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HELSINKI
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2009

7

research series

Founding the European Chemicals Agency:

The perspectives of the employees and
the authorities of the City of Helsinki

INGA JASINSKAJA-LAHTI

MARKUS LAINE (EDIT.)

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Esipuhe

Kemikaaliviraston perustaminen Helsinkiin oli pitkän prosessin tulos. Suomen poliittiset päättäjät olivat ensiksi ilmaisseet tahtonsa elintarvikeviraston perustamisesta Suomeen, mutta tämä kariutui Italian vastustukseen. Suomi asetti tämän jälkeen tavoitteekseen kemikaaliviraston perustamisen. Tavoite saavutettiin, ja kemikaaliviraston kotipaikaksi päätettiin Helsinki 13.12.2003. Kemikaalivirasto aloitti toimintansa 1. kesäkuuta 2007, kun EU:n uusi kemikaalilainsäädännön nk. REACH-asetus tuli voimaan.

Hanke oli kansallisesti tärkeä. Valtionhallinnon näkökulmasta kyseessä oli ennen kaikkea ”Suomi Euroopassa” –hanke: Suomi aktiivisena toimijana Euroopan unionin tärkeällä tehtävälueella ja Suomi eurooppalaisten virkamiesten asuin- ja työympäristönä. Viraston perustamisen arvioitiin aktivoivan Helsingissä myös alaan liittyvää liiketoimintaa. ”EU-virasto on merkittävä pääkaupungillemme ja suuri asia myös koko maalle. Virasto tuo tänne satoja virkamiehiä kaikkialta EU-alueelta. Se elävöittää ja rikastuttaa Helsingin seudun elämää monin tavoin” – totesi pääministeri Vanhanen viraston avajaistapahtumassa 1.6.2007.

Toimet viraston ja sen henkilöstön vastaanottamiseksi alkoivat heti, kun toimipaikkasopimus Suomen ja Euroopan Komission välillä oli allekirjoitettu. Viraston vastaanoton koordinoituvastuu oli valtioneuvoston kanslialla. Helsingin kaupungin rooli oli järjestää viraston henkilöstölle vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalvelut. Koska taustalla oli huoli siitä, miten houkuttelevana työ- ja asuinpaikkana virastosta työnhakua suunnittelevat kokevat Suomen ja pääkaupunkiseudun, piti tehdä kaikki tarvittava, jotta Helsinki näyttäisi parhaat puolensa kansainvälisenä metropolina ja jotta Euroopan parhaiden alan asiantuntijoiden muutto kaupunkiin olisi mahdollisimman sujuva. Tällaisesta lähtökohdasta Helsinkiin luotiin uudenlainen vastaanottopalveluiden järjestelmä Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöitä varten.

Samanaikaisesti kun Helsinki valmistautui vastaanottamaan historiansa ensimmäisen EU:n viraston, tulevassa virastossa valmistatuduttiin organisaatiotasolla toiminnan käynnistämiseen, henkilöstön rekrytointiin ja rekrytoitujen työntekijöiden opastamiseen tulevien työtehtävien ja muuton suhteen. Organisaation tarjoama tuki ja valmennus ovat tärkeitä muuttoon valmistautuvalle työntekijälle hänen organisaatioon sitoutumisensa ja ulkomailla menestyksekkään työnsä ja sopeutumisen kannalta. Tuen ja valmennuksen merkitys kasvaa entisestään kun kyseessä ovat organisaation rekrytoimat uudet työntekijät, joilla muutto ja tutustuminen uuteen maahan ja sopeutuminen uuteen työpaikkaan tapahtuvat yhtä aikaa. Taas työntekijänäkökulmasta katsottuna, ulkomaankomennus tai ulkomaille muutto uuden työn vuoksi ovat monesti työuran suurempia haasteita. Jos sopeutuminen ei onnistu ja

työntekijä joutuu keskeyttämään työn ja palaamaan kotimaahansa tai hakeutumaan toisiin kansainvälisiin tehtäviin ennenaikaisesti, on tappio suuri niin työntekijälle ja häntä ulkomaille mahdollisesti seuranneelle perheelle kuin myös häneen investoineen organisaation näkökulmasta. Sen sijaan kansainvälisen työntekijän hyvä sopeutuminen kohdemaan kulttuuriin on monesti yhteydessä hänen henkilökohtaiseen ja organisaationsa menestymiseen.

Näin ollen kansainvälisen asiantuntijatyövoiman onnistunut integraatio ja menestyksenkäs toiminta kohdemaassa on usean eri tason tekijöiden summa. Ne ovat seurausta (1) työntekijän henkilökohtaisista taidoista ja kyvyistä ottaa haasteet ja tuntematon vastaan, kohdata ja sopeutua uuteen kulttuuriin ja ympäristöön; (2) työympäristöstä ja organisaation työntekijälle tarjoamasta tuesta sekä työntekijän perheen huomioimisesta hänen organisaatioon ja uuteen työympäristöön sitoutumisensa maksimoimiseksi; (3) kansainvälistä organisaatiota vastaanottavan paikallisyhteisön halukkuudesta ja valmiudesta kehittää ja muokata uuden toimijan kanssa yhteistyöhön tarvittavia rakenteita ja palveluita parhaalla mahdollisella tavalla; ja (4) kansainvälistä organisaatiota vastaanottavan maan halukkuudesta ja valmiudesta olla osana kansainvälistyvää maailmaa ja työmarkkinoita. Näistä viimeksi mainittu ehto on erityisen tärkeä pitää mielessä, sillä vaikka kansainväliset työntekijät tulevat maahan monesti työhaasteiden perässä, he lähtevät pois useimmiten, koska ensikokemus uudesta maasta on huono ja integraatio paikalliseen kulttuuriin vaikuttaa vaikealta tai mahdottomalta.

Näiden eri tasoilla ilmenevien, integraation taustalla olevien menestysavainten hahmottaminen edellyttää kuitenkin ensin ymmärrystä siitä, mitä integraatiolla kullakin tasolla tarkoitetaan ja mitä on onnistunut integraatio yksittäisen muuttajan ja toisaalta organisaation ja vastaanottavan yhteiskunnan näkökulmasta. Vaikka englanninkielisestä vastineesta (*'integration'*) poiketen suomenkielessä on integraatiolle omistettu kaksi eri käsitettä, *'kotoutuminen'* ja *'kotouttaminen'*, joista ensiksi mainittu viittaa kotoutuvan yksilön näkökulmaan ja jälkimmäinen taas kotouttavan tahon näkökulmaan, näiden prosessien erottelu ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelu on usein jäänyt tekemättä. Tämän lisäksi on tärkeää purkaa ja analysoida eri tasoja yhdistäviä sidostekijöitä sekä prosesseja, joiden avulla voidaan nähdä miten integraatioprosessiin osallistuvat eri osapuolet ovat vuorovaikutuksessaan luoneet edellytyksiä integraatiolle. Esimerkiksi, niin organisaation kuin vastaanottavan yhteisön integraatiotoimenpiteiden oikea ajoitus vaatii nykyistä huomattavan paljon parempaa ymmärrystä integraatiosta vuorovaikutteisena prosessina ja maahanmuuttajien sopeutumisen eri vaiheiden kestosta. Tähän kuuluu myös kokemuksellisen ja ns. hiljaisen tiedon sekä hyvien käytäntöjen dokumentointi ja analysointi, joiden avulla voitaisiin yhtäältä havaita tietyn paikan integraatiolle asettamia ainutlaatuisia mahdollisuuksia ja haasteita ja toisaalta siirtää toimiviksi osoittautuneita käytäntöjä seuraaviin tilanteisiin hallitusti ja tiedostetusti.

