Migration of non-EU highly-skilled migrants

Supranational, national and local policy effects on non-EU highly-skilled migrants and migration.

I.   **Background Information**

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Preface

Nine months ago I started this project with a rough concept in which I wanted to link a case of diversity management with an economic issue. After many months of finding the right balance I worked towards this thesis. The journey hasn't always been easy but it has taught me many things. This research has brought me too many interesting places and has let me speak to very interesting individuals. Individuals who all had their own intriguing story and different backgrounds. Their visions gave me an insight on the different trajectories that life can offer. Every personal story kept me thinking for days on end. This thesis is the report of this long process.

I couldn't have gone through this process without the help of many people. First of all I would like to thank the post-docs who were willing to tell me there story. Their enthusiasm and friendliness made my research a wonderful experience. I would like to thank my supervisor and first reader dr. Massimiliano Spotti for his support and guidance, dr. Hans Siebers for his critical but constructive feedback. I would like to thank dr. Veerle Draulans for helping me with finding respondents. And finally I would like to thank my girlfriend and family for supporting and empowering me throughout this thesis.

Arnout de Winter, June 2014

Thesis Title

Supranational, national and local policy effects on non-EU highly-skilled migrants and migration.

Abstract

This study explores the migration policy discourse at different levels of realisation of migration policy and how these correspond with the expectations and experiences of highly-skilled non-EU migrants. The research focuses on a case study that looks at the inclusion and exclusion effects that migration policy discourse has on the experiences and expectations of the highly-skilled migrants. In so doing, the case study looks at what barriers non-EU highly-skilled migrants could face and can indicate social problems that can arise from migration and internationalization such as inclusion, exclusion, identity formation, brain drain and brain gain. By creating a case study the effects of policymaking can be studied on a macro (EU and national level), meso (educational institution) and micro (highly-skilled migrant) level.

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II   Research

1.   Introduction

The economic and cultural capital of highly-skilled migrants are important for the promotion of a knowledge based economy and society. Highly-skilled migrants are seen as an economic asset and even a necessity. However, social aspects such as the inclusion of highly-skilled migrants in society are often overlooked. Highly-skilled migrants are often going through a process of identity negotiation and integration within their newly arrived social and professional space (Koskela, 2010). The inclusion of foreign born migrants into society and the labour market has always been a critical and complex issue due to the many factors involved in the process. The interactions of highly-skilled migrants with other members of society in the social and work space can influence the choice in career path and on the decision of settling down (Habiti, 2012).

1.1   Research Problem

Europe is ageing; its population is shrinking (European Commision, 2012) and will be in need of highly-skilled migrant labour over the coming decades (Mcloughlin & Munz, 2011). The EU member states have developed a new interest in the recruitment of highly-skilled migrants. Migration is a concept that is seen as a solution for job shortages. On a micro level migration can lead to social inclusion or exclusion which both has influences on social connections and resources, safety, security, income and financial resources (Walsh, O'shea, & Scharf, 2012). Accenture (2012) researched the supply of advanced science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) graduates. The research results indicated a high demand for STEM graduates in the labour market. In France, STEM are considered to be critical for growth while 57% of enterprises face a shortage of skilled labour in this area. STEM jobs account for 7.4% of employment across European countries. In Spain, 70% of organisational decisions makers have indicated that there is a shortage of high-end analytical skilled labourers and in The United Kingdom decision makers have indicated that they are facing a shortage in technology enabled manufacturing skilled labourers (Accenture, 2012). In Austria, in 2010, 77% of enterprises reported difficulties with filling vacancies in the field of technology and production. In Belgium, the amount of unfilled vacancies for engineering professions was 2.500 in 2009 despite the 2000 Belgian engineers graduating every year. In Germany, the problem is more structural. During the economic peak in 2008 there was a demand of 114.000 skilled individuals within the STEM sectors. The demand reduced in 2009 and 2010 but has reached 117.000 in February 2011 (EU Skills Panorama, 2012).

In comparison to European countries, emerging economies have a large number of STEM graduates. In China 41%, India 26% and Brazil 14% of the degrees were STEM graduates (Craig, Thomas, Hou, & Mathur, 2011). In Europe only 9.1% of all graduates were STEM graduates. The shortage does not limit itself to STEM graduates; employers are experiencing difficulties in filling finance/accounting, communication, leadership and language vacancies. (Manpower, 2012). Overall, the supply of highly-skilled labour is considered insufficient and with the increasing demand of highly-skilled labour the shortages are forming a constraint for European economic growth (EU Skills Panorama, 2012). The shortages have led to the following paradox: the shortage of labour in crucial sectors while having a high youth unemployment rate (EurActive, 2013).

Past research (Accenture, 2012; Avveduto, 2012; Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009; Craig, Thomas, Hou, & Mathur, 2011; Münz, 2013; European Migration Network, 2007) has identified a shortage of highly-skilled labour in the EU job market. The literature indicates that the European Commission and EU members have developed a renewed interest in the recruitment of non-EU highly-skilled labour (Mcloughlin & Munz, 2011). The gap in previous research is the possible discrepancy of EU and national level policy making and the desires and expectations of local actors such as higher educational institutions and the highly-skilled migrants themselves. This gap needs to be filled due to the importance of identifying the interests of all actors involved in migration policy. This research addresses the shortcoming in existing literature by identifying the expectations and desires of local actors (educational institutions) and the highly-skilled migrants (non-EU post-doctorates). Non-EU post-doctorates (post-doc) have been chosen to represent the sample pool due to the concentrated high-skill level that post-docs maintain combined with a focus on STEM research orientations.

1.2   Research Question

Which inclusive or exclusive effect does migration policy discourse at EU, national and local level have on the experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants?

1. *Which practices and meanings inform migration policy discourse at EU level?*
2. *Which practices and meanings inform migration policy discourse at national level?*
3. *Which practices and meanings inform migration policy discourse at local level?*
4. *How do the main issues within EU migration policy discourse relate to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants?*
5. *How do the main issues within national migration policy discourse relate to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants?*
6. *How do the main issues within local migration policy discourse relate to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants?*
7. *What are the inclusive or exclusive effects of migration policy discourse on the experiences of highly-skilled non-EU migrants?*
8. *What are the inclusive or exclusive effects of migration policy discourse on the expectations of highly-skilled non-EU migrants?*

Higher educational intuitions were relevant for this research as it employed highly-skilled personnel which were attained from non-EU countries. Higher educational institutions offered a great opportunity to conduct a case study and research policies implemented by the EU and national government on highly-skilled labour migration while simultaneously identifying the effects on highly-skilled migrant employees through face-to-face interviews. This created a foundation in which supranational, national, institutional and personal factors could be analysed. Sub questions one, two and three have been answered by researching migration policy documents at all three levels. This served as the basis of the findings and has been used as a reference point during the interviews. Subsequently sub questions four, five and six identify how issues within migration policy relate to migrant experiences and expectations. Finally, sub question seven and eight identify the inclusion and exclusion effects that migration policy discourse has on the experiences and expectations of the highly-skilled migrants. This information has been gathered through interviews and has been compared to the results of the first three sub questions that are based on the literature and policy documents. This has brought forth discrepancies between the needs/wants/expectations of the migrants and the policymakers. This thesis identifies migration policy discourse and its

inclusive and exclusive effects on the experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants.

2.   Theoretical Background

The theoretical background offers an overview of the used theoretical concepts within this research. The theoretical concepts have been used at supranational (EU), national (Belgium) and local (Universities) levels.

2.1   Discourse

2.1.1   Discourse and Language

This study identifies discourse as the concept of people holding different opinions and interpretations and who learn and refine their ideas as they share them with others (Korkut et al., 2013). Blommaert (2005) defines discourse as language-in-action and extends beyond mere language use and discourse as social practise which includes ''all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity'' (p. 3). Blommaert (2005) states that ''discourse matters to people'' evidence can be found in the fact that it used all the time. He argues that the use of language and other meaningful symbols is what sets people apart from other species and that it accounts for our way of living together in a society or community. Discourse can be described as what transforms our environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one. Blommaert (2005) indicates that this is where social differences in discourse structure and usage emerge as a problem and that is in need of investigation.

2.1.3 Discourse and Identity

Discourse is language use that is relative to social, political and cultural formations. It can be seen as reflecting and shaping social order. It also concerns the shaping of individuals interaction within society (Rasmussen, 2009). This can lead to the construction of identity but can also contribute to the constraining of identity. Discourse of identity is a theory of discourse as a social practice and indicates ways of speaking for people depending on context while excluding others (Farrell, 2008).

Identity is an important concept within discourse. Within European context discourse is not only a way to push national interest but it can also exercise the politics of creating a collective identity. Collective identity is what 'we' are and where 'we' came from and also relates to what can and cannot be achieved (Delanty, Jones, & Wodak, 2008). Discourse does not always have to demand change. Rather, sometimes the path towards organic change is more suitable. Discourse can have causal influence due to the ideas it pushes are part of the shared understanding of a specific problem. In this situation policy makers cannot act without

addressing concerns whether or not they agree with the policy. In this scenario new ideas trump old interests (Coulthard, 1977).

The inclusion of individuals who either speak different languages or who have different religious and cultural backgrounds can raise problems (Korkut et al., 2013). Policies are created in order to address these specific issues such as residency, employment, welfare benefits and citizenship (Clasen & Oorschot, 2002) and can indicate what should be done with respect to groups of migrants (United Nations, 2011). Recent developments have led to a strong control of receiving states over migrants. The developed migration policies create prescribed methods in order to structure state control on migration, immigration and asylum. Important aspects, which cannot be left aside, are forms of exclusion from communities due to negative attitudes against individuals who, in subjective terms, do not fit in with the native population in terms of language, ethnicity, and/or religion (De Fina, 2003).

2.1.2 Discourse and Policy

This research is focused on the discourse of EU migration policy concerning highly-skilled migrants and how social differences in discourse affect the experiences and expectations of migrant highly-skilled workers. Migration is an important issue within current European politics and society. It is placed high on the EU, national and local political agenda. EU member states, national governments and local institutions must cope with the challenges brought forth by the movement of people across borders (Krizsán, 2011). Little research has been done on the relation between the construction of political discourse and the impact thereof on institutions and actors related to immigration, their expectations and everyday experiences of highly-skilled migrant populations (Korkut, Bucken-Knapp, McGarry, Hinnfors, & Drake, 2013). The EU has led to the beginning of a new form of internationalisation. EU citizens are transnationally protected and have become free to move across EU borders (European Union, 1990). The Western internationalisation can be seen as relatively free, while non-Western forms are often restrained. The restrained forms of internationalisation can lead to a higher level of vulnerabilities for migrants (Massey D. S., 1989).

Discourse is an important aspect of policy change. Discourse as a concept can have a causal influence on policy change through reconceptualising interests, reshape institutions and by reframing culture (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004). Discourse can also focus on reinforcing interests, institutions or culture. Discourse can be successful when it contains cognitive

arguments that demonstrate the policy's relevance, applicability and coherence. This can be done through normative arguments that resonate with long-standing or new values (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004).

The management of non-EU migration flows remains one of the most significant challenges facing Europe in the wake of highly-skilled labour shortages. The appearance of discourse of both formal institutions and informal communities concerning immigration indicates the importance of policies and political rhetoric on citizenship, immigration, asylum, and nationality. These factors are of great importance as they have significant consequences on public life (Korkut et al., 2013). Representatives have a great impact on the policies that are initiated to regulate immigration. The policymakers set the tone of the message. Both high and low skilled migrants face structural, social, political and economic disadvantage. The receiving state influences the way the definition of the "common good" is perceived. The receiving state has the monopoly on the formal communication that indicates its views on language, ethnicity and religion (Rawal, 2008).

Discourse plays an important role between political and social actors; it is the basis of the evolution of political institutions. The ideas on which institutions are based can be changed due to reinterpretation and debate by actors. Institutions are defined by shared ideas which are subject to constant change (Aoki, 2006). This form of discourse is central to public administration within the European states, considering the increasing Europeanization within immigration and citizenship and its issues. Overall, the discourse surrounding migration in Europe is loaded with challenging debates centred on EU, national and local level actors. EU public discourse is communicated through agreements about messages. These agreements tend to be abstract and appear politically uncontroversial (Rasmussen, 2009). The EU is an internally diverse political entity in which different nations work together for the common good. The general criticism on EU decision and policy making is its lack of consistency due to the many actors involved. It can be said that EU does not speak with one voice (Zimmerman, Bonin, Fahr, & Holger, 2007). The lack of a central EU authority creates the basis of underlying discourse among EU members. The lack for internal consensus is an example of how discourses among EU member states are so different. The political disagreement creates a barrier for common policies on many issues such as immigration (Gsir, 2013). EU discourse is characterised by the network of actors involved in its execution such as the European Commission, Parliament and Council. The European Commission plays a central role and ensures the coordination of EU related bodies through the elaboration of

strategy documents, named communications, which define the EU public discourse (Rasmussen, 2009).

2.2   The highly-skilled migrant and the EU

2.2.1 Highly-skilled migration

Research has indicated that in 2020 all but Ireland, Mexico and Turkey will experience a shrinking working population (European Commision, 2012). Europe 2020 is a ten-year growth and jobs strategy by the European Union that was initiated 2010. Next to addressing economic crisis of its member states it also tackles the shortcomings of the current EU growth model and offers to create a smart sustainable and inclusive growth. The Europe 2020 strategy has set out five goals set to be achieved by the end of 2020. These goals are: employment, research and development, climate/energy, education, social inclusion and poverty reduction (European Commission, 2010). Opening borders for highly-skilled and talented migrants are both important goals mentioned in the Lisbon treaty and Europe 2020 strategy. The 2009 Blue Card Directive has tried to facilitate these goals (Gropas, 2012). However, according to the World Economic Forum report (2012) the EU has fallen short on meeting the competitiveness goals. Europe is still behind the Unites States, Japan and Canada in building a smarter economy that can help the transition to innovation based economy.

> *'' (Europe) lags behind in terms of becoming a smarter place, hindering therefore its capacity to shift towards truly differentiated, higher value added activities and sustain its economic competitiveness.''* (World Economic Forum, 2012, p2)

The understood definition of a highly-skilled migrant is one with a university degree (Habiti, 2012). However, there are many definitions used; often on the nature of occupation. Many EU countries have chosen to define highly-skilled by means of paid wages. Migrants are being considered highly-skilled when earning above a threshold amount. This research will identify "highly skilled'' as an individual that is educated at university-level (Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009). The number of highly skilled educated migrants has increased substantially in the last decade. Research conducted by Chaloff & Lemaitre (2009) shows that the number of migrants employed in 2006 is several times larger than the corresponding number in 1995. Recent immigration countries such as Ireland, Italy, Norway and Spain and traditional immigration countries such Belgium, Luxemburg and France have seen an increase in tertiary educated migrants. There are multiple key issues underlying policy making within the context of highly-skilled migrants. A demand driven system is focused on the initiative of the employer

to attract labour with specific skill sets. In the case of identifying labour from sources outside the EU a request to the immigration authorities for a work permit needs to be made by an employer. The regulations towards work permits are country dependent and can be subject to minimum qualifications and wage levels that have been set by the receiving government. Supply-driven migration works from a different angle, employers select from ready available highly-skilled migrants and is independent from specific job offers. The pool of potential candidates in this situation is often very large (Bauer & Kunze, 2004). However, receiving countries often put limits to the number permits given out. Admission is often more difficult through demand-driven systems. The migrants are selected upon language proficiency, educational attainment, age, work experience and the existence of a job offer. In reality receiving countries do not select a specific system but often combine elements of both systems into migration policy (Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009).

Another aspect of migration is the duration of stay. Permanent and temporary migration forms are often debated and are high on the EU agenda (European Commission, 2007). Within the EU, permanent permits are given after numerous years of temporary permits have been received (Gsir, 2013). This often involves specific criteria that need to be met such as the holding of a job or the future perspectives (European Migration Network, 2009). In some cases migrants can live within receiving countries for many years on a temporary permit which has been renewed multiple times. Seasonal workers, students, trainees, academics or researchers are often limited to temporary permits with no chance of renewal (Fernández, 2008). This form of migration can in some cases be challenged and can be passed onto a permanent-track status. This is often done by international students willing to stay after completion of their study (European University Association, 2013). However, most temporary migrants return to their country of origin or move to other temporary migrant accepting countries such as Canada or the U.S (European Migration Network, 2007). The change in EU demographic and related labour shortages has led to countries wanting to attain and retain highly-skilled migrants (Bauer & Kunze, 2004). However, the labour market may not always need the permanent influx of highly-skilled migrants and importantly the migrants themselves might not want a permanent status and in some cases the sending countries can limit permanent migration due to the loss of their human capital (Avveduto, 2012).

2.2.1 Social Capital

Gathered social capital of highly-skilled migrants are both weapons and stakes in their experiences. Depending on their individual conditions, their position within society defines

the strategies they adopt in order to reach their goals in both social and professional settings. The strategies adopted by highly-skilled migrants can be understood through the concept of decision making theory. Bourdieu (1985) describes an experience as the intersubjective medium of social interactions in a contextualized social world. The socio-psychological approach towards the career decision making process is based on:

(i) Developmental and Postmodern Theory
     Gottfredson's theory of Circumscription and Compromise (1981) that assumes that career choice is a process that requires a high level of cognitive proficiency. Cognitive growth and development is influential to the development of a cognitive map of various professional alternatives.

(ii) Career Development Theory
      Bandura's Cognitive Career Theory (1986) is based on the ideas that people tend to learn by watching what others do, and that the human thought process is central in the understanding of personality. The theory by Bandura provides a framework for understanding, predicting and potentially changing human behaviour.

