musselin 2004; Bourdieu 1988).

In the Finnish case, knowledge that up to 76% of academic staff are working in the university in which they obtained their most recent degree

(Välimaa 2004), is the *de facto* backdrop of any discussion on academic mobility. Whether persons discussing academic mobility are aware of this, is a different issue. This pattern is defined as *local circulation* by Vabø and elaborated by Välimaa. This concept describes the limited geographic territory in which Nordic academic personnel live out the majority of their careers (Vabø in Blieklie 2000; Välimaa 2001b). In this region, it is not unusual for an academic to take their equivalent of Bachelors, Masters, PhD, while at some point becoming employed at the same university. This pattern is highly unusual in some regions of the world, business as usual in several others (Krebs 2006; Gabaldón et al. 2004; Ackers et al. 2005). It would be incorrect to label this pattern 'good' or 'bad', as pejorative discussions of *academic inbreeding* – a term used by some stakeholders – imply, for two reasons. The main reason is that local circulation is an accurate empirically-based descriptive concept. The second reason is that the value attached to this type of employment pattern falls outside the scope of this research, i.e. it is a policy discussion.

What could be 'bad' in an analytical sense is considering research or policy regarding academic mobility dynamics, without taking account of the established career patterns of the majority of academics in that higher education system. This conflates the status of other forms of mobility, like traditional short-term exchanges and excursions, making those types of mobility appear more significant than they might actually be. It also masks other types of mobility (Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005[29]), which may be more important than is currently perceived. An example of the types of mobility often missed in the literature on this topic is offered by this Nordic university administrator, who has never left her own country, except for short sojourns. Those short excursions are clearly *not* the most significant type of mobility she conveys.

> ***How many years of experience regarding academic mobility do you have?***
>
> *Well, considering the whole, I'd say some 27.*
>
> ***In how many countries or regions have you lived and worked?***
>
> *Only in Europe, but I've worked abroad for shorter periods, mainly for 2-3 weeks. For me, 'academic mobility' is closely connected to the very basic ideas of scientific research: "universality" (searching/targeting the truth from various points of view), "communism" (the results are for all and no-one finally "owns" them), value-free and position-free interest, or "flow", for (and in) research. In other words, whether or not I find my job in any academic post convenient with/in these matters, I'm ready to change the position, university, scientific field, country and salary. Second, academic mobility is a constant interest in phenomena that emerge from the "academic field". These feelings are present right now, too. An academician/researcher feels at home in any academic environment.*

[29] In a recent study of seven Finnish universities regarding the Bologna Process three different basic units on one campus reported that over 80% of their MA students were becoming employed *during* their studies; mainly by several high-tech transnational corporations which had set up research facilities in close proximity to their campus. As this type of pattern did not fit into what traditional internationalization indicators, *it was not perceived*. In other words, the activity so closely mirrored the rationale *underlying* the Bologna Process, i.e. an internationally mobile workforce, that achievement of the objective was not *seen*.

Teichler recently pointed out that a second form of mobility used in higher education, that could not be ignored, was the ***mobility connected to information and communication technology*** (ICT). The impact of academic mobility connected to ICT was not elaborated, except by his self-evident assertion that this type of trans-national communication was so pervasive that it could not be regarded as exceptional in many fields. This is not the same as saying it is not important. Rather, Teichler's argument was that the mobility of scholars could be conceptualized as existing on a continuum, with the most common types – such as ICT-based mobility – involving the most people on one end, permanent migration at the other (Teichler 2005). The possibilities offered by ICT, combined with the geographical mobility inherent in some systems were referenced by a university administrator in North America who had experienced and articulated several forms of mobility between and within two continents. This short excerpt on ICT is only one type he articulated in an e-mail that was several pages long.

> *I have contemplated changing jobs often, or more accurately changing locations. I recently turned down a great job offer at another university. But with the same breath, I accepted an arrangement with my own organization which allows me to work from home remotely, from a different region of the country. Now that, if anything, is the academic mobility of the future.*

The third type of conventional mobility is ***short-term exchange or sojourns.*** Most academics I have come in contact with – including the participants in the studies I have facilitated – define academic mobility exclusively in these terms (Dervin & Rosa 2006; Blumenthal 1996 et al.). The main feature of short-term exchanges and sojourns is a mobility period strictly defined within the scope of a specific program, like the Erasmus student exchange, or project funds dedicated to a specific academic effort, for example, a meeting of researchers to plan a study.

Significant resources regarding research and policy discussion on academic mobility, as well as personnel tasked to facilitate short-term academic mobility are related to short term exchanges and sojourns (Kelo; Teichler & Wächter 2006; Blumenthal et al. 1996; Ollikainen 1999). Out of the six important types of academic mobility for personnel identified in this study; *exchange and short sojourns are the only type that corresponded to performance indicators linked to academic mobility used in the Finnish context* (KOTA database).

Short-term exchange and sojourns were extensively referenced by the participants of this study. However, while the majority of students and academic personnel participating in short-term academic mobility return home, these visits merely marked a beginning point for the participants in this study; as is evident from the account offered by this researcher:

> *Personally I never was very interested in academic mobility; I never wanted to study abroad as a student. It was kind of something that I felt I should be doing in order to be competitive in the labor market, but I suppose I was afraid of going, afraid I would not "manage". When I actually did spend five months abroad, I didn't really want to come back at all, for many reasons … a strong reason was that I truly enjoyed being there, and felt like I belonged. So "mobility" was something that started based on an idea that it is something that one is*

> *supposed to do, but ended up as something very personal, which I enjoyed just for the sake of it … I have already planned my next trip as well, hopefully going for another six months to a different institute … when I was thinking about coming home I was kind of scared; I could not breathe here somehow … I don't personally feel international at home.*

In the Finnish context, a more recent type of discussion involves medium and long-term academic mobility concerning MA level students and *early stage research mobility* which primarily originates in exchange arrangements. This variety of mobility is less time-limited than exchange programs, as an explicit goal is attracting academics, particularly early stage researchers to vacant posts in Finnish higher education or open spots on the Finnish labor market (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Garam 2003; Ally 2002). Although this discussion might appear new in the Finnish context, this is not the same as saying the phenomena of long-term academic mobility is new. When the perspective of migrant academics personnel is examined, three additional types of *emerging* academic mobility appear.

4.1.2 Emerging academic mobility: Lateral mobility, vertical mobility and generational mobility

Lateral mobility describes the majority of the academics who participated in the studies I facilitated (Hoffman 2003a, 2004b, 2005b). Specifically, the participants left positions in established academic trajectories in the country or region of their origin for academic positions they were qualified to compete for in Finland. While international lateral mobility is possible for academics on the cutting edge of their disciplines as this European professor; who did his MA, PhD and Post-Doc in three different countries on two continents, relates, it is not without drawbacks. Migrant academics are normally fairly articulate about the positive features of mobility, as well as the drawbacks.

> *I had a hard time adapting to culturally specific ways of presenting an argument, making research relevant, collecting and interpreting data and documenting it in a culturally adequate manner. This gives me a certain patience in working in international teams where my colleagues use culturally specific ways of defining and working on problems. On the surface, this mobility did not have too many negative effects; but evaluators of my applications were puzzled when reading my CV and got the impression that I lost my roots. The better reason is that I knew exactly what I wanted to get from the universities and that I picked some of it here, other things somewhere else. But people in universities do not necessarily appreciate too much international mobility (contrary to the business world). One of the important results of the mobility is that the day I became a professor, I hired academic staff from outside my country and built international teams at my workplace. And in the future, I will continue to hire international researchers and to "promote" them when they apply for a job, because I think that we gain a lot from working in international teams.*

Vertical mobility on the other hand, refers to migrants and academics of migrant origin, entering higher education with their age cohort after having fulfilled upper secondary education requirements and passed the entrance requirements to a specific university (Hoffman 2004a). These academics begin their careers as students – from within the system. In other words, these participants enter higher education employment – *from below* – as opposed to

the lateral entrance across international borders made by the majority of academics in the scope of the studies comprising this dissertation.

> *One of my earliest childhood recollections is of sitting on my Grandfather's knee as he pulled a silver coin from behind my ear. It was four months after my fourth birthday, and my parents, sister and I were about to board a ship to North America from Europe. I don't remember much more than my Grandfather's hands, a foggy recollection of the grey hair in his ears and my mother's voice saying it was time to say goodbye. I was too young to realize that we were heading off across an ocean, far from the familiar. Instead, the excitement of the voyage rocked me; that excitement has not yet subsided.*

While romantic, this **international mobility coordinator** represents the one out of 35 persons on the planet who is an international migrant. If this population was all in the same place they would constitute the world's 5th largest country by population (IOM 2003).

Research question number three[30], which deals with the distinction between *lateral* and *vertical* academic mobility, is the best empirical and conceptual link between this research design and analysis – and policy discussion (See Section 6.3). This is because *this question will produce a specific result which will vary depending on the national context in which it is posed.*

It is precisely the contrast between lateral and vertical mobility which directly highlights the fact that individuals from some larger groups of recently arrived migrants in Finland; for example Somalia, the countries of the former Yugoslavia or individuals identifying themselves as ethnic Kurds, are either very difficult to locate or not present at many levels of higher education employment (Hoffman 2004a, 2005a, 2005b). This absence could be assumed, at the level of folk psychology, to have something to do with the fact that the majority of migrants who fall within the scope of this type of study are highly skilled migrants who *voluntarily* entered the countries in which they now work, unlike individuals in many groups whose migration is often *involuntary*. This is not the same starting point as asking whether or not qualified individuals from recently arrived migrant groups, who are seeking employment in higher education, exist, or whether their children will be found in the faculty ranks of the future. Over time, this introduces a third type of mobility connected to higher education.

It is hard not to speculate about the ***generational mobility*** of new cohorts of higher education graduates, to whom the *multidimensional academic mobility* found in this study may be as normal as it is incomprehensible to their grandparents. The distinction between vertical mobility and generational mobility is based on the relationship between higher education and society. While vertical academic mobility specifically refers to career patterns of migrant academic personnel, generational mobility refers to the social mobility of individuals from migrant groups in Finnish society via higher education. Another way of drawing this distinction would be to point out that while all

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30 What are the characteristics of academics engaged in long term academic mobility with respect to shifting demographic patterns of the European research area in general and the Finnish socio-cultural context in particular?

vertical mobility (within higher education employment) is generational mobility, the reverse is not true. The context of implication (Nowotny et al. 2000) for generational mobility is *society* and this type of social mobility applies to *all* groups which can be described in terms of *all* ascriptive characteristics in any given society.

From the first pilot, the clearest distinguishing feature between persons falling within the scope of my research and local academics (*lateral mobility* versus *local circulation*) was that the former have not and will not hesitate to relocate continents, giving countries even less thought. The contingent nature of multidimensional mobility means many other factors are weighed by these participants, but the bottom line is that switching countries and cultures falls within a normal range of options for these participants. For most people in the world it does not (IOM 2003). Based on the communication I facilitated with the participants in these studies, trans-national career patterns are not a big stretch of the imagination to the multi-lingual, bi-cultural children of these academics. Several participants raised this subject. The same may be true of their Finnish peers, whose parents' limited mobility options may be fading fast in the era of the Bologna Process. The point of underlining the relationship between local circulation, lateral, vertical and generational mobility refers to the socioeconomic and demographic trends which underpin the relevance of the research questions guiding this study. Specifically, *attracting* an academic with a migrant background may have very little to do with *retaining* that individual – or their family – in the country or region as we enter the 21st century.

When considering research and policy analysis on the relationship between the academic mobility dynamics of the 21st century and strategic higher education policy, this study indicates a complexity not unlike attempting an open water voyage in a small water craft.

If the movement patterns, made up of individual academic personnel, are likened to the movement of water and policy objectives are likened to the point of departure, direction and destination of a trip; there are several patterns which need to be accounted for when contemplating each set of relationships.

Regarding the voyage and the movement of water, the most important and obvious are prevailing currents, the tide and movement induced by the weather and land structures. It is the ability to calculate and respond to the relationship between major movement patterns which separates those who dwell on land and those who successfully venture out on the open water. None of the patterns, nor their relationships to each other can be ignored.

In 21st century higher education, understanding the relationship between patterns of academic mobility and policy objectives can be likened to understanding the forces which will affect the open water voyage in the following way. Understanding how many academic personnel are involved in different types of major mobility patterns, the fundamental distinctions that separate one pattern from others; key differences in these relationships between regions – as well as within them – will determine concrete outcomes. These include the groups of individuals who can be counted amongst faculty ranks, and groups who will not. This in turn may affect – among other things – both student access and the ability of understanding current societal change. Interesting research questions and policy topics will include the variation of mobility patterns when examined in terms of university mission; discipline, field of study or specialty; career stage and specific settings (Hoffman 2006a).

Defining relevant forms of academic mobility is challenging. Emerging forms of academic mobility seem more interesting than conventional forms. This is because the open-ended contingent complexity that seems to characterise multidimensional academic mobility has existed here for over two decades (Hoffman 2003a, 2005b), yet we know virtually nothing about it, compared to the types of mobility we use as performance indicators and track in our statistics.

As to seriously considering its potential impact on the educational equality which has up till now characterized our education system – in general – (Välijärvi 2006) we know even less.

4.2 Tribe Meets Tribe: Long Term Mobility in Scientific Disciplines and Fields of Study

> *"... I think the bottom* line *is that why on earth would foreigners come to Finland to take a doctorate in the humanities/social sciences when there're no posts after that?*
> *I wonder if there's any statistical* information *on foreign doctoral students and their later career, (such as how many years they spent for a doctorate, where they work after a doctorate, etc; at least in Canada and the USA, universities often show (or even advertise) such data in public because the quality of a doctoral programme is measured in part by that, but Finnish universities don't, maybe because there's virtually no mobility or competition between universities."* **Post-Doc Applicant**

The e-mail that contained this excerpt was sent by a colleague sending me a post-doc application for review. She had obtained her PhD in Finland, but discovered during her subsequent job search that none of the departments in her specialty – in Finland – had any non-Finnish staff beyond the rank of PhD student. The application I was reviewing was for a university in a different country[31].

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31 A Finnish-language summary of these findings can be found in Hoffman (Hoffman 2006c). The specific findings regarding disciplinary cultures were first published in Hoffman (2005a).

As the text indicates, discipline-based concerns arise when considering academic mobility potential. However, dynamics within fields of study and disciplines can be both *expected and desired*; while at the same time *unanticipated and subtle*. By expected and desired, I am referring to obvious features that are often focused on in reports and policy discussions. These include: *how many* people from *which countries* study or work in *any given discipline or field of study* in the higher education system. However, these indicate a second set of questions which may be as interesting in terms of unanticipated and subtle structural features. *Which groups or types of persons are missing*? *From which disciplinary fields, departments, institutes and units?*

The most important aspects of the disciplinary influence I found on the studies I facilitated occurred in two distinct phases. The first occurred relatively early in the research process, as I analysed pilot data and emerged with a promising design, but a less-than-complete picture of what I had hoped to find. As I read the relevant literature and incorporated concepts using disciplinary culture as a point of reference in designing a purposeful selection for the multiple case study, the nature of long-term mobility patterns within disciplinary communities emerged clearly (Hoffman 2004b, 2004c, 2005a; Becher & Trowler 2001; Ylijoki 2000, 2003).