Tässä julkaisussa seurataan EU:n Kemikaaliviraston perustamisen ja sen työntekijöiden Suomeen asettumisen prosessia toisaalta itse työntekijöiden ja toisaalta Helsingin kaupungin virkamies-näkökulmasta. Julkaisu perustuu kahden rinnakkain toteutetun tutkimushankkeen tuloksiin: ”Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland” (*InterProF*) ja Kemikaalivirasto Helsinkiin - hallinnon näkökulma kotouttamispalveluiden järjestämiseen (*Kemikaalivirasto Helsinkiin*). *InterProF* -hanke toteutettiin Helsingin yliopiston sosiaalipsykologian laitoksella Helsingin kaupungin ja Opetusministeriön rahoittamana. *InterProF* -projektin tavoitteena oli tutkia Kemikaaliviraston kansainvälisten asiantuntijoiden muuttoprosessia sekä integroitumista uuteen työhönsä ja suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan kvantitatiivisella pitkittäistutkimusasetelmalla. Erityistä huomiota kiinnitettiin muuttoa edeltäneeseen vaiheeseen, sillä muuttoa edeltävät valmistautumis- ja sopeutumisprosessit on laajalti sivuutettu aiemmassa, maahanmuuttajien ja työkomennuksella olevien työntekijöiden sopeutumista uuteen maahan koskevassa tutkimuskirjallisuudessa.

Kemikaalivirasto Helsinkiin -hankkeessa tarkastelun kohteena olivat taas Helsingin kaupungin Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöille järjestämät vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalvelut. Tämä hanke toteutettiin Helsingin kaupungin Tietokeskuksen toimesta haastattelemalla Kemikaaliviraston vastaanottamiseen osallistunutta kaupungin virkamieskuntaa ja joitakin valtion virkamiehiä. Erityinen huomio kiinnitettiin siihen, millä tavalla sektorihallinto organisoitui yhteisen kohderyhmän palveluntarpeiden tyydyttämiseksi ja millaisia hallinnon yhteistyökäytäntöjä ja palveluja luotiin sekä olisiko osa palveluista siirrettävissä ns. normaalipalveluiden piiriin. Lisäksi selvitettiin, millaisena korkeasti koulutettujen maahanmuuttajien integroituminen suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan näyttäytyy hallinnon toimijoiden näkökulmasta.

Tutkimusten keskeisimpinä tarkoituksina olivat toisaalta systemaattisen ja luetettavan tiedon tuottaminen Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöiden kokemuksista Suomesta ja Helsingistä uutena työ- ja asuinympäristönä, sekä laajemmin heidän sopeutumisprosessistaan ja sen onnistumiseen vaikuttavista tekijöistä ja toisaalta taas Helsingin kaupungin järjestämien vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalveluiden kehittämisen prosessista, palvelujen dokumentoinnista ja palvelujen soveltamisesta myös muille maahanmuuttajaryhmille. Tämän tiedon on tarkoitus auttaa sekä viraston työntekijöitä ja heidän perheenjäseniään hahmottamaan ja reflektoimaan paremmin omaa integraatiopolkuaan sekä viraston henkilöstö- ja kaupungin maahanmuuttopolitiikkaa kehittämään edelleen palveluita ja toimintaympäristöä, jotka parhaalla mahdollisella tavalla tukevat kansainvälisen työvoiman pysymistä ja viihtyvyyttä Helsingissä ja Suomessa.

InterProF -hankkeen tulokset valaisevat viraston työntekijöiden subjektiivisia kokemuksia muutosta Helsinkiin ja kotoutumisprosessin moniulotteisuudesta sekä

esittelevät virastolle ja kaupungille keinoja ennaltaehkäistä tai ainakin lieventää kansainvälisten asiantuntijoiden eri sopeutumisen alueilla ilmeneviä vaikeuksia. *Kemikaalivirasto Helsinkiin* taas kertoo tarkemmin siitä, miten ja millaisia kotouttamispalveluja kaupunki pystyy toteuttamaan eri hallinkuntien välisessä yhteistyössä, miten nämä palvelut heijastavat kaupungin organisaation lähestymistapaa kansainvälisen työvoiman kotoutumiseen ja integraatioon sekä miten nämä palvelut ovat toimineet. Lisäksi se auttaa pohtimaan miten eri maahanmuuttajaryhmien kotouttamispalveluja voisi järjestää tulevaisuudessa.

Tämä julkaisu valaisee Kemikaaliviraston ja sen työntekijöiden alkutaivalta eri näkökulmista. Prosessi jatkuu, kuten myös Helsingin kansainvälistyminen. Tulevaisuudessa maahanmuuttajien integroitumisen mahdollisuuksien parantaminen sekä kotoutumis- ja kotouttamispalveluiden korkeatasoinen hoitaminen ovat entistä tärkeämpiä asioita kaupunkilaisten elämänlaadun ja koko Suomen kilpailukyvyn kannalta. Tutkimuksella on tässä merkittävä rooli, sillä entistä kansainvälisemmän Suomen rakentaminen vaatii edelleen huomattavaa muiden maiden kokemuksen analysointia ja vertailua sekä tieteelliseen tietoon pohjautuvien ja tiettyyn aikaan ja kontekstiin sopivien toiminta- ja interventiomallien kehittämistä.

Helsingissä, marraskuussa 2009

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Förord

Att Kemikaliemyndigheten grundades i Helsingfors var resultatet av en lång process. De politiska beslutsfattarna i Finland hade först uttryckt en önskan om att inrätta en livsmedelsmyndighet i Finland, men detta kullkastades på grund av motstånd från Italien. Finlands mål blev därefter inrättandet av en kemikaliemyndighet. Målet uppnåddes, och beslutet om att kemikaliemyndigheten skulle få Helsingfors som hemort fattades den 13 december 2003. Kemikaliemyndigheten inledde sin verksamhet den 1 juni 2007, när EU:s nya kemikalielagstiftning, den s.k. REACH-förordningen trädde i kraft.

Projektet var av nationell betydelse. Ur statsförvaltningens perspektiv var det framför allt fråga om projektet ”Finland i Europa”: Finland som aktiv aktör inom ett viktigt uppgiftsområde inom Europeiska unionen och Finland som boende- och arbetsmiljö för europeiska tjänstemän. Inrättandet av myndigheten bedömdes även aktivera den affärsverksamhet som anknyter till branschen i Helsingfors. ”EU-myndigheten är viktig för vår huvudstad och även en stor sak för hela landet. Myndigheten för hit hundratals tjänstemän från hela EU-området. Den livar upp och berikar livet i Helsingforsregionen på många sätt”, konstaterade statsminister Vanhanen vid invigningen av myndigheten den 1 juni 2007.

Åtgärderna för att ta emot myndigheten och dess personal inleddes genast när avtalet om stationeringsort mellan Finland och Europeiska kommissionen hade undertecknats. Koordineringsansvaret för mottagandet av myndigheten innehades av statsrådets kansli. Helsingfors stads roll var att arrangera mottagnings- och bosättningstjänsterna för myndighetens personal. Eftersom det i bakgrunden fanns en oro för hur lockande Finland och huvudstadsregionen skulle vara som arbets- och bostadsort för dem som planerade att söka arbete på myndigheten, måste man göra allt som behövdes för att Helsingfors skulle visa sig från sina bästa sidor som internationell metropol och för att flytten till staden skulle bli så smidig som möjligt för de främsta europeiska experterna inom branschen. Utifrån denna utgångspunkt skapades ett nytt system för mottagningstjänster i Helsingfors med tanke på de anställda på Kemikaliemyndigheten.