(iii) Trait-factor Theory
       Holland's theory of Types and Person-Environment Interactions (1992) is a structural integrative career theory that describes in individuals through personality types. Holland's theory links personality characteristics with corresponding occupations (Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2013).

The choice of highly-skilled migrants moving to Belgium and taking part of higher educational studies can be part of a complex process of building a career or improving academic positions. This process involves thinking, searching and deciding for the best option (Habiti, 2012).

2.3   Migration and its Dynamics
Migration tends to partly become a self-perpetuating dynamic once a critical number of migrants have settled in a specific country or region (De Haas, 2010). The small but first numbers of migrants create migrant networks which are of importance in attracting new migrants. Migrant networks can provide information based on experiences of living in a

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specific country or region. The networks can facilitate migration in different forms: by providing basic information on the migration process itself, by providing information on job opportunities, and through providing personal assistance after arrival (Farrell, 2008). Understanding the social roles within migration is of vital importance for migration policy development and creation (Dolfin & Genicot, 2006). Networks are considered to be an important factor for migrants when selecting a host country (Massey & Espinosa, 1997). Migration can be seen as a path-dependent process due to the inter personal relations across regions. It can be described as migrants choosing for the 'beaten track.' It is often referred to as chain migration. MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) define the term chain migration as ''that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants.''(p. 361). Migrant networks are a form of location specific social capital. Bourdieu defines social capital as ''the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group'' (1985, p. 249). The social capital possessed by an individual is dependent on the scope of network connections and the volume of the capital possessed by each individual interconnected in the network. Migrant networks are social capital which individuals can utilize to gain access to resources in migrant hosting countries. The networks decrease the economic, social and psychological costs of migrating (De Haas, 2010).

Social networks utilized by highly-skilled migrants are often from a different nature compared to those of low skilled migrants. Gender greatly impacts who one's contacts are, how the relation is shaped and how the networks are accessed (Macdonald & Macdonald, 1964). The recruitment of highly-skilled labour is often initiated through networks such as schools and universities. The networks that are created by international academics can be used by colleagues and friends from their home country (Vertovec, 2002). Research conducted by Meyer (2001) indicates that academics enter the migration system through their networks of colleagues and project members. Global professional associations in cooperation with regulatory agencies have guided and boosted migration through accrediting professional qualifications which have led to the right to practice in different countries. The migration of highly-skilled migrants involves many intermediaries such as knowing immigration laws and procedures, how to handle immigration authorities, how qualifications are transferred, wage negotiations and accommodation arrangements.

The migration of highly-skilled personnel was for a long time considered brain drain by migrant sending countries. However, the increasingly growing highly-skilled migrant networks have led policy makers to shift the discourse from brain drain towards the globalization of human and social capital, brain exchange and brain circulation (Vertovec, 2002). This research will identify the possible discrepancy of EU and national level policy making and the desires and expectations of local actors and if there is a focus on human capital. An understanding of the importance of transnational networks is a necessity in dealing with immigration policy issues (De Haas, 2010).

2.4   Social Inclusion/Exclusion

Social inclusion/exclusion as a concept was present in the policy discourse in France during the 1970s (Rawal, 2008). In 1980 the concept was adapted by the European Union as an important aspect of social policy. The new social policy replaced the poverty policy. The poverty policy was originally created as a counter measure for the crisis of the welfare states in Europe. This had an important impact on the analysis of social inequality in Europe (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013). The original inclusion/exclusion concept, first employed in France in 1970, described people who were unable to adjust to mainstream society and was later adopted by other European countries (Rawal, 2008). Social exclusion refers to the process in which specific individuals or groups are blocked from opportunities, resources and rights. Social inclusion is defined as the process of offering individuals or groups the opportunity to be a member of a society with the same opportunities, resources and rights (World Bank, 2013).

Labour market integration for highly-skilled migrants can be divided into three categories: policy measures, institutional structures and the inclusion into society (OECD, 2009). Inclusion can be seen as an ever changing construct which includes the full social participation of different individuals and communities within the concept of diversity (Habiti, 2012). It is important to foster the potential benefits of diversity in the social identity of groups. This includes equal opportunities, positions, justice, appreciation and identifying the need of minorities within a diverse society. The factors important to inclusion relate to ideology of social systems and their willingness to accept diversity within education, labour market, equal social and political participation. When social inclusion is incorporated into the ideology of a society it offers all individuals to have the opportunities and resources necessary to fully participate in economic, social and cultural activities according to the societal norms

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(Boushey, Fremstad, Gragg, & Waller, 2007). Different forms of capital are vital to the integration, assimilation and participation in society and labour market. The different forms of capital also influence the level of emotional support migrants might get from individuals who belong to different social groups or backgrounds. This social support can guide the transition towards the local socio-cultural environment which can provided means and resources that lead towards inclusion (Farrell, 2008). Knowledge can be seen as a form of capital, a form of capital that provides power and can result in positive social and economic positioning (Fu, 2004). Knowledge can be defined by knowing how to do things in a pragmatic and practical sense. This pragmatic and practical sense could be how to act, think, talk or how to perceive things in specific social settings (Williams, Baláž, & Wallace, 2004).

The respondents in this study have different backgrounds, aspirations, motivations, experiences and expectations. Factors influencing their forthcoming paths could influence the level of inclusion within a host society. Inclusion is more than the role of the host society; it goes beyond pragmatic, shared and interpersonal characteristics. This form of inclusion can be considered affective inclusion. It covers a broad range of personal perspectives towards the feeling of being included such as: trust, respect, acceptance, support, self-fulfilment, commitment and value. These factors have a major impact on the progress of a highly-skilled migrants' professional career (Habiti, 2012).

2.5 Policy Development

Policy can be seen as the plans, positions and guidelines that are used by governments and institutions in order to influence the decision making process. There are multiple forms of policy such as: broad policy which voices government-wide direction, specified policy which can be developed with specific sectors in mind (education, economy, healthcare etc.), and issue-area policy which focusses on the guidance of program or project decisions (Farag, 2003). Identity can play an important role in the development of governmental policy. Identity as a concept can be viewed from different academic disciplines such as social movements, developmental economics and organization theories (Farrell, 2008). The differences in disciplines show the importance of identity in the guidance of the behaviour of individuals or groups (Lee, 2008). Erikson (1963, cited by Lee, 2008) defines identity as "The development of the self in response to the interpersonal and social world" (p.220). Identification and identity construction can refer to the images and narratives that people can have about them. This can give sense, meaning and structure to people's lives (Siebers & Vermeulen, 2003).

There are many individuals and organizations involved in the changing or creating of policy. A government or institutional body is involved through a legislature or house of assembly, cabinet, bureaucracy or a council office. Non-government organisations can be involved through interest groups, mass media, community, board of directors, regional boards, lobbying groups and individuals (Farag, 2003). Many factors influence the time line of policy development such as the issue itself, government agendas, media attention and public pressure. John Kingdom's (1984) approach towards policy development is often described as a synergy between three concepts: 'problem', 'policy' and 'politics'. In order to shape the political agenda and change policy a 'problem' is necessary. A problem can be a discrepancy between the current situation and a desired goal. Once a problem is defined a 'policy' can emerge when there is a consensus on the policy instruments used to solve a problem. Finally 'politics' come into play when there is a willingness to implement the policies required to address the problem. When the concepts 'problem', 'policy' and 'politics' converge you can speak of a policy window. A policy window can move issues onto the political agenda and ultimately turn into formal policy. A specific event can bring the 3 concepts together that create a policy window (Farley, et al., 2007). Catastrophes often provide the emotional leverage to force fundamental policy changes. These events often focus the social and political attention. The question remains whether this focus often leads to the appropriate policy responses (Farley, et al., 2007).

Within EU context there are problems that act as pressures for EU policy change. These problems can originate from the international arena (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004). These problems affect the EU member states and they may come from the EU arena itself, EU policies can create problems for EU member states themselves. EU macro-economic policies create economic pressures on member states, for example, the rule that the budget deficit must not exceed 3% of the GDP and public debt must not exceed 60% of GDP have created economic issues for EU member states such as Greece, Spain and Ireland (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004).

Within this research the concept of policy development is of great importance. Identifying how EU, national and local policy is developed can indicate which inclusive or exclusive effects migration policy discourse at EU, national and local level has on non-EU highly-skilled migrants. The changes within the EU states have led to the need of flexibility to adjust to the globalization and changing demographic trends. Changes can be seen in in entry

regulation policies such as new visa and work categories. EU states want to boost human capital production in order to compete with the global economy.

3.   Methodological Framework

The purpose of this thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the policy discourse on migration at EU, national and local level and how these correspond with the experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. A deeper understanding on EU, national and local policy concerning migration has been explored through analysing and evaluating policies. On a local level interviews have been held with post-doctorates that are from non-EU countries and employed by a higher educational institution in order to identify the effects of inclusion or exclusion on the experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. The qualitative nature of this study can be seen as descriptive. The research can be seen exploratory due to the possibility of gaining increased knowledge on discourse between actors within the policy making process. This research has used inductive reasoning as it starts with specific observations and measures which have indicated patterns and regularities.

3.1   Research Design

The ethnographic research method has been used in this thesis to guide quantitative and qualitative data collection and will detail strict procedures for data analysis. This method has been used as a research tool in order to identify and conceptualize the social patterns and structures within the setting of migration and the different levels of policy making through reoccurring comparison (Scott, 2009). The thesis used the systematic research design as it underlines the use of data analysis steps of open, axial and selective coding and the development of a logic paradigm of the theory generated. The research has identified several categories (or actors) that were identified during the data gathering (Miller & Salkind, 2002).

Selective Coding Categories   **Axial Coding Paradigm**
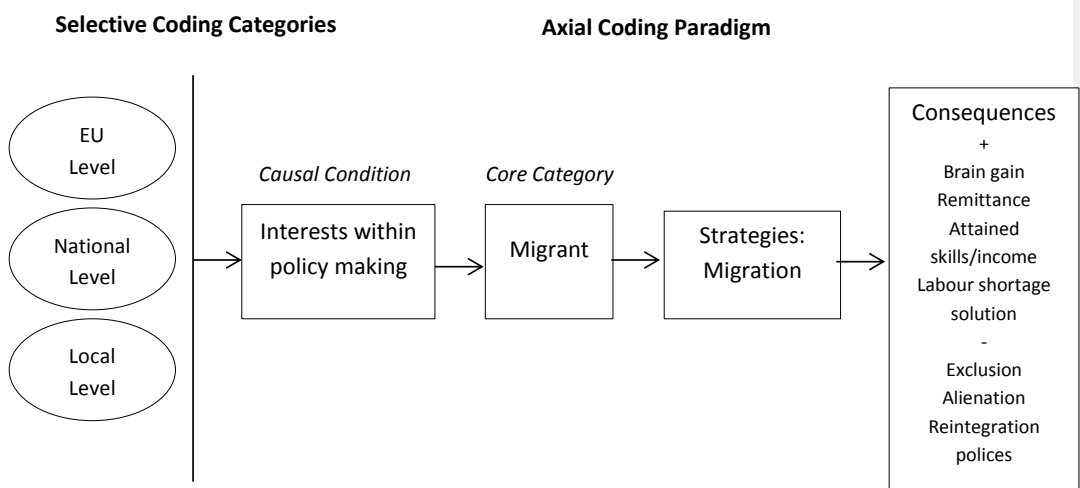
3.2 Sample Strategy

This research is based on ethnographic research and sample strategy theory. Random sampling has been used to focus on a particular area within the study. Random sampling is a method of selecting interviewees through unpredictable means. This has allowed an equal chance of participants being selected and achieves unbiased results. Participants have been selected based on STEM skill, gender and age. Minimal occupation of one year will be required. The researcher has interviewed post-doctorates from higher education institutions. 10 post-doctorates have been interviewed. They were selected from different faculties and geographic origin. The geographic spread covers all six continents (excluding Antarctica): Africa (Cameroon), Europe (Moldova, Transnistrië), Asia (India), North America (Canada & USA), South America (Argentina) and Australia. The respondents of this research have been selected based on their native country, which is to be non-EU, and if they pursuing a post-doc in the fields of advanced science, technology, engineering or mathematics (STEM).

The respondents have been selected from three Belgian universities: KU Leuven, Ugent and Universiteit van Antwerpen. In order to obtain respondents the researcher cooperated with the international post-doc community of the University of Ghent. Through this community 1170 direct emails were send out to potential respondents. 40 post-docs of the University of Leuven and 30 of the University of Antwerp have been invited to participate in this research. In total 1210 post-docs have been contacted of which only 10 replied. The 10 post-doc respondents are spread out over the three universities: two from Leuven, four from Antwerp and four from Gent. The average conducted post-doc interview length is 75 minutes. The respondents have a great geographic spread. The respondents cover all six continents (excluding Antarctica): Africa (Cameroon), Europe (Moldova, Transnistrië), Asia (India), North America (USA & Canada), South America (Argentina) and Australia.

Table 1, respondent sample pool age & gender

Age	20-35	36-50	**Total**
Male	5	3	8
Female	2	0	2
Total	7	3	10

Table one gives an overview of the respondent sample pool. This research aimed at an equal spread among male and female respondents but was unable to do so. A reason for this unequal spread can be traced back to the overall post-doc population in which females form a smaller group compared to

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males. The majority of postdocs both male and female are between the ages of 30 and 35 and are married or partnered (National Postdoctoral Association, 2010). Reaching a sufficient amount of interviews turned out to be a difficult process. The second half of the academic year is an intensive period for post-doc academics. Respondents were facing problems with allocating time for interviews.

3.3   Data Collection

This research has used ethnography research methods and has made use of qualitative data. The research exists out of two phases, first policy documents and literature that were available both public and private have been collected concerning highly-skilled migration on EU, national and local level. Written literature on migration policy discourse has been studied in order to identify general issues. Within this phase an overview of the most important meanings and practices of migration policy discourse on EU, national and local level have been identified. Sub question one, two and three have been answered through policy research. These three sub questions have formed the first phase of the data collection and will identify the main issues that run through policy discourse. The first phase created a foundation on which the interview questions have been based.

Second, sub questions four to eight have formed the second phase of the research and have been answered through face-to-face interviews that were conducted with 10 post-doctorates over a period of two months. The interviews were semi-structured which left room for the participants to bring forth new ideas during the course of the interviews. Theme frameworks were in place in order to guide the interviews and came forth from the policy study of faze one. The semi-structured interviews made it possible to tailor the questions to a participant and situation. Glaser's concept of atmosphere and toning created an environment in which the interviewee felt comfortable towards sharing their experiences (Glacer & Strauss, 1967). This method of data collection supported the research design and lead to a deeper understanding of the researched concepts. This phase identified whether non-EU highly-skilled migrants experience in- or exclusion.

3.4   Data Analysis

The constant comparative method was used in order to analyse the data. Joint coding and analysis generated theory systematically by using explicit coding and analytic procedures. The constant comparative method offered the opportunity to generate theory that was integrated, consistent, plausible and close to the collected data. This method made sure that the data could be tested in quantitative research (Jones & Alony, 2011). This method of

analysis generated multiple categories, properties and hypotheses concerning general problems (Glacer & Strauss, 1967). The constant comparative model exists out of four stages:

1. *Comparing incidents applicable to each category*
   All incidents have been coded into categories. The data collected has been fitted to specific categories and has been coded accordingly.
2. *Integrating categories and their properties*
   During the research categories and their properties have surfaced. Categories surfaced that had been identified and those that came up during the course of the research created a continual process of change. The research developed due to different categories and their properties becoming more integrated through constant comparisons.
3. *Delimiting the theory*
   The constant comparison created a solid foundation in which the need for modifications becomes smaller. Modifications that occurred in this phase mainly clarified logic and removed non relevant properties and categories.
4. *Writing the theory*
   In the final phase of data analysis the data was coded. The categories can be defended and have been compared with incidents; these became the main themes of the theory.

Within this study selective coding and open coding has been used. The selective and open coding has been based on the theoretical concepts that were used within this research. These theoretical concepts lead to the categorization of the found data. Axial coding followed up the selective coding. Axial coding is the process of relating categories to subcategories. Axial coding identifies central characteristics in which different properties and dimensions exist. Axial coding is a process that draws attention to relationships between and within categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This method of data analysis was used to structure the research. In the first research phase policy documents publicized by the EU, Belgian government and Flemish universities have been researched in order to construct a timeline that indicates shifts in discourse. The documents have been analysed by comparing the shifts in discourse with history, political and legal background research, identifying the functions of different political bodies, analysing the relationship between these functions and determining the current and possible future roles of political bodies.