Essentially, during the purposeful selection of potential participants within the five universities selected for the multiple case study, it became quickly evident where it was easy to locate migrant academics and where it was difficult.

The first unanticipated pattern that emerged from my data resulted when I juxtaposed the disciplinary and specialty profile into the purposeful selection of interview participants in the multiple case study (Hoffman 2005b, 2006b). I did this using the distinctions between *hard-soft* and *pure-applied* dimensions described in section 2.3.3 (Becher & Trowler 2001). While it had been no problem locating participants in *hard-applied* and *soft-applied* areas, I had to spend considerably more time locating participants in the *hard-pure* and *soft-pure* areas. It was then, in conjunction with a study on the perception of Bologna Process reforms in basic units in seven Finnish universities (Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006; Hoffman; Välimaa & Huusko 2005) that I observed a distinction that was most pronounced between two clusters of disciplines and associated contexts.

The first were very *highly profiled research-institutes* and their related disciplines, for example, biotechnology and information technology (*hard-applied* areas); and *inherently international areas* with lesser profiles that were nevertheless very important in the Finnish context, for example, the *soft-applied* areas of language instruction, business and the performing arts. In these two clusters of areas it was extremely easy to locate participants *at all career stages*. In the analysis of the interviews facilitated in the multiple case study, I identify one group of academics I located in these areas as *'the usual suspects'* (Refer to Figure 6) because it was so easy to find them as they were defined by *viable career paths* in *recognizable trajectories* (Hoffman 2006b; See Section 4.3).

In sharp distinction to these areas were participants who considered themselves as theoretically-pure, in the hard or soft sciences. The individuals I eventually located who would place themselves into a *hard-pure* category, were nevertheless working in applied units who relied on their theoretical expertise to craft the most workable solutions to *application-based* problems, for example, applied physics.

Most of the academics I considered for participation from the soft sciences were focused 'outward', that is, on activity which took place primarily outside Finland's borders. Very few were 'looking inward' at the Finish context. The 'rockiest soil' in my search was for migrant academics in *soft-pure* territory, for example, sociology or philosophy. And it was in speaking with those persons that one of the first structural features of the system occurred to me: Universities, faculties, departments, institutes and basic units focused on 'doing' seemed to be much more likely to have migrant faculty and staff than units whose personnel have the potential to tackle questions associated with: *'Why we are doing what we're doing?'*

Pointing this out is no indication that a migrant academic has any kind of advantage with those kinds of questions. It is an observation that these types of units appear to be culturally homogenous in the universities selected for the multiple case study.

- **Soft-Applied**
  - Business and Economics <5>
  - Languages <4>
  - Preforming Arts <>6<>
  - Law <1>
  - Education >1< + <1>
  - Communication <2> + <>1<>
  - Geography <1>
  - Social Sciences >1< + <>1<>
  - Psychology 1
- **Soft-Pure**
  - Socilogy >1< + <1>
  - History <1>

- **Hard applied**
  - Physics(2)
  - Engineering (2)
  - Math(1)
  - ICT (3)
  - Environmental Technology (1)
  - Biotechnology (1)
  - Pharmacology (1)
- **Hard-Pure**
  - Mathematics (1)

NOTE: Of the five administrators interviewed, three held their post based on disciplinary expertise and could be integrated into this figure. The remaining two, held their post because of expertise outside this framework. Arrows '<>' indicate whether a participant's subject matter or research focuses <outward>, that is 'outside' of Finland, >inward< to the Finnish domestic context, or <>both<>.

FIGURE 3 Multiple Case Study Interview Participants by Disciplinary Field of Study

Disciplinary culture was only one of four broader categories that guided the purposeful selection, the others being *university missions* (Välimaa 2001b); *organizational trajectory and career stage* (Baldwin & Blackburn 1981; Bourdieu 1988; Aittola 2001; Hoffman 2003a), and *ascriptive characteristics* (Beck 1992).

However, the disciplinary profile of mobility in various areas provided a basic answer as to one of the initial curiosities I had held about Finnish norms and conventions about considering structural relationships in terms of ascriptive characteristics other than age and gender (Hoffman 2003c). Because the disciplines and fields of study which tackle those types of relationships appeared to be culturally homogenous, in the universities I was focusing on, I realized that expecting inquiry focusing on ascriptive statuses other than age or gender might not be that obvious if variation in unit personnel was limited to those statuses.

This initial insight was confirmed and clarified in the cross-case interview analysis of the multiple case study in which interviews were facilitated with 42 migrant academics from 27 different countries in five Finnish universities.

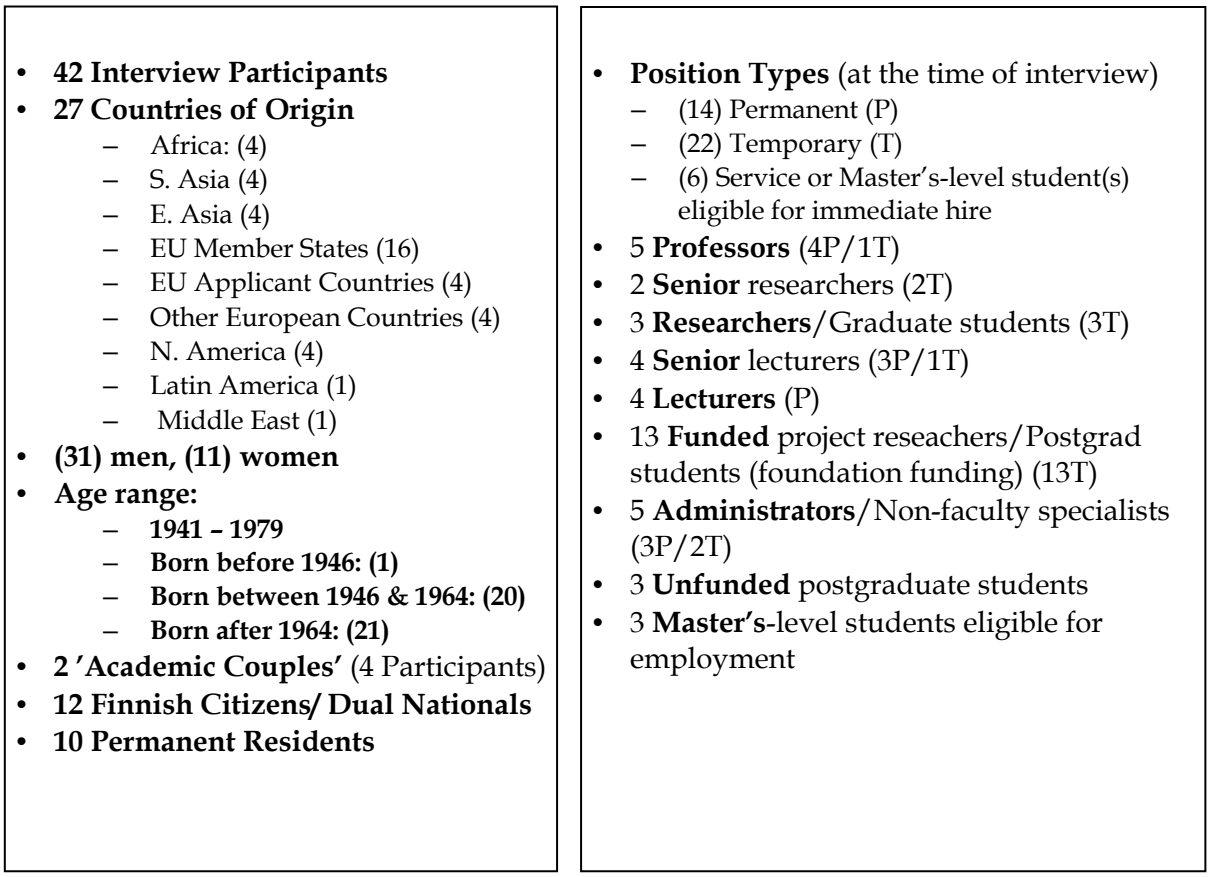

FIGURE 4 Multiple Case Study Interview Participants Descriptive Details

Despite the variation (See Figure 4.) which resulted from the participants' purposeful selection – based on the conceptual coordinates discussed in Chapter 2.3 – I realized that the participants could be basically placed into four

groups, described by two dimensions. Nearly all participants (except two administrators) were in contexts which were ultimately based on discipline or subject-field. In these fields, long-term career potential for migrant academics can be operationalized as either viable or exceptional. This is a *de facto* distinction which can be gauged by the *presence* or *absence* of senior faculty or staff of migrant origin.

At the same time, the career stage position occupied by each person could be operationalized in terms of a *recognizable* or *exceptional* career trajectory. These two possibilities can be determined in relation to general career patterns of academic staff in Finland (Välimaa 2001b; Aittola 2001; Ylijoki 2003). These two dimensions result in four general outcomes (See Figure 5).

Career Potential and Trajectory		**Trajectory in Finnish University System**	
		Recognizable	**Marginal**
Discipline-Based Career Potential for Migrant Scholars	**Viable**	A) The interview participant is in a recognizable trajectory, where long-term mobility appears viable.	B) The interview participant is in a marginal trajectory, where long-term mobility appears viable
	Exceptional	C) The interview participant is in a recognizable trajectory, where long-term mobility appears exceptional	D) The interview participant's trajectory appears marginal, where long-term mobility is exceptional

FIGURE 5 Discipline-Based Career Potential for Migrant Scholars and Trajectory in Finnish Higher Education

From the point of view of the researcher, the most useful application of this type of analytical framing, ultimately lay in the possibility of better research questions and explanatory research designs that are more robust than is the norm in research on academic mobility within the Finnish context (See Chapter 2). In discussions with policy-makers, the utility of using known theoretical constructs on empirical data considerably broadens the horizon for comparison, simultaneously providing the precision needed to address new situations.

4.3 The Career Potential of Migrant Scholars: An Emerging Picture

> *"When something other than skills and potential are hindering a person from being recruited or promoted the term 'glass ceiling' is often used. It is an obstacle one can see through, but cannot break through. Unfortunately, many foreigners face this problem in Finland … In small- and medium-sized companies, the glass ceiling is made of bulletproof material … in the academic sector, the glass ceiling has trapdoors that can be only be detected by Finns that are familiar with the system."* (Raunio 2004 original emphasis)

While many speculate about aspects of the *international attractiveness* of the Finnish university system (Karjalainen et al. 2006; Välimaa 2004; Raunio 2004), the analytical framing of the interviews facilitated in the multiple case study of five Finnish universities, opens up empirical channels for this curiosity[32].

The purpose of the multiple case study was to explore dynamics normally absent in discussions about academic mobility in the Finnish context.

For example, while the 'trapdoors' referred to above by Raunio in the Finnish academic system may be 'invisible', the resulting effects are clear for this university teacher, who estimated her chances in her field of study – *and left the country* – during the time-frame of the study.

> ***DH**: Who has the best chance and who has the worst?*
>
> ***UNIVERSITY TEACHER**: Russian, Estonian – ah – NEIGHBORS you know, neighbors and relatives and then – as you say those English speakers [Laughing] – at least they can find a lectureship in the Language Department. And then computer guys, they are like international citizens and nuclear science. Those people, they're chemical – those parts. But – ah – in the next 50 years, maybe nobody in the faculty of humanities – ah – not so many in social science. Those parts – it's mainly for local laborers [Laughing]*

This study (Hoffman 2005b, 2006b) focused on the perceptions and experiences discussed in a cross-case analysis of thematic interviews with 42 academics from 27 different countries. The participants included 31 men and 11 women from all university mission areas and career stages. 14 participants had permanent positions, 22 temporary posts and six were Master's-level students transitioning from their degree to their first position or accomplishing the service mission with postgraduate research. The participants were born between 1941 and 1979; 20 in the baby-boom generation, 22 outside it.

At the time of the interviews, seven of the participants had been in Finland less than five years, nine between five and ten years, 10 between 10 and 15 years; 10 between 15 and 20 years and six participants had been in Finland over 20 years.

The first ten interviews were carried out the pilot study done for this dissertation in 2001 (2003a/b), with the remaining interviews carried out in 2004 following the analysis of the pilot study and preparation of the multiple case study protocol. Because of scheduling difficulties with one participant an

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32 A Finnish-language summary of the main finding of this study can be found in Hoffman (2006c)

interviews scheduled in 2004 had to be carried out in early 2005. The majority of the thematic interviews took between one and two hours to complete. Exceptions to this include one interview that was less than one hour; four between 2 and three hours and two were over four hours. Two of the interviews had to be carried out during two separate sessions because of scheduling difficulties. In addition to the themes addressed by the interview, biographical data was collected along with information related to the participant's academic career[33].

The five universities in which the case studies were done were selected based on the main features useful in describing Finnish universities. For example, a large university in a metropolitan area was selected; as was a smaller regional university; a school of business and economics; a technical university and a small performing arts academy. The fact that Swedish-speaking universities, departments and institutes are an important part of the system was also important in the purposeful selection of the case universities.

The interviews were facilitated on or near the participant's campus and each signed a letter of consent indicating the interview purpose, uses of the data and that their anonymity would be protected. Verbatim transcription was used in analysis, however, the quotations have been edited for clarity. Any part of a quotation which would reveal the identity of a participant or raise privacy concerns has been modified (Poland 2002). Draft manuscripts were sent to participants for critique and to address privacy concerns. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software, ATLAS.ti, 4.1, was used during analysis.

At the time of the study, indicators referencing migrant origin were not reflected in publicly available statistics on the 29,417 personnel in the Finnish university system (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; KOTA Database). As in the other studies done as a part of this dissertation, since statistical generalization about this population was not possible, a qualitative research strategy was selected to establish analytical generalizations that would provide the basis for policy analysis and further empirical investigation. The case study was chosen, as it allows multiple types of data, focused on a single research problem with respect to established theory (Yin 1994).

In the cross-case analysis of these interviews, I elaborated the pattern which I had first noticed emerging from the purposeful selection with regard to the relationship between discipline-based career potential and trajectory (See Figure 5.). This was done by introducing a third dimension, *university mission*, which had been a major criterion guiding purposeful selection of interview

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33 If statistical data becomes available in the future (See Chapter 6), an important variable for focus would be social class (See Sabour & Habti 2007). However, the wide variation of countries represented by the 42 interview participants in this cross-case analysis suggests ascriptive characteristics, especially national origin, skin color and ethnicity are more fundamental in the Finnish context. Socio economic background in combination with these, however is indicated in future studies.

participants from the pilot stage of these studies (See Section 2.3.2[34]). In the resulting three-dimensional analytical construct, participants were placed in relation to the links they had to the missions of research, teaching, service or the administration of these. This dimension was operationalized in terms of *the number of direct links* an academic had to research, instruction, service and administration. For example, I assigned a graduate student employed to work on their PhD degree, with no administrative or teaching duties and who does not engage in any form of service *one link*. A professor engaged in their own research agenda, an established teaching load, serving as a department head and who consults regarding their research was assigned *four links* to the missions and administration of their university.