Samtidigt som Helsingfors förberedde sig på att ta emot sin första EU-myndighet, förberedde man sig på organisationsnivå i den kommande myndigheten på att inleda verksamheten, rekrytera personal och handleda de rekryterade arbetstagarna inför de kommande arbetsuppgifterna och flytten. Det stöd och den träning som organisationen erbjuder är viktiga för en arbetstagare som bereder sig på att flytta med tanke på arbetstagarens engagemang i organisationen och för att han eller hon ska bli framgångsrik i sitt arbete och sin anpassning till livet utomlands. Betydel-

sen av stödet och träningen är ännu större när det är fråga om nya arbetstagare som organisationen har rekryterat, eftersom dessa nya arbetstagare samtidigt både flyttar till och bekantar sig med ett nytt land och anpassar sig till en ny arbetsplats. Ur arbetstagarens perspektiv är en utlandskommendering eller en flytt till utlandet på grund av ett nytt arbete många gånger en av de större utmaningarna i karriären. Om anpassningen inte lyckas och arbetstagaren tvingas avbryta arbetet och återvända till sitt hemland eller söka sig till andra internationella arbetsuppgifter i förtid, är nederlaget stort för såväl arbetstagaren och den familj som eventuellt har följt honom eller henne utomlands som för den organisation som har investerat i arbetstagaren. Däremot hänger det att arbetstagaren anpassar sig väl till mållandets kultur ofta ihop med både hans eller hennes personliga framgång och organisationens framgång.

En lyckad integration av den internationella expertarbetskraften och en framgångsrik verksamhet i mållandet är följaktligen summan av faktorer på flera olika nivåer. De är följden av (1) arbetstagarens personliga kunskap och förmåga att ta emot utmaningar och det okända samt möta och anpassa sig till en ny kultur och en ny miljö; (2) det stöd som arbetsmiljön och organisationen erbjuder arbetstagaren samt beaktandet av arbetstagarens familj för att maximera arbetstagarens engagemang i organisationen och den nya arbetsmiljön; (3) viljan och beredskapen att tillsammans med den nya aktören på bästa möjliga sätt utveckla och utarbeta de strukturer och tjänster som behövs för samarbetet i det lokalsamhälle som tar emot den internationella organisationen; och (4) viljan och beredskapen att vara en del av en allt mer internationell värld och arbetsmarknad hos det land som tar emot den internationella organisationen. Av dessa är det sistnämnda villkoret särskilt viktigt att hålla i minnet, för även om internationella arbetstagare många gånger kommer till landet på grund av arbetsutmaningar lämnar de oftast detta för att de första erfarenheterna av landet var dåliga och för att det verkar vara svårt eller omöjligt att integreras i den lokala kulturen.

För att tolka dessa framgångsnycklar, som förekommer på olika nivåer och som utgör bakgrunden till integration, krävs först en förståelse av vad som avses med integration på respektive nivå och vad som är en lyckad integration ur å ena sidan den enskilda flyttarens och å andra sidan organisationens och det mottagande samhällets perspektiv. Även om finskan till skillnad från engelskan (*'integration'*) har två olika begrepp för integration, *'kotoutuminen'* och *'kotoutaminen'*, av vilka det förstnämnda hänvisar till perspektivet hos den individ som integreras och det senare till perspektivet hos den part som integrerar, har åtskillnaden och växelverkan mellan dessa processer sällan granskats. Dessutom är det viktigt att reda ut och analysera de bindningsfaktorer som förenar olika nivåer samt de processer med hjälp av vilka man kan se hur de olika parterna i integrationsprocessen har skapat förutsättningar för integrationen i sin växelverkan. Till exempel krävs en avsevärt mycket bättre förståelse för integrationen som en interaktiv process och varaktigheten av

de olika skedena i invandrares anpassning än i nuläget för att förlägga såväl organisationens som det mottagande samhällets integrationsåtgärder vid rätt tidpunkter. Hit hör även dokumentation och analys av erfarenhetsbaserad och s.k. tyst kunskap samt god praxis för att man för det första ska kunna upptäcka de unika möjligheter till och utmaningar för integration som en viss plats erbjuder och för det andra överföra praxis som har visat sig fungera till framtida situationer på ett kontrollerat och medvetet sätt.

I denna publikation följs processen för grundandet av EU:s kemikaliemyndighet och etableringen av dess arbetstagare i Finland upp ur å ena sidan arbetstagarnas och å andra sidan Helsingfors stads tjänstemäns perspektiv. Publikationen bygger på resultatet av två forskningsprojekt som har genomförts parallellt: ”Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland” (*InterProF*) och Kemikaliemyndigheten till Helsingfors – förvaltningens perspektiv på arrangemanget av integrationstjänsterna (*Kemikaliemyndigheten till Helsingfors*). *InterProF*-projektet genomfördes vid socialpsykologiska institutionen vid Helsingfors universitet och finansierades av Helsingfors stad och undervisningsministeriet. Syftet med *InterProF*-projektet var att undersöka Kemikaliemyndighetens internationella experters flyttprocess samt deras integration i det nya arbetet och det finländska samhället genom ett kvantitativt, longitudinellt forskningsuppställ. Särskild uppmärksamhet fästes vid det skede som föregick flytten, eftersom de förberedelse- och anpassningsprocesser som föregår en flytt i stor omfattning har förbigåtts i tidigare forskningslitteratur om anpassningen till det nya landet hos invandrare och arbetstagare på arbetskommendering.

I projektet *Kemikaliemyndigheten till Helsingfors* består granskningsobjektet av de mottagnings- och bosättningstjänster som Helsingfors stad arrangerade för personalen på Kemikaliemyndigheten. Detta projekt genomfördes av Helsingfors stads faktacentral genom intervjuer med den del stadens tjänstemannakår som deltog i mottagandet av Kemikaliemyndigheten och några av statens tjänstemän. Särskild uppmärksamhet fästes vid på vilket sätt sektorförvaltningen organiserades för att tillfredsställa den gemensamma målgruppens servicebehov och vid hurudan samarbetspraxis och service som skapades inom förvaltningen samt vid huruvida en del av tjänsterna skulle kunna överföras till kretsen för de s.k. normaltjänsterna. Dessutom utredde man hur högt utbildade invandrares integration i det finländska samhället kommer till synes ur förvaltningsaktörernas synvinkel.

Till de mest centrala syftena med undersökningarna hörde å ena sidan produktion av systematisk och tillförlitlig information om Kemikaliemyndighetens anställdas erfarenheter av Finland och Helsingfors som ny arbets- och boendemiljö samt mer övergripande om deras anpassningsprocess och de faktorer som har inverkat på hur lyckad denna har varit och å andra sidan om utvecklingsprocessen för de mottagnings- och bosättningstjänster som Helsingfors stad arrangerade, dokumentationen av tjänsterna och tillämpningen av tjänsterna även på andra invandrar-

grupper. Denna information är avsedd att hjälpa både myndighetens arbetstagare och deras familjemedlemmar att bättre uppfatta och reflektera över sin egen integrationsstig samt att utgöra ett stöd för myndighetens personalpolitik och stadens invandringspolitik vid vidareutvecklingen av de tjänster och den verksamhetsmiljö som på bästa möjliga sätt stödjer den internationella arbetskraften att stanna kvar och trivas i Helsingfors och Finland.

Resultaten av *InterProF*-projektet belyser de subjektiva erfarenheterna av flytten till Helsingfors hos myndighetens personal och flerdimensionaliteten hos integrationsprocessen samt ger myndigheten och staden verktyg för att förebygga eller åtminstone lindra de svårigheter som uppkommer inom de internationella experternas anpassning. *Kemikaliemyndigheten till Helsingfors* berättar för sin del närmare om hurdana integrationstjänster staden kan genomföra i samarbete mellan olika förvaltningsnämnder och på vilket sätt, hur dessa tjänster speglar stadsorganisationens sätt att närma sig integrationen av den internationella arbetskraften samt hur dessa tjänster har fungerat. Dessutom hjälper den till att dryfta på vilket sätt integrationstjänsterna för olika invandrargrupper kunde arrangeras i framtiden.