Comment [AdW1]: new

3.5 Research Quality Indicators

While conducting interviews there is always a possibility of bias formation. Bias is defined as the notion of distortion of judgement, prejudiced outlook and unfair influence (Bell, 1999). During the research high quality was maintained through vigilant and critical data interpretation. During the interviews a balance between complete objectivity and creating a comfortable setting for the interviewee was vital. Due to the personal nature of the topics such as, migration issues, family, personal experience, feelings towards inclusion/exclusion it was important to be honest about the research purpose and integrity during the interviews. Interviews formed an important aspect of this research. The validity of using interviews was high due to the direct contact with the participants which created the opportunity to check for accuracy and relevance as they were collected (Denscombe, 1998). Saunders *et al* (2000) state that the assumption behind this type of research is that the circumstances to be explored are complex and dynamic. The value towards this research was the flexible approach that it created and which was used in order to explore the subject in depth. Markshall & Rossman (1999) indicate the importance of creating specific notes concerning:

- The design of the research
- The reasons for underpinning choice of strategy and methods
- The data gathered

Validity

Remenyi, Williams, Money, & Swartz (1998) define validity as the 'degree to which what is observed or measured is the same as what was purported to be observed or measured'. Hussey & Hussey (1997) state that validity can be undermined by:

- Research errors
- Faulty research procedures
- Poor sample
- Inaccurate or misleading measurement

Under a positivistic paradigm, validity confirmed that this research was set up to measure the expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants towards migration as was proposed. A positivistic paradigm focuses on the precision of measurement and the ability to be able to repeat the experiment reliability. The sample size of 10 participants is modest and the research does not entail systematic variation of independent variables. Face validity was of great importance within this research. A finding can be interpreted as intuitive upon reflection that it can create a representative of a specific area of interest (Wilcox & Reese, 2001). Within this

research it was of vital importance that full access to the knowledge and meanings of the research participants was acquired, this created a consequently higher validity (Hussey & Hussey, 1997).

Reliability

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe (1991) indicate reliability can be assessed using the following questions:

- Will the measure yield the same results on different occasions (positivistic paradigm)?
- Will similar observations be made by different researchers on different occasions (phenomenologist paradigm)

Within this research the phenomenological paradigm was more applicable. It was important within this research that similar observations and interpretations could be attained on different moments. Interviews were used along sides other methods as a way of supplementing data. In order to maintain reliability an interview card was created after phase one of the research was completed. The results of the first phase of research were used in order to create an interview card. This interview card was used to fine-tune questions and concepts that were asked during the interviews. The interview card provided a structured guideline that the interviews followed which ensured reliable and comparable data. The concepts and circumstances that were explored during the research were complex and dynamic. Flexibility helped explore the complexity of the topic of migration and could be seen as non-standardized. Therefore an attempt to ensure that qualitative, non-standardized research could be replicated by other researchers would not have been realistic or feasible without undermining the strength of this type of research (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2000). Clues that indicate reliability of the respondents have been identified through statements such as ''you shouldn't record this but..'' & ''this is off the record..''. Potential research weaknesses has been mitigated through clear descriptions of the research design, solid reasoning for underpinning the choice of strategy and methods and through the data gathered from both literature and interviews.

Potential Bias

Affiliation: Participants can feel that the researcher is commissioned by the University of Tilburg to conduct the interviews. This can have a negative impact on the willingness of the participants to speak openly. This has been prevented by conducting the interviews at other higher educational institution then the Tilburg University.

Anonymity: Due to the sensitivity of the subject participants can feel that they do not want their name disclosed. Anonymity was ensured in order to let the participants speak without the worry of judgment after publication. The participants were reassured that all names would be pseudonyms.

Socially desirable answers: There is a possibility that the interviewees have responded to the interview questions in a way that he/she believes to be socially acceptable. In many cases this is not meant to be malicious but could be an unwillingness to discredit the institution that employs them. This form of bias is more apparent when personal questions are asked that contain sensitive issues. When interviewees disclose negative information about themselves the chances of them providing socially desirable answers is less likely (Denscombe, 1998).

Comment [AdW2]: New

Table 2: Literature used in Methodology

Comment [AdW3]: new

Author	Year	Title	Publisher
Scott, H.	2009	What is Grounded Theory?	Grounded Theory Online
Miller, D.C	2002	Handbook of Research Design & Social Measurement	Sage Publications
National Postdoctoral Association	2010	Data on Postdoc and Gender	NPA
Glacer, B.G. & Strauss, A.L.	1967	The Discovery of Grounded Theory: strategies for qualitative research	Aldine Transcation
Jones, M. & Alony, L.	2011	Guiding the Use of Grounded Theory in Doctoral Studies	International Journal of Doctoral Studies
Strauss, A & Corbin, J.M.	1998	Basics of Qualitative Research	Sage Publications
Bell, J.	1999	Doing Your Research Project	Open University Press
Denscombe, M	1998	The Good Research Guide	Open University Press
Saunders, M; Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A.	2000	Research Methods for Business Student.	Pearson Education Ltd.
Markshall, C. & Rossman, G.	1999	Designing Qualititative Research	Thousand Oaks
Remenyi D.; Williams, B.; Money, A. & Swartz E.	1998	Doing Research inBusiness and Management. An Introduction to Process and Method.	Sage
Wilcox, S.B. & Reese, W.J.	2001	Ethnographic Methods for New Product Development	Medical Device & Diagnostic Industry
Hussey, J. & Hussey, R.	1997	Business Research Projects	Macmillan Press
Easterby-Smith, M.; Thorpe, R. & Lowe, A.	1991	Management Research: An Introduction.	Sage

III   Results

4.   Migration policy discourse at EU level

Europe has always been a crossroad of different cultures with many immigration paths. Since the 1960s West European immigration has risen from Africa, Southern Europe, Asia and former European colonies (Kahanec & Zimmerman, 2011). The fall of the Soviet Union created immigration possibilities for high and low skilled migrants from Eastern European countries towards the west. The group of non-EU highly-skilled migrants is lower compared to the number of low-skilled migrants. The increased need for highly-skilled labour in Europe has been identified by multiple studies (see Zimmerman, Bonin, Fahr, & Holger, 2007; Bauer & Kunze, 2004; Accenture, 2012; Avveduto, 2012; Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009; Craig, Thomas, Hou, & Mathur, 2011; Münz, 2013; European Migration Network, 2007). Highly-skilled migrants seem to decrease inequality, increase growth and competitiveness, improve productivity and employment of low-skilled labourers (Kahanec & Zimmerman, 2011). The increasing global demand for highly-skilled workers makes the correct management of human capital increasingly important for Europe. However, European public discourse is unsure if migration is either a blessing or a curse. This unclear public discourse can be traced back to disjointed policy towards the challenges that migration brings (Mc Laughlan & Salt, 2002).

4.1   Amsterdam Treaty

The EU has always encouraged admission of workers from member states. Within the EU citizens had the right to admission and free movement within the union. The EU has always pledged for a free market approach and free movement of people. This is said to aid trade development and can bring innovation and development. The discourse of the European Commission conveyed through the *Action Programme for Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* (1976) focused on the coordination migration policies and is seen as an important aspect of industrial, social, regional and development aid policies of the EU.

> *"... there can be no permanent solution to the problems caused by migration within the Community without an effective Community Regional Policy to redress the existing imbalances and reduce the necessity for migration which at present exists.''*
> (Commission of the European Communities, 1976)

In the 1980s discourse on migration changed; cooperation on migration issues became intertwined with vanishing internal EU borders and emphasized the importance of a European internal market. It was felt that cooperation on migration issues needed to be formulated in

compensation measures in order to maintain internal security due to the lack of internal borders. In 1990 the national discourse on migration was restrictive. The European Commission acknowledged the existence of labour migration within European member states and encouraged European cooperation. Simultaneously, member states developed a unified response towards developing migration barriers. There was a common interest in creating common European policy on migration (Gsir, 2013).

The common interest in European migration policy came to fruition in the Amsterdam Treaty of May 1st 1999. The Amsterdam Treaty established the legal and constitutional basis of a common migration policy. However, the treaty contained temporal, institutional, and geographical limits. Up until the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 the Commission shared legislative initiative on labour migration with European member states. The European Parliament had a consulting role and the European Council had decisive power over directives and legislation. During the time period of the Amsterdam Treaty the EU was in a positive economic position. This led to member states such as Germany and the United Kingdom opening the discussion for more openness towards labour migration. The Community Immigration Policy communication published by the European Commission in 2000 discussed the concept of a common migration policy for the first time.

> ''Both Article 63 of the EC Treaty and the Tampere conclusions call for a common EU immigration policy. To reach this goal it is essential to co-ordinate and to ensure the transparency, within a Community framework, of actions which at the moment are carried out at Member State level since they have an effect on other areas of EU policy, e.g. abolition of controls at internal borders, Community commitments at international level under the GATS agreement and the European Employment strategy.'' (European Commission, 2000, p. 5)

The communication emphasized the necessity to develop a migration policy that included economic migration alongside asylum and family reunification. Economic migration could challenge demographic decline and could regulate irregular migration. During the Lisbon European Council meeting on the 23rd and 24th of March 2000 agreement was sought on new strategic goals for the European Union in order to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as a part of the knowledge-based economy (European Parliament, 2000). The strategic goals set out by the European Council (2000) were as follows:

- Establishing an information society for all

- Establishing a European Area of Research and Innovation
- Creating a friendly environment for starting up and developing innovative businesses
- Economic reforms for a complete and fully operational internal market
- Efficient and integrated financial markets
- Coordinating macro-economic policies: fiscal consolidation, quality and sustainability of public finances
- Education and training for living and working in the knowledge society
- More and better jobs for Europe: developing an active employment policy
- Modernising social protection
- Promoting social inclusion

The European discourse as written down in the European communications was different from the discourse of the European member states. Discourse on policy solutions on national level were focused on restrictive policies and closed borders. However, the European discourse was aimed at migration being a solution for present and future economic and demographic issues. The European level discourse indicated that migration was inevitable and a persistent fact and that most member states were countries of immigration (Gsir, 2013). This discourse led to the presentation of labour migration as a possible solution for demographic issues. An issue that was enforced by the United Nations Population Division report: *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?* (2000). The study presents different scenarios concerning international migrations streams needed in order to achieve population objectives. The scenarios presented by the by the United Nations Population Division report: *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?* (2000) are:

1. The medium variant of the projections from the United Nations World Population Prospects: 1998 Revision.
2. The medium variant of the 1998 Revision, amended by assuming zero migration after 1995.
3. Computes and assumes the migration required to maintain the size of the total population at the highest level it would reach in the absence of migration after 1995.
4. Computes and assumes the migration required to maintain the size of the working-age population (15 to 64 years) at the highest level it would reach in the absence of migration after 1995.
5. Computes and assumes the migration required to maintain the potential support ratio (PSR), i.e., the ratio of the working-age population (15 to 64 years) to the old-age

population (65 years or older), at the highest level it would reach in the absence of migration after 1995.

The report argues that the declining and ageing populations will require objective, thorough and comprehensive revaluation of the conventional economic, social and political policies and programmes. Simultaneously the European Commission considered labour migration a solution to labour shortages. It considered the restrictions EU member states had imposed a failure and presented a community-based approach as an alternative. In 2001 the European Commission proposed a two-tier approach: defining a common legal framework of admission of economic migrants and launching an open coordination mechanism on community immigration policy (European Commission, 2001):

> *''Transparency and rationality: laying down clearly the conditions under which third-country nationals may enter and stay in the EU as employed or self-employed workers, setting out their rights and obligations and ensuring that they have access to this information and that there are mechanisms in place to see that it is applied fairly* (European Commission, 2001)*.''*

This discourse emphasised the advantages of migration and cultural diversity. The proposal facilitates the immigration of both low and highly-skilled migrants. The admission of migrants was defended through offering a residency and work permit that was based on the need of the EU labour market while providing exceptions for seasonal workers, au pairs and interns (Gsir, 2013).

4.2   Shift in Discourse

The proposed directives on labour migration and the directives on EU coordination were declined by the EU member states represented in the Council. The differences in discourse on EU and national level had resulted in a failed policy change at an EU level (Gsir, 2013). The time frame in which the directives were proposed (2001-2004) are marked by an important event: the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre of September 11th 2001 in the United States of America (Gsir, 2013). This event changed the discourse on national, international, European and global level. European labour migration had turned into an unpopular issue and fell to the background. In 2002 the European Council presidency conclusion dropped the issue of labour migration and solely focusses on illegal immigration and human trafficking:

''Measures taken in the short and medium term for the joint management of migration flows must strike a fair balance between, on the one hand, a policy for the integration of lawfully resident immigrants and an asylum policy complying with international conventions, principally the 1951 Geneva Convention, and, on the other, resolute action to combat illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings (European Council, 2002, p. 80)*.''*

The enlargement of the EU with 10 member states in 2004 led to the change in discourse that eventually resulted in the closing of borders and stricter national policies on migration (Krizsán, 2011). However, in 2002 the United Kingdom, faster and further than any other country, facilitated the admission of highly-skilled workers. It launched a programme in which highly-skilled migrants were awarded points based on work experience, previous earnings, and career success (Mc Laughlan & Salt, 2002). In 2003 Belgium introduced legislation that promoted the migration of highly-skilled migrants and extended working permits (Gsir, 2013).

In 2004 the European Commission issued a green paper with the aim to bring labour migration back onto the agenda. The green paper emphasizes the importance of starting a process of in-depth discussion involving the EU institutions, Member States and civil society on the admission procedures of the economic migration of non-EU nationals. The commission proposed creating a common framework for economic migration that includes common migration criteria throughout the EU, the simplification of entry procedures and clarifying the rights and legal status of different forms of migration (European Commission, 2004). Analysis on the contributions by Member States to the Green Paper done by Gsir (2013) indicates a discursive reluctance to openness. France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom favoured limited openness of boarders for non-EU migrants. Consensus was reached on the importance of migration as a solution for demographic issues. However, permanent migration was not favoured. The Green Paper proposed circular migration as an alternative to permanent migration. Member States argued the difficulty in defining the needs of labour migration and emphasized the disparity between the needs of states and doubted the value of a combined community response. The Green Paper does identify the need of non-EU highly-skilled workers. The discourse among member states presented that immigration is a problem rather than a solution to a European wide problem.

In December 2005 the European Commission published a communication titled: Policy Plan on Legal Migration. It contained an analysis of the contributions of Member States and showed a general support for a common EU policy concerning economic migration. The communication included arguments and proposals that came forward out of the original discourse. However, it was presented differently:

> ''Building on the existing framework, this Policy Plan defines a road-map for the remaining period of The Hague Programme (2006-2009) and lists the actions and legislative initiatives that the Commission intends to take, so as to pursue the coherent development of EU legal migration policy. It also responds to the Commission's Lisbon programme adopted in July 2005''. (European Commission, 2005, p. 5)

The communication named four categories that indicated the needs and interests of the Member States: highly skilled workers, seasonal workers, intra-corporate workers, and remunerated trainees. The idea of a single permit was proposed. In December 2006 the European Council stated:

> "While respecting the competences of Member States in this area, consideration will be given to how legal migration opportunities can be incorporated into the Union's external policies in order to develop a balanced partnership with third countries adapted to specific EU Member States' labour market needs; ways and means to facilitate circular and temporary migration will be explored; the Commission is invited to present detailed proposals on how to better organize and inform about the various forms of legal movement between the EU and third countries by June 2007." (Council of the European Union, 2006, p. 10)

This request received a response from the European Commission in May 2007. The Communication seeks to justify approaches to improve the management of legal movements of people between the EU and non-EU countries. The Communication looks at ways to facilitate circular migration, which according to recent discourse, will help EU Member States to address their labour needs while exploiting potential positive impacts of migration on development and responding to the needs of sending countries while combating brain drain and stimulating brain gain (European Commission, 2007).

4.3   Europe 2020 Strategy

In October 2007 the Blue Card and Single Permit Directive were presented to the EU member states. The directives augmented the need of highly-skilled migrants in order to compete with international economic markets (Eurostat, 2013). The directive included limitations on the number of migrants in order to remove potential objections from public opinions. Highly skilled migrants were described as easy to integrate and would not interfere with the social cohesion. The directives were a clear response towards the discourse on national level and conveyed into a message that was expectable for the Member states (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004).

The Europe 2020 strategy and Stockholm Programme have recognized the EU discourse on the potential of migration and the focus on the creation of a competitive and sustainable economy. They have set out a clear political objective, the effective integration of legal migrants while underpinning human rights (Eurostat, 2013). The European Commission communication titled European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals (2011) emphasises the importance of migrants' countries of origin. The communication indicates that the countries of origin would support the integration process in three ways: 1, to prepare the integration already before migrants 'departure; 2, to support the migrants while in the EU; 3, to prepare the migrant's temporary or definitive return with acquired experience and knowledge. The communication gives a clear shift in discourse towards temporary migration forms such as circular migration.

4.4   Sub-conclusion

The discourse at EU level concerning the migration of highly-skilled migrants can be seen shifting throughout different political and economic periods. European public discourse is unsure if migration is either a blessing or a curse. This unclear public discourse can be traced back to disjointed policy towards the challenges that migration brings. The common interest in European migration policy came to fruition in the Amsterdam Treaty (1999). The Amsterdam Treaty established the legal and constitutional basis of a common migration policy. Strategic goals for the European Union which would strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as a part of the knowledge-based economy where introduced in the Lisbon Treaty (2009). Discourse on policy solutions on national level were focused on restrictive policies and closed borders. However, the European discourse was aimed at migration being a solution for present and future economic and demographic issues.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre of September 11th 2001 in the United States of America changed the discourse on national, international, European and global level. European labour migration had turned into an unpopular issue and fell to the background. The 2004 European Commission green paper proposed to bring labour migration back onto the agenda. The Green Paper proposed circular migration as an alternative to permanent migration. The 2005 European Commission communication titled: Policy Plan on Legal Migration contained an analysis of the contributions of Member States and showed a general support for a common EU policy concerning economic migration. This request received a response from the European Commission in May 2007. The Communication seeks to justify approaches to improve the management of legal movements of people between the EU and non-EU countries. In October 2007 the Blue Card and Single Permit Directive were presented to the EU member states. The directives augmented the need of highly-skilled migrants in order to compete with international economic markets.