The result of considering mission areas and administration was that four distinct *Levels* appeared. I began by placing the participants with the most links in the upper Level, while participants with a single link were placed in the lower Level. Participants with three and two links were placed in between (Refer to Figure 6.)

[34] By mission, I refer to the principal activities of *research*, *teaching* and *service*. Administration *per se* is not understood to be a central mission of the university, rather an analytically distinct activity ancillary to the three central missions of the university. 'Mission' is this sense is not to be confused with management jargon. Rather I am using it in a broad sense, indicating *the central essence of what academic personnel in a university do*, within the empirically-based relationships which have been established in the domain of higher education. In this sense, the term is the conceptual equivalent of the Finnish word *tehtävä* (task). However, the semantic field of the English word 'task' is not as precise as mission, therefore mission is used for the purposes of this analysis.

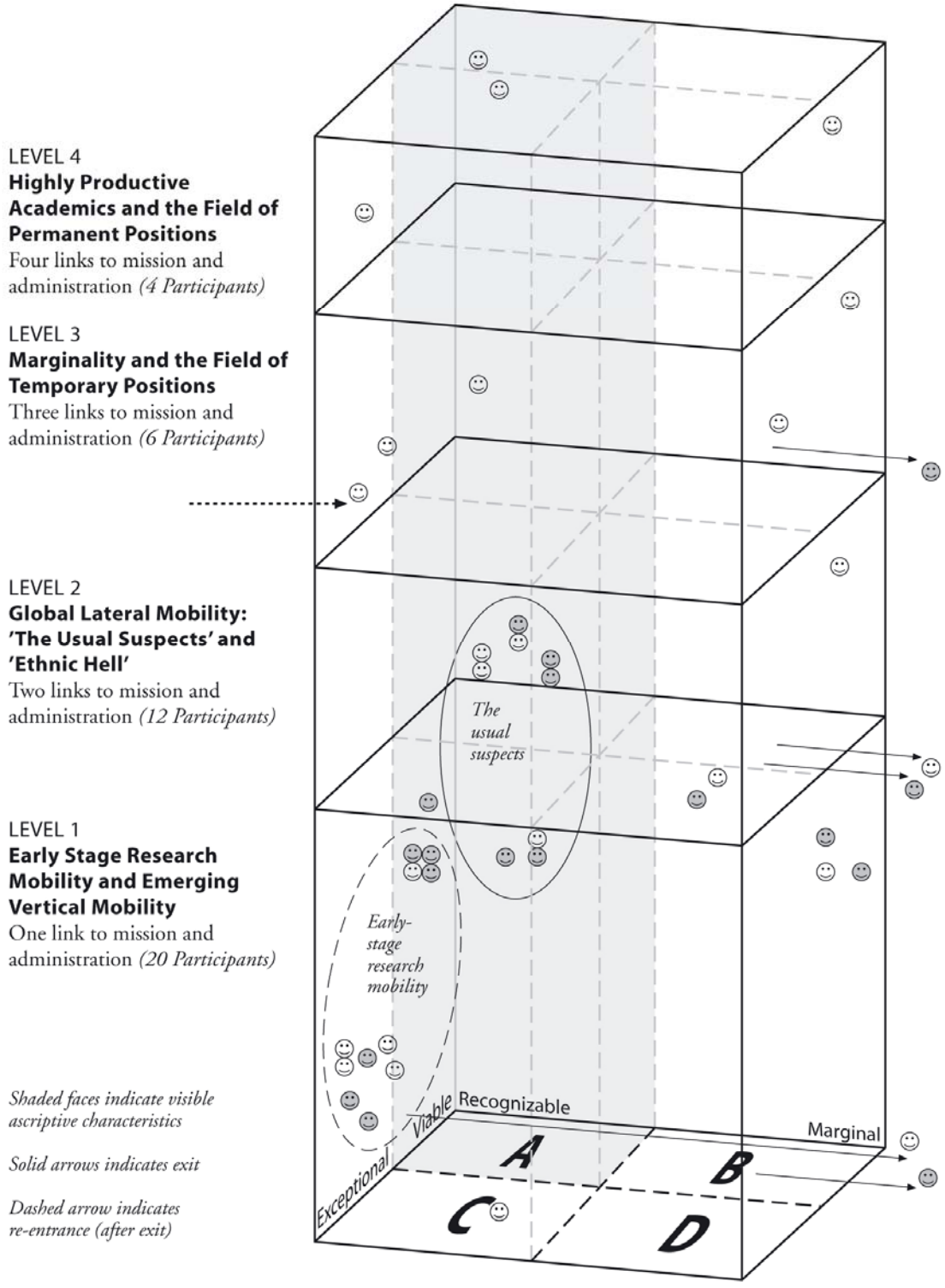

FIGURE 6 Interview Participants and Their Number of Links to Research, Instruction, Service and Administration

While diagrams of this nature are abstract, my knowledge of these ts in which they were working, was by now extensive. Sub-groups withparticipants, and the contexin and between the *Levels* – which indicate links to mission; and

Quadrants – which indicate discipline-based career potential – were immediately apparent. In addition, the 'glass ceilings' Raunio refers to (above) appear, as do possible patterns of entrance, placement and exit above and below those 'glass ceilings'. These features became more apparent after explicitly indicating the one property of an individual or group that had guided my purposeful selection from the initial stages of the research; *ascriptive characteristics* as defined in Section 2.2.1. Out of the full range available, I used only an indication that indicated if the participant was recognizably different, that is, that their skin color or ethnicity was immediately apparent and distinguished them from the majority of the general population as a person of probable migrant origin. The analysis of the four Levels in Figure 5, are as follows.

4.3.1 Highly productive academics and the field of permanent positions (Four interview participants)

There were only four participants who had strong links to all university missions in addition to administrative responsibilities. What the academics at *Level 4* – who come from four different countries, universities and academic specialities – have in common is as interesting as their differences.

What distinguishes these participants from their 38 colleagues would be their characterization as *'complete faculty members'* (Fairweather 2002). These individuals, at the apex of their career trajectories, publish extensively; teach using active and collaborative methods, in addition to securing large amounts of funding from multiple sources. Although these participants drew on experiences from several domains during the interviews, the academic vocation was clearly the most salient focal point of their identity. This professor articulates the essence of these participants:

> *I consider myself an academic, not an industry person. I like to do practical research, but to be free … to make some crazy ideas. I also like to think about five or ten years into the future, not just 'I need it NOW!' (LAUGHTER) That's why I stay at the University … it's free hands, free mind. Like in art, you see the painters which paint exactly what you can see now. There are other painters who paint the abstract, their imagination comes out … in the university you see the same kinds of people.*

These participants entered Finnish higher education *laterally* (See Section 4.1.2). None of the four entered Finland with the intention of remaining permanently. It is more precise to state they entered because it was an interesting career option at the time, and they have remained.

"I was invited for one week as an official faculty guest." This professor, who has been in Finland several years now, articulates a key transition point in Finnish higher education. While short visits are a well-established type of faculty academic mobility and even used as performance indicators of traditional internationalization (See sections 2.2 and 4.4.1); little is still known about 'what happens' between the short visit and long-term or permanent migration (Scott 2005; See section 6.3).

Three of these participants have permanent positions, one a quasi-permanent post and three of the four are in conventional academic trajectories by Finnish standards (Välimaa 2001b). Two of the participants are somewhat marginal, one in an unconventional trajectory, the other in a field where non-Finnish personnel are rare in the field of permanent positions, in senior positions. One of these professors underlined this: "*I think in the vast majority of Finnish universities, there are many departments where there are no foreigners or one.*" The two academics ***outside*** the *viable, recognizable* positions in Quadrant A spoke of much greater difficulties in obtaining satisfactory positions than their colleagues ***inside*** that Quadrant. The two scholars inside Quadrant A were in *hard-applied* specializations, while the two outside were in *soft-applied* territory. All of these scholars do *applied* science, although the long-term theoretical (pure) preoccupations underlying their work explained why they are working on state-of-the-art research that attracts significant funding from multiple sources.

Scientific power (As defined in Section 2.3.1) is clearly the type of capital which afforded all four participants the possibility to *enter* and *remain* in Finnish higher education, ultimately attaining the positions they now occupy. Each of them can be described as internationally well established in their academic specialties.

These participants operate in the English language in working life. Although they are not all native speakers of English, it is the language of their publications, grant applications, lectures and service work. While each has limited Finnish skills, the fact they entered at or quickly attainted senior positions creates a fundamentally different situation than academics at Levels 3, 2 and 1. The time it takes to integrate into the system with respect to multiple mission links appears to potentially alter expectations regarding the need to learn the Finnish language, as this Professor notes: "*Learning Finnish would be a good idea, if you were beginning; coming here at 25 in a post-doc or something like that. My situation is a bit different, because I'm older.*"

At Level 4, international scientific journal articles, well-articulated funding applications and state of the art lectures took priority over learning the local language, which is not integral to any of these activities at this Level (See Section 4.5 for an elaboration of this issue).

One of these participants had a conventional relationship with the service mission as it is conceived in the Finnish context (Ylijoki 2003). However, three articulated broader visions of service, as this professor indicated: "*I'm not a politician, I'm an expert. My job is to explain to people. If I do something significant, which may influence their lives, I have to tell them. Because science is not for individuals, but for society.*"

The potentials and pitfalls regarding the nature of long-term mobility were expressed by each participant in this group, all of whom retained their previous positions – in their country of origin – *as long as possible*. At the time they entered Finland, these participants had multiple options in several countries for their careers. The nature and level of their work means they still do.

4.3.2 Marginality and the field of temporary positions (Six interview participants)

Two participants at Level 3 could be described as being in *recognizable trajectories*, one in a field where it is common to find migrants (Quadrant A) and one where it is not (Quadrant C). Both display records of academic productivity consistent with fulfilling their career expectations. They have a recognizable balance of teaching and research, leaning more toward scientific than academic power (As defined in Section 2.3.1), while still being integrated into their department's teaching schedule. The reasons they are not at Level 4 appear to be that they are either younger than the academics who are, have not put in the hours required to achieve those results – or both. These participants have perceived a very positive experience in Finnish higher education combined with a correspondingly satisfactory experience with the quality of life in Finland.

All participants at Level 3 are accomplished academics. However, since only one of these participants was in both a *recognizable* trajectory (Välimaa 2001b) *and* in a field where one would expect to find non-Finnish academics (Quadrant A); this means is that it is possible to be fairly integrated into the world of Finnish academic work, while remaining marginal in an important sense. This is evidenced structurally by the fact that all participants at Level 3 are in temporary positions. The main explanation may be related to the relationship between academic rewards and the expectations of individual academics. Specifically, *the participants at this level have achieved more and varied links to mission based on work rooted in scientific capital, in departments or fields where academic capital is as or more important*. While the expectations of the participants at Level 4 corresponded to their positions and rewards, participants at Level 3 may be experiencing a 'mismatch' in this respect.

Bennett (1993) draws a useful conceptual distinction between *constructive* and *encapsulated* marginality. Constructive marginality concerns the ability to thrive in the ambiguous and uncertain circumstances which characterize immersion in complex social contexts in new cultures (Paige 1993; Vulpe et al. 2000). Encapsulated marginality refers to patterns and outcomes of isolation which can result from the same dynamics (Bennett 1993). Two participants at Level 3 offer illuminating examples of how these concepts relate to the long term mobility potential of migrant academics.

The project researcher quoted below left Finland for an extended assignment in a third country, returning after two years. This participant, along with at least four others in this study, displayed a form of habitus or *sense of the field* which is specific to higher education – in this case – related to the service mission, which in the best of cases is poorly articulated in the Finnish context (Bernhard et al. 2005; Kankaala et al. 2005). It is unclear if this habitus is orientated to some type of symbolic capital, that is, a form of mis-recognized or unrecognized capital (Wacquant & Bourdieu 1992), or rather if it is a sense of the relationship to social networks external to the university and how scientific capital is relevant to these networks. This type of habitus indicates a possible

form of symbolic capital which was defined in the pilot of this study as network capital[35] and is analytically distinct from academic and scientific power, as well as conventional definitions of social or cultural capital (Wacquant & Bourdieu 1992; Lin et al. 2001; Hoffman 2003a).

> *Before coming to Finland – I was in South America for six months, so I had an idea about developing countries – how to live and work there. My (academic) field is very specific. There aren't many people who possess this knowledge in Finland. My supervisor (in Finland) was looking for somebody familiar with EU organizations, in terms of development cooperation, dealing Latin America, which departments, tender procedures, etc. I knew something – not too much – from my field work, but enough to be able to surf the web and find out things.*

During the time-frame of this study, this participant studied and trained in three countries and worked in two others – *none of them being their country of origin*. The ability to operate *within* and *between* emerging and existing networks composed of fairly discrete communities of practice has potential regarding valorised forms of academic mobility (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Rubele et al. 2004); but only if recognition within those fields emerges. The most interesting feature of this participant's trajectory is that their exit from the field – quite early in the study – was from a marginal trajectory (Quadrant D); while their re-entrance was to a recognizable trajectory, albeit in a field where senior migrant personnel beyond PhD stages are exceptional (Quadrant C).

The remaining two participants are in a fundamentally different situation characterized by encapsulated marginality. When asked to articulate his position in Finnish higher education one senior researcher described his position as a "*No-man's land*" of erratic short-term contracts, some as short as one month. He had no illusions about making a transition to a permanent position. This participant drew firm connections between an academic's national origin and the career potential which would be afforded to them.

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35 This form of capital is the subject of a separate study. Network capital references rewards connected to the potential or actual capacity to operate in the pervasive environment of network logic (Castells 1996) or triple-helix knowledge production characteristic of today's *agora* (Etzkowitz &Leydesdorff 1997; Nowotny et al. 2001). In the pilot context, this type of *network capital* was distinct from academic or scientific power and from much current discussion on cultural and social capital. The development of social capital *via* social networks appears to be a conventional conceptual combination of these terms, including the use of networks that could be said to be based on ascription – including mother tongue capacity (Coste & Zarate 1997; Lin et al. 2001). However, in the context of the pilot, network capital appears to be analytically reflected by the distinct individual capacity to effectively and consistently operate in a social space in which different types of capital are in play within and between individuals, institutions, occupational sectors and geographical places – *without the benefit of any type of pre-existing network of relations, nor pattern to follow*. A high degree of scientific power is not needed, only disciplinary or interdisciplinary competence. Academic power is not needed, only the ability to accurately gauge its location. What is needed is the ability to connect these two to each other and to multiple, descrete contexts. This area is hinted at in Castell's *new division of labor*, a typology of people working in today's network enterprises of the informational economy (Castells 1996, p. 243-4; Hoffman 2003a). For further information, please contact the author.

> *They treat a guy who is coming from the United States completely differently … from England… from France … from whichever place is perceived as MORE developed, because they have the subconscious feeling that 'this guy's doing them a FAAVVOORRR' because he's coming here!*

In this group, the sense of academic vocation – which more focused at Level 4 – was less pronounced. While important, references to family and personal circumstances were mentioned more often. References to personal circumstances often related to a quality of life in Finland which was often described as superior to the region the participant came from. While all participants at this level entered laterally, some participants entered purposefully, while others entered have ended up in their position only because they found themselves in the country for personal reasons and had time on their hands.