Denna publikation belyser det inledande stadiet för Kemikaliemyndigheten och dess arbetstagare ur olika perspektiv. Processen fortsätter, liksom även internationaliseringen av Helsingfors. I framtiden är förbättrade möjligheter att integrera invandrare samt högklassig skötsel av integrationstjänsterna viktigare än tidigare med tanke på stadsbornas livskvalitet och Finlands konkurrensförmåga. Här spelar forskningen en betydelsefull roll, eftersom byggandet av ett mer internationellt Finland fortfarande kräver avsevärd analys och jämförelse av erfarenheterna från andra länder samt utveckling av verksamhets- och interventionsmodeller som bygger på vetenskaplig information och som lämpar sig för en viss tid och en viss kontext.

Helsingfors, november 2009

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Foreword

Founding the European Chemicals Agency in Finland was the result of a long process. The Finnish political decision makers originally expressed their will to found the European Food Safety Authority in Finland, but the plans failed due to opposition from Italy. After this, Finland set upon founding the European Chemicals Agency. The goal was reached, and on 13th December 2003 it was decided that the Chemicals Agency would be set up in Helsinki. The Agency began its operations on 1st June 2007, when the new EU chemicals legislation regulation, the so-called REACH Regulation, came into force.

The project was nationally important. From the point of view of the government, the project was first and foremost a “Finland in Europe” project: Finland as an active operator in a priority area of the European Union and Finland as a living and working environment for European civil servants. It was thought that founding the agency would also create business related to it in Helsinki. “The EU Agency is important for our capital and a matter of importance for the whole country. The Agency will bring hundreds of civil servants to Helsinki from all over the EU. It will vitalise and enrich life in the Helsinki area in many ways.” - said Prime Minister Vanhanen during the opening ceremonies on 1st June 2007.

Steps were taken to receive the Agency and its personnel as soon as the Seat Agreement between Finland and the European Commission had been signed. The Prime Minister’s Office was responsible for coordinating the reception. The role of the City of Helsinki was to sort out reception and settling services for the personnel. As there were concerns about the attractiveness of the Helsinki area and Finland as both a work and a living environment to those planning to apply for jobs in the Agency, everything had to be done to show the best sides of the city as an international metropolis; to make the move for Europe’s best experts in the field as smooth as possible. This was the starting point for creating new reception services in Helsinki for the employees of the Chemicals Agency.

While Helsinki prepared to receive the first EU Agency in its history, the Agency prepared for starting operations at an organisational level, recruiting personnel, and providing guidance for personnel concerning their future work and move to Finland. For an employee planning to move, the support and guidance provided by the organisation are important in terms of his/her commitment to the organisation, succeeding in work and adapting to a new country. The support and guidance are particularly important when it is a question of new employees recruited by the organisation, whose move and adjustment to a new job and country take place at the same time. From the employees’ point of view, moving abroad for work temporar-

ily or permanently is often the greatest challenge faced during a career. If the employee cannot adjust and has to return home or find other international employment prematurely, the loss is as great for the employee and the family which may have followed him/her abroad as it is for the organisation that invested in the employee. In turn, adjusting to a new culture is often connected to the employee's personal success and the success of the organisation.

Thus, multiple factors affect the successful integration of international work force in a new country. They relate to (1) the employee's personal skills and ability to face challenges and the unknown, and to adjust to a new culture and environment; (2) the work environment and the support offered to the employee by the organisation and the attention given to the employee's family in order to maximise the employee's commitment to the organisation and the new environment; (3) the will and ability of the local community to develop and mould the structures and services needed to co-operate with the newcomer as well as possible; (4) the willingness and preparedness of the receiving country to be a part of the internationalising world and job market. The last condition is especially important, as, even though international experts often enter the country following job opportunities, they most often leave because the impression of the new country is negative and integration into the local culture seems difficult or impossible.

However, understanding the keys to success that appear at these different levels requires an understanding of the meaning of integration at each level and of what can be considered to be successful integration from the point of view of an individual immigrant, and on the other hand, from the point of view of the organisation and the receiving society. Although the Finnish language has two translations and meanings for integration - '*kotoutuminen*' and '*kotouttaminen*', the first referring to the point of view of the individual and the second to that of the integrating party – the processes are rarely distinguished from each other and the interaction is rarely examined. In addition, it is important to disentangle and analyse the connections between different levels and processes that enable us see how the different parties involved in the integration process have created conditions for integration in their interaction. For instance, the correct timing of the integration measures taken by the organisation and the receiving community now requires a much better understanding of integration as an interactive process and of the duration of the different stages of integration. This also includes the experience and tacit knowledge as well as documentation and analysis of good practices that can, on one hand, help in seeing the unique challenges and possibilities created by a certain location, and on the other hand, transfer successful practices to new situations in a controlled and well-informed manner.

This publication follows the process of founding the European Chemicals Agency and integrating its employees into Finland from the point of view of the employees and the civil servants of the City of Helsinki. The publication is based on the results of two research projects realised simultaneously: 'Factors Ensuring Integra-

tion among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland' (*InterProF*) and the Chemicals Agency in Helsinki – An administrative point of view to organising integration services (*The Chemicals Agency in Helsinki*). The *InterProF* project was carried out at the University of Helsinki, Department of Social Psychology and was funded by the City of Helsinki and the Ministry of Education. The goal of the *InterProF* project was to study the relocation process of the international experts and their integration into the new job and Finnish society by employing a quantitative longitudinal study design. Special attention was paid to the stage preceding the relocation, as the pre-migration preparation and adjustment processes have been widely ignored in earlier research literature concerning the integration of international workers or immigrants.

The Chemicals Agency in Helsinki project concentrated on the reception and settling services organised for the employees of the Chemicals Agency by the City of Helsinki. The project was carried out by the City of Helsinki Urban Facts through interviews conducted with civil servants participated in the reception of the Chemicals Agency and some government officials. Special attention was paid to how the sector administration was organised to serve a common target group, what kinds of administrative co-operation practices and services were created, and would it be possible to transfer some of the services to the regular services. In addition, the project explored how administrative operators perceive the integration of well-educated immigrants into Finnish society.

The most important aims of these studies were, on one hand, to produce systematic and reliable knowledge about the experiences of the employees of the Chemicals Agency concerning Finland and Helsinki as a new work and living environment, and more widely about their integration process and the factors affecting their adaptation, and on the other hand, the process of developing reception and settling services, documenting the services and adapting the services for other immigrant groups. The results are intended to help both employees of the Agency and their families in understanding of and reflecting on their path of integration, and the Agency personnel and city immigration policies in further developing services and operational environments that support keeping an international work force in Helsinki and in Finland.

More specifically, the results of the *InterProF* project shed light on the subjective experiences of the employees of the Agency concerning their relocation to Helsinki and on the multi-dimensionality of their integration process. The results give the Agency and the City means to prevent, or at least relieve, the difficulties that international experts face when adapting to a new country. *The Chemicals Agency in Finland* goes into more detail in telling about how and what kinds of integration services the city can provide when different branches of administration work together, how these services reflect the city organisation's approach to the integration of international work force, and how these services have worked. It also provides

a tool for considering how the integration services could be organised for different immigrant groups in the future.