Comment [AdW4]: new

5.   Migration policy discourse at national level

This research has examined migration policy discourse within Belgium. Within the EU and its member states there is an increasing demand for highly-skilled migrants. Belgium lacks sufficient skilled personnel and is looking across EU borders for a solution. An increasing number of companies are involved in cross-border projects due to increasingly growing multinationals. The global migration patterns have emphasized the need for attracting foreign personnel in Belgium. Belgium has a high level of labour skill mismatch in supply and demand. This mismatch is fuelled by inflexible labour market legislation (European Migration Network, 2006). The core of the Belgian economic migration policy is based on the restraining of immigration: the so called ''migration stop''. Within this policy structure migration by non-EU nationals is very difficult. However, there are predetermined circumstances, such as asylum and specific labour functions that are excluded from the ''migration stop''. The Belgian labour migration policy is formed by the federal authorities. The federal authorities provide the legislative framework with regards to labour and other form of migration. The regional authorities authorise applications and can implement labour migration legislation. As a result of the localized legislative process the labour migration interpretation can fluctuate per region (Antoons & Pirotte, 2013). Current Belgian regulations state that any employer in Belgium that wishes to employ a foreign national outside of the European Economic Area must first apply and obtain a work permit for the employee. However, for highly-skilled migrants there are special provisions which create an easier

migration process. According to Belgian law a highly-skilled migrant should have a yearly gross salary exceeding €38,665 and be in the possession of at least a bachelor's degree. Highly-skilled migrant work permits are issued for a period of one year and can be extended on yearly basis. Belgium and the UK apply the lowest salary requirements in Western Europe (Antoons & Pirotte, 2013).

5.1   Belgian Migration Policy

Belgian public and political discourse on asylum and migration has changed and evolved since World War II. Change in discourse has been triggered by social, political and economic evolutions. During 1946-1974 labour migration in Belgium was based on a quota (Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). Following World War II, the production of coal and other heavy industries led to the need of foreign labour. The Belgian government made bilateral agreements with Spain (1956), Greece (1957), Tunisia (1969), Algeria (1970), Yugoslavia (1970), Morocco (1964) and Turkey (1964) (European Migration Network, 2009). This form of foreign labour migration was heavily controlled. The Benelux countries agreed to the free movement of workers in 1958 which was extended with all six European Community member states in 1968. According to Eurofound (2011) the free movement of workers was laid down in Article 45 TFEU and entails:

- the right to look for a job in another Member State;
- the right to work in another Member State;
- the right to reside there for that purpose;
- the right to remain there;
- the right to equal treatment in respect of access to employment, working conditions and all other advantages which could help to facilitate the worker's integration in the host Member State.

In 1960 the Belgian discourse towards migration was influenced by the worsening economic situation and rising unemployment rates. Legislation was passed with the goal of controlling and regulating the flows of non-EU migrants into the country (European Migration Network, 2009). In 1974 the discourse shifted towards an official ban on economic migration. The economic migration ban led to the closing of Belgium borders between 1974 and 1983. In 1980 the integration of non-EU nationals in Belgium was put on the political agenda and was turned into legislation as the Aliens Act on entry, stay, settlement and removal of foreign nationals in 1980.In 1984 the Belgian borders were still closed for economic workers due to

Belgium's' recovery of the economic crisis (European Migration Network, 2012). However, the world had changed and a new form of economy was slowly becoming a reality. Migration had become a global, and in many cases a lucrative, occurrence. This new form of economy was made possible by the easy access of information (internet) and the lower barriers to personal transport (Alonso, 2011). Family reunification became the most used legal method for legal migration towards Belgium (European Migration Network, 2009).

The fall of the iron curtain and the wars in former Yugoslavia created an explosion in asylum seeking and created an asylum crisis in Belgium and its neighbouring countries (European Migration Network, 2009). The Belgian government reacted by introducing the LIFO in 2001 which stood for Last In, First Out (Berkowitz & Müller-Bonanni, 2006). The general discourse referred to this period as Fortress Europe (European Migration Network, 2009). In 1999 the new Verhofstadt government was formed and pledged a more sensible migration policy. This showed yet again a shift in discourse towards migration policy. The 'zero migration' discourse shifted to a more 'global approach' due to European Union influences on national legislation. After the Treaty of Amsterdam Belgian policy was more focussed on openness concerning economic migration policy. The shift in discourse was emphasized by the policy changes introduced in 2008 which included appointing a minister solely for Migration and Asylum policies (European Migration Network, 2012).

5.2   Highly-skilled Labour Shortage

On April 1 2003 the period for which highly-skilled workers could be employed were relaxed. Every highly-skilled worker who meets the set salary and qualification criteria becomes eligible for an employment period of four years. On 6 February 2003 the period of four years could be extended on a one-off basis by another four years (Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). The need for the removal of the rules for foreign employees initiated by the State Secretary of Administrative Reform was acknowledged by the Belgian Federal Council of Ministers in December 2005. According to the European Migration Network (2006) the policy was constructed on the basis of three main points. The first is the removal of the work permit and employment authorisation for researchers and is based on the European Directive 2005/71/EC (''*Specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purposes of scientific research*''). The second is the removal of the work permit and employment authorisation for an indefinite period for managers of international companies. This only applies to managers of companies that are specifically listed and for companies of which the headquarters is located in Belgium. The third main point is the temporary exemption from the

employment authorisation and work permit for foreign experts for the duration of a specific project (Eurostat, 2013).

In 2008 the Belgian government identified the need for highly-skilled labour in order to address specific needs within the labour market. In order to address these specific needs the local regions have created draft lists of so-called ''bottleneck-jobs'' (Antoons & Pirotte, 2013). These draft lists include both high- and low skilled jobs for which there are labour shortages. These jobs can be fulfilled by non-EU nationals with long term EU residential status when the Belgian or European job market cannot fill the vacancies (Antoons & Pirotte, 2013). In 2011 8.500 work permits were issued for non-EU highly-skilled migrants over a total of 32.000. Post PHD and researchers are exempted from the work permit requirements. This means that these positions are not included in the highly qualified work permits given out by the Belgian authorities. The Belgian Immigration Office indicates that 80% of the residence permits renewal applications are from researchers with a local host agreement and Post PHD students (Statistics Belgium, 2012). Belgium has issued 2 Blue Cards in Flanders in 2013 (Eurostat, 2013).

The discourse on the migration of highly-skilled migration within Belgian politics is formed by the Belgian parliament and its ministers and the social partners such as the employer's organisations and the trade unions (European Migration Network, 2009). These two parties participate in policy making though the National Labour Council (federal level), the Walloon based ''Commission pour l'intégration des personnes d'origine étrangère'', the regional integration centres, the Flemish Economic and Social Consultation Committee, the Flanders Social And Economic Council and finally the Management Committees of the regional job placement services (European Migration Network, 2006). The way in which policy making process is based on governmental and social partners makes sure that different forms of discourse are being communicated among the different actors within the process. As a response to labour shortage concerns of the Belgian social partners the federal government made changes to the conditions under which highly-skilled workers and managers could be employed (Antoons & Pirotte, 2013).

The Belgium government has responded to the needs of the labour market by expanding the categories related to the STEM skills for which a working permit is no longer required. This should lead to lower bureaucratic burdens.

5.3 Sub-conclusion

The Belgian discourse on highly-skilled migration has shifted throughout different economic and political periods. The change in discourse can be linked back to social, political and economic evolutions that have occurred in the past. The creation of the BENELUX (1958) was a clear indication of a shift in discourse towards the free movement of workers and services. It was later expanded with all six European community member states in 1968. A clear example of economic effect on national discourse and policy making is the period of economic downturn in 1974 in which the borders were closed for all forms of migration. Globalization has influences the national discourse towards a more flexible migration policy concerning highly-skilled migrants. The introduction of the so-called ''bottleneck-jobs'' is an example of a change in discourse through policy making.

Comment [AdW5]: new

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6. Migration policy discourse at local level

Globalization and international cooperation has had major impacts on scientific communication. Effects of international collaboration can be seen in scientific research results with co-authorships in scientific publications. Hohenberg (2010) defines science as universal collective knowledge and therefore transcends country boundaries. It is the responsibility of the educational institutions to facilitate international cooperation. There are many different forms of international cooperation such as consortiums, federations, affiliation and mergers. There is a high level of interest within governments and institutions in inter-institutional cooperation (Luciana & Mourad, 2009).

6.1 Belgian Universities

6.1.1 KU Leuven

The KU Leuven indicates in their Internationalisation Policy (2013) that they are dedicated to strengthening their position in the global knowledge community. The university is research driven and has a strong international orientation. 18% of the 40.000 students at the KU Leuven are international. The number of international students enrolled at the KU Leuven has more than doubled in the last decade. From 3,600 international students in 2001 to 7,400 in 2012. Chinese students form the biggest group of non-EU internationals enrolled at the university. 40% of their PHD students and postdocs come from abroad. The general discourse within internationalisation policy for the KU Leuven is the emphasis on increasing the development and implementation of international strategy. Their position is that a well developed and implemented strategy will guide them through the challenges that the globalising world creates. The discourse also focuses on the improvements that are still to be made concerning their strategy. Questions remain on which students they want to attract and from where, how they should prepare their students for a globalized labour market and which international networks best suit their strengths and goals. In order to address these questions the KU Leuven has created a strategic plan for internationalisation.

6.1.2 Universiteit Gent

The University of Ghent (Ugent) specifies internationalization in their mission statement (Ugent, 2014). The mission statement of the Ugent (2014) claims to profile itself as international oriented while acknowledging their own language and culture. The Ugent finds it important that research is carried out in a broad societal context and wishes to be in communication with its surroundings. The university has identified increased competition from foreign universities who are recruiting from the same student population. It is aware of

the language barriers that will affect their recruitment success and its limitations towards growth that might hinder international success.

6.1.3 Univeriteit Antwerpen

The University of Antwerp (UA) emphasizes the importance of being an acknowledged international high quality university. The university finds transparency and excellent international policy to have high priority for their research and for higher education in general. The university specifies three core points out of which their internationalisation policy exists. One being the increase of international mobility of students and employees, the second core point is increasing the number of international students and the final core point is encouraging social engagement towards society on a global level (Universiteit Antwerpen, 2010). The university acknowledges that in order to reach the goals set out by the internationalisation policy it will need to adjust its corporate culture (Universiteit Antwerpen, 2010). The university indicates in its diversity statement (2010) that it will alter its organisational structure which will include diverse entities and which can adjust to the needs and wants of internationalisation. It is also stated that the university will pay special attention towards in- and external communication which is accustomed to the international environment (English based brochures and websites for example). The UA has publicized a plan of action called *''Actieplan Dienstverlening (actiethema Internationalisering)''* (2010) which specifies:

- Creating synergy between education, research and services, while considering the social engagement within the UA;
- Optimizing and encouraging the international mobility for both students and professors;
- Increasing the number of foreign students by increasing the number of programmes taught in a foreign language;
- Clarifying the international dimensions of every study;
- Stimulating researchers to increase the cooperation with international researchers (pre- and post-doc).

The UA has set the goal of increasing the number of foreign researchers by 20%. Internationalisation policy will focus on achieving this goal. An example of the role out of such a policy in practice is the setting out of projects which specifically ask for foreign doctorandi and post-docs.

The discourse on internationalization by the University of Ghent, Leuven and Antwerp is clear: all three universities have emphasized the importance of attracting international students and employees in order for them to compete with other (foreign) universities and adjusting to the globalisation of the labour market (Universiteit Antwerpen, 2010).

6.2   Local Migration Discourse

The positive discourse towards attracting foreign researchers is not shared unanimously. Increasing the number of international students can put a burden on the tax payers of the host country (De Brucker, 2013). Within Europe there are many different tuition fees for universities. There are countries with low taxes but high tuition fees (The Netherlands, The United Kingdom) and countries with high taxes and low tuition fees (Belgium, Scandinavia) (OECD, 2012). The possibility exists that foreign students migrate to the second group of countries and will migrate to the first group when seeking employment. This trend is being pushed by the universities themselves due to the subsidies that are based on student numbers and market share (OECD, 2012). A response to this problem could be the harmonization of European tuition fees. This will also imply the harmonisation of tax levels, which on itself is an almost impossible task due to the European unanimity that is needed for such laws to pass. A local problem is often influenced by national discourse. This indicates the importance of cooperation on local, national and European levels of policy making.

6.3   Sub-conclusion

Globalization and international cooperation has had major impacts on scientific communication. It is the responsibility of the educational institutions to facilitate international cooperation. There is a high level of interest within governments and institutions in inter-institutional cooperation (Luciana & Mourad, 2009). The KU Leuven indicates in their Internationalisation Policy (2013) that they are dedicated to strengthening their position in the global knowledge community. The University of Ghent (Ugent) specifies internationalization in their mission statement. The University of Antwerp (UA) emphasizes the importance of being an acknowledged international high quality university. The three universities have emphasized the importance of attracting international students and employees in order for them to compete with other (foreign) universities and adjusting to the globalisation of the labour market. Within Europe there are many different tuition fees for universities. There are countries with low taxes but high tuition and countries with high taxes and low tuition fees (OECD, 2012). The possibility exists that foreign students migrate to the second group of

countries and will migrate to the first group when seeking employment. A response to this problem could be the harmonization of European tuition fees.

7.   **Main issues within EU migration policy discourse relating to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants**

7.1   **Unified Migration Policy**

The lack of a unified migration policy within the EU creates a situation in which international highly-skilled migrants can be caught between fractured EU institutional space. Each EU member state has its own regulations which oppose the desire to provide migrants with a unified migration process. This research has identified significant migration barriers and administrative hindrances, especially when circular or multi-country migration patterns are more complex (Williams, Baláž, & Wallace, 2004). For instance, Adam speaks about the significant migration barriers and administrative hindrances he has had when trying to migrate from the Netherlands to Belgium:

> I had a tricky situation where I.. it's a long story, solely my fault, but it's one of the things that come back as a blue card [visa/permit] issue. My contract finished the 31st of October 2012, I could come here [to Belgium] whenever I wanted they said. But that was kind of speaking from the scientific side not from the university administration or the legal side. "Come when you're ready" they said. So I spent one extra month finishing my thesis after my contract was finished and I arrived here the 1st of October, they said "we can start paying you, you have to apply for a visa". Of course there was this one month gap between me finishing my contract and therefore also my visa and arriving here. There were potentially major issues. Your visa is tied to your contract and I thought they would give you a month to pack up and leave but no, I mean I rang the IND the Dutch version and they said: "well yeah you say you're going to Belgium and you already organised everything so I don't see a problem, go to London for a day and get your passport stamped and you can come back as a tourist and the 3 months as a tourist will bridge it". That was kind of the unofficial advice, so I went to London and I tried to get into London but Austrians all want to live there so I got into a lot of hassle so they were like: "what you are doing is wrong but okay", they stamped it. Going back was fine but then when I came to apply for the Belgian permit or visa they saw this discrepancy and they said "okay your visa ended her so .. there is this black-hole where you were actually illegal and now you are actually illegal", I wouldn't have known any of this if I was not getting worried about the visa because I hadn't heard anything so I rang Vreemdelingezaken and they said: "oh

yeah he's illegal, we've send it to Brussels" I wouldn't have known that if I wouldn't have
called so I though I'm going to get deported.... Turns out a month later I got a letter with "your
fine". So unofficially I had heard: "oh yeah he's illegal" so this it kind of all breaks down when
you're moving in Europe (Jones A. , 2014)

These difficulties tend to be common among highly-skilled workers due to their high level of
mobility and often complex trajectories. It is often a critical relationship between contractual
insecurity and length of stay which is an issue that is widely reported by the respondents. The
selective migration policies lead to host countries devising special visas and programs in order
to attract higher educated migrants from non-EU countries. The creation of these migration
policies has created a competitive environment. However, the respondents such as Adam,
Mohammed, Satjeet, Carlos, Louis and Marta have indicated that the internal EU competition
brings along barriers and administrative hindrances. Currently the EU member states have the
perception of being ''fortress Europe'' due to the fragmented labour market and the lack of
free movement rights for Non-EU migrants. The European community has started to address
the barriers for highly-skilled migrants by attempting to harmonize the laws on highly-skilled
migration and offering the option to move within member states through Directive
2009/50/EC. However, due to the nature of EU decision making the directive was altered and
the final version that was adopted by the Council of Ministers gives highly-skilled migrants
the right to move to a second member state after 18 months and must conform to the same
requirement for entry (Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2010). This still leaves a lot to be desired for
highly-skilled migrants that are seeking multi-layered migration experience within Europe.
The mismatch of labour laws creates uncertainty for the highly-skilled migrants. Mohammed
talks about his personal stress which uncertainty brings forth:

It's a little bit.. challenging because you have to manage most of the things.. also be sure of
each step, you know that there is really no back up. All the time you should be aware: okay a
life abroad anything can happen all the time.. You should put some safety measure in place for
when something goes wrong so you can put this on the top to buffer. This is kind of… yeah..
things that, from my own experience add a little bit of stress on your personal life because you
have to be aware that each day there is uncertainty (Alimi M. , 2014).

Juan explains that due to Argentina's association with the Schengen agreement it offers more
room to search for new positions within the Schengen countries after a contract has ended:

> For the permit… that is given, after your contract is finished you have 30 days but because Argentina is one of the associate countries form Schengen I have 90 days extra. But of course if after 90 days I have no work it gets complicated (Carlos, 2014).

Uncertainty is a term that is often used by the respondents. Contractual insecurity is an issue that triggers the problems with current migration policies among member states. Ana Louren explains:

> You are.. how do say… never sure. When your contract ends, in some EU countries your visa ends [and] in some you get a number of days to find [a] new opportunity. It can be stressful (Louren, 2014).