With two exceptions, what the participants at Level 3 and Level 4 have in common, besides the fact that they all entered the system laterally and were able to keep their position in the field using the English language, is that they are all white males from Europe. Of the two exceptions to this, one project researcher was quite clear about her encapsulated marginality, and its boundaries. Her hopes for a career in higher education, despite her qualifications, were never framed positively. The university teacher, quoted at the beginning in section 4.3, exited the field for the same reasons.

While the analytically-based selection of interview participants was quite small, the fact that there was only one female at Level 3 and none at Level 4 suggest that gender relations, if examined in terms of academic mobility might yield interesting results that would be complementary to earlier work done on gender and Finnish higher education (See Husu 2000; 2001). In addition, broader, societal contextualization of gender dynamics related to migration phenomena may illuminate occupational stratification that ensure continued small numbers of females in higher education employment at these levels of analysis (See Campani 2007).

The combination of an explicit focus on gender and the implicit assumption that other empirical proxies associated with migration need not be considered in research on academic mobility, official statistics or policy discussion explain the glass ceiling between Level 2 and Level 3. The open question this analysis introduces is whether or not this assertion would hold if explanatory methodology was used with regard to a larger population.

4.3.3 Global lateral mobility: 'The Usual Suspects' and 'Ethnic Hell' (12 interview participants)

There are several distinct differences about the participants with only two connections to the university mission. At Level 2, academics from several continents – all entering laterally – appear in all five universities selected for this multiple case study.

At this Level, a group not visible at Level 4 or Level 3 appears. This group, in Quadrant A, is composed of what I term 'the usual suspects'. The name

derives from the fact that the participants are in viable fields where anyone – including the general population – would expect to find migrant academics (Jaakkola 2005). These participants are mainly, with one exception, personnel whose main task is instruction, who have been here a long time, some of them decades. Four are in permanent positions, the lone researcher in a secure quasi-permanent position, while even the youngest – although in a temporary position – exhibits quite a promising future at this level. What sets this group apart is the mainly the length of time they have been in Finland some of them arriving initially as tourists with no prior training in the fields in which they now work (See Section 4.4).

Despite some fairly contingent *logics of entrance* (See Section 4.4), many of these participants have distinguished themselves with respect to their fields, two earning a doctorates, one a professorship and another a department head's position. This group is firmly integrated into both the teaching schedule and departmental operations of their units. In other words, relationships defined by academic power. Scientific power does not appear to be a general expectation of instructors at Level 2 by their colleagues. This subgroup's membership extends into Level 1, where three more participants of this type – all instructors from the same general disciplinary fields – are located. A vertical oval shape highlights this distinct group in Quadrant A.

The other six participants at Level 2 can be defined by varying degrees of marginality. The most stable of these – in terms of career – is a lone administrator in an exceptional field, but with a permanent position (Quadrant C). She is joined by a group of experienced academics on temporary contracts whose trajectories are marginal, in fields where the presence of migrants is exceptional - or both.

One PhD student termed their situation *"Ethnic Hell"*. This meant disciplines where the freedom to chose one's own research problem is a norm; however, for migrants, reality is often a choice of either studying specific conditions in their region of origin; or how migrants in 'their group' were faring in Finnish society. She stated *"Most of us (foreigners) are not seen as appropriate to do research ON Finland. They tell us, usually that we should concentrate on immigration issues – OR OUR OWN COUNTRY (LAUGHTER)."*

Non-instructors (and the administrator) at Level 2 exist in terms of scientific capital. If more links are not developed with respect to mission, it is difficult to imagine these participants improving their position, except by leaving higher education, the country or both. A senior researcher describes this situation.

> *In the beginning, I worked hard. My goal was to become a professor. But after several years, I realized it's quite difficult for a foreigner to become a professor … compared to the US or the UK. I like research, so being a senior researcher is okay. For me, I get something, but I also lose something. If I were in my home country, I'd already be a professor. I'd probably have a big research group. But here, it's impossible I think.*

All of the researchers at Level 2 are in marginal positions compared to teaching staff. Two of these participants left the field and Finland during the time frame

of the study. The remaining two – working in marginal trajectories in fields where migrants are not normally found – do not express much hope about their future career prospects in Finnish higher education.

4.3.4 Early stage research mobility and emerging vertical mobility? (20 interview participants)

The test of the attractiveness of Finnish society and its higher education system can be found at Level 1, embodied by 20 interview participants. The essence of this group is captured by Raunio's question: *'Should I stay, or should I go?'* (Raunio 2003). Level 1 features participants from *all points in the globe* in *all mission areas of higher education*. Differences between Level 1 and the others indicate strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats inherent in the Finnish higher education with regard to the recruitment, promotion and retention of migrant academic personnel.

The most significant aspect of Level 1 is that *vertical mobility* is present. That is, two children of first generation migrants entering with their age cohort after having passed Finnish high school matriculation examinations and fulfilled the entrance requirements to a specific university (Hoffman 2004a). While two participants may not seem to warrant this attention, it is the relationship between lateral and vertical mobility which highlights the fact that individuals from some large groups of recently arrived migrants in Finland are either very difficult to locate, or not present in the higher education system at certain levels of higher education employment (Hoffman 2004a, 2006a) (See Chapter 4.1).

Another feature of Level 1 is the way in which early stage research mobility (ESRM) illuminates an area where potential faculty and staff, from all points on the globe, enter Finnish higher education. An oval has been placed around the ESRM group, four in Quadrant A; eight in Quadrant C. 12 of the 20 participants at Level 1 were working on their PhD, including eight in fields where migrant academic personnel are difficult to locate, e.g. *soft-pure* disciplines like philosophy, while the other four were in disciplines where their presence constitutes nothing unusual, for example, *hard-applied* and *soft-applied* disciplines (As defined in Chapter 2.3.3), such as information and communication technology and the performing arts (Becher & Trowler 2001; Hoffman 2005a). One of these participants – in a speciality where migrant career paths are rare – left Finland during the study, her PhD uncompleted.

Although most participants at Level 1 entered laterally with *short-term expectations*, some have found a person, community, lifestyle, career field or a combination of these things which they did not anticipate and find themselves seriously considering staying. It is premature to discuss the trajectory of most of these participants or the region(s) where their career might play out. This is in fact because the socialization that occurs in the academic profession at this level is not sought by many of these participants. It is equally clear that many believe that they are returning to their country of origin. Events leading to a career in

higher education, a decision to permanently migrate – or both – mainly lie in front of these participants.

Two interesting questions that can be posed to these types of participants are: *Have they considered working in higher education? Is remaining in Finland a serious option?*

The answer to the first question is 'no' for seven of the 12 of participants engaged in ESRM. This is because they are in fields of study where a normal career trajectory lies in private sector employment. Participants contrasted high wage levels and better opportunities in different geographic regions and occupational sectors with the combination of low-paying, short-term contracts in most entry-level employment in Finnish academic basic units (Välimaa 2001b; Ylijoki 2003).

Regarding the decision to remain in Finland, five participants either planned on returning home or migrating to a country other than Finland. Four participants were not sure if they would remain in Finland. Three seemed determined to remain in Finland at the time of interview.

There were two ironies in the ESRM group. The first was that of the four participants in the most viable fields of study (Quadrant A), three felt strongly that they did not wish to remain in Finland, with only one open to the possibility of staying, but only if a career-enhancing position was available. Of these four, the participant with the most convincing chances and desire for a higher education career already had her sights firmly set on another region of the world. If successful, she will complete an interesting trans-national trajectory, along with at least three other participants in this study. This pattern begins in countries Finnish policy 'targets' for assistance, involves state-financed research training here and ends in employment in countries which the same policy that originally 'targets' their country identifies as our toughest competitors (Finnish Ministry of Education 2003; Working Group Report 2002).

Of the eight remaining participants in ESRM, the second irony was that four of them hoped to go on to higher education *careers*, although their presence as migrants would be exceptional beyond the PhD stage. Of these four, three wanted to remain in Finland and the fourth was open to the idea. While ESRM constitutes a *de facto* recognizable trajectory, many participants recognized that they are in fields where no migrant academic has made a transition from PhD studies to a trajectory with serious long-term potential. As one PhD student in a *soft-pure* discipline put it:

> *I'm interested in the system, but is the system interested in me? I'll publish as much as I can, then apply for position in my home country. There, I have a chance to go up in the (academic) hierarchy. I don't have very many opportunities based on my present situation.*

Where expectations exceed conditions, it would be unusual to expect any other outcome.

The remainder of 'the usual suspects' are found at Level 1 in Quadrant A, all with permanent jobs. This group may be at the apex of their trajectory. One mission tie is sufficient to remain in the field permanently, but it is not enough

to advance relative to persons whose work involves more links. The same is true for the single administrator in this field.

This area of the field also included three Master's-level students eligible for hire by their programs. All were open to the possibility of a career in higher education; but doubted the likelihood compared with more obvious choices. All three became employed outside higher education during the time-frame of this dissertation.

While it is important to note that these results apply only to the 42 academics I located and requested to participate in an interview, their purposeful selection, when considered in terms of the related empirical evidence presented in this chapter, was designed to provide alternative insights into academic mobility dynamics – *or the lack of those dynamics* – in the five universities selected for this multiple case study.

The characteristics of the participants and groups I identify in the levels and quadrants of the three-dimensional construct described above remain analytical generalizations to theory, not statistical generalizations to a population. I will elaborate these generalizations in terms of the *perspectives and experiences of individual academics* in the remaining two sections of this chapter.

4.4 Contingent Logics of Entrance … *and Exit*

> ***RESEARCHER**: Hmmm – why did I come? Some friend of my husband introduced us to Heikki, a Finn. Heikki said 'You can try'. I tried. I thought the chances were small (Laughing) – not so significant at first, but I filled in a form anyway.*
>
> ***DH**: So – not quite random, but it depended on a contact?*
>
> *RESEARCHER: Yeah.*
>
> ***DH**: So is it correct to say it could've been anywhere?*
>
> ***RESEARCHER**: Yeah. Could be in another city. Or even another country. I did not deliberately choose this university … it was many accidents.* (Researcher, Level 3)

Discussion of academic mobility in the Finnish context often leads to speculation on the motivations or 'pull-factors' connected to *individuals* moving to Finland. This discussion often produces a very short list of reasons including *exotic locale, high-tech reputation, romantic relationships*, or the like (Raunio 2004, Puustinen Hopper 2005; Zirra 2006), sometimes followed by a longer list of 'push factors' including *high taxes, low wages, difficult language, cultural differences, poor information infrastructure and a general lack of guidance*. (Raunio 2004, Puustinen Hopper 2005; Karjalainen et al. 2006).

The interview participants did refer to some dynamics which corresponded to this type of 'push and pull' discussion that focuses on the

tension between *individual* motivating or mitigating issues and pre-existing conditions in the field they ended up in (See Section 4.4).

However, the studies done for this dissertation suggest that a 'focus on' or 'search for' individual 'motives' may be conflated, thus inappropriate to the topic if not contextualized. The entrance into this field by most of the participants interviewed was often fairly contingent and precarious, more similar to the 'many accidents' the researcher quoted at the outset of this section relates. Many of these anecdotes – by no stretch of the imagination – involved a great deal of forethought, much less the mechanical 'push and pull' of forces beyond their control or any conscious 'motivation' which could be attributed to them as individuals.

Rather they were repeats of stories happening all over the globe: *Student goes on exchange, falls in love, never returns home – end of story.* To elaborate this particular example, while it is not uncommon to see assertions which link *long-term romantic relationships* as an important 'motivation' behind an academic's decision to migrate to Finland (Puustinen-Hopper 2005; M. Berry, personal communication, October 27, 2006), it is very uncommon to see reflection on the fact that the age range of people falling into the scope of studies on mobility have romantic relationships *in whatever context they are found – with whomever is found in that context.* In other words, it is an example of a common fallacy found in folk psychology*: Using the universal to explain the particular*.

What is normally missed in current literature is experience from migrant academics who have been here for decades. The *logic of entrance* of these participants often corresponds more or less to *a priori* policy which was emphasized in Finland in different decades, which in turn normally corresponds to literature on academic mobility, for example *higher education as development cooperation* (Phillips & Pugh 1987).

> *I will put this into historical perspective. The first foreign students or international students that came to Finland at the time were scholarship students – students on Finnish government scholarships. I think mainly from Namibia, South Africa and a few other countries in crisis.* (University Teacher, Level 2)

While some research and reports may discuss forces or 'motives', the *logic of entrance* is a more precise concept which addresses a distinctive feature that is not normally shared with the majority of native-born academics. Specifically; the logic of entrance is the reason, or combination of reasons, underlying a lateral entrance into the field of Finnish higher education. These may include conscious choices, however they also include coincidence. A migrant academic may or may not be aware of the combination of circumstances contributing to their entrance. A similarity to Finnish colleagues concerns migrant academics who begin *their careers as university students.* 76% of all university teachers in Finland work in the university from which they received their latest degree (Välimaa 2004).

When seeking out a conceptually comprehensive selection of migrant academic personnel, it is not uncommon to find cases of participants who were

passing through as tourists and wound up teaching their entire career in Finland, because their presence corresponded to an instrumental *a priori* need in the field, as in the case of this lecturer in the *soft-pure* sciences explains:

> *In a way, we were a lucky generation – many of us walked into jobs quite easily, without even trying in a sense. But I suspect today it's much much harder … To put it crudely, it was very easy. You didn't have to have a high qualification base. You had to have an understandable accent … here I was – in my mid-20s – and I've got lifetime tenure.* (Lecturer, Level 3)

Regarding the participants in the studies comprising this dissertation, the logics of entrance that correspond with the participants with the longest time in Finnish higher education include higher education as a form of development cooperation, employment as language instructors and a large presence in the performing arts.

More recent logics correspond with policy based on the belief that the presence of international students signifies "proof of the international character of your campus" (Phillips & Pugh 1987). The positive attitude associated with this perfectly corresponds to this MA student who participated in the study of academic mobility, who confirms:

> *The first thing which comes to my mind - EVERYBODY HAS TO DO IT!! If you do not take the opportunity to go abroad during your studies, you will always regret it and your horizons will be completely limited. You will think your country, your university, your surroundings - that's it, but there is much more if you cross the border. You can see what is going on elsewhere and what people are doing there, how the situation in the scientific community really is. I have been in abroad now for an academic year. I have LIVED in the country, joined social life, the seasons, the studying next to the locals, as well as other foreign students. I had a completely positive experience while abroad. I think that EVERYBODY should broaden his/her horizons during the studying as well as during the working time – you only have to take the possibility!*

Another logic of entrance cited by Phillips and Pugh (1987) – the use of international students to generate fee revenue for both the university in particular and the country in general – is now widely discussed and associated with the market-like character that higher education takes on as "faculty implement their academic capital through engagement in production" (Slaughter & Leslie 1997: 11), or *academic capitalism*. The extent to which the Finnish higher education system has become – to paraphrase Ylijoki (2003) *'Entangled in Academic Capitalism'* references the larger debate on the nature of higher education as a public good (Rhoades & Slaughter 2004; Currie & Newson 1998 et al.; Marginson 2006; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*). This is relevant as Finnish policy makers prepare to join the club of countries hoping to calculate income from higher education *services*; joining the ranks of countries with significant portions of total services bolstered by higher education revenue, e.g. 12% in Australia and 3% in the US and UK (Rhoades 2003: 26-7). This type of discussion was dismissed in nations like Finland in the past, when higher education was assumed to be a public good (Bleiklie et al. 2000; Marginson 2006) and university tuition fees were not collected. Upon closer

examination, tuition and fees – or their absence – might warrant closer attention.