This publication shares information about the first steps of the Chemicals Agency and its employees in Helsinki from different points of view. The process continues, as does the internationalisation of Helsinki. In the future, improving the chances of integration for international experts and immigrants, in general, and maintaining high-level integration services will become more and more important for the quality of life of the citizens and for the competitiveness of Finland. Research plays an important role in this, as building a more international Finland still requires significant analysis and comparing experiences in different countries, as well as developing practices and interventions based on scientific knowledge and suited for a certain time and context.

In Helsinki, November 2009

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The adjustment of highly
skilled international
professionals in Helsinki

Executive summary

As a result of globalization and increased international mobility in the European Union, including Finland, increasing numbers of individuals migrate to work in other countries, either as a long-term solution or for a defined period of time. Labour migrants are seen by many countries as a means of replacing ageing populations in different sectors of the labour market, such as construction, healthcare and public services. In addition, the European Union strives to attract international professionals in order to improve its competitiveness in technology, communication and other highly specialized areas. Moreover, the Union is itself an important employer of international professionals in its various bodies.

This report presents the results and insights produced by the *InterProF* project (Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland) conducted at the Department of Social Psychology (University of Helsinki) in 2007–2009 and funded by the City of Helsinki and the Finnish Ministry of Education. The aim of the study was to describe the integration and adaptation processes of international professionals working at the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA) in Helsinki, Finland, and to highlight the key challenges in the relocation process both before and after moving to Finland. An emphasis was placed on studying the pre-migration stage, which to date, have been underexplored in the theoretical and empirical literature concerning adjustment among immigrants and expatriates alike.

The study consisted of two separate as-

sessments using on-line questionnaires; the baseline assessment of the ECHA employees before their actual move to Finland (pre-migration stage), and the follow-up assessment approximately 6 months after the relocation (post-migration stage). The pre-migration data consisted of 110 participants and the post-migration data consisted of 49 participants. A total of 24 employees participated in both rounds, providing small scale data for longitudinal analyses that enabled the mapping of the causal relationships between pre-migration factors and post-migration adjustment.

The first part of the study provided an analysis of the factors related to three types of pre-migration adaptation: psychological (i.e., well-being and relocation stress), socio-psychological (i.e., attitudes towards Finns) and organizational adaptation (i.e., identification with the ECHA). In the second part of the study, the same types of expatriate adaptation and their antecedents were assessed as in the pre-migration stage. In addition, a fourth type of adaptation – socio-cultural adaptation (managing everyday life and interactions in a new country) – was included in the analysis. The third part of the study focused on changes in the three types of adaptation, which were measured at both the pre- and post-migration stages.

The literature on expatriates has recently started to underline the importance of adequate pre-departure assistance and training in supporting relocating individuals. What adequate support should consist of, however, has not yet been determined. In this study the

employees' satisfaction with organizational assistance and support (in terms of providing them with sufficient time, information and assistance during the whole relocation process) turned out to be a highly important factor with all of its components (time, information and assistance provided) significantly decreasing participants' relocation stress, and fostering overall well-being in the pre-migration stage. Additionally, in the post-migration stage, the way in which participants retrospectively perceived the adequacy of time, information and assistance given during the relocation preparations was significantly related to the employees' later socio-psychological (i.e., what kind of attitudes they held towards Finns) as well as socio-cultural adaptation (managing everyday life and interactions in Finland). In addition, perceptions of having had sufficient time to prepare for the move were, in the post-migration stage related to a higher level of work adaptation (i.e., organizational identification). It is important to note that highly skilled self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs), who have independently applied for work abroad, often receive less organizational pre-migration support than traditional expatriates sent abroad by their employer. The latter tend to receive a greater amount of organizational support due to their association to both a sending and a receiving organizational unit, whereas highly skilled SFEs lack the support of a sending organization, which often is the main source of support for the traditional expatriates. Consequently, in the case of the SFEs, the support of the receiving organization and society is particularly important.

It is striking that the participants of this study who moved to Finland with their family member(s) perceived the adaptation of their family member(s) as more stressful than

the actual move to a new country or starting a new job at the ECHA. The participants were therefore highly appreciative of the assistance provided by the ECHA and the City of Helsinki in matters such as housing, day-care services, schools and finding job opportunities for spouses. Furthermore, we observed that the employees who were accompanied by their families showed stronger organizational identification with the ECHA in the pre-migration stage as well as higher levels of job satisfaction in the post-migration stage than the employees who came alone. One possible explanation for this result is that relocating with one's family fosters a greater commitment to the new organization as changing jobs becomes more difficult when taking into consideration the fact that all family members have to reorganize their entire lives one's whole family has reorganized their entire lives in a foreign country. Consequently, organizations that wish to retain their employees and to support their adjustment should provide measures aimed at the whole expatriate family. This study also demonstrated that the need for the assistance provided by the ECHA and the City of Helsinki was greater for non-Finnish participants than it was for the participants of Finnish origin.

The results of this study showed that, in addition to organizational support, perceived organizational justice (procedural – i.e., fair decision making processes at the ECHA – and interactional – i.e., fair treatment from the ECHA supervisors) was a factor that increased participants' psychological (well-being) and work adaptation (organizational identification and job satisfaction) in the post-migration phase. Employers are capable of paying attention to both procedural and interactional justice within the organization. These types of

organizational justice – and furthermore favorable post-migration adaptation – can be enhanced through various organizational practices, the importance of which needs to be stressed by the organization.

The results of this study also demonstrated the effects of met expectations on post-migration adaptation. Realistic expectations regarding the new cultural and working environments, which were met, played an important role in smooth post-migration adaptation as they were related to all of the four adaptation types investigated in the post-migration stage. On the contrary, unmet expectations concerning work at the ECHA, Finnish culture, and interactions with Finns were related to lower levels of well-being in the post-migration stage. In addition, met expectations concerning the standard of living in Finland, Finnish culture, and interactions with Finns were related to both socio-psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. The better these expectations had been met, the more positive were the participants' attitudes towards Finns, and the fewer difficulties they perceived in managing everyday life situations. Met expectations concerning the new work in the ECHA were also strongly related to higher levels of work adaptation, both in terms of organizational identification and job satisfaction. Our findings confirm those from previous research that show that employees should be exposed to realistic expectations of what is involved in relocation, rather than painting a rosy picture of what is to come. While organizations naturally seek to recruit enthusiastic employees, they should ensure that employees receive sufficient and realistic information about their future work and new country of residence. Pre-migration support should, therefore, include a training component aimed at fostering more

realistic and accurate expectations of the new culture and work environment.

When asked about identification with different groups, the employees of the ECHA perceived themselves primarily as Europeans. In the post-migration stage, European identification was positively related to socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., more positive attitudes towards Finns) as well as work adaptation (i.e., higher levels of organizational identification). A high level of national identification (identifying with one's country of origin), in turn, was related to lower psychological well-being. Generally, a strong willingness to maintain one's own culture as well as a high level of national identification can lead to fewer contacts with host nationals, whereas limited social networks in the new country of residence are often related to a decrease in psychological adaptation. Similarly, in this study, a stronger orientation for preserving one's own culture (i.e., acculturation attitude towards cultural maintenance) after relocation was related to lower levels of well-being. Additionally, the non-Finnish participants' low number of friends in Finland was related to lower degrees of socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., more negative outgroup attitudes) as well as to decreased socio-cultural adaptation (i.e., experiencing everyday life situations and social interactions in Finland as more difficult).

The results demonstrate that the employees' attitudes towards Finland and Finns were positive, and that their organizational identification with the ECHA was already high prior to the relocation. In the post-migration stage, no changes in these two measures were observed. The psychological well-being of the employees, however, decreased significantly after the relocation, indicating that special at-

tention needs to be paid to the processes leading to successful psychological adaptation in the new country of residence.