Uncertainty is not only created by the current EU migration policy, it is often an issue of contractual insecurity. The influence of EU scientific research funding is increasing due to Europe growing closer together (European Commission, 2011). The European Commission's Framework Programmes for Research and Technological Development has defined key areas in which the funding will focus on. The European Framework Programme for Research and Innovation, Horizon 2020, is the EU's main instrument for research funding within the EU from 2014 to 2020 (European Commission, 2011). This programme offers 80 billion euros of funding spread out over a time period of seven years. The programme has set out 3 main objectives: promoting excellent science, strengthening industrial leadership and addressing major societal concerns (European Commission, 2011). Another important aspect of the programme is that it makes an important contribution towards the networking of the European research landscape and should ultimately create a European Research Area and promotes the international mobility of researchers (European Commission, 2010). However, the promotion of international mobility of researchers clashes with current EU member state migration laws. Vladimir Gajtka explains that EU research grants promote mobility among EU member states while at the same time making it difficult for non-EU researchers to move across borders:

> I have more chances to get an academic position outside of Belgium than inside. Because the EU research grants are set up in such a way that only researchers who [are] traveling have [a] high[er] eligibility status than others (Gajtka, 2014).

Academics find international experience important and indicate that expanding their work experience in different countries is important for their career. The interviews have indicated that career and development are key factors when deciding to choose for a position abroad. Informal networks are perceived as important for international career and personal progress:

It did make sense professionally, if I want to return to Australia and work in academia international experience is very highly regarded. I remember going to the Australian ecology conference and all the keynote speakers, I noted, all the keynote speakers had been educated outside of Australia… It is looked upon very well to do your education outside [of Australia] (Jones A. , 2014).

If I studied in Belgium, if I finish my PHD and if still I want to continue my academic career I would have to move to Europe, the USA, Australia to study.. to get knowledge [from] what I have learned in Belgium and other countries. This kind of mobility is encouraged by the European Research funds, American funds, Australian and South American funds (Gajtka, 2014).

The issues faced due to migration policy discourse have influences on social and personal factors such as income, family life and lifestyle. When given the choice Vladimir Gajtka would stay in Belgium. However, due to

For instance if a foreigner gets a residence of another country he or she would always think about their parents and their family. How would they bring them to here. I also thought about it; if I get the nationality from Belgium it wouldn't be easy for my parents because I couldn't bring them here. Life here is different from their place, they wouldn't be able to live here it's such a dynamic environment. I also can't come back because it would be slightly boring, maybe not boring but less dynamic. (Gajtka, 2014)

7.2   Circular Migration

Circular migration has been promoted by EU policy makers as a possible solution for the labour shortages facing Europe. Policy makers claim that within the context of migration and development discourse circular migration is a triple win: it benefits sending countries, hosting countries and the migrants themselves (Triandafyllidou, 2013). Circular migration is not a new concept; it has been used to guide formal and informal border movements in many different regions in the past. An increased interest in managed or regulated circular migration programmes can be witnessed in current migration policy discussions. The objectives of circular migration include meeting labour market needs in destination countries, mitigating brain drain, promoting development of sending countries through remittances, return of skill and enterprise creation and meeting aspirations of migrants to attain international experience (European Commission, 2007). However, existing circular migration programmes are considered to be fairly limited within labour migration policy. The international community needs to develop labour migration programmes that address short and long term labour market

needs and create partnerships with sending countries (Wickramasekara, 2011). The respondents emphasise the less the ideal situation which circular migration can offer. Mohammed explains that circular migration is difficult from Cameroon:

> At the moment at home there is also, you have to deal with the political issue [and] it is not easy, you are more seen as a threat to the system. As they usually say: ''you then enter the house through the roof, [while] there is always a door''. That means: we prefer to deal with people that way in Cameroon. They want those with a PHD under their control, so they can control what is going on. Being from abroad [means] you can bring a change, and that change can be drastic and harmful to other and they are really afraid of that (Alimi M. , 2014).

Mohammed gives a clear example how circular migration can meet many barriers that are dependent on the sending and receiving countries. When sending or receiving countries are not open to knowledge exchange it can create a difficult situation for returning migrants. Juan Carlos explains that in Argentina political instability creates difficulties for circular and return migration:

> What I'm not convinced of yet in Argentina is that it's very unstable politically. Especially concerning science and research. Now we are, in Argentina it's very good, there is a lot of support for research, but ten years ago it was a disaster. Like literally the economy minister sent all the scientists to wash dishes literally on TV, [on] national TV: ''everyone should go and wash dishes, go do something useful…''. Everything has to give a revenue otherwise it is useless. Now the government we have since 2010 has improved but it now will change again. The government will see what the policy is and the prospective are not very good. With that it is not easy to plan to go back to Argentina (Carlos, 2014).

The majority of international migrants stay in contact with their country of origin. Highly-skilled migrants who have had work experience in their country of origin have contacts and knowledge exchange. This contact can lead to research collaborations across borders which can help develop sending countries scientific activities (Regets, 2001). International cooperation in academia and research can boost economic growth. Remittances are becoming important development drivers of migrant sending countries. On a global scale remittances have surpassed the value of official financial aid. For some countries it has even surpassed foreign direct investments. It is an aspect which is often overlooked as important economic and social function. On a macroeconomic level migrants contribute to GDP growth. And consumption on a household level, migrants relieves poverty and supplement incomes in their home nation (CSER, 2012). Highly-skilled migrants can be divided into a group who intend

to stay temporary and those who are planning to stay for the long term which can even turn into permanent residency. Long term migration is more often being replaced by more short term flows. Williams, Baláž, & Wallace (2004) describe human mobility as temporally and spatially stickier compared to other forms of mobility which can lead to migrants becoming locked into locations or develop attachments to their place of residence. These factors eventually can limit mobility. The respondents indicate that the duration of stay is complex and dependant on opportunities. Luis explains that due to his length of stay returning back is not really an option:

> ''I've been here for a long time and perhaps I will settle down somewhere here.. Returning back [to Mexico] just isn't an option right now'' (Martinez, 2014).

Satjeet says that he would like to settle in Belgium but going back to India is still a realistic option, there are no major issues that could withhold him from going back:

> When you are a little older you want to stop somewhere (moving around), that could be sometimes critical for people who are from Iran for example. Moving anyway is very difficult due to all these visa challenges. For me, okay I mean I can go back to India, it's not going to kill me or something. I mean my family is there I'll do okay, so it's not that I don't want to go back. That's why I'm not looking very hard for a place that will keep me…. People are going back now, I mean well they're going back in the last 4 or 5 years because India was doing very well but now not so much. So I don't know how the situation is now, people are okay going back to India. And people who are in India in my.. friends from back in college and school they are pretty okay, they are doing fine. Most of them are not in academia though, maybe that's why. They're doing fine and are happy. It's not like Europe, so there is daily corruption but they're pretty okay (Garcha, 2014).

The sampled respondents shows a pattern in which the majority would like to migrate within the EU but not necessarily return back to their native country. An important factor is the length of stay abroad, the longer the stay the less likely the respondents are to migrate back to their home country. The increasing human capital combined with gained cultural capital can limit the willingness to return. Mohammed mentions ''that it's very hard'' to return home due to his European mind set:

> It's extremely hard because I mean, I've been home and I also saw the conditions because I, okay maybe because it's the European conditions I'm used to, because that also influences how I see things. I went back to the university and to the office where I used to work and then I just see.. I see.. oh it's worse than before. Because…. I mean papers, papers, papers

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everything looks.. very old, the pc and stuff, and then I say [to the professor] how can you work in this kind of condition? But he is happy where he is and so I don't make further comments (Alimi M. , 2014).

Mohammed's case is complex, he shares that the main concerns are the lacking basic support structure for research. There is little to no funding which has led to the low quality of the education system. The respondents echo issues of their native countries such as the limited scientific opportunities and little international scientific exchange. Not only political factors can create difficulties, often economic factors are of influence on limiting circular migration. Nikki explains that economic factors influence her choice to circular migrate:

Now with the crisis I can definitely reply to this question speaking from experience from other people, especially Spanish ones, if you speak English you escape from your country. The same happened in Greece 100.000 young scientists went away. Most of the people go for better opportunities, there are better opportunities here…. I think its brain drain because there is nothing really happening in our countries now, I mean, if you give people money, I mean, you have to find them jobs. So I don't see my generation having a good life back home (Dumitri, 2014).

The respondents indicate that sending countries can be reluctant to change current policies concerning circular migration in the long and short term. They indicate that it is important that the EU engages the sending country governments into discussions on circular migration programmes and maintain good connections. Some respondents indicate that they are uncertain about the length of their stay in Europe but mention that at the moment long term stay is more realistic. Social ties can influence the decision making of highly-skilled migrants. Nikki remarks on her duration of stay: ''maybe if I get a boyfriend here I'll stay''. Not only social ties can influence return migration, funding, employability and networks are factors of influence. The idea that non-EU migrants do not want to stay permanently is an incorrect view point. Of the 10 interviews conducted 7 respondents indicated that they wish to settle in a country other than their home country:

It's a question of opportunity, I think; job market in the humanities is not good in any country. If there were opportunities here in Belgium or elsewhere in Europe I would seriously consider them. But, those opportunities are relatively rare. So I would be open to stay. But I don't know if I will, there are probably more opportunities in the US. But I wouldn't be opposed to staying (Cosar, 2014).

A respondent even indicates measures that are opposed in order to limit the outflow of nationals:

> Moldova thinks about brain drain, what's the nice word it's uhm it's a populist way, they use populist ways. They say that brain drain but they don't do much to stop it. They don't promote working places or possibilities, at least not when I left. Somehow the diversity in our place is smaller; there are not many English speaking people to get knowledge of English. They are doing well know, they diversify the population and research groups but it's far away from Belgium. There is kind of a way how they limit outflow such as military obligation and the obligation to work in school. If I start a PHD after my master that is okay. If you are private high school students then they would serve for one year. If you do a bachelor or master then you have to go to a special department in university that train officers. After your master you have to serve for two years. You get a contract and are well paid (Gajtka, 2014).

The 2020 Horizon project has increased the research funding which is an important method for attracting international researchers. Every respondent has indicated that their choice of foreign experience has been decided on the basis of opportunities. The current discourse on attracting highly-skilled through increasing research funds is not only a positive development for non-EU highly-skilled migrants but for all researchers.

7.3 Sub-conclusion

The lack of a unified migration within the EU creates a situation in which international highly-skilled migrants can be caught between fractured EU institutional space. Each EU member state has its own regulations which oppose the desire to provide migrants with a unified migration process. This situation creates barriers and administrative hindrances, especially when circular or multi-country migration patterns are more complex. The selective migration policies lead to host countries devising special visas and programs in order to attract higher educated migrants from non-EU countries. The European community has started to address barriers effecting highly-skilled migrants by attempting to harmonize the laws on highly-skilled migration and offering the option to move within member states. However, the directive was altered and the final version that was adopted by the Council of Ministers gives highly-skilled migrants the right to move to a second member state after 18 months and must conform to the same requirement for entry (Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2010). The mismatch of labour laws creates uncertainty for the highly-skilled migrants. Contractual insecurity is an issue that triggers the problems with current migration policies among member states. Circular migration has been promoted by EU policy makers as a possible

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solution for the labour shortages facing Europe. Actual circular migration programmes are considered to be fairly limited within labour migration policy. The international community has to develop labour migration programmes that address short and long term labour market needs and create partnerships with sending countries (Wickramasekara, 2011). Sending countries can be reluctant to change current policies concerning circular migration in the long and short term.

8. Main issues within national migration policy discourse relating to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants

Language can control immigration and naturalization; it is a method in which countries select specific groups of migrants such as educated and skilled migrants who contribute to the host country economy. Language policy is not only used to address economic concerns, it can be used to limit the threats that ethnicities, cultures and religions of migrant groups can have towards the dominant national identity (Copeland, 2010). While Belgium allows immigration with no proof of proficiency in French, Dutch or German it is internally divided over the use of a singular national language. Belgian language policy is not only used as gatekeeper for foreign threats but also internal rivalry that threaten the dominant cultural identity. The linguistic conflict started in 1840 when all governmental and commune services were only accessible in French. The French language was the dominant language among the dominant classes in both Flemish and Walloon regions. In 1883, for the first time, Dutch was allowed to be used as instruction language in primary education and in 1889 it was accepted in the Belgian court system for oral testimonies. In 1894 the DeVriendt-Coremans legislation gave Dutch the official status next to the French language. In 1921 the Belgian government created three linguistic regions: Flemish in the North, French in the South and a bilingual part within Brussels.

8.1 Internationalisation

Belgium is a bilingual country and reflects the importance of teaching language in education. Dutch and French are the official languages of instruction within Belgian education institutions. However, English is becoming an important language as both Dutch and French communities are learning less of each other's mother tong. Language is a lively and dynamic discussion within Belgium. The Flemish government changed its former policy towards language when it decided to ease the language regulations for higher educational institutions.

The shift in discourse was set into action in 2012 when the government offered bachelor studies to be partly taught in another language while Master studies can be taught fully in another language, with English being advised. As response to the change in national discourse the University of Ghent debated the role of English within higher education and the effects, chances and challenges that the shift in policy would bring. The University of Antwerp organized a workshop on language policy in higher education in 2011 as a preparation for the policy shift in 2012.

The Flemish government was confronted with an important choice: will it keep defending the Dutch language or will it choose for internationalisation. In order to compete with foreign universities the government moved closer to the internationalisations of its universities. However, the change in policy created a fear of lower Dutch language skills within universities. The Dutch language advocate group ''The Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren'' published a report in June 2013 in which their fears and objection towards the internationalisation of universities are discussed. They are worried that the decrease in Dutch as instruction language will lead to a decreased level of academic Dutch. They are afraid that the use of English will lead to the impoverishment of the Dutch language. Defending the Dutch instruction language at Flemish universities clashes with the European goals to internationalise higher education. The respondents who do not have lecturing options have indicated that it is a big disadvantage towards their personal and professional career. Mohammed explains:

> In Riga [previous university] it was an option, I had 40% of the time located to lecturing and so I miss lecturing here. It's something that is very good. You are sometimes challenged by questions you are not expecting. And when you bring it back home and you reflect and say ooh.. that is really something and also I think it's a skill. You can be a really good researcher but not a good teacher. It requires another skill to transfer knowledge; this can take practise at early stages. Each year you lecture you are evaluated and you see exactly how it went. The first year is different from the next. You will see changes in the results of students when they like the lectures (Alimi M. , 2014).

Carlos indicates that he is very unsatisfied with the policy concerning lecture language; he explains his willingness to teach but being unable to do so due to policy regulations:

> One of the things I face and that I'm not happy about is that I can't teach because I don't know Dutch. I am talking about teaching to Erasmus students, they also don't speak Dutch why

should not.. there is kind of… the Flemish language act so I can not apply to teaching, I am really unhappy about that. The only way I can teach is unofficially like helping in the lab it's okay, I'll do it and I like but it's not the same. So it's something, I didn't read into the details because it's all in Dutch [haha] but what I got from people around me is basically that if you teach a course and the students require it to be in Dutch it has to be in Dutch. So when you say I'll do it in English and they say can you do it in Dutch and you say no then you can't do it. When they ask they will have to search for somebody else. I think it is the Flemish Language act (Carlos, 2014).

Matthew senses that as an English speaker you are expected to become bilingual:

Here it is assumed if you want success you need to speak more languages. If you want to make this your academic home you have to learn Dutch, that's how it is here I think. I have the feeling that it's easier to be an English only speaker in the Netherlands then in Belgium (Cosar, 2014).

Adam and Mark indicate the same experience in which they are not able to teach classes in English:

Technically I have no teaching obligations, but I raised it with my boss because I think it will be important for me at some point to teach and he said we'll look at in six months he's positive about it. But my understanding is that at least at undergraduate level, where it is most useful it is taught in Dutch, I think it has to be. So that could be a problem, he thanks I can do it but I am not so sure. I've been a fieldwork begeleider [supervisor] for the second year in Amsterdam in Dutch and that went okay but I don't think I can lecture, I love to give a lecture but I can do practical's. Only at the master level it is taught in English. It's funny because the textbooks are in English but the classes are in Dutch. I would like to have the experience (Jones A. , 2014).

Here in Belgium I don't teach, firstly because of my foreign background and I don't have enough skills in English and subjects and the material will not be that well observed. I have had the opportunity but it would be very limited, such as controlling home tasks, labs. To be honest the PHD is a full time job, pays very well, you get 2180€ and you are not expected to have a par time job. They want you to be focused and do research (Gajtka, 2014).

According to the rector of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Paul de Knop, Flemish higher education would benefit from a language policy that is in line with the globalising world. In Germany, The Netherlands and France full studies are offered in English while Belgium is lagging behind and could find itself in a position that it will lose out on highly-skilled migrants due to the Language policy discourse:

The international language in trade, politics and science is for the most part English. Would an entrepreneurial and ambitious region voluntarily exclude itself from this? (Knop, 2011)

Belgian universities are pushing internationalization as a means to attract foreign talent. However, the support systems for international academics differ at university and faculty level. Some respondents have indicated that they received full administrative, housing and social support when settling in Belgium while other respondents indicate that they had to manage these aspects on their own. This discrepancy creates differences among the experiences of highly-skilled migrants and can make a difference in feelings towards inclusion.