> *…not only Finland, but all the Nordic countries – it's kind of comfortable because also you don't need to PAY your tuition. If you need to pay, then you want to graduate as soon as possible. But you don't need to pay, so you can stay and if they have a longitudinal research project then they can pay you.* (Researcher, Level 3)

The absence of tuition and fees was cited as a primary reason by several of the interview participants for their otherwise contingent entrance to the Finnish higher education system. It is hard not to make the observation that if competitive advantage is sought (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001), charging tuition and fees (in the short term) could amount to a 'push factor'. This is because the Finnish higher education system has poorly articulated, widely recognized competitive advantages supporting short, medium or long-term academic mobility, compared to the (Finnish) perceptions of disadvantages (Karjalainen et al. 2006; Raunio 2004).

When focusing on the transition from student to faculty, or a lateral entrance to Finnish higher education, logics of entrance often seemed to work in combinations with those listed above or with each other. An interesting set of entrance logics could be termed the 'accidental', unintentional or contingent logic – which might bear close resemblance to many of the researcher's Finnish colleagues in that this MA student had no prior motive to enter higher education employment, it is more precisely an absence of 'motive'.

> *OK – my entrance into the university. I had talked with my (MA thesis) supervisor, and she suggested that I would do some kind of research. I wrote research proposals, etc. and then one proposal developed itself, and then I just suddenly got money. And I'd been – like – thinking – I didn't quite know what to do, after I graduated. And so – it had been on my mind a long time, thinking if this is a good choice – to start to do research, etc., but at that time I was also dating Pirkko – and so I had to find some kind of occupation, and basically I decided to stay in the university like that.* (Researcher, Level 1)

Many academics who have been in the country a long time are quite articulate about different logics of entrance and that certain groups arrived at times which loosely correspond somewhat to different *a priori* needs in Finnish society.

> *If you found the time of when they first started working in Finland, you may see three types. If the person started working in Finland in the 70s – and they're foreign – they're almost certainly they were working in something to do with languages. Russian, French, German, English, whatever. I'm thinking here of this university. If they came in the 80s, they may also be working in languages and communication, but they may be a different breed. They may be a more highly orientated professional. If they came in the 90s, they are probably the new breed – working in all sorts of different fields, coming here to work on specific projects. So I think you could see a generational difference.* (Professor, Level 4)

These types of differences correspond somewhat to Aittola's (2001) metaphor of the 'generational lens' described in Section 2.3.2. Aittola's discussion provides an opportunity to link *logics of entrance* with the socio-historical context in which migrant academics initially enter Finnish higher education. During the

rapid, post-World-War-II expansion of Finnish higher education (Välimaa 2001a), different types of migrant academics began to appear for very specific reasons that, when viewed from this perspective, seem more connected to pragmatic social, historical and political conditions than the need for scientific capacity from abroad, or reasons that correspond to the *romantic myth* of the university as an inherently international or cosmopolitan institution (Scott 1998).

While attempts to systematically engage the dynamics which apply to migrant academic personnel in the Finnish context do profess attention to individual agency, much interesting variation regarding actual logics of entrance – *that do not fit the myths of Finnish culture* – seem to be missing.

More importantly, the reasons of exit which fly in the face of local folk psychology – like the endlessly discussed subject of *language difficulties* – seldom feature in discussion about academic mobility potential, as is bluntly pointed out by a project researcher who was preparing to exit Level 2.

> … *it is very difficult for a foreigner to enter Finnish circles even if you're an expert, have publications, if you bring in – like I did – foreign teachers for professors who were experts in our field, giving seminars. In this department it would be too simple to say language is the problem.*
>
> *There is a very big chance that both my husband and I are leaving. We've got new (academic) jobs in another country. But that still needs to be formalized. If the new jobs work out – then – we leave the country. With mixed feelings. On the one hand, one of best countries I've ever been in – from a quality of life point of view. On the other hand, from the scientific point of view, one big disappointment.* (Project Researcher, Level 2)

Careful reading of this passage, which *was* the actual prelude to the loss of *two academics* (the participant *and* their spouse) underlines the fact that they left *a society that they found ideal*, not because of the palatable myths of Finnish folk psychology, but because of exclusion, in a scientific field they perceived as wanting. This was despite the participant's demonstrated ability to publish in major journals, design major research projects – which attracted major funding and the interest of international experts.

While the logics of entrance at different Levels are much more contingent and complex than is normally reflected upon in policy-making discussions, one phenomena is shared by many migrant academics. And it is experienced in this perspective in a way most Finnish academics do not comprehend, much less, understand.

4.5 "Aiming to Attract Top Foreigners to Finland"[36]: *How many foreigners are in this picture?*

> *"Disadvantages? They (my Finnish colleagues) don't have to deal with being a foreigner, which is a funny word, I think. It's used so often as well – ulkomaalainen … In my country, the word 'foreign' is used of course … but in my politics, particularly being in the community where I lived, with a third of the population being from various groups, you would be careful about using the word 'foreigner'. I would not use the word 'foreigner', either in everyday speech or in a lecture … but here it's used all the time. You can be here 20 years and be a foreigner."* (Professor, Level 4)

Because of the different nature of the field in areas the participants of the multiple case study work, as well as their backgrounds, there are very few substantive issues that have the same type of salience at all levels described in the multiple case study. The exception to this is the fact that all 42 participants can be referenced by one notion – *foreigner* – as it appears in the Academy of Finland press-release headline (above). The lack of conceptual precision – *at any level of abstraction* or domain in Finnish society – the quoted professor is talking about, obscures a great deal of information and potential knowledge about the participants in this study. The notion clarifies nothing.

The conflicting reasons, rationales and 'motives', most often discussed by Finnish higher education stakeholders regarding the 'push and pull' of the mobility of scientific staff were in fact mentioned in the interviews of the multiple case study, for example, romantic relationships, difficult language, cultural differences, shy workmates, difficult climate and high rate of taxation, and low salaries amongst other things (cf. Puustinen-Hopper 2005, Raunio 2003). The fact is, that combinations of these topics, across individuals from several regions around the globe, do open up several avenues which can be used to approach the assumption that migrants may be involved in personal relationships and/or face certain difficulties when entering any segment of the labor market in Finland.

While interesting, these topics are beyond the scope of this study because, when used as overly simplistic generalizations about 'foreigners' – which is a notion that can only be used at the level of abstraction where folk psychology operates[37] – they obscure much more than they explain (Hoffman 2003a, 2003b).

What unites local folk psychology on 'foreigners' is that discussions which get bogged down in myths and stereotypes related to 'foreigners' and Finnish culture lead *straight away from* structural explanations as to why, for example, language, culture, work habits, etc. *are not a significant issue* in some higher education settings or for some individuals, while appearing to add up to formidable obstacles in and for others. This does not mean these topics are not interesting or relevant at a practical level, they are. It does mean that they appear to constitute a set of folk-myths that do not have resonance or

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36 Headline from a press release issued by Academy of Finland (2005).

37 The exception to this would be discourse analysis regarding the uses of these types of generalization.

applicability across-the-board, nor do they provide potential explanatory inroads to pursue in further studies of this nature.

To add an example to the folk explanation of 'long-term romantic relationships' (examined in Section 4.4), *Finnish language learning and use by migrant academics* is an irrelevant topic in some academic disciplines – most often in *hard-applied* sciences, as well as for some individuals. At the same time, 'language issues' constitute an opaque, insurmountable barrier in some fields and for certain individuals. Other academics – being highly skilled in the language – do not perceive the topic as problematic at all.

Regarding the long-term academic mobility of migrant academics, the most interesting dynamics involving stereotypes and assumptions about the 'difficult Finnish language' can be found in pre-existing practices in specific fields and the expectations of individuals in those fields, as well as anyone trying to enter. It is a generic problem of structure and agency (Archer 1995). More simply put, it is not the 'language' that is 'difficult'. What is challenging is picking a relevant research question, methodological approach and methods that would explain the differences in the relationship between Finnish language use by migrant academics and local expectations regarding language usage and the implications this relationship has in different settings for interested higher education stakeholders[38].

While all of the topics arising from local folk psychology – and combinations of those topics – can be handled in a similar manner, what is more interesting are the topics that almost never come up in *policy papers* and *reports* concerning highly skilled migrant labor, particularly academic and scientific staff in the Finnish context (Finnish Ministry of Education 2001; Puustinen-Hopper 2005; Working Group Report 2003).

The most important of these open questions in the context of the multiple case study I did on five Finnish campuses is the fact that the majority of participants were not 'foreigners' in a literal, legal or technical sense of the word. 12 had taken Finnish citizenship and another 10 were permanent residents. The idea that the professor quoted at the outset of this chapter expresses – that he and his colleagues are never the less (conceptually) 'foreign' in the minds of their Finnish colleagues, as well in the general population, is much more interesting than the 'palatable myths' continually recycled and revisited in policy discussion about an apparent desire to attract individuals who – *by our own definition* – will remain 'outsiders' if they accept our invitation.

Of course not all participants, particularly those who believed they were returning home or who had their sights set on new destinations, articulated this insight. However, when asked if the next generation of newly arrived migrants would be found in Finnish higher education employment, participants whose fields of studies focused on the social sciences had no illusions this would be easy in the Finnish context.

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38 The same applies to relationships, cultural differences, logics of entrance, quality of life issues, and how these combine to constitute the reasons migrant academics enter, remain and leave various fields of Finnish higher education.

> … *those foreign youngsters, they say that they have other things to think about than school. Because they come from Kosovo, or they come from Iran – Kurdistan – and they have a war in their mind – all the time. They might be very intelligent, and very capable. But they are not able to process those things. So the answer would actually be yes – they will have equal access – I believe in equal society – let's say it like that. But the possibilities to fulfill that equal access, I don't know – Finland has to put a lot of work into that … It's gonna be very difficult.* (Project Researcher, Level 1)

5 FROM *BETWEEN* SOCIETIES TO *BETWEEN AND WITHIN* SOCIETIES

> *I don't think it's a good idea to go the German way, which is to bring in 5 million Turks who do the dirty work. It's absolutely idiotic – the people who are cleaning and driving taxis – they will live in ghettos, they will not mix … the United States has done this completely differently. They have opened up high echelons of society to foreigners. We have to first bring here, the most TALENTED people … opening all levels of Society, but ESPECIALLY the high levels. Because these people will have also a voice in their communities. If they feel well, if they are successful, they can help their countrymen, they have influence to the government … If we have only cleaning ladies – they have no influence they just come, clean, and leave … we get the idiots.*
>
> *In Finland we need good policies, how to do this. Otherwise, as I said we will get the leftovers, who haven't passed the thorough exams in the US, UK or Germany.* (Professor, Level 4)

In light of the empirical findings in Chapter 4, I will now advance an interpretation of this analysis in broader terms. Specifically, with respect to the three research questions guiding this work, it is possible in hindsight to reformulate the three research questions I began with into two, more specific questions:

1. What do the perceptions and experiences of migrant academics indicate, in terms of academic mobility potential in various disciplines, fields of study and mission areas in Finnish higher education?
2. What do the different forms of academic mobility within Finnish higher education tell us about Finnish society?

The empirical research done in these studies introduce a missing perspective from active discussion about long-term academic mobility, migration and Finnish higher education: The perspective of migrant academic personnel. The studies also introduce phenomena which remain hidden as a result of not taking this perspective into account. A concrete example of this is the views on migration policy offered by the professor (above). What is interesting about his views – from his perspective – is that *they are precisely opposite the views expressed by the majority of Finnish respondents* in the most widely cited series of research studies on Finnish attitudes towards migrants (Jaakkola 2005). Finnish respondents to Jaakkola's studies express a hope that migrants occupy *exactly*

the types of positions the Professor warns against. As with many complex topics, the answers we get depend on *who* we ask and *what* we ask. Pointing out this discrepancy of opinions is a partial answer to any who wish to couch my findings too much in terms of the historical, cultural and political past of Finnish society; rather than a present day Finland in which a gulf of opinion like this can be found *within* Finnish society.

The most important missing features connected to the perspective of migrant academics reflect a wider discussion which is not difficult to find in Europe in general and Finland in particular. This discussion generally refers to the changing nature of society which is raised in connection with an increasing awareness of differences associated with the influence of migration – in all its forms (See Chapter 1, IOM 2003; Holzmann & Münz 2004). The specific effects of migration are arguably most visible when analyzed in the context of familiar institutions, contexts and perspectives. And these institutions, contexts and perspectives have been the focal points for the majority of recent Finnish literature on international migration and ethnic relations. However, as the empirical findings of this work indicate, the terms *actively in use* within the institution of higher education, particularly regarding indicators associated with traditional internationalization (As defined in Chapter 2); combined with discussions of equity which no longer reflect *all* groups which can be found in society indicates a new type of situation. In this situation, it is possible to sincerely profess a belief in the equity of social *outcomes* associated with the Nordic social democracies (Esping Andersen 1998; Välijärvi 2006). At the same time, the dynamics which indicate the belief is erroneous, with respect to some groups, is systematically ignored. As this analysis indicates, it would be a mistake to interpret those dynamics as purposeful within the scope of this study. This is because there *are* areas of the field that appear to potentially correspond with merit-based mobility, regardless of ascriptive characteristics. However, these areas appear to be fairly circumscribed in theoretical terms (Refer to Chapter 4.3).

As increasing international migration *between* societies leads to changes *within* society; including institutions such as higher education, it is easy to initially miss the small numbers of migrants *who are no longer 'foreigners', but permanent residents and Finnish citizens*. This is especially easy because very little can be expected of the static categories of thought – zombie categories – used to discuss, describe and interpret these dynamic situations (Chapter 2).

Although the majority of participants in these studies of may have arrived under established logics *of entrance* associated with *traditional exchange or sojourn*, the dynamics they are currently caught up in can more accurately be described and contextualized in terms of the emerging mobility patterns of long-term *lateral or vertical mobility*. In these circumstances, it is easy to stay busy counting statistics on *'international' indicators*, while ignoring the fact that those indicators do not readily reveal emerging *domestic realities* which challenge the most basic assumptions underlying the Nordic social

democracies, especially with regard to the *generational mobility* which has been a defining feature of these societies (Sachs 2004; Välijärvi 2006).

5.1 The Cultural Shortcut Revisited

> *I have been involved in a university committee trying to increase the number of courses in English. I found it positively amazing that the university is actually spending a lot of money to draw young talented researchers to Finland … we have also discussed the suggestion that foreign students should pay an annual fee to attend university in Finland. Isn't it interesting that on one hand Finland realizes that economic competition in a globalized world requires talented and skillful workers, but on the other hand does not want to make an investment in training these foreign students? They want a workforce that is already educated, also in academia. So, at the basis of the whole debate lies how Finland would gain and what Finland would gain … I don't blame anyone for that, but what the policymakers still do not comprehend is the silent racism and the discrimination in daily lives of the people. Educational equality cannot mean that everyone reads the same books and has a right to sit in the same classroom. It should be more concentrated on what every student understands and learns from what they read. A good teacher and a good atmosphere of learning where everyone respects each other might provide more equal chances to people.* (University Teacher – Helsinki Research Area)

As the empirical studies of this thesis indicate, it is quite easy to tap into multiple forms of academic mobility on a single campus, sometimes in a single building, yet underlying patterns – like the forms of mobility themselves – remain unrecognized.