The decrease in well-being following relocation was in line with our expectations: moving to an unfamiliar country can be highly stressful, and previous research has indicated a similar decrease in expatriates' well-being 4-6 months after relocating. A more detailed analysis showed that this decrease was attributable to two reasons: the limited use of planning as a stress-coping strategy in the pre-migration phase, and the tendency to perceive Finland and one's own home country as substantially different. A lower level of psychological well-being in the post-migration stage was also related to the following post-migration factors: limited use of positive reframing as a stress-coping strategy when facing challenging life situations, low self-esteem, unsatisfactory social and organizational support, low European identification, a negative attitude towards contact with Finns, and unmet expectations concerning the work assignment. The participants' satisfaction with organizational support as well as the availability of social support in general, turned out to be highly important factors increasing well-being and decreasing relocation stress prior to relocation. In addition, these support based factors predicted better well-being in the post-migration stage. Perceived organizational support was also related to higher levels of job satisfaction in the post-migration stage. Additionally, the sufficiency of perceived social support in terms of emotional and instrumental support was related to participants' socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and work adaptation after the relocation.

Finally, it is important to note that the different types of adaptation investigated in this research were interrelated. Although they

were treated as separate outcomes in this study, they were interrelated in the sense that they had partly shared common predictors. In the pre-migration stage, for example the participants' overall satisfaction with the relocation preparations was found to predict all of the adaptation types studied in that stage: organizational identification, well-being, and attitudes towards Finns. The interrelatedness of the different adaptation types was also apparent in the post-migration stage, where different adaptation types were found to correlate strongly with each other. For example, the higher was the employees' organizational identification, the higher was their job satisfaction which, in turn, was positively related to their well-being. In addition, the fewer socio-cultural difficulties the employees experienced in their daily lives and encounters with Finns, the more positive were their attitudes towards Finns. These results clearly suggest that successful practices aimed at enhancing one type of adaptation can have extended positive consequences for other types of adaptation as well. It is, thus, important for an organization to pay attention to the interrelatedness of the different types of adaptation, and to strive to simultaneously support all types of adaptation (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and work adaptation).

This study has generated useful knowledge about the relocation and integration processes as experienced by the international employees of the first EU agency in Finland. The study provides an insight to the challenges and experiences of highly skilled SFEs both prior to their relocation to Finland as well as during their adjustment to the new cultural and work environment. In addition, the study offers substantive new insights in the field of acculturation and organizational psychology by

highlighting the need for multidimensional and longitudinal assessments of adaptation. Furthermore, it contributes to the existing literature on expatriate adjustment by focusing on the relatively understudied group of highly skilled SFEs.

In addition to its scientific contribution, this study provides important information to organizations and communities receiving highly skilled international employees. The results function as immediate feed-back information for the ECHA itself on the relocation and integration challenges of its first employees and their families. Thus, these results can be used for understanding and further improving employees' working and living conditions as well as for developing ways of facilitating the integration of future employees. In addition, the results may be useful for the City authorities in order to adjust the services developed to support the employees of the ECHA in Helsinki.

Since the study's focus was on describing the relationships between different factors related to the relocation process and the resulting adaptation outcomes, it does not provide information on the exact interventions that will be most effective in fostering adaptation. Some general guidelines on the types of interventions that are needed, however, can be provided. Based on the results of this study, the following practical recommendations for organizations receiving international highly skilled employees are proposed.

Firstly, organizations should try to place a greater emphasis on providing new employees with adequate pre-migration support, including sufficient time, information and assistance to prepare for the relocation. Employees appreciate, in particular, assistance with issues related to housing as well as in learning the

language of the new country of residence. Furthermore, in addition to providing help to the relocating employee, assistance should also be aimed to ease the relocation process of the spouse and children as well.

Secondly, organizations should recognize that the need for organizational support and assistance differs in regard to the origins of employees, and is evidently greater for the employees who come from very different cultures compared to the new cultural context.

Thirdly, organizations should ensure that future employees receive realistic information about the new country of residence, their future standard of living, as well as their future work. While realistic, the information given to the employees should draw attention to the similarities instead of differences between the country of departure and the receiving country, as well as underline the European and international nature of the future work and living environment.

Fourthly, organizations should pay attention to both procedural and interactional justice inside the organization, and, if needed, strive to enhance them through various kinds of organizational practices to ensure the successful organizational adaptation of employees.

Fifthly, organizations should notice that employees moving to a new country need to adapt to various aspects of life, and thus organizations should strive to simultaneously support all types of adaptation (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and work adaptation). This is important since successful adaptation in one domain of adaptation seems to further promote adaptation in other domains as well.

Finally, organizations should implement measures to foster the development of social

networks both in the pre-migration stage (e.g., on-line discussion groups) and the post-migration stage of the relocation process. Moreover, common activities (e.g., leisure clubs, visits

etc.) should be aimed both at employees and their families, and should include contact with members of the new country of residence.

Yhteenveto

Globalisaatio ja ihmisten kansainvälisen liikkuvuuden lisääntyminen ovat johtaneet työperäisen maahanmuuton kasvuun myös EU-maiden välillä. Monissa maissa työperäinen maahanmuutto nähdäänkin ratkaisuna väestön ikääntymisen aiheuttamiin työmarkkinahaasteisiin. Ulkomaalaisten työntekijöiden katsotaan voivan helpottaa työvoimapolua erityisesti tiettyjen työmarkkinasektoreiden, kuten rakennusalan, terveydenhuollon ja julkisten palveluiden, tarvitessa lisää lisätyövoimaa. Tämän lisäksi Euroopan Unioni pyrkii houkuttelemaan korkeasti koulutettuja kansainvälisiä asiantuntijoita Eurooppaan parantamaan kilpailukykyään erikoisosaamista vaativilla aloilla, kuten teknologian ja viestinnän aloilla. EU työllistää myös itse suuria määriä kansainvälisiä asiantuntijoita eri virastoissaan.

Helsingin yliopiston sosiaalipsykologian laitoksella vuonna 2007–2009 toteutetun, Helsingin kaupungin ja Opetusministeriön rahoittaman *InterProF* (Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland) – tutkimusprojektin tavoitteena oli kuvailla Helsinkiin muuttaneiden EU:n Kemikaalivirastossa (European Chemicals Agency, ECHA) työskentelevien kansainvälisten asiantuntijoiden integroitumista uuteen työhönsä sekä sopeutumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan. Lisäksi projektin tavoitteena oli tuoda esiin Suomeen muuttamiseen liittyviä haasteita ennen muuttoa sekä sen jälkeen. Erityistä huomiota kiinnitettiin muuttoa edeltäneeseen vaiheeseen, sillä muuttoa edeltävät valmistautumis- ja sopeutumisprosessit on laajalti sivuutettu aiemmassa,

maahanmuuttajien ja työkomennuksella olevien työntekijöiden (ekspatriaattien) uuteen maahan sopeutumista koskevassa tutkimuskirjallisuudessa.

Tässä tutkimuksessa käytetty aineisto kerättiin EU:n Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöiltä elektronisilla kyselylomakkeilla kahtena eri ajankohtana. Ensimmäinen, vertailukohtana toiminut mittaus suoritettiin ennen työntekijöiden muuttoa Suomeen ja toinen, seuranta-mittaus, suoritettiin noin 6 kuukautta heidän muuttonsa jälkeen. Maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa kyselyyn vastasi 110, ja muuton jälkeen 49 henkilöä. 24 osallistujaa vastasivat molempiin kyselyihin, joten heidän vastauksiaan voitiin käyttää pienimuotoisessa pitkittäistutkimuksessa, joka mahdollisti muuttoa edeltäneiden tekijöiden ja muuton jälkeisen sopeutumisen välisten kausaalisuhteiden tutkimisen. Tutkimusaineisto analysoitiin käyttäen kvantitatiivisia tutkimusmenetelmiä.