Comment [AdW8]: new

8.2 Bureaucracy

Classic works of Max Weber (1997) have shown that through control of knowledge and information political domination can be achieved. The influence of buearcratic control can be seen today with it's effect on discouraging in-migration. The process is descibed by 't Hart (1991) as the model of bureaucratic politics that postulates conflicts of interest and power games between different sections, departments, and agencies within a government administration which are the most powerful determinants of policy choices. Reducing the timeframe in which migrants can file for benefits, visas and other documentation can have major impact on the status and experiences of migrants. Redaction and procrastination are techniques that are used by immigration officials which can stall and slow down the migration process (Taras, 2012). The sample respondents indicate their issues with the Belgian bureaucratic system. They confirm the acts of redaction and procrastination which form serious barriers. However, the general consensus tends to be that the system is difficult but in the end works. It is also cultural dependent, Satjeet indicates that compared to India the system works well, and he does not perceive the system to stall your work and bribes are non-existent:

..coming from the US system I had to get used to the bureaucratic system, making many trips to the commune. But at least is a system that works, they don't stall your work; it happens in India if you make multiple trips to the government office you have to give bribes otherwise it won't work. It's not so in Belgium, you make three trips and that's done. Then it takes 6 months to proceed but it works out at the end (Garcha, 2014).

Matthew perceives the system differently; he feels that the bureaucratic system creates artificial barriers:

You get the run around, You go to the city hall, you would think you could be more or less just show up and register in one visit but you end up going back there 6 or 7 times and each

time it was did you bring this piece of paper or this piece of paper, how should I know? They said you could call. Many internationals I've spoken to feel this. It seems to have more steps then necessary, so that was a little challenge (Cosar, 2014)

The sample respondents have all encountered bureaucratic issues when migrating to Belgium. As discussed in the previous chapter, the respondents find that not only the harmonization of European migration policy should be achieved but streamlining internal policies at institutional level is of great importance in order to serve the public good:

> The Belgium system.. What a hassle, I think I went to there [town hall] so many times, then I forgot this form then I forget that form.. it's so bureaucratic it's like they make it so difficult that it scares people away. Maybe it's the best anti-migration law you could have [haha] but on a more serious note it is twofold.. On the one hand you get frustrated but in the end it works and the system, after all the paperwork, is great. But it might scare of people willing to choose Belgium maybe (Martinez, 2014)..

> Follow the rules, it's very bureaucratic sometimes you have to wait for months which I mean, but that's only here in Antwerp. Local towns it will be faster. The thing is if go there with all the documents they tell you come after a few months that would be still okay. But if you book an appointment and you have to wait again for 7 hours then why do you have an appointment? Why do you have to make an appointment? Imagine that I have a lecture, the student needs the class and there is no news. That's no good use of the made appointment (Alimi M. , 2014).

Migration policy can be highly politicized and demands leadership directives from politics. However, the administrative side to migration policy is better to be organized by bureaucrats. Recent public discourse towards the rising number of migrants has been moving towards the negative side (Taras, 2012). Bureaucrats understand immigration policy and how it can regulate the flow of migrants and the social integration. It is important to note that bureaucracy can be imbedded in a countries culture even though it can lead to inefficiency and goals displacement. In certain situations bureaucrats can interpret the will of politicians in a different manner and can eventually implement decisions in a way that is opposite to the interest of the elected officials. It can find its origins from an interest oriented analysis of migration policy (Taras, 2012).

Policy can be impacted by institutionalized ideas that can be incorporated inside an institution or organisation. Institutionalized ideas can influence and change the perception of governmental actors over a longer term (Farag, 2003). An example of an institutionalized idea

is the identifiable national identity which can be represented by an institution. When an identity is considered at risk barriers can be put in place in order to limit the loss of identity. These barriers can exits out of reformulating rules and conditions (Korkut, Bucken-Knapp, McGarry, Hinnfors, & Drake, 2013). Public discourse is of importance, institutions have the intent to work for the public good. As identified in the previous chapter, migration has always been a heavily discussed subject within Belgium and the rest of Europe. Policy changes have shown the shift in public and politic discourse over multiple centuries. While Belgium and the rest of Europe are trying to attract non-EU highly-skilled labour the internal bureaucratic culture can still be viewed as a gatekeeper that creates migration barriers.

8.4 Sub-conclusion

Belgian language policy is not only used as gatekeeper for foreign threats but also internal rivalry that threaten the dominant cultural identity. Dutch and French are the official languages of instruction within Belgian education institutions. The Flemish government was confronted with an important choice: defend the Dutch language or choose for internationalisation. Defending the Dutch instruction language at Flemish universities clashes with the European goals to internationalise higher education. Flemish higher education would benefit from a language policy that is in line with the globalising world. The Belgian bureaucratic system leads to the acts of redaction and procrastination which form barriers for migrants. A unified European migration policy should be achieved but streamlining internal policies at institutional level is of great importance in order to serve the public good. While Belgium and the rest of Europe are trying to attract non-EU highly-skilled labour the internal bureaucratic culture can still be viewed as a gatekeeper that creates migration barriers.

Comment [AdW9]: new

9.   Main issues within local migration policy discourse relating to experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants

Universities worldwide have been forced to adjust to rapidly changing social, technological, economic and political forces. The complexity, explosive growth and increased competition of the global economy have been putting socio-political and technological pressure on universities (Bartell, 2003). The required far-reaching institutional change among universities includes substantial alterations in the organization of research, training, and administration in higher education (Cohen, 1997). Adaption towards the increased internationalization can be

viewed as an aspect of organizational change which requires openness and responsiveness towards demands from external sources. Research carried out by Ellingboe (1998) has indicated five components which are nececarry for universities to adjust towards an internationalized environment: (1) college leadership; (2) international involvement of faculty members concerning activities with collegues, research sites, and institutions worldwide; (3) the availability, affordability, accessibility, and transferability of international study programs for students; (4) the presence and integration of international students, scholars and visiting faculty into campus life; (5) international co-curricular units (residence halls, conference planning centers, student unions, career centers, cultural immersion and language houses, student activities and student organizations) (P. 205).

The internationalization of educational institutions requires structural and cultural adjustments. In the past economies were more self-contained and the international proficiencies of students and faculties were not seen as essential. However, changes in the global environment have led to the EU, it's member states and institutions to transform with a proactive attitude towards adaption, innovation and internationalization. The need of intercultural and international knowledge and understanding within institutions has become of great importance. International literacy has become important foundations of our culture, technological, economical and political health (Bartell, 2003).

The EU has been actively pushing the internationalization of academics as part of the move towards economic and political integration. Programmes such as the ERASMUS exchage programme are funded by the EU in order to provide EU students with foreign academic expierence. The harmonization of academic systems which led to compatible degree sturcutres, transferable credits and equal qualification throughout the EU is another example of European integration. International academics have the option, depending on migration laws, to return to their home country. The majority of the international academics are self-funded, they and their families pay for their academic work (Smart, Volet, & Ang, 2000). Of the interviewed international academics Mohammed explains that his family collected funds from other familiy members in order for him to persue his acadmic career in a foreign country:

> Most of the time your family invests in you, it's a family tax, you can't escape the family tax. There is no tax in the country except for the family tax (Alimi M. , 2014).

International academics, not goverments, are becoming the largerst source of income for international education. Retaining foreign academics has moved up the EU agenda of skilled migration policy. Acadmics are often in a better position to overcome intergration barriers that often face migrants such as language proficiency and the accessibility of professional and personal networks (International Organization for Migration, 2012). Research carried out by the European University Association (2013) shows that in order to attract more international academics towards the EU the language skills of students and staff should improve, more courses should be offered in English, funding should be increased in order to support staff mobility and international projects and finally there should be a more comprehensive, strategic approach towards internaitonalization. Internationalization should be reflected in the strategic goals and be considered in staff recruitment and development. Resource allocation and support services. This research results partley reflect with the conducted interviews. Concerning improved languaged skills Louis, Abes, both from Ugent, comment:

> Sometimes, I , well my English isn't perfect, I wouldn't say, I mean the level of English among my native collegues, not all of them though, it can be improved I think, yeah I think (Martinez, 2014).

> I think there is a culture of language preservation, you see it in the ability to teach classes in English, sometimes everythings in Dutch (Louren, 2014).

While Matthew, from the KU Leuven, and Adam, from the UA, mention that they sometimes wish People would speak Dutch rather than English:

> The thing that makes it the hardest is that so many Dutch speakers speak English so you don't really get that emerging experience that accelerates language learning, so I think it would be easier to learn a language in a country where people spoke less English (Cosar, 2014).

> When I try to speak Dutch and struggle people switch to English, it's nice but you don't you learn more by sticking to Dutch I think (Jones A. , 2014).

The increased funding is an aspect that is often discussed during the conducted interviews:

> It's all based on opportunity, where the funds are that's were you'll be heading (Alimi M. , 2014)

It's a question of opportunity, I think the job market for academics in humanities is not good in any country. So yeah if there were opportunities here in Belgium or elsewhere in Europe I would certainly consider them (Cosar, 2014).

Who knows where I'll be, probably where I can receive research funding (Abes, 2014).

It all depends on research funding, where there is funding that's where I'll go next (Gajtka, 2014)

I just looked for international scholarships at the masters level.. the money came first then the faculty (Jones A. , 2014) .

The head of the faculty has changed, so I'm waiting for my research fund to be extended, that will decide if I stay or not (Carlos, 2014).

9.1   Policy Implementation

While universities are proactively attracting international academics the implementation of internationalization policies can sometimes be a concern. A respondent discussed an issue with local policy concerning diversity and integration. She said to have witnessed a form of window dressing in which a committee, which was introduced due to policy that was created higher up, was implemented in an ineffective way:

> I'm in the diversity committee of the [Ghent] university, I went to the first meeting but it wasn't what I was expecting. It was me and an Australian from the same office. And the first question was like: ''is your Dutch language sufficient to hold the meetings in Dutch?'' They didn't ask us [if] we have ever taken [Dutch] class. We are not obliged to take class but I like to. So, then we were two out of 20 that were not locals and the head asked if everyone was in agreement with the language, I mean in a diversity committee?? Second weird thing where the aims, we didn't get a clear answer so they said we have to give everyone equal opportunities so they [university students] speak Turkish at home [and] so they need additional help to follow courses blabla but for me, I mean I was in the US and took a seminar on diversity, and for me diversity is how can [you] bring, what my professor is doing, how can I bring the good, the positive elements of each different mentality to form a group that can make Ugent thrive. That is what I was expecting and not to be, I don't know, that a student's comes to me and says ''he called me black'' and that I say to the guy you shouldn't do that. No, I was expecting a different concept. So I'm not motivated to do the committee anymore. We have no influence on the direction, I tried to communicate that I had a different view but I don't think it's what they want. It seems like obligation for the university to have it, it's a check list. At

difference levels they have these committees, they are obliged. I don't think they are interested. It's my personal opinion but if you ask them they'll say no (Dumitri, 2014).

The Ugent states that higher education should be open for every student or employee. The university has a diversity policy which strives to improve the growth opportunities of minorities within higher education. As described by Nikki, the Ugent has diversity committees whom, according to policy documents, have a guiding and advisory role concerning ethnic aspects, a supporting role within decisions concerning individual cases involving ethics and an advisory role concerning protocols within the range of diversity (Universiteit Gent, 2009). However, in the view of the respondent the policies revolving diversity are lacking in implementation. Policy implementation needs to focus on the nature of social problems and the will or capacity of the people involved in the process. Policy implementation often requires the assistance of an agent in order to achieve a set outcome. Decisions are often based on the rational choices of the implementation agent. Often the principal and the agent are motivated by self-interest. Rational choice theory is based on the assumption that choice is the middle point of a person's life and that choices can be brought back to personal interest and utility maximization.

It is important to note that in many conventional accounts, such as the diversity committees of the Ugent, it is assumed that implementers understand the intended reasoning and message behind a policy. Failure to understand the intended reasoning and message of a policy can come forth from policy ambiguity and not from wrong intent. Research carried out by Guthrie (1996) indicates that ppolicy implementers should not per definition be seen as resistors or saboteurs. Failure to implement policy can relate to inability to decode the policy message. The process of comprehension and interpretation is an active process that requires an individual's rich knowledge of understandings, beliefs and attitudes (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002). Nikki indicated she had tried to influence the discourse within the committee but was refused: 'I tried to communicate that I had a different view but I don't think it's what they want.' The refusal can be linked to the need of a shared understanding among participants concerning presumptions, values, and the assumptions which underlie a program.

9.2 Sub-conclusion

Universities worldwide have been forced to adjust to rapidly changing social, technological, economic and political forces. The internationalization of educational institutions requires structural and cultural adjustments. The need of intercultural and international knowledge and

understanding within institutions has become of great importance. Retaining foreign academics has moved up the EU agenda of skilled migration policy. Research shows that in order to attract more international academics towards the EU the language skills of students and staff should improve, more courses should be offered in English, funding should be increased in order to support staff mobility and international projects and finally there should be a more comprehensive, strategic approach towards internaitonalization.

Policy implementation can focus on the nature of social problems and the will or capacity of the people involved with policy implementation. Policy implementation often requires the assistance of an agent in order to achieve a set outcome. Failure to implement policy can relate to inability to decode the policy message. The refusal of change can be linked to the need of a shared understanding among participants concerning presumptions, values, and the assumptions which underlie a program.

Comment [AdW10]: new

10. Inclusive or exclusive effects of migration policy discourse on the experiences of highly-skilled non-EU migrants

The European Commission published a handbook for the integration of non-EU migrants in the European Union. The handbook is addressed towards policy-makers and practitioners at local, national and EU level. The second addition that was published in 2005 focused on housing and urban issues, access to health and social services, integration in the labour market, mainstreaming and integration infrastructure (European Commission, 2005). While the handbook is a guide for EU member states it is important note that integration policies in the European Union are not community policies: EU member states adopt their own sovereign policies and decisions. Differences in approaches towards policies are influenced by political, ideological factors, available policy instruments and the migration history of each individual member state. Research carried out by Fernández (2008) has identified that the integration of non-EU highly-skilled migrants can be divided into two areas namely: socio-economic and political-legal. This research has divided the two areas into 2 themes namely: political-legal and socio-economical. The themes have been used to identify the inclusive or exclusive effects of the policy discourse on the experiences of highly-skilled non-EU migrants.

10.1 Political-Legal: management of entry and residence

In the first phase of migration the highly-skilled migrant must face challenges associated to the political-legal field: visas and residential permits. Different countries adopt different policies in order to manage the entry and residency of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. In

general the policies can be divided into four groups: (1) employment-based admissions; (2) labour market testing; (3) talent accrual approach or points system and (4) the filtration system. In the case of (1) employment-based admission an employer hires a highly-skilled worker for a specific job under the conditions that have been determined by the law of the hosting country. These conditions can be salary, contract or recognition of qualifications. Belgium has implemented migration policy in which an employer selects a highly qualified migrant applicant in order to fill a specific position. Migration policy in Belgium specifies that for academic positions there is no need to prove that the labour market has no local or EU applicants. Within (2) labour market testing governments have identified specific sectors which are in need of highly-skilled labour and for which there is an EU wide shortage. Within the (3) talent accrual approach policies put emphasis on the specific talents a skilled worker can bring to a country. Factors can include: schooling, qualifications, experience and language skills. And finally (5) the filtration systems approach grants permits specifically for non-EU highly-skilled workers. The Blue Card directive is a prime example of such a policy measure. These policy strategies can have inclusive and exclusive effects on the experiences of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. Within Belgium Non-EU academics can apply for employment-based admission to the country. Satjeet, Matthew and Ana have experienced this phase to be challenging:

> It wasn't easy it took six months to get the visa (Garcha, 2014).

> I don't think the people of this university understand how much of a process it is to move over here. Like, they offered me the position in the middle of July which in itself is totally different from the academic hiring cycle in the US, they offered me the position in the middle of July and I should start in October, that's like 2,5 months, that's almost impossible to arrange everything in 2,5 months. You have to get a visa, you have all the documents, you have to send them away to get the authenticated through the Belgium assembly. It's a very long process. We started everything right away and we still didn't get here until the middle of October and we only got everything sorted a week before we left. I just think they don't recognise it takes time (Cosar, 2014).

> I had to complete so much paperwork; it was pretty difficult to be fair. I.. I'm not sure if it's related to the academic position or that it's always this way but it wasn't easy. I didn't get to much help from the university, that would have… yes that would have been easy, helpful (Louren, 2014).

Mark, Magna, Adam, Juan and Mohammed indicated to have little problems to get the initial working permits. In some situations help was offered by the faculty which made the process easier:

> The secretaries are very professional. She brought me to the bank, personal departments to make my file with data so I was registered. She helped a lot with documents and papers. That was very comfortable; my promoter was very helpful he helped me with many things. He knows what students need. He wanted his students to work for him and not be busy with administrative work (Gajtka, 2014)

> The university helped me with administrative things, that was helpful because the system is quite complicated, is that the right word? Maybe if you understand the language it's easy but.. no if you want a visa you don't speak the language or maybe some do I don't know (Abes, 2014).

> All that time I was keen to go back to Europe I really like it when I travelled here and for an Australian the only way to come is to study, unless you have a very good job, it's not easy you can't just move here. So I figured out the easiest way to come into the European system is to do a masters. And I applied and got a scholarship from the Dutch Government (Jones A. , 2014).

> Argentina is one of the associate countries form Schengen I have 90 days extra. But of course if after 90 days I have no work it gets complicated (Carlos, 2014).

> I entered Europe through the university of Riga which wasn't too difficult. After that I applied for a position in Belgium but I was also offered a position back in Riga, so it was a back up (Alimi M. , 2014).

While filtration systems are incorporated within the Belgium migration polices it is not often used by highly-skilled migrants. Adam explains:

> I think there is a Blue Card system but I haven't looked into that, maybe I should have, but I never heard anyone use it so I just applied for a regular visa which was quite the process (Jones A. , 2014).