The perspectives from each Level presented in Section 4.3 are interesting in different ways. The most interesting feature about the perspective and experience of the research participants is as follows. The use of methods which adequately account for their perspective, used with established concepts, indicates that a focus on the experiences and perceptions of academics in *viable fields of study* and *recognizable trajectories* paints an entirely different picture than focusing on individuals whose presence constitutes an *exception* and especially if those academics are in *marginal career trajectories*, as is the case with the university teacher quoted above. Most of the research, reports and policy discussion reviewed for this research had no evidence that these types of distinctions can be routinely made in Finnish higher education employment with regard to migrant academic personnel.

The conceptual reference points to track whether or not Finnish higher education takes a cultural shortcut to forms of diversity and multiculturalism in which vertical and generational mobility take a backseat to fee-paying students and ready-trained junior faculty from abroad were introduced in Sections 4.1-4.3. The types of research problems possible using this type of analysis are elaborated in Section 6.3. Many of these dynamics will apply as easily to the native-born Finnish colleagues of the participants I have focused on in this analysis (M. Söderqvist, personal communication, September 26, 2006).

The point I would underline with regard to these dynamics, is that they are easily illuminated when taking into account the perspective and experiences

of migrant academics who have already worked in our system for a number of years. While the critique offered may not be particularly welcomed – nor anticipated – by policy makers and stakeholders; the cultural shortcuts the participants discuss provide fairly clear points which may not have been sought or have been missed in studies on academic mobility in Finland. In either case, the critique is unaccounted for.

As I interviewed the participants, especially those who indicated both *an articulate awareness of the dynamics they were caught up in* and *were preparing to leave Finland*, I realized that some of the best potential analysis with regard to the perspective of migrant academic personnel and the Finnish higher education system hinges on reflective knowledge of migrant academics who have already left. Regarding the study of mobility issues, asking persons we basically regard as transient (as is typical in the Finnish context) will yield different results than personnel with the perspective of quasi-permanent, permanent residents or citizens.

What struck me – more than anything – about the communication I cite at the outset of this section was that while *participation* on a committee like this, from the outside looking in, corresponds to rhetoric about internationalization, multiculturalism, intercultural interaction and diversity, the *topic of discussion* relates to something entirely different. ***The participant references a situation in which fee-paying students – from anywhere – may soon have the opportunity for lateral entrance into a system in which vertical mobility has not been established, nor accounted for.***

In addition, I underline that ***the participants in these studies talk about equity, not multiculturalism, diversity, intercultural interaction and so on. This raises difficulties in that the participants are aware – as the quote indicates – that the discussion of 'educational equality', as it is carried on in Finland, while not explicitly excluding them – with words, implicitly excludes them. No words are needed to do this.***

5.2 Competitive Horizons and the Theoretical Coordinates of the Dark Side of Mobility

> *It is just small circles. It's just Finns for the Finns. I'm sorry to say it and I'm disappointed by saying it. Cause I knew those kind of – prejudices – those kind of stereotypical things from the moment I came. Some people – each with their own background said 'it's difficult'; 'it's hard'. And after three and a half years; having gone through all the stages – highs and lows – I have to conclude that for a non-Finn it's extremely difficult to enter this department. So far, no one has been successful.* (Researcher, Level 2)

Based on this analysis, it appears, at first glance, that the most mobility occurs in very competitive fields of study and related disciplines and the ancillary disciplinary clusters to those areas, which correspond with basic units that have broad *competitive horizons* (Hoffman 2006a).

The concept of competitive horizon was originally worked out in an analysis of the reaction and responses of personnel in academic basic units in seven different Finnish universities (Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006; Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005)[39]. Although those studies were not carried out specifically to address the research questions guiding this dissertation, the notion of competitive horizons would not have emerged but for the simultaneous analysis of those studies and the studies that comprise this dissertation. The concept of competitive horizon turned out to provide empirically-based insight into the nature of change in Finnish higher education, as well as the fundamental challenges academic personnel and stakeholders in this system currently face (Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

The concept of competitive horizon refers to the orientation academic personnel routinely have to their most important competitors. In some basic units, one's most important competitor is routinely found in the same corridor, while in others, the 'real' competition may likely be perceived as located on the other side of the planet (Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005). These combinations of perceptions foster very different types of academic practices and orientations which in turn become emblematic of unique social, cultural and historical idiosyncrasies of national higher education systems (Bourdieu 1988; Kogan 2002). These idiosyncrasies are based on the combination of disciplinary cultures and how disciplines, specialities and their administration are approached in a given set of higher education institutions which make up a national system (Kogan 2002; Becher & Kogan 1992; Becher & Trowler 2001; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

For the purposes of this analysis, the most interesting underlying dynamic in the cited studies on the Bologna Process, involved the *fundamental hierarchical shift* of disciplines and fields of study that has taken place in the relatively short time the Finnish national university system has been in existence (Välimaa 2001a). In historical and theoretical terms, the shift in the most important types of units in the higher education system in Finland lie at opposite theoretical extremes. Specifically, during the late 1800s, university academics trained to serve imperial and religious influences were *instead* - quite purposefully – constructing the nation state, cultural and linguistic identity of present day Finland (Välimaa 2001a; Pulkkinen 1999). These academics were grounded in what Becher and Trowler (2001) term *soft-pure* disciplines like history and philosophy, disciplines regarded as important for academics of the day (Välimaa 2001a; Pulkkinen 1999). University trained academics were needed to serve the needs of imperial powers and address the Finnish population. To this end, the most important disciplines of the time could easily be applied in *soft-applied* subjects like law, language learning and the education of increasingly

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[39] This study concerned the way in which personnel in different types of 19 academic basic units and four administrative teams had translated the objectives of reforms associated with the Bologna Process into practice. As these studies (Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006; Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005) and this dissertation were done concurrently, insights from both studies reinforced and informed the analysis of the other (Hoffman 2006a).

larger numbers of students in this newly emerging nation state (Becher & Trowler 2001; Välimaa 2001a).

By the early 21st century, academics trained in disciplines underlying the STEM-based fields of study (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) have ascended the faculty hierarchy, as theoretical breakthroughs – around the globe – in *hard-pure* theoretical specialities within the disciplines of math, physics and chemistry feed *hard*-applied specialties like information and communication technology, and biotechnology (Raunio 2003; Becher & Trowler 2001; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

The new faculties at the top of the pyramid are integral to the strategically important economic sectors which, in turn inform the *high profile* research priorities of major funding bodies which are integral to Finland's small, but very agile and competitive economy.

It has been argued that Finnish higher education and Finnish society have always been interdependent to a degree much more so than can be found in most nation states (Välimaa 2001a, 2005; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

The difference that is easy to overlook regarding this relationship is that although the cultural and socio-economic fate of this nation has always been entrusted – by and large – to its university personnel – the *type* of academics – in terms of disciplines and scientific motivations – who *founded this nation*, their interests and their competitive horizons are fundamentally different from the type that *set science policy* today (Häyrinen-Alestalo 2005; Hoffman & Välimaa *forthcoming*). Moreover it is the nature of these differences which provides empirical insight into the relationship between Finnish higher education and the society in which it is embedded.

The generalization that highly competitive basic units have the most mobility and potential, is an oversimplification which is revealed if the six types of mobility identified in this work are examined. A more comprehensive indication of mobility potential in a field of study, university, faculty institute or department will more accurately be reflected in the *ratios* of academic personnel in local circulation, exchange, lateral and vertical mobility. In addition the pervasive nature of ICT-based mobility is interesting, because ICT systems are highly profiled throughout our education system, as are the labor market patterns associated with generational mobility, which has always been the case in Finnish education systems (Välimaa 2001a).

In stark contrast to areas with broad competitive horizons are the higher education system's *least competitive areas*, or contexts in which academics have very limited or no competitive horizon beyond the building in which they work. Again, while these areas may appear to have little actual mobility or mobility potential, the same ratios become even more interesting in that a more comprehensive examination of mobility, with more nuanced criteria may still reveal interesting patterns. A *general absence of mobility*, as was found in the area in which the researcher quoted at the outset of this section worked, one of the *soft-pure* sciences, become interesting in the sense that these are areas which potentially tackle the *questions hard applied sciences cannot answer*, for example,

explaining international migration and ethnic relations, the reproductive and transformative potential of educational systems and globalization. In other words **these are the theoretical coordinates of what Teichler describes as *'The Dark Side of Mobility'*** (Teichler 1996, 2005) **in the Finnish higher education system.** And they are a theoretical ***mirror-image*** – in Becher and Trowler's (2001) terms – of our strongest, most highly profiled disciplines and fields of study. The point for mobility researchers here: When an area of *perceived strength* is found, this may also indirectly imply a weakness, imbalance or irregularity in another part of the field. A focus or interest on the strengths of a field – without reflection about the same field's marginal areas – is less than complete picture.

5.3 Glass Ceilings, Trapdoors and the Hypothesis of Vertical Mobility

> ***DH**: Concerning the largest recently arrived migrant groups in Finland, do you think they and their descendants will have equal access to employment in Finnish Higher Education over the next 30 years … the next generation?*
>
> ***Professor**: Of course not, no. That'll be extremely unlikely in terms of the way the world works. One generation isn't enough. It's highly unlikely in fact. It would be a special case, internationally.*

In a recent presentation, Välijärvi stated the two biggest explanatory factors behind the success of Finland in recent OECD comparative studies were the *emphasis on equality* in the Finnish education system and the *high level of training for teachers*, in which only the very best candidates were selected (Välijarvi 2006).

I fully agree with Välijärvi on the first point; which is exactly why I wonder why many Finnish policy makers, migration specialists and educators prefer to speak about multiculturalism, diversity or intercultural interaction instead of *equity* outcomes when dynamics associated with international migration and ethnic relations are considered in the context of society's institutions[40]. These types of discourses are not mutually exclusive. However, general equity outcomes have been subjected to extensive empirical investigation in the Finnish context and are reflected in a long-standing vibrant debate on educational equality (Malin 2005; Välimaa 2001a; Välijärvi 2006;

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[40] For example, after attempting to establish the *current state of Finnish research on ethnic relations and international* migration in the Finnish context in 2004, the conference themes of the recently formed **Finnish Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration** have focused on *Intercultural Interaction* (2005) and *Cultures, Borders and Transnationalism* (2006). When speaking about the changing demographics of the Finnish workforce a discourse of attracting *osaaminnen* (expertise or know-how), internationalization or multiculturalism is fairly easy to find (See Karjalainen et al. 2006); alongside the policy trends, fads and fashions highlighted in Section 1.3.3. What unites many of these *ideas* is the lack of empirical or theoretical reference to equity issues in the Finnish context.

Kivinen & Kaipainen 2002). Multiculturalism, diversity or intercultural interaction, on the other hand, can only be discussed in fairly recent terms in the Finnish context. The second way these topics can be discussed are as prescriptive ideals, which may or may not correspond to empirical relationships which would withstand theoretical scrutiny (Brennan 2002; Gundara & Jacobs 2000). In either case, as pointed out in Section 3.1, observing who gets paid to teach, research, make policy or write reports and speeches about these topics would be an interesting empirical exercise in and of itself.

Regarding Välijärvi's second point on teacher training, the outcomes achieved by the Finnish education system – in general – cannot be disputed (OECD 2003). However, in the purposeful selection I conducted for interview participants in the multiple case study presented in this thesis, *education* – in general – is a disciplinary field which *cannot be characterized as viable*, or in which many academic personal of migrant origin – *in recognizable trajectories* – will be found in the ranks of senior faculty in the universities in which I conducted these studies[41]. This corresponds with the observation that none of the 859 responses in the recent Finnish academy survey of foreign PhD students and researchers came from the field of education (Puustinen-Hopper 2005).

During these studies as I was intrigued by the tension between Raunio's earlier quoted reference to 'glass ceilings' (See Section 4.3) or structural features of research-intensive fields in Finnish society, including higher education which are not mentioned (or are ignored) in much of what I had earlier labelled as uncritical policy discussion and reports on academic mobility (See Section 2.2). This tension prompted me to articulate the *hypothesis of vertical mobility*:

> *As migrants integrate into the culture and learn the Finnish language, those wanting a career in academics – or any field – will be free to pursue it on an equal basis with their age cohort. Since academe is a merit-based field, ascriptive statuses associated with migration will not be an issue. The 'normal' (ascriptive) variables of gender and age will be adequate when engaging the notion of educational equality in higher education.*

The hypothesis of vertical mobility is an amalgamation of objections encountered during the course of these studies. These objections were raised by senior academics who asserted that ascriptive characteristics – with the exception of age and gender – did not really need to be taken into account when researching higher education system employment in Finland.

Conceptually, this assertion is put in the form of a hypothesis because ascriptive characteristics are easily operationalized and their effects on career paths can be empirically engaged. In fact, they have been numerous times, including in Finland (Välimaa 2001b; 2004; Huso 2000, 2001). The sticking point of the hypothesis is, of course, that some ascriptive characteristics cannot be empirically tested with statistics, because the categories necessary do not correspond with data that exists or that has been used in public discussions about equity. This is not the same as saying empirical proxies of migration do

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41 It was possible to locate a few individuals whose positions were so unique, it was not possible to do an interview in which confidentiality could be imagined possible.

not exist. It is saying that we do not really know what their relationship to higher education career potential is.

The most interesting question connected to this hypothesis concerns whether or not the professor quoted at the beginning of this section is correct; or not, regarding the potential of the next generation of academics with a migrant background in Finnish higher education.

As the hypothesis of vertical mobility indicates, it is possible we have an exceptional higher education system with regard to the relationships between ascriptive status and career potential.

The nagging question for persons who would like to cling to *the hypothesis of vertical mobility* is: How could we know if this were true? The open question introduced in this dissertation – to paraphrase the professor quoted at the outset of this section – is: *How does the world work:* ***Here?***

6 OLD QUESTIONS IN A NEW CONTEXT EQUALS *NEW QUESTIONS*

> "Policy analysis is creating and crafting problems worth solving … by understanding the material with which analysts work, we can better understand the limits and potentials of the craft … [regarding culture] the creative tension that drives analysis arises between the historical pattern of social relationships and our evolving preferences for new patterns. The tensions between social interaction and intellectual cogitation, between asking and telling, between politics and planning, which have so much occupied us, measure the degree to which we are willing to accept what people think they want or intervene so that they will want what we think they ought to have. Policy analysis creates culture by restructuring social interaction and, consequently the values we express by our participation as citizens in public society." (Wildavsky 1987: 389)

From a policy point of view, the recent interest in academic mobility is understandable, considering the changing demographics of Finnish society (See Chapter 1). However, this interest is not served when the starting point of policy discussion, reports or research about academic mobility is based on contextually-based assumptions that unnecessarily limit the view of actual phenomena, or by using concepts which are conflated or applied to contexts in which they lack relevance (See Chapter 2). This situation is further complicated by the narrow methodological approaches typical to research on academic mobility (See Chapter 3) and uncritical modes of inquiry. Given these circumstances, it is inevitable that a less-than-complete picture emerges; regardless of the fact that the topic is important.