Tutkimuksen ensimmäisessä, muuttoa edeltäneessä vaiheessa tutkittiin kolmentyyppisiä sopeutumisen muotoja ja niihin yhteydessä olleita. Nämä sopeutumisen muodot olivat psykologinen sopeutuminen (hyvinvointi ja muuttostressi), sosiaalipsykologinen sopeutuminen (asenteet suomalaisia kohtaan) ja työsopeutuminen (samaistuminen Kemikaalivirastoon). Tutkimuksen toisessa, eli muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa tutkittiin samoja maahanmuuttoon liittyviä sopeutumisen muotoja sekä niihin yhteydessä olleita, maahanmuuton jälkeiselle vaiheelle ominaisia tekijöitä. Tässä vaiheessa analyysiin otettiin mukaan vielä neljäs sopeutumisen tyyppi; sosiokulttuurinen

sopeutuminen (arkipäiväisten asioiden hoito ja vuorovaikutustilanteet uudessa maassa). Tutkimuksen pitkittäistarkastelussa keskityttiin eri ajankohtina niissä kolmessa sopeutumisen muodossa tapahtuneiden muutosten analyysiin, joita mitattiin sekä ennen muuttoa Suomeen että muuton jälkeen (eli psykologinen, sosiaalipsykologinen ja työsopeutuminen).

Viime aikoina expatriateihin keskittyvä kirjallisuus on alkanut huomioida ulkomaille muuttoa edeltävän organisatorisen tuen ja valmennuksen merkityksen muuttoon valmistautuvalle työntekijälle. Tästä huolimatta on edelleenkin epäselvää, minkälaista riittävä lähtötuki on, ja mitä asianmukaisen valmennuksen tulisi pitää sisällään. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että työntekijöiden tyytyväisyys heille tarjottuun, muuttoon valmistavaan tukeen sekä vähensi koettua muutostressiä että paransi työntekijöiden yleistä hyvinvointia muuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa. Tutkimustulosten mukaan riittävä organisatorinen tuki koostuu riittävän pitkäaikaisesta muuttoon valmistautumisesta, tarpeellisesta muuttoon liittyvästä tiedosta ja käytännön tuesta. Myös työntekijöiden muutonjälkeinen sosiaalipsykologinen (asennoituminen suomalaisia kohtaan) ja sosiokulttuurinen (arkipäiväisten asioiden hoito ja vuorovaikutustilanteet uudessa maassa) sopeutuminen olivat samaten riippuvaisia työntekijän muuttoprosessin valmisteluajana kokemasta, organisaation taholta saadusta tuesta. Vastaavasti työntekijöiden muutonjälkeiset kokemukset siitä, että he olivat saaneet riittävästi aikaa valmistautua muuttoon, liittyivät voimakkaampaan Suomeen muuton jälkeiseen samaistumiseen Kemikaalivirastoon. Yleisesti ottaen työntekijät, jotka perinteisemmässä expatriaatti merkityksessä siirtyvät työskentelemään ulkomaille työnantajansa, esimerkiksi omassa kotimaas-

sa toimivan, ”lähettävän” organisaation sisaryritykseen saavat enemmän tukea niin muuton valmisteluun kuin myös läpi koko ulkomaille työskentely jaksonsa kuin sellaiset asiantuntijat, jotka oma-aloitteisesti muuttavat ulkomaille työskentelemään (self-initiated foreign employee; SFE). Tämä johtuu siitä, että tietyn organisaation puolesta lähetetyllä työntekijällä yleensä sekä itse lähettävä organisaatio – jonka tuki usein saattaa olla jopa vastaanottavan organisaation tukea merkittävämpää tai kokonaisvaltaisempaa – että vastaanottava organisaatio tarjoavat tukensa työntekijälle. Sen sijaan tutkimuksen kohdejoukon kaltaisilla, oma-aloitteisesti muuttavilla kansainvälisillä työntekijöillä ei ole taustalla vaikuttavaa lähettävää yritystä, joka tarjoaisi heille tukensa. Tästä syystä johtuen sekä vastaanottavan yrityksen että yhteiskunnan tuki oma-aloitteisesti muuttaville työntekijöille onkin erityisen tarpeellista.

Merkittävää tämän tutkimuksen tuloksissa on myös se, että tutkimukseen osallistuneet, perheelliset työntekijät kokivat perheensä sopeutumisen Suomeen stressaavampana kuin itse uuteen maahan muuton tai uuden työnsä aloittamisen Kemikaalivirastossa. Näin ollen työntekijät arvostivat erityisesti Kemikaaliviraston ja Helsingin kaupungin heille tarjoamaa apua päivähoitoon, kouluihin, asumiseen ja kumppanin työllistymiseen liittyvissä asioissa. Lisäksi tulokset osoittivat, että ne työntekijät, jotka saapuivat Suomeen perheineen, osoittivat voimakkaampaa samaistumista Kemikaalivirastoon muuttoa edeltäneessä vaiheessa kuin yksin muuttaneet. Perheelliset osallistujat olivat myös muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa tyytyväisempiä työhönsä kuin yksin tulleet. Tämä tulos on hieman yllättävä, sillä ilman perhettä muuttaneiden työntekijöiden voisi odottaa samaistuvan voimakkaam-

min Kemikaalivirastoon kuin perheellisten, joilla on Suomessa valmiina työpaikan lisäksi myös toinen varsin merkittävä samastumiskohde: oma perhe. Mahdollinen selitys tälle tulokselle on se, että perheen kanssa ulkomaille muuttaminen lisää sitoutumista työhön, koska työn vaihtaminen tuntuu vaikeammalta huomioiden koko perheen panostuksen ulkomaille muutettaessa. Näin ollen työnantajien olisi syytä huolehtia työntekijän itsensä ohella myös tämän perheen sopeutumisesta uuteen maahan.

Tutkimustulokset osoittivat myös, että Kemikaaliviraston ja Helsingin kaupungin tarjoaman tuen tarve oli suurempaa ei-suomalaisten kuin suomalaistaustaisten työntekijöiden keskuudessa. Tämä on ymmärrettävää, kohtaavathan ulkomailta muuttavat työntekijät suomessa moninkertaisen haasteen sopeutessaan uuteen yhteiskuntaan, työympäristöön sekä uuteen, vasta muotoutumassa olevaan organisaatioon.

Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa organisaation tarjoaman tuen lisäksi myös organisaation koettu oikeudenmukaisuus lisäsi osallistujien psykologista sopeutumista (hyvinvointi) ja työsopeutumista (samaistuminen työhön ja työtyytyväisyys). Käsillä olevassa tutkimuksessa organisaation oikeudenmukaisuutta tarkasteltiin menettelytapojen (päättöksentekoprosessien oikeudenmukaisuus organisaatiossa) sekä vuorovaikutuksen (esimiesten reilu kohtelu työntekijöitä kohtaan) oikeudenmukaisuuden näkökulmista, jotka molemmat osoittautuivat hedelmällisiksi lähestymistavoiksi työntekijöiden uuteen maahan ja työpaikkaan sopeutumisen tarkastelussa. Tutkimustulosten perusteella voidaan kehottaa organisaatiota ottamaan toiminnassaan huomioon, että organisaation koettua oikeu-

denmukaisuutta ja tätä kautta työntekijöiden muutonjälkeistä sopeutumista on mahdollista edistää jalkauttamalla oikeudenmukaisia menettelytapoja organisaatioon, ja kiinnittämällä huomiota myös esimiesten reiluun kohteluun työntekijöitä kohtaan.

Tutkimustulosten mukaan myös työntekijöiden muuttoa koskevat odotukset ja niiden täytyminen vaikuttivat myöhempään kohde- maahan sopeutumiseen. Työntekijöiden uuteen kulttuuri- ja työympäristöön liittyvät odotukset olivat yhteydessä kaikkiin neljään muutonjälkeisessä vaiheessa tutkittuun sopeutumisen muotoon. Toteutumattomat odotukset koskien uutta työtä Kemikaalivirastossa ja toisaalta myös suomalaista kulttuuria sekä vuorovaikutusta suomalaisten kanssa olivat yhteydessä työntekijöiden heikompaan muutonjälkeiseen hyvinvointiin. Tämän lisäksi elintaso Suomessa ja suomalaista kulttuuria sekä kanssakäymistä suomalaisten kanssa koskevat odotukset olivat yhteydessä sosiaalipsykologiseen ja sosiokulttuuriseen sopeutumiseen: mitä paremmin kyseiset odotukset toteutuivat, sitä myönteisempiä olivat työntekijöiden asenteet suomalaisia kohtaan ja sitä helpommaksi työntekijät myös kokivat arkipäiväisten asioiden hoitamisen ja vuorovaikutustilanteet suomalaisten kanssa. Lisäksi työntekijöiden työhön liittyvien odotusten ja työhön sopeutumisen välillä oli vahva yhteys. Mitä paremmin nämä työtä koskevat odotukset toteutuivat, sitä voimakkaampaa oli työntekijöiden samaistuminen Kemikaalivirastoon ja sitä tyytyväisempiä työntekijät myös olivat työhönsä Kemikaalivirastossa. Näin ollen nyt saadut tutkimustulokset tukevat aiempien aiheeseen liittyvien tutkimusten tuloksia, joiden mukaan ulkomaille muuttaville työntekijöille pitäisi kertoa totuudenmukaisesti mitä heidän kannattaa odottaa muuton suhteen sen sijaan,

että heille annettaisiin liian ruusuinen kuva tulevaisuudesta.

Tässä tutkimuksessa kartoitettiin myös Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöiden samaistumista erilaisiin kulttuurisiin ryhmiin. Tulosten mukaan työntekijät pitivät itseään ennen kaikkea eurooppalaisina. Muutonjälkeisessä vaiheessa tehdyssä mittauksessa havaittiin, että mitä voimakkaammin työntekijä samastui eurooppalaiseksi, sitä suosiollisempaa oli hänen sosiaalipsykologinen sopeutumisensa (myönteinen asennoituminen suomalaisia kohtaan) ja sitä voimakkaammin hän myös samastui Kemikaaliviraston työntekijäksi. Tätä vastoin voimakas kansallinen samaistuminen osallistujan omaan kotimaahan oli yhteydessä psykologisen sopeutumisen vaikeutumiseen eli heikompaan hyvinvointiin. Vastaavasti vahva halu säilyttää oma kulttuuri muuton jälkeen oli yhteydessä heikompaan hyvinvointiin. Saadut tulokset tukevat aiempien tutkimusten huomioita siitä, että vahva halu säilyttää oma kulttuuri yhdistettynä vahvaan kansalliseen samaistumiseen voi johtaa harvempiin kontakteihin paikallisväestön kanssa. Sosiaalisen verkoston suppeuden uudessa maassa on puolestaan aiemmissä tutkimuksissa todettu olevan edelleen yhteydessä heikompaan psykologiseen sopeutumiseen. Käsillä olevan tutkimuksen tuloksien valossa näyttäisi lisäksi siltä, että ei-suomalaistaustaisten osallistujien vähäinen suomalaisten ystävien määrä Suomessa oli yhteydessä heikompaan sosiaalipsykologiseen (kielteisemmät asenteet ulkoryhmää kohtaan) sekä sosiokulttuuriseen sopeutumiseen (arki-elämän asioiden hoitamisen kokeminen vaikeammaksi).

Yleisesti ottaen tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että Kemikaaliviraston työntekijöiden asenteet Suomea ja suomalaisia kohtaan olivat myönteisiä jo heidän Suomeen muut-

toa edeltävässä vaiheessa, ja he samastuivat voimakkaasti Kemikaalivirastoon työntekijöiksi jo ennen Suomeen muuttoaan. Näissä kahdessa sopeutumisen muodossa ei havaittu muutoksia pitkäaikaisarkisteluissa eli verrattaessa kyseisen ryhmän maahanmuuttoa edeltäneitä tutkimustuloksia heidän tuloksiinsa tutkimuksen toisessa, muutonjälkeisessä vaiheessa. Työntekijöiden hyvinvointi sen sijaan heikkeni merkittävästi tutkimuksen kahden eri mittausajankohdan välisenä aikana ollen tilastollisesti alemmalla tasolla muuton jälkeisenä aikana, mikä edelleen viittaa siihen, että onnistuneeseen psykologiseen sopeutumiseen olisikin kiinnitettävä erityistä huomiota.

Muuton jälkeen havaittu, psykologisen sopeutumisen indikaattorina käytetyn yleisen hyvinvoinnin merkittävä heikkeneminen oli kuitenkin odotettavissa, sillä – kuten aiemmatkin tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet – muutto ulkomaille voi olla hyvin stressaavaa. Kuten nyt käsillä olevassa tutkimuksessa, myös aiemmissä samaa aihepiiriä koskevissa tutkimuksissa yksilön hyvinvoinnin on havaittu heikkenevän 4–6 kuukautta uuteen maahan muuttamisen jälkeen. Tässä tutkimuksessa tehty tarkempi analyysi paljasti kaksi muuttoa edeltävään vaiheeseen liittyvää syytä tutkimuksen kahden eri mittausajankohdan välillä tapahtuneelle hyvinvoinnin heikkenemiselle: näistä ensimmäinen liittyi siihen, että suunnittelua (planning) ei käytetty riittävässä määrin selviytymiskeinona haastavassa elämäntilanteessa eli maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa, ja toiseksi, Suomi nähtiin huomattavasti omasta kotimaasta poikkeavana maana. Tämän lisäksi tutkimuksen kahden eri mittausajankohdan välillä tapahtunut hyvinvoinnin heikkeneminen oli yhteydessä useisiin muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa tutkittuihin muutujiin: muuton jälkeiseen heikkoon itsetun-

toon, riittämättömäksi koettuun sosiaaliseen ja organisaation antamaan tukeen, vähäiseen eurooppalaiseksi samaistumiseen, kielteisiin asenteisiin suomalaisia kohtaan sekä toteutumattomiin työtä koskeviin odotuksiin. Edellä mainittujen tekijöiden lisäksi tutkimuksen kahden eri mittausajankohdan välillä tapahtunut hyvinvoinnin heikkeneminen oli yhteydessä muutonjälkeisessä vaiheessa siihen, että haastavia tilanteita ei riittävässä määrin osattu nähdä ja kohdata myönteisessä valossa.

Kuten maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa, tyytyväisyys organisaation tarjoamaan tukeen sekä sosiaalisen tuen saatavuus yleensäkin osoittautuivat hyvin tärkeiksi hyvinvoinnin ennustajiksi sekä muuttostressiä vähentäviksi tekijöiksi myös muutonjälkeisessä vaiheessa. Kokemus riittävästä organisaation tarjoamasta tuesta oli yhteydessä myös vastaajien muutonjälkeiseen työtyytyväisyyteen. Hyvinvoinnin ohella riittäväksi koettu sosiaalinen (emotionaalinen/ instrumentaalinen) tuki oli yhteydessä osallistujien sosiaalipsykologiseen