10.2   Social-Economical: the individual, social and personal

Highly-skilled migrants can be seen as an economic asset and vital towards economic growth. Therefore it is of great importance to focus on the social aspects of highly-skilled migrants and their experiences of social inclusion in the host society. The inclusion of foreign nationals has always been a complex issue due to the involvement of discourse on EU, national and

local level. Inclusion involves social group membership and full participation of varied communities, worldviews and background within society. Inclusion is often referred to as the full and equal social participation of different individuals and communities across varied settings within the context of diversity. Inclusion incorporates structural and cultural features that are related to attitudes and ideologies of social systems. These attitudes and ideologies are necessary for acceptance and enhancement of diversity within social surroundings. Within the scope of this research the sample respondents have had positive attitudes towards the process of their inclusion within the social environment. Inclusion can be stimulated by actively participating in working environment as Matthew explains:

> I think ironically is was more difficult for my wife, at least for my part I think I came over here for my work so I had something to do right away. Because you can have some structure to your life with a social circle. I'd say there advantages and disadvantages, coming abroad when you first arrive you have an euphoric feeling, everything is new and exciting, everything thing is new. After a few months go by and you realize you're not on vacation and you need to get work done. You have to find out where to do groceries and such. That euphoria wains after a while, I still find it fascinating to be in another culture. The best part of being abroad is being able to meet lots of different people and cultures including Flemish culture. The hard parts are first of all, I mean you're still yourself, you still have all the problems you had before you came but now you have new ones added, learning a new culture while being away from your family and friends (Cosar, 2014).

Vladimir indicates that he has developed personally due to being involved with different cultures:

> My experience has been positive, I have improved my English, I have learned to speak to many different cultures, there are many cultures here. You become more calm, you don't think that only Russians or Maldovians exist. The funny thing to see how people think, how do they behave or react is very different. For instance you can ask a question to different nationalities and the answers people will respond different. If you ask how are you a Russian would tell about their whole day and for Belgian's it's more small talk (Gajtka, 2014).

Mohammed indicates that he feels included in the social context while still noticing a difference between EU countries:

> Interaction with people goes very well, it depends where you are who you meet. It really goes well, I meet nice people and share things, and also, I mean from my little experience in Europe I end having more good friend, European than even at home. I met some in Riga, some here

[Antwerp] and after 10 years we are very connected we keep in touch, traveling all the time to each other. There is huge difference between Riga and Antwerp, Riga being a small country in terms of population. The expat community was narrow…. (Alimi M. , 2014)

He goes on to explain that being active in social activities, such as football, increases connections with both natives and internationals:

When you are in a cycle you meet other people. When you play football you meet the local people and then you interact. Here it's much better, you don't have that opportunity because the population is huge. But again here football, I learned nice people. This is also true with football, social networking. You meet one and then it goes on. With two people you know the world (Alimi M. , 2014).

Satjeet mentions that he feels included and accepted within the Belgian society. The feeling is so strong he would be willing become a permanent citizen:

[It has been a] Really good experience, a place I would like to put my bags down.. The pros are immense; the healthcare for instance is wow! I have some genetic diseases that are coming from my family side so I need that healthcare system. In India I can afford it but there is no insurance. In the US I can't afford it. It's very good. Education for kids, right now for my age, it's a good thing to have. In general I like the system works, the work-life balance is very good, something I like, the culture is also very good. You can reach places by public transport. Diversity exists in the US but very superficial, but here it is really really good, if you go the France you're in France or when you go the Netherlands it's really Dutch, it's not made up. The EU model in general looks to me like something we could do in India to. India is very diverse, Europe feels like that, in general it is like that, it's something very good. The European political system would work for India, decentralised would work very well in India (Garcha, 2014).

Inclusion depends on many factors; what can be a positive experience for some can be negative for others. A number of respondents have indicated that they sometimes feel excluded due to language barriers. Social exclusion can be psychological damaging to victims. Research has proven links between feelings of being ignored, rejected and unwanted. These negative feelings can work towards sadness, loneliness, social anxiety, depression, lowered self-esteem and hurt feelings (Hitlan, Kelly, Schepman, Schneider, & Zárate, 2006).

Here we are 50% internationals and 50% locals and we eat separately and in the 25 positions in office the Belgian side is that side and internationals is that side. It's because they came and work here and took the places first but it's a very dynamic environment people leave for six

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months so it's not easily mixed. I would like to see it mixed. It's not a policy, it happens naturally. Although we have an audit at the end and people are obliged to speak English. It's an English lab (Dumitri, 2014).

Nikki describes a situation in which she felt excluded from a social gathering which to her social context felt rude and impolite:

In the beginning I had an incident , I arrived on a Friday and here every Friday we go for beers with the colleges so there was a table with a Dutch college and the rest were Belgians so I arrived at the table and I said hello can you switch to English so I can understand and the Dutch guy told me: I'm telling a story and you are interrupting us''. That in Greece would be quite impolite and the typical Greek reaction would be thank you, by. I said what you do is not very welcoming and you can speak English he said: ''yeah you want to learn Dutch right?'' I said yeas, so he said okay so I'll continue in Dutch. So I said I'll speak in Greek so you can learn Greek, he was surprised because he didn't expect that reaction. And then after a while he said look we were having a story and you entered the conversation. He is not a bad guy but it's more a Dutch, sorry if I say that, Dutch directness. He really wanted to finish his story in Dutch. Or he didn't want share it. At first I didn't understand it was a mentality thing, that are things I learned to live by (Dumitri, 2014).

Carlos tells a similar story in which he recalls moments in which he is excluded from conversations due to the participants switching to another language. He says to find it rude but notes that there are two reactions, one being of excluding nature:'' learn the language'' and the second reactions is apologetic and is based on unawareness:

On a personal level, there is a tendency that I characterize very much from Flemish people that if you're in a conversation with more than two people where one of the people does not understand Flemish or Dutch they, nevertheless, when they speak to each other, even in front of the person, tend to do it [speak] in Flemish. So many times the topic is interesting and you have to ask: ''can you tell me what you just said?''. Yeah in a way it's rude but also it is impractical [because] if this is something we are discussing, that is interesting for me and I don't understand it, they will have to say it twice. That happens a lot, also in the professional space where it's really annoying. But I got use to telling: ''okay I can go away if you want a private conversation'' [just] tell me to go, it's easier than switching languages. The responses depend, some people say: ''you should know Dutch'', I've got that answer several times. Some people completely understand, some weren't even aware of this problem and when I ask can you stick to a language, I understand, now they are very aware. Maybe people just aren't used to it, I don't know exactly why but it's something that you see a lot (Carlos, 2014).

Matthew and Satjeet explain that while they feel very well taken care of they will always remain an outsider. Their observations are based on the social norms of their native country:

> Well, in one sense I am absolutely taken care of, Flemish tax payers are actually paying my salary for four years, I sometimes wonder why do are doing that but they pay my salary and not only do they do that and they accommodate me by speaking my language and they are friendly and engaging people. In that sense it is very welcoming but do I every feel like an outsider? Of course I'm an outsider, even if I lived here the rest of my life I'd still be an outsider. I think that's the difference between Americans and Flemish if it makes sense to compare them. If you move to America and learn to speak English, you're an American. No one is going to question that. But here I think it takes several generation before you're considered Belgian, it's still a closed culture and have issues with that (Cosar, 2014).

> The only thing I can say is just that my home country is more familiar, it was easier for me to approach a faculty member perhaps, maybe it's not difficult but not as easy perhaps. I don't know the cultural differences, or what the expectations are if I ask for help so I don't easily walk up to someone which is easier in India, but I wouldn't say it's straight forward India is diverse to. The familiarity was a bit easier (Garcha, 2014).

10.3 Sub-conclusion

EU member states adopt their own sovereign policies and decisions. Differences in approaches towards policies are influenced by political, ideological factors, available policy instruments and the migration history of each individual member state. Different countries adopt different policies in order to manage the entry and residency of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. Policy strategies can have inclusive and exclusive effects on the experiences of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. It is of great importance to focus on the social aspects of highly-skilled migrants and their experiences of social inclusion in the host society. The inclusion of foreign nationals has always been a complex issue due to the involvement of discourse on EU, national and local level. Inclusion incorporates structural and cultural features that are related to attitudes and ideologies of social systems. Inclusion depends on many factors, what can be a positive experience for some can be negative for others. Social exclusion can be psychological damaging to victims.

Comment [AdW11]: new

11.   Inclusive or exclusive effects of migration policy discourse on the expectations of highly-skilled non-EU migrants

As discussed in the previous chapter the highly-skilled respondents have indicated that their choice for migration to Belgium is based on the opportunity that had presented itself. Matthew indicates that his migration was based on a research position that he was offered and he explains that he had no clearly defined expectations:

> I don't know if I had clearly defined expectations, I was probably I was idealistic about work I would get done. Yeah, I think I, for whatever reason, I didn't lay out expectations, I can't say if they are fulfilled, I think I just was willing to see what things are like (Cosar, 2014).

Mark also indicates that he no clearly defined expectations:

> I didn't have.. no I can't really remember I went here to focus on my study, I isolated myself in the beginning. I was focussed on work. Belgium had the opportunity so that's why actually (Gajtka, 2014).

Adam indicates that his expectations were based on his travels through Europe which eventually led to search of an academic position within an EU country:

> I had America on my mind…. I was still thinking about America but somehow Europe became.. I can't remember it was a while ago I really liked the thought of living here. When I came in 2004 I spend 4 months in Italy, traveling around, because I studied Italian then I stayed 8 months in London. As an Australia you get a working holiday visa. During that time of course I travelled around. Then I went to Amsterdam for one weekend then I moved there for six years (Jones A. , 2014).

Juan shows how big the influences of networks are considering migration flows. He was aware of the Swiss migration system and knew it was very welcoming. The expectations that were build up by his peers led to Juan searching for a position in Switzerland:

> I move a lot, Argentina is a big country and not all the universities have the careers so you often have to move. I'm from the North, from the border of Argentina, there was no physics so I moved to a city nearby Buenos Aires there I studied physics and then I went to an institute in the south of Argentina Patagonia to finish my career in physics. From there I started working in the industry but I realized I like teaching, research, writing papers, I like to work on crazy products not so much product orientated products. When I was searching for what to do I applied at many places, I wanted to do something outside of Argentina and I applied for a national scholarship in Switzerland. My expectations were.. I knew that Switzerland was great

for internationals, I mean I had heard that Switzerland is amazingly welcoming for foreigners, besides the laws they have been applying lately.. Once you are there, when they say you may enter Switzerland, it's amazing you are directly integrated into the system, I didn't do it but friends mine did it, Columbians, once you are there as a student, and because if you have a scholarship you give money to the pension system so when you're scholarship ends and you are looking for work you receive non-working insurance, it's amazing. It feels good in a way right? It's not easy to get in [laughter] (Carlos, 2014).

Social networks have a great influence on the life course of an individual. Social connections provide information on willingness to settle down permanently. Respondents have indicated that next to economic factors, social aspects are important in their decision making. The respondents comment that the friendship and family have a great impact on life paths towards settling down and family formation. While it depends on the country of migration, research shows that 20% to 50% of long-term migrants leave the host country within five years after their arrival (Martin, 2008). According to Martin (2008) a majority of this number does not return home but migrates to a third country. The future expectations of the respondents of this research match the rates mentioned above. As described in the previous chapter; when political, economic and social situations of the sending countries are stable and attractive there is willingness to return. The competition for highly-skilled migrants has created an environment in which the most constraining rights restrictions are not attached to their contracts. This leads to a choice of high quality migration options. For the respondents the integration process has an adaptive value. The respondents of this research identify themselves as international citizens while emphasizing their native identity and cultural heritage. This indicates that their personality is an important aspect of their identity. Personal factors such as academic success often trigger choices made in their career path and affect their willingness to move further abroad. The post-docs spend most of their academic career in a foreign country. The empirical results of this research indicate that most future path decisions of post-doctoral researchers are based on opportunities that may present themselves:

It's a question of opportunity. I think, the job market for academics in the humanities is not good in any country. So if there where opportunities here in Belgium or elsewhere in Europe I would certainly consider them. But, but I think that will be relatively rare, so I would be open to staying but I think there will be more opportunities for me in the US. The law of averages suggest that there is more there, I wouldn't be opposed to staying (Cosar, 2014).

The respondents indicate that returning to their native country is not a preferred option. However, their future expectations are all based on opportunities that might arise. Migration is more often a method to seek upward career perspectives and potential occupational realizations. Most of the respondents identified the need to pursue international experience for a better career and life. The career opportunities for highly-skilled migrants are open and in constant development at personal, social and professional levels. The length of stay would affect the level of social interaction and personal life. This is mostly dependent on the opportunities that are presented and possible length of stay. Their experiences within Belgium have been, aside to a few occasions, a positive experience. They feel included into the academic environment.

11.1 Sub-conclusion

Social networks have a great influence on the life course of an individual. Social connections provide information on willingness to settle down permanently. Respondents have indicated that next to economic factors, social aspects are important in their decision making. When political, economic and social situations of the sending countries are stable and attractive there is willingness to return. The competition for highly-skilled migrants has created an environment in which the most constraining rights restrictions are not attached to their contracts. This leads to a choice of high quality migration options. The respondents of this research identify themselves as international citizens while emphasizing their native identity and cultural heritage. Returning to the native country is not a preferred option among highly-skilled migrants. Future expectations are based on opportunities that arise. Migration is more often a method to seek upward career perspectives and potential occupational realizations. Highly-skilled migrants identify the need to pursue international experience for a better career and life. The career opportunities for highly-skilled migrants are open and in constant development at personal, social and professional levels. The length of stay would affect the level of social interaction and personal life.

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IV.   Conclusion

This chapter will summarize the results discussed in previous chapters and will answer the main research question: *Which inclusive or exclusive effect does migration policy discourse at EU, national and local level have on the experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants?*

Despite the current financial and economic tumult the EU has maintained its position as a globalized economy. A globalized economy that will remain an important destination for highly-skilled migrants. In order for Europe to compete against external economies it will need to depend on the quality of internal mobility and migration flow policies that its member states apply. The discourse at EU level concerning the migration of highly-skilled migrants can be seen shifting throughout different political and economic periods. European public discourse is unsure if migration is either a blessing or a curse. This unclear public discourse can be traced back to disjointed policies towards the challenges that migration creates. The common interest in European migration policy came to fruition in the Amsterdam Treaty (1999). The Amsterdam Treaty established the legal and constitutional basis of a common migration policy. Strategic goals for the European Union which would strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as a part of the knowledge-based economy where introduced in the Lisbon Treaty (2009). Discourse on policy solutions on national level were focused on restrictive policies and closed borders. However, the European discourse was aimed at migration being a solution for present and future economic and demographic issues.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre of September 11th 2001 in the United States of America changed the discourse on national, international, EU and global level. EU labour migration turned into an unpopular issue and fell to the background. The 2004 European Commission green paper proposed to bring labour migration back onto the agenda. The Green Paper proposed circular migration as an alternative to permanent migration. The 2005 European Commission communication titled: Policy Plan on Legal Migration contained an analysis of the contributions of Member States and showed a general support for a common EU policy concerning economic migration. This request received a response from the European Commission in May 2007. The Communication seeks to justify approaches to improve the management of legal movements of people between the EU and non-EU countries. In October 2007 the Blue Card and Single Permit Directive were presented to the

EU member states. The directives augmented the need of highly-skilled migrants in order to compete with international economic markets.

The lack of a unified migration policy within the EU creates a situation in which international highly-skilled migrants can be caught between fractured EU institutional space. Each EU member state has its own regulations which oppose the desire to provide migrants with a unified migration process. This mismatch in discourse creates barriers and administrative hindrances, especially when circular or multi-country migration patterns are more complex. The selective migration policies lead to host countries devising special visas and programs in order to attract higher educated migrants from non-EU countries. The European community has started to address the mismatch in policy effecting highly-skilled migrants by attempting to harmonize the laws on highly-skilled migration and offering the option to move within member states. However, the original directive on migration policy was altered and the final version that was adopted by the Council of Ministers gives highly-skilled migrants the right to move to a second member state after 18 months and must conform to the same requirement for entry (Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2010). The mismatch of labour laws creates uncertainty for the highly-skilled migrants. Contractual insecurity is an issue that triggers the problems with current migration policies among member states. Circular migration has been promoted by EU policy makers as a possible solution for the labour shortages facing Europe. Existing circular migration programmes are considered to be fairly limited within labour migration policy. The international community needs to develop labour migration programmes that address short and long term labour market needs and create partnerships with sending countries (Wickramasekara, 2011). Sending countries can be reluctant to change current policies concerning circular migration in the long and short term.

The migration policy mismatch is the result of EU member states adopting their own sovereign policies and decisions. Differences in approaches towards policies are influenced by political, ideological factors, available policy instruments and the migration history of each individual member state. Different countries adopt different policies in order to manage the entry and residency of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. The mismatch of policy strategies can have inclusive and exclusive effects on the experiences of non-EU highly-skilled migrants. It is of great importance to focus on the social aspects of highly-skilled migrants and their experiences of social inclusion in the host society. The inclusion of foreign nationals has always been a complex issue due to the involvement of discourse on EU, national and local

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level. Inclusion incorporates structural and cultural features that are related to attitudes and ideologies of social systems. Inclusion depends on many factors; what can be a positive experience for some can be negative for others. Social exclusion can be psychological damaging to victims.

The Belgian discourse on highly-skilled migration has shifted throughout different economic and political periods. The change in discourse can be linked back to social, political and economic evolutions that have occurred in the past. The creation of the BENELUX (1958) was a clear indication of a shift in discourse towards the free movement of workers and services. It was later expanded with all six European community member states in 1968. A clear example of economic effect on national discourse and policy making is the period of economic downturn in 1974 in which the borders were closed for all forms of migration. Globalization has influences the national discourse towards a more flexible migration policy concerning highly-skilled migrants. The introduction of the so-called ''bottleneck-jobs'' is an example of a change in discourse through policy making.

Globalization and international cooperation has had major impacts on scientific communication. It is the responsibility of the educational institutions to facilitate international cooperation. There is a high level of interest within governments and institutions in inter-institutional cooperation (Luciana & Mourad, 2009). Within the local discourse there is a difference in implementation of polices that are specified on international researchers. Overall the discourse is centred on a more internationalized environment that ought to attract more international academics. The KU Leuven indicates in their Internationalisation Policy (2013) that they are dedicated to strengthening their position in the global knowledge community. The University of Ghent (Ugent) specifies internationalization in their mission statement. The University of Antwerp (UA) emphasizes the importance of being an acknowledged international high quality university. The three universities have emphasized the importance of attracting international students and employees in order for them to compete with other (foreign) universities and adjusting to the globalisation of the labour market. Within Europe there are many different tuition fees for universities. There are countries with low taxes but high tuition and countries with high taxes and low tuition fees (OECD, 2012). The possibility exists that foreign students migrate to the second group of countries and will migrate to the first group when seeking employment. A response to this problem could be the harmonization of European tuition fees.

The experiences and expectations of non-EU highly-skilled migrants have the focus on national and local policies and cultural factors. National and local factors such as bureaucracy are seen as barriers and are source of frustration. The respondents indicate that Europe is not considered a dominant player within the migration process. The lack of a unified migration system for the EU is mentioned as a missed opportunity. However, the respondents are aware that the EU funds the majority of research programmes for academics. The difficulties that migration within the EU member states brings forth are considered to be discouraging for non-EU highly-skilled migrants. The experiences and expectations of the highly-skilled migrants interviewed for this research, for the majority, has been very positive. The Expectations before the actual migration to the EU were in some cases based on knowledge that was gathered through social networks. The respondents feel a strong occupational inclusion. However, the feeling towards social inclusion is not so clear cut. Social membership within a relatively closed society can bring difficulties. Exclusion through language is considered a common issue within migration policy. Belgian language policy is not only used as gatekeeper for foreign threats but also internal rivalry that threaten the dominant cultural identity. Dutch and French are the official languages of instruction within Belgian education institutions. The Flemish government was confronted with an important choice: defend the Dutch language or choose for internationalisation. Defending the Dutch instruction language at Flemish universities clashes with the European goals to internationalise higher education. Flemish higher education would benefit from a language policy that is in line with the globalising world. Another migration barrier is the Belgian bureaucratic system. The system leads to the acts of redaction and procrastination which form barriers for migrants. Streamlining internal policies at institutional level is of great importance in order to serve the public good. While Belgium and the rest of Europe are trying to attract non-EU highly-skilled labour the internal bureaucratic culture can still be viewed as a gatekeeper that creates migration barriers.

Social networks have a great influence on the life course of an individual. Social connections provide information on willingness to settle down permanently. Respondents have indicated that next to economic factors, social aspects are important in their decision making. When political, economic and social situations of the sending countries are stable and attractive there is willingness to return. The competition for highly-skilled migrants has created an environment in which the most constraining rights restrictions are not attached to their contracts. This leads to a choice of high quality migration options. The respondents of this

research identify themselves as international citizens while emphasizing their native identity and cultural heritage. Returning to the native country is not a preferred option among highly-skilled migrants. Future expectations are based on opportunities that arise. Migration is more often a method to seek upward career perspectives and potential occupational realizations. Highly-skilled migrants identify the need to pursue international experience for a better career and life. The career opportunities for highly-skilled migrants are open and in constant development at personal, social and professional levels. The length of stay would affect the level of social interaction and personal life.

Universities worldwide have been forced to adjust to rapidly changing social, technological, economic and political forces. The internationalization of educational institutions requires structural and cultural adjustments. The need of inter-cultural and international knowledge and understanding within institutions has become of great importance. Retaining foreign academics has moved up the EU agenda of skilled migration policy. Research shows that in order to attract more international academics towards the EU the language skills of students and staff should improve, more courses should be offered in English, funding should be increased in order to support staff mobility and international projects and finally there should be a more comprehensive, strategic approach towards internationalization. The results of this research indicate that highly-skilled migrants, academics in particular, create their migration paths based on presented opportunities. Whether it is a job opportunity or successfully applying for research grants. The nature of decision making is based on uncertainty and creates a high level of stress for the highly skilled.

V.   Discussion

This study has identified the highly-skilled policy migration discourse on EU, national and local level and studied the experiences and expectations of the highly-skilled migrants themselves in relation to this discourse. This chapter will connect the research results with the literature and indicate the limitations and possibilities for future research.

This research has indicated that the discourse at EU and Belgian level has shifted from a closed border towards a more open border perspective when concerning highly-skilled migrants. EU and Belgian policymakers have identified the need of highly-skilled migrants in order to solve the increasing job shortages. These findings are in line with the International Organization for Migration report (2012) labour shortage and migration policies. Research

conducted by Antoons & Pirotte (2013) indicates that even though Belgium has no specific policy aimed at attracting non-EU highly-skilled migrants it still offers concrete measures within Belgian legislation to ease access of non-EU highly-skilled migrants to the labour market. The research by Antoon's & Pirotte (2013) proposes policy that creates a consistent migration procedure that includes digitisation and electronic filing and an expedited service for migrant workers in every stage of the process in order to decrease the current bureaucratic system. This is a finding that connects with the results of this research in which the respondents indicate that the bureaucratic system is a major source of frustration.

A report released by the World Economic Forum in 2012 specifies that Europe is lagging behind in terms of becoming a smarter place. This is hindering Europe's capacity to shift towards truly differentiated, higher value added activities and the ability to sustain its economic competitiveness. The respondents have indicated that during their migration path Europe was never a partner, it was always the EU country to which the respondents were migrating. The World Economic Forum report (2012) emphasises the necessity of a unified migration policy in order to compete with global economies. The lack of a unified EU migration policy is an issue raised by the respondents of this research. The lack of a unified migration policy leads to issues when highly-skilled migrants decide to opt for tri- or multi-layered mobility within the EU. This can limit the flow of knowledge and is vital in attracting non-EU highly-skilled.

Another important aspect discussed by the respondents of this research is policy implementation and the issues implementation failure can create. Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer (2002) state that policy implementation failure can be caused by the inability to create clear policy outcomes or by the lack of implementation guidance and monitoring. Local implementation can be undermined due to unclear and inconsistent governmental directives. Policy ambiguity, not unfamiliar within European policy making, is often a result of creating consensus within the policy development cycle. Policy ambiguity can also be a function of social issues that are being addressed by policy makers. Policies that are not steered towards direct change will more likely receive positive responses and be implemented with less opposition.

The EU is a complex political structure, all member states must be in agreement in order to pass legislation. This makes policy creation and implementation a difficult process which leads to discrepancies between EU, national and local level policy. These discrepancies can

lead to migrants being stuck between EU and national legislation. If the EU and its member states want to compete with other economies it will need to unify its policies. While there is no dominant actor within the process, respondents indicate that they see the Belgian government as the dominant player within the migration process. This indicates that the EU is not seen as a player within the migration process. Circular migration is an example of trying to satisfy all parties within the EU decision making process. The concept seems to be blocking internationalization while not improving or increasing the number of non-EU high-skilled migrants. From a national perspective the Belgian language policy is an ongoing discussion. Belgian policy indicates that language preservation is of great importance. However, the preservation of Dutch and French language creates difficulties for international academics to work within Belgian universities. The lack of fully English spoken programmes creates a situation in which the international academics are not able to teach or support classes. Most respondents have mentioned this as a missed opportunity and could even affect their future career. International teaching experience is seen as a necessity for career progression. From a local perspective there is a discrepancy in support systems for international academics. The given support for international academics concerning housing, administration and socializing is dependent on faculty and ranges from high levels of support to none at all. While the universities state they want to boost internationalization it seems that more could be done to eliminate existing barriers. Arranging migration support for international academics at university level could eliminate discrepancies among the integration of international academics. More effort might be put into removing Dutch language barriers in the courses and give the international academics opportunities to teach. Throughout the whole policy making process there is a lack of internationalization at EU, national and local level concerning the integration of highly-skilled migrants. While the discourse among EU, national and local level identifies the need to attract and facilitate highly-skilled migrants in practice there are improvements that can be made:

- Unifying EU highly-skilled migration policy
- Free movement of non-EU highly-skilled migrants within EU countries
- Internationalization of educational institutions
- University wide integration support (administrative, housing, social)
- Increase EU research funding

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Limitations & Future Research

This research is based on interviews with ten non-EU highly-skilled migrants that are employed by a Belgian university combined with a review of EU, national and local migration policies and scientific studies on highly-skilled migration. While the number of respondents is sufficient for this research, future research could benefit from a greater study that has a broader European reach concerning respondents. This could provide a bigger platform to specify limitations and probable improvements towards highly-skilled policy making. Interviews with EU, national and local policy makers and implementers could give an insight on the possible discrepancy between the ideas and what turns into actual policy. It could give an insight in the issues concerning EU, national and local policy implementation and how future policy might unfold.

Future research can look into the uncertainty aspect that highly-skilled international academics face as its influence on the willingness to integrate. The length of stay can influence the willingness to participate within the local society which on itself can lead to a sense of exclusion and isolation. While the EU is voicing its interest towards circular migration it is the question whether it is a viable strategy. The respondents of this research have little to no interest in returning to their native country in the short-term. Political and economic stability is the main concern that withholds the non-EU highly-skilled migrants to return. This research has identified the policy discourse on EU, national and local level. While the EU policy discourse is clearly documented, national and local discourse is less publicized. The country specific discourse on highly-skilled migrants is closely related to the EU policy. EU policy emphasises the need to attract non-EU highly-skilled migrants in order to solve labour market shortages and compete with other global economies. While national discourse is in line with the stance of the EU there is a discrepancy between the implemented policies towards highly-skilled migration. The lack of unified highly-skilled migration policy is an example of shortcomings of the overall policy implementation. Research can be done towards the impact a missing unified migration policy has on the willingness of non-EU highly-skilled migrants to select the EU over competing economies. While local migration policy is heavily linked to the national discourse there are still many factors that can be of conflict. Research can be done on the influence of local actors on national migration policy. This research has indicated a competing discourse on the language preservation of the Dutch and French language between the local and national policymakers and implementers. During the course of

this research it became apparent that an equal spread of male and female respondents would not be met. Post-doctoral positions are more likely to be filled by male researchers then they are by females. Future research could be done towards the underrepresentation of females within post-doc positions. Research towards the persistent problems in which disproportionate numbers of qualified females drop out of academic careers in the early stages would be of great importance in the discussion towards highly-skilled labour shortage. This research has focused on highly-skilled migrants that have migrated to an EU country. Future research could focus on highly-skilled migrants in non-EU countries and identify why they have not chosen for an academic career in an EU country. This could lead to more insight on the motives of highly-skilled migrants to not choose the EU as a career opportunity. This research had a sample pool of respondents that were employed in the public sector. Future research could sample respondents from private sectors as it could bring forward different outcomes concerning employment, inclusion, expectations and experiences.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide.

Interview Objectives

- To understand non-EU highly-skilled migrants rationales for migrating into the EU
- To gain an insight on their expectations, reality and future path concerning their migration
- To understand issues furthering or hampering integration of non-EU highly-skilled migrants into EU host societies
- Identifying problems, be it with regards to institutions, the labour market or private life
- Exploring issues relating to migrant identity, especially identification with Belgium, Europe and the European union.
- To gather information for policy advice on making migration more successful through matching expectations with reality and providing institutional support for integration.

Part 1

1. **Introduction**
   a. Introduction of interviewer (include independence from KU Leuven)
   b. Introduction of research project
   c. Assure anonymity and confidentiality
   d. Explain use of audio-recorder and ask for permission (consent form)
2. **Warm-up**
   a. Tell me about yourself (citizenship, mother-tongue, family, children)
   b. How long have you been living in Belgium? (which cities Did you know Belgium before coming here?)
   c. How long have you been working at the KU Leuven?

These questions offer an opportunity to double check basic information regarding the participants (this should correspond with the sampling table 1.). The aim of this section is to make the participant familiar and comfortable with the interview situation.

Part 2

3. **Reasons for migration/life before migration**
   a. Is this your first time residing abroad?
   b. Why Belgium? (expectations, fears, Belgium selection)
   c. What were the reasons for migration? (economics, family, social situation and perspective, ideological and political aspects that made life less easy)
4. **Expectations, reality and future path**

    a. Did your life in Belgium (social & work) match the expectations you had before moving? (Why, why not, which aspects turned out better/worse)

    b. In which way have you adjusted your expectations since you arrived in Belgium? What are your plans for the future? (go back, stay)

    c. How would you define or describe the economic climate/labour market in Belgium?

    d. Do you feel that employers in Belgium are willing to give international academic with work experience a job?

    e. Do you see yourself growing in professionally here in ranking and expertise? Can you give an example on how any of the challenges you experienced hindered you professional prospects/career path?

    f. What would you do if asked to become a Belgian (European) citizen?

Part 3

5. **Getting started in Belgium**
    a. How did you experience the initial period of settling down after arriving in Belgium?

    b. What was your experience dealing with Belgium administration, the health/social system, housing and job applications?

    c. What were the problems? How did you solve them? Who helped you get by? (friends/Belgium/administration/others)

6. **Labour market**
    a. How did you find a job? (which strategies or networks were used?)

    b. Were you able to find employment in the field you has specialized in back home? (work experience, diplomas)

    c. How do you experience working life at the KU Leuven? (Colleagues, bosses, daily routines)

    d. Which aspects of you professional life were better in your home country?

    e. Which ones are better in Belgium? (pay, atmosphere, responsibility)

7. **Social and cultural life**
    a. Was it easy for you to bond in Belgium? (are friends from home/host nationality, job related)

    b. Have you been able to share and exchange information, ideas and innovation and build consensus among the groups representing diverse interests at KU Leuven?

    c. What do you do in your free time? (hobbies, tv, association, communities, participation in Belgium high culture (theatre) or popular culture (football games, carnival)

8. **Everyday life**
    a. Do you feel you can express yourself fully in Belgium? Are there situations in which you feel limited?
    b. Do you feel respected in Belgium? Which are the situations where you feel not respected?
    c. Would you say you are integrated in Belgium? (what is their definition if integration? Does it differ from state defined integration?)
    d. Would you like to be more integrated?

9. **European Identity**
    a. Would you say you feel European? (why, why not?) what does 'feeling European' mean to you?
    b. What do the people of Europe share? Would you say that these characteristics describe both home and Belgium citizens equally well? (why, why not?)

10. **Political Life**
    a. Are you interested in politics from your home country? (why, why not?)
    b. Are you interested in politics from your Belgium? (why, why not?)
    c. Do you feel the concerns of people like yourself are being well taken care of in Belgium politics? (why, why not?)
    d. Do you feel the concerns of people like yourself are being well taken care of in home country politics? (why, why not?)

11. **Advice**
    a. If a friend told you he/she want to move to Belgium, would you encourage him/her to do so? Why?
    b. Which advice would you give him/her?

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Study project: Institutional responses to the management of super-diversity

Interviewer: Arnout de Winter

Expected duration of the interview: approx. 45 minutes

As an informed participant, you understand that:

1. Your participation in this study is voluntary and that you have the right to refuse participation or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty of any form.
2. The investigator will answer any questions you have about the procedures of this study. After the interview, the investigator will answer any questions you have about the study including its purpose.
3. Everything that you say will be kept **confidential.**

I hereby consent to participate in this study,

Participant's name:

Date: 14-04-2014   Signature:_____

The researcher has explained the above and answered all questions asked by the participant.

Date: 14-04-2014   Researcher's signature:_____

Appendix 3: Respondent Request Email

Dear ……..,

My name is Arnout de Winter, and I am a Master student of the Tilburg University master program 'Management of Cultural Diversity'. In the context of my master thesis, I want to investigate the experiences and expectations of international post-doctorates working and living in Europe. As Tilburg University has no teaching and research programs in medical sciences, sciences, applied sciences or engineering, I had to contact post-docs outside Tilburg. Given the international orientation of University of Antwerp, I am convinced that Antwerp would offer me a good opportunity to find enough respondents.

I found your name and work as post-doc on the internet. I hope you would accept my invitation to contribute to my master thesis project. The interview can be organised at a time and place convenient to you and will take no longer than 45 minutes.

I can confirm that your anonymity will be maintained at all times. Nor will any data be used from the interview that might identify you to a third party. You will be free to withdraw from the research at any time and/or request that your transcript will not be used.

Here are some example interview questions in order to give an insight of the direction of my research:

1.   How did you experience the initial period of settling down after arriving in Belgium?

2.   Did your life in Antwerp, Belgium match the expectations you had before moving? (Why, why not, which aspects turned out better/worse)

3.   In which way have you adjusted your expectations since you arrived and started your post-doc in Antwerp, Belgium? What are your plans for the future? (return, stay)

A copy of my final research report will be made available to you upon request. I sincerely hope that you will be able to help me with my research. If you have any questions concerning

the nature of my research or are unclear about the extent of your involvement in it please contact me.

Finally, I would like to thank you for your time and I look forward to your reply,

Kind regards,

Arnout de Winter