The empirical analysis presented in this text indicates a new set of policy questions which are unsurprising if the recent nature of the importance assigned to this topic in the Finnish context is considered.

The analysis indicates that a great deal can be learned from asking relevant questions in relevant contexts to people who can actually inform a research problem on the topic of the career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish Higher Education: Migrant Scholars. While a focus on migrant scholars can only partially address the broader contextual circumstances they face; not accounting for their perspective is no longer an option. This is because the analytical framing of the purposeful selection of migrant scholars participating

in these studies indicates that migrant academics arriving today, may perceive two sets of established, structural dynamics. The first, is a set of patterns, if more carefully examined, might give them cause to look elsewhere for employment *in some cases*. In *other cases*, these same conceptual coordinates will indicate promising fields with outstanding career potential. The differences between these two types of settings strongly indicate that further research is warranted on this topic (See Section 6.3).

Even without further study, the studies comprising this dissertation already indicate a good general answer to the question I am frequently asked by potential job applicants with a migrant background: *'What's it like to work in Finnish universities?'*

However, my present answer to that question almost always includes the following qualification: Theoretically speaking, there are more precise answers than what has generally been assumed to be the case in the Finnish context.

The catch is, developing those answers further involves both a re-examination of the most basic principles upon which our education system has been built and a critical examination of how our university system will be defined in an era which multiple types of hierarchies – global, regional, national and local – will be authored by multiple stakeholders inside and outside our national borders (Hoffman, Välimaa & Huusko 2005; Välimaa & Hoffman *forthcoming*).

Analytically, this means critically questioning the hypothesis of vertical mobility, in terms that have never been used, with robust, explanatory methodological approaches.

There is nothing new about considering whether or not the most basic sociological categories explain one's potential in a given social context (Heilbron 2005). However, when the question has never been posed with regard specific ascriptive statuses, like national origin, ethnicity or skin color, in specific contexts like higher education employment, what arises are *a new set of questions.* Not all of these questions can be answered by research, because the terms with which researchers will approach these new dynamics will be partially determined in the domains of policy and politics.

6.1 Competitive Horizons and the Hypothesis of Vertical Mobility*: Better to Know?*

> "A national valuation of social justice – fair treatment for all – is pressed upon modern academic systems as a set of issues of equality and equity" (Clark 1983: 241).

The analytical aim of this analysis was to conceptually articulate a set of empirically-based theoretical coordinates which can be used to illuminate the circumstances of migrant academic personnel and academic mobility dynamics in the Finnish university system. These dynamics, in turn were presented in terms of relationships defined by established theoretical constructs developed

with respect to, for example, ascriptive characteristics, disciplines defined in terms of the hard-soft and pure-applied sciences, specific forms of capital like scientific and academic power and career trajectory with regard to university mission (Beck 1992; Becher & Trowler 2001; Bourdieu 1988; Välimaa 2001b). In this sense, the studies involve theory verification (Punch 2000), that is, the concepts chosen worked well with respect to the research questions which guided the studies.

On the other hand, the studies were also used to establish new concepts; for example, lateral and vertical mobility, logics of entrance and competitive horizons. These concepts illuminate dynamics which have been missed in current research, reports and policy discussion in the regional, national and local context. In this sense the studies were used for theory generation (Punch 2000).

However, the purpose underlying the empirical effort was ultimately made with regard to policy analysis. Specifically, the way in which established theory and a mode of inquiry highlights a rather generic research question: *Are there relationships between ascriptive characteristics and career potential?* That question is relevant to policy discussions on the topic of academic mobility in higher education and the research-intensive occupational sectors in which similar dynamics occur.

In the policy context, this dissertation indicates – if nothing else – that the way in which these topics are approached and framed determines a great deal about the type of knowledge or information which forms the basis of social and public policy. In other words, as Whalbeck's (2003) work implies, there are two basic alternatives. Policy discussion on migration related issues can continue to occur *as if* the wider debates, theories, modes of inquiry and knowledge used in the rest of the world *does not really apply in the Finnish context*. Or, on the other hand, some of the dynamics and concept combinations presented in this research can be taken up in policy discussion, because they reveal new questions and novel approaches.

As pointed out in Chapters 1 and 3, the generalizations presented in this text are theoretical in the sense they are made with regard to a wider undefined population. Recent research and reports carried out in this context recommend that statistical indicators be adopted in order that mobility dynamics can be better studied (Raunio 2004; Puustinen-Hopper 2005).

While this would undoubtedly make *gathering information* about mobility dynamics easier, the studies that were carried out in this dissertation indicate that without careful consideration, it would be very easy to *move forward on some mobility issues while missing fundamental dynamics involving core values that up till now have defined the distinctive nature of higher education in Finland.*

The dynamics presented correspond to wider, global debates on the nature of public good in higher education (Currie et al. 1998; Marginson 2006; Torres 2006).

A fundamental dilemma higher education policy-makers and stakeholders currently face – in many nations – is*: **Will the past discussion on equity reflect the changing demographics of the national population – in a meaningful way – in the age of global academic capitalism?***

The examination of the relationship between the hypothesis of vertical mobility with regard to the changing demographics of the Finnish population *and* the competitive horizons of an individual, basic unit, department, institute or faculty, higher education institution or national higher education system represents uncharted, *but conceptually defined* empirical territory. Considering that territory introduces basic conceptual and methodological questions as to how that territory can be defined and approached – or if it should be. Is it better to know?

6.2 Know What?

The basic policy question that the analysis of this dissertation introduces can be simply phrased in terms of the research questions that guided the empirical studies presented in the analysis:

> *Do the perceptions, experiences and circumstances of the participants in these studies indicate structural dynamics in Finnish higher education which policy makers are unaware of?*

The hypothesis of vertical mobility would constitute a position in which the answer to that question would be 'no'.

However, as I indicated in Chapter 2, and found during the purposeful selection used in these studies; conceptual discussion on equity and internationalization in the universities does not reflect the changing nature and complexity of either higher education *or* society in a way that includes different types of migrant groups – in terms individuals in those groups may find very meaningful.

There is nothing in this analysis which contradicts the widespread, high regard for equity in the Finnish Education system as whole (Välijärvi 2006; Välimaa 2001a; Kivinen & Kaipainen 2002). However, the growing conceptual gaps between what higher education internationalization and educational equality meant in the 20th century and the emerging dynamics, particularly with regard to lateral and vertical mobility, indicate that re-thinking policy approaches in these areas is critical in order to maintain a credible assertion of this state of affairs. This is the case whether migration rates increase in the future, or especially if they do not.

The hypothesis of vertical mobility was written with respect to the fact that in 2001, over 70% of Finnish academics work at the university from which they received their most recent degree, in other words, *local circulation*.

Transient *short term exchange* is currently reflected in statistics, leaving *lateral mobility* unaccounted for, as well as *vertical mobility*. Empirical proxies for lateral and vertical mobility can be sought, but are presently not in use in the public domain as this would be a violation of Finnish law (See Chapter 2).

The central difficulty with these dynamics – in the policy context – will involve the degree and manner to which the assumptions underlying laws like

this are considered in light of the demographic shifts Finnish society is beginning to experience, or if they will be. Conceptually, the hypothesis of vertical mobility concerns equity outcomes as recently discussed by Malin (2005) and asserted by Välijärvi (2006). The hypothesis does not account for the prescriptive discussions about multiculturalism, interculturalism, antiracism or diversity for two reasons. The first is that the vibrant debates and discussions on these types of topics has primarily originated in societies which are characterized by high degrees of socioeconomic stratification of a type never experienced in the Finnish context. The second is that the general educational achievements explained by a focus on equity has resulted in internationally superior results when compared to countries which have framed or engaged equity issues in terms of multiculturalism, diversity or prescriptive approaches like these (Välijärvi 2006; OECD 2003).

As the demographics and competitive horizons of our national higher education system shift, the hypothesis of vertical mobility presents a serious challenge to social and public policy concerning education in general and the only institution capable of explaining the challenges society currently faces. If academic personnel and policy-makers are unable to account for social dynamics within our own institution, how capable can we be with regard to interpreting or explaining change in any other context?

6.3 Policy Implications and Research Questions for the Future

> "Policy Analysis, to be brief, is the activity of creating problems that can be solved. Every policy is fashioned out of tension between resources and objectives, planning and politics, scepticism and dogma. Solving problems involves temporarily resolving these tensions." (Wildavsky 1987: 17)

Using Wildavsky's terms, the *scepticism* resulting from the tension between *dogmatic* approaches to the 'internationalization of higher education' and equity discussions which carefully attend to some ascriptive characteristics – while ignoring the majority of them – has been articulated in this dissertation (See Chapter 2.2) with the single imperative outlined in Chapter 1. This has been the desire to frame current issues in terms *useful in policy discussions* where the empirical phenomena outlined in Chapter 4 *have been missed*. What I bring to the table – as an analyst – necessarily includes the implications of my analysis that apply to Finnish universities regarding the unanticipated consequences resulting in part from dogmatic policy discussions that migrant academics – and academics in general – may be increasingly sceptical of (See Chapter 2.2).

Resolving tension in the manner Wildavsky suggests, in this case involves presenting analysis in terms which can be talked about, because the first step in resolving tension involves an *awareness* it exists, and articulation of key ideas which can be used in dialogue.

The relationship between the *policy implications of this dissertation* and *further research* on *migration issues and the academic mobility of scientific personnel* hinges on the *relationship between policy makers and higher education researchers*. This is an assertion which applies to this topic in the European context in general and Finland in particular. Specifically; despite the attention that academic mobility has received in the past decade, since Teichler characterized literature on this topic as *"occasional, coincidental, sporadic or episodic"* (Teichler 1996: 341), working on this dissertation during the past several years has left me with the perception that – basically – *not that much has changed* with regard to the ways in which academic mobility issues are still perceived, researched and acted on in many higher education contexts *which have changed* – dramatically – during that same period of time.

While notable exceptions to that generalization – particularly those mentioned in Chapter 2.1 – exist; the basis for the argument I assert here is that research on academic mobility issues – particularly regarding the migration of scientific personnel – has been consigned to a *high profile, but theoretically marginal* station in Finnish higher education (Hoffman 2005a). As Wahlbeck (2003) asserts, issues having to do with migration *in specific Finnish contexts* are still often approached *as if theoretical findings from elsewhere* somehow do not apply in Finland.

Focusing on the demographic challenges outlined in Chapter 1, particularly the aging of the population, the tension between the circumstances of international migration and the ambivalence with which migrants are considered in many Finnish contexts (See Chapter 2.2), indicates increasing the level of academic rigor and methodological variety with which these circumstances are addressed. This dissertation indicates *all* ascriptive characteristics bear on higher education career trajectories, yet only those which apply to ethnic Finnish citizens are those we have analyzed and measured in widely available public statistics. Despite the presence of migrants in our *society* and *higher education system* for decades, we still have no *widely accepted and used concepts* – in either scope – which consistently reflect the conceptual space 'between' being a *migrant in Finnish society* and a *Finnish citizen*, although a patchwork of working definitions – based on everything from folk psychology to state-of-the-art literature – exists in the minds of *migrants*, *Finnish citizens* and *migrants who are Finnish citizens or permanent residents*.

Lastly, the scope of our focus – *what we choose to see* – with this limited range of vision increasingly reveals a great deal more about our global competitive horizons – *where we hope we are going* – rather than an outdated version of educational equality *that actually got us this far* . Not seeing the problematic nature of this state of affairs *is problematic* (Bourdieu 2004; Marginson 2006; Hoffman & Välimaa *forthcoming*).

These issues should all be of concern to higher education policy makers because they are indications of systematic weaknesses (*if we perceive these features, but regard them as unimportant*) or threats (*if we fail to perceive them*). Specifically, in other national contexts, it is foreseeable that this state of affairs

would have been acted on – or at least noticed to a greater degree than it has been. This is not the same as saying another set of actors could have done better. This is because much more is known about *'what does not work'* with regard to the issues I will highlight in this section than *'what does.'* It is saying some of these issues may appear obvious in hindsight.

Since this dissertation provides the theoretical coordinates which can be used to establish the relationships between ***all*** *ascriptive characteristics* and *career potential* in our system *and* we are actively encouraging highly skilled migrant academics to work and live here, a dialogue between higher education stakeholders, policy makers and researchers interested in constructively and robustly engaging these issues is clearly warranted to resolve the tensions which are illuminated by this analysis.

Establishing modes of inquiry and ideas which *do not* provide much insight into the rapidly changing dynamics which underlie the research questions guiding this study (See Section 2.2) is not the same as establishing those which *do* (See Chapter 3). And neither of those activities is the same as concretely addressing potential problem areas which can be inferred from the empirical studies comprising this dissertation (Chapters 4 & 5). The first two tasks – *of researchers* – are far easier than the third – *the task of policy analysts, policy makers and politicians*.

With regard to the way in which the issues discussed in this thesis can be approached by policy makers and researchers, the most significant finding of this study may be a *stark indication of caution* in this area with regard to the way in which this topic is conceptually framed and methodologically approached. This especially regards the temptation to adopt fads or fashions from elsewhere without firstly seeking empirical evidence that those fashions have actually impacted – in a positive way – the phenomena in question.

Having qualified the limits of our lack of knowledge in areas related to the migration of scientific personnel and various forms of academic mobility, I will firstly outline the *basic policy issues* that this analysis indicates could be considered (Section 6.3.1). Secondly, I will outline a research program based upon the consideration of the potential inherent in the present relationship between higher education policy makers and researchers in the Finnish context (Section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Policy issues

Policy makers with either interest or responsibility with regard to academic mobility are confronted with an immediate combination of dilemmas in which the need for transparent data and robust analysis is complicated by uncertainty with regard to the empirical proxies of migration (what type of data to obtain), a cultural bias against the idea of collecting what probably constitute the most valid data (privacy and ethical issues) and legal prohibitions which have been established with regard to those issues. These three issues are often represented as 'given' in many discussions I have participated in regarding these dilemmas. The fact that these positions are not regarded as problematic, rather as

assumptions is what led me to formulate *the hypothesis of vertical mobility* (See Sections 5.3, 6.1-6.2). That hypothesis is a logical outcome of the assumptions underlying current research, administrative practice, policy discussion and law in this area.

The question squarely in front of policy makers and politicians is the one most famously posed by Freire (1970), *'Who benefits?'* Specifically two questions researchers can debate, but only policy makers and politicians can resolve are: *Who benefits from measurement of ascriptive characteristics which are empirical proxies of ethnic Finnish citizens, but not the ascriptive characteristics which are empirical proxies of migrants in Finnish society? Or, alternatively, is there a way to frame this issue which would allow analytical insight into these issues, while maintaining respect for individual and system integrity?*

The debates which would arise from posing these questions are as 'moot' as they are predictable to a researcher in the Finnish context. I have opinions about those questions – as a migrant academic – but recognize they are questions decided outside my professional domain. These are questions of policy.

A second key area which applies directly to policy makers much more than research per se are the implications of *relationships between conventional and emerging types of academic mobility* in the Finnish context (See Chapter 4.1.). Specifically, while the Finnish higher education system – in general – has developed a high capacity with regard to *conventional* forms of academic mobility, that is: established *National Career patterns*, *ICT-based mobility* and structural arrangements for *short-term exchanges and excursions*; no administrative university personnel were encountered during the study with expertise in *emerging* forms of academic mobility as they relate to the *recruitment*, *promotion* and *retention* of academic personnel with a migrant background, that is, *lateral* and *vertical academic mobility*. Furthermore I met very few persons who demonstrated a grasp of the implications of the complexity of the relationships between the distinct forms of academic mobility identified in this dissertation. This is in stark contrast to 100s of university personnel encountered who have full or part time responsibility regarding conventional forms of academic mobility associated with traditional internationalization. In the simplest terms, from the perspective of migrant personnel, the Finnish universities which were the context of this analysis do not display a widely-recognized or accepted, culturally-based notion of *inclusion*, with regard to individuals from all migrant groups in Finnish society, nor does there appear to be the recognition that one is needed. If you are *Ethnically Finnish* or *'international'* on campus, there are clear opportunities and infrastructure. If you are *something other than those two things*, for example, the majority of the 42 participants in the multiple case study I carried out on five Finnish campuses; *you are in an interesting situation in which very little knowledge exists and even less professional capacity*. Regarding *the career potential of migrant scholars in different fields of study*, this is situation appears *untenable and unrealistic* in many higher education settings and *unneeded* in others. ***The differences in those two types of settings should be extremely interesting to policy makers*** regarding a feasible,

culturally–based notion of inclusion which avoids the well known, highly criticized approaches which have been and are currently are being used in other national higher education systems, for example *positive discrimination* (affirmative action policies) in the USA, *guest-worker status* (Germany) or cultural assimilation (*France*).

The question a policy-maker could ask themselves is: *'Is it easier for an early stage researcher from Silicon Valley, California to obtain a graduate school position, than a Finnish* citizen – *whose father or mother was born in Somalia?'* There is an answer to that question *now*. More importantly, this answer will change as time goes on. The way in which that answer will change will depend – in part – on policy and law.

Another key area which can more appropriately be posed in terms of policy and politics than research regards the issue of the scope we use in our studies of mobility[42]. Specifically, the majority of efforts regarding academic mobility have been focused on the *conventional forms of academic mobility* associated with the *internationalization of higher education*. However, counterintuitive reflection on the reason our higher education system – and nation – is so highly internationally regarded (Sachs 2004; Radcliffe 2004), indicate that the scope of mobility be extended beyond obvious conventional forms, to the forms which will – in the future – be an indication as to the *status of the equity and associated quality of life the Nordic countries are noted for, both in the workplace and in society.* As is noted above, *this* issue corresponds to a global debate in international comparative higher education *which will not be found* in most reports on academic mobility in the Finnish context (See Chapter 2.2).

The reasons given by several of the interview participants who have taken Finnish citizenship or become permanent residents, had to do precisely with quality of life issues. Those same interviews directly indicate those participants accurately ascertained the general **career** *and* **living** conditions with regard to *Finland-as-a potential-home*. They did not do this via formal networks. The type of professional and national/ethnically based networking they did was not only on behalf of themselves, but for their families. And it generally occurred *before* a department head realized the opportunity for recruitment even existed.

This set of circumstances may mean that our scope of research should be dictated by those individuals we need to recruit *at this moment* – who are probably 'checking us out' *at this moment*. My point is that in this dissertation, no *fields of study*, *disciplines*, *basic units*, *career stages* or *mission areas* were encountered which had *'too much talent'*. Yet our efforts regarding academic mobility are systematically unsystematic with regard to the question *why we are doing what we are doing*. Our areas of focus often exclude the areas this dissertation indicates are void of senior faculty of migrant origin, who could recruit and mentor MA, PhD and future migrant faculty members who may be

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42 If researchers are asked to focus on overly narrow areas of mobility, especially in terms of stage of study (for example, students) or mission area (for example research), it is easy to spend resources which cannot produce analysis that applies to the most important emerging questions facing higher education and society (Hoffman 2005a).

able to articulate or research why they are – at present – *missing* from the positions and contexts in the higher education hierarchies.

Although the word hierarchy may seem out of place in 'flat', 'representative' Nordic organizational structures, it is these structures themselves which embody the quickest way to make the perspective of the migrant academic vanish. The reason why some of my findings might appear to be new, may be related to how migrant academics could represent issues associated with being a migrant academic on 'representative committees' *which contain no migrant personnel*. The same is true of committees, boards, units and programs which purport to have 'multicultural' or 'international ambit', yet *contain only personnel from one nation*. This should not be confused with advocating a formulation designed to 'force' representation. It is saying that in many contexts and settings; directly observed during this research, the lack of academics with a migrant background – *at any level* – partially explains why some issues are well under the radar-screen of policy making.

The previous point highlights the *missing perspective* this dissertation illuminates, that is, the migrant academics on university campuses *at this moment*. As this analysis indicates many 'answers' to questions Finnish policy makers and researchers have speculated about regarding the *international attractiveness of their campuses* can be addressed by migrants who – in many cases – have lived here for a number of years. This is not a substantive issue of *what* or *why*. It is a question of *'who'* (*is missing?*) While an interesting topic for researchers, it is a far more interesting question that policy-makers can pose to themselves. Specifically, how tenable is it to routinely overlook available human resources in favour of mono-cultural process approaches to issues identified as 'multicultural' or 'international' in nature?

Lastly, the most interesting set of circumstances in front of higher education policy-makers and researchers in Finland at this time is the chance to do ground-breaking research in academic mobility issues. This is because of four reasons.

Firstly, both the general population – and the higher education system – are small in size and highly organized. The relationship between all important stakeholders is structural in nature with a general degree of trust which is absent from many other societies (Välimaa 2005). These types of arrangements mean research of the type which logically stems from the analysis of this dissertation is much easier to plan and systematically carry out than it would be in many societies.

Secondly, there is an established network of internationally known higher education researchers, internationally known policy experts and emerging generations of both. These networks are characterized by highly developed international research and professional networks.

Thirdly, although Finland is often represented as culturally homogenous, there is, nevertheless, a substantial numbers of migrant academics, especially when considered in international comparative terms. While the numbers are

not as large as countries with established, large-scale patterns of migration, they are considerably larger than many, more homogenous cultures.

Lastly, the above-mentioned regard for equity in society (Malin 2005; Esping-Andersen 1998; Sachs 2004); although it can be contextually criticized in higher education employment, is nonetheless exceptional and reflects a research setting in which the types of questions guiding this analysis – and the analysis itself – will have a greater degree of resonance with higher education stakeholders than might be anticipated in other settings.

The conclusion which can be drawn from these contextual conditions, for policy-makers, is that Finland has a unique opportunity to set a standard with regard to the way in which these types of substantial matters are perceived, approached and acted upon regarding the relationship between *policy*, *politics* and *research* (El-Khawas 2000).

6.3.2 Future research problems

The analysis of this thesis; when considered with respect to the policy implications detailed above, leads to a coherent program of research that can be pursued on two main axis – the clarification of emerging academic mobility dynamics *within* Finnish higher education and comparison of these dynamics *across* nations or regions.

The potential of this topic is incomplete at this point in the research and that is its main limitation. This is because any insight which can be garnered from this analysis, at best rests on analytical generalizations to theory. These generalizations indicate obvious roads forward for more robust research designs focused on several research topics identified during the dissertation. However, as was pointed out in Section 3.1, the utility of the findings constitute only partial knowledge of a complex topic, one consideration and perspective amongst many.

The first aspect of this type of sustained research effort (within Finland) mainly involves robust, explanatory mixed methods approaches (Creswell 2002; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Punch 2000) to the theoretical coordinates articulated in this study, particularly regarding distinct *academic mobility patterns in different types of higher education institutions*; *academic mobility patterns in different disciplines and fields of study* and a comprehensive analysis of *career potential of migrant scholars in different types of higher education institutions and fields of study*. Distinct from these studies, but no less important, are studies which would focus on *generational mobility* regarding both *students* and *highly skilled professionals*; specifically, PhD students whose career trajectory lies outside higher education.

The dialogue with policy-makers (articulated above) is critical to the pursuit of this type of research, because strategic policy concerns – ***where*** *policy makers and politicians believe they are steering the higher education system* – are not generated by researchers, however researchers and policy analysts – who have this information can design research which will illuminate both anticipated and unanticipated consequences. This is precisely the literature gap this dissertation

exploits (See Chapter 1). In this type of research and policy making relationship, research outcomes can be more easily used in the policy-making process (Rist 1998). In the same way, the dilemmas regarding *data generation* and *use* in ways in which have never been done – aiming at the highest *standards of validity* and *ethical research practice* could only be accomplished in a close, cooperative dialogue between researchers and policy makers.

A second type of research originating *within* the Finnish context is linked to a cluster of *related, but distinct* research problems which were identified directly or indirectly while conducting the specific studies related to this dissertation. Specifically, as is typical in qualitative case studies on 'emerging' or 'unfolding' research topics (Archer 1995; Punch 2000), in general and interview analysis in particular (Kvale 1996), much more data was collected than could be used or analyzed. The positive aspect of this is that it allows publishing-as-you-go, featuring concise documents focusing on narrow – but important – aspects of a research topic. The negative side to this is that many other interesting topics get shifted to the backburner, in favor of those which are deemed more important by the researcher and their audience(s).

Following feedback from scholars and field experts, concrete research topics, problems and questions are being framed as basic MA, PhD and Post-Doc-level research topics, and introduced to scholars and professionals interested in pursuing those topics in a coherent, robust, sustained examination of the emerging dynamics and issues associated migrant scholars in the Finnish context. These studies will reflect the methodological variety necessary to carry out interpretive and explanatory designs aimed, each focusing on the *theory verification* or *theory generation* (Punch 2000) which this topic generally lacks in the Finnish context (Hoffman 2005a).

Regarding the field of *international comparative higher education*, this program of research is being introduced to key international partners in the community of higher education researchers with the explicit goal of developing a comparative analytical framework which will allow a more theoretically-based, fine-grained – and *relevant* – study of the issues identified in this dissertation *within* and *across* countries in which this type of work has not been carried out.

Analytically, these two specific axis of investigation; *elaborating these dynamics within the Finnish context* and *establishing variation across countries* broadly outline a theoretical and empirical intersection which presents policy-makers, stakeholders and researchers a set of circumstances as complex and challenging as they are fundamental and vital with respect defining the nature of the relationship between higher education and society in the 21st century.

YHTEENVETO

Tämä väitöskirjatutkimus käsittelee työllisyyttä suomalaisessa korkeakoulujärjestelmässä siirtolaistaustaisen akateemisen henkilökunnan näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksessa keskitytään akateemisten siirtolaisten havaintoihin ja kokemuksiin, heidän liikkuvuuteensa eri tieteenaloilla sekä heidän ominaispiirteisiinsä suhteessa demografiseen muutokseen Euroopassa yleensä ja erityisesti Suomessa.

Kansainvälinen muuttoliike – etenkin korkeasti koulutetun tieteellisen henkilökunnan osalta - on herättänyt keskustelua Suomessa, jossa on ikääntyvä ja kulttuurisesti homogeeninen väestö. Keskustelua on kuitenkin käyty ilman kunnon tilastoja suomalaisissa yliopistoissa työskentelevistä akateemisista siirtolaisista. Keskustelulta puuttuu myös käsitteellinen perusta sekä tarkoituksenmukaisia tilastoja ja empiriaan perustuva analyysi, jossa eriteltäisiin kansainvälisen muuttoliikkeen ja suomalaisten yliopistojen työllisyyden välistä suhdetta.

Väitöskirja koostuu seuraavista laadullisista tutkimuksista: usean yliopiston tapaustutkimukset, osallistujakysely ja elämänkerralliset menetelmät. Tutkimukset nostavat esiin kuusi eri tyyppistä akateemisen liikkuvuuden mallia, joista kolme on hyvin vakiintuneita suomalaisissa yliopistoissa ja kolme on vasta nousemassa esiin, korostaen kansainvälistä siirtolaisdynamiikkaa. Akateemisen liikkuvuuden mallit linkitetään urapotentiaaliin eri tieteen- ja tutkimuksen aloilla, tehtävissä ja uran vaiheissa. Lisäksi kuvataan suomalaisissa yliopistoissa työskentelevien akateemisten siirtolaisten ominaispiirteitä ja osoitetaan minkä tyyppiset yksilöt ja ryhmät puuttuvat heidän joukostaan verrattaessa niitä valtaväestöön. Akateemisten siirtolaisten havainnot ja kokemukset kontekstualisoidaan ensin monien akateemisten siirtolaisten läsnäoloa Suomessa kuvastavaan sattumanvaraisuuteen. Seuraavaksi osoitetaan, että heidän kertomuksensa korostavat keskustelua, joka liittyy akateemisiin siirtolaisiin sekä siirtolaisiin yleisemmin. Tutkimuksessa kiinnitetään huomiota myös puutteisiin käsitteiden kehittämisessä ja siitä aiheutuviin ongelmiin aihetta käsittelevässä tutkimuskirjallisuudessa.

Tutkimuksen merkittävin löydös korostaa kerrostuneisuuden mahdollisuutta suomalaisessa korkeakoulujärjestelmässä, jolle on ollut tyypillistä kerrostuneisuuden puute. Yksinkertaistaen voi luonnehtia, että tämä kerrostuneisuus on näkymätöntä, koska leimallisia tunnuspiirteitä (kansallista alkuperää, etnistä taustaa ja ihonväriä) käsitellään korkeakoulujen työllisyyttä käsittelevissä keskusteluissa ja tilastoissa eri tavalla kuin sukupuolta tai ikää. Akateemisten siirtolaisten potentiaalisesti ongelmallista dynamiikkaa kärjistää tutkimuksen, lainsäädännön ja käytäntöjen puute, mikä selittää myös yleistä tietoisuuden puutetta. Pohjoismaisen hyvinvointivaltion koulutusjärjestelmää on perinteisesti kuvannut koulutusmahdollisuuksien oikeudenmukaisuuden toteutuminen. Tämän periaatteen haastaa empiirinen todellisuus, sillä se

muuttuu nopeammin kuin käsitteellinen keskustelu oikeudenmukaisuuden ja osallistumisen käytännöistä.

Tutkimuksen analyysin keskeinen saavutus on, että se määrittelee akateemisen liikkuvuuden teoreettiset koordinaatit niin, että urapolkuihin liittyvä vaihtelu suomalaisessa korkeakoulutusjärjestelmässä paljastuu. Tämä mahdollistaa myös vertailun moniin muihin samanlaisessa tilanteessa oleviin maihin. Korkeakoulutusjärjestelmän toimijoiden haasteena on tilanteen kohtaaminen niin, että yksilöiden, yhteiskunnan ja instituutioiden, kuten korkeakoulutuksen, lahjomattomuus säilyy.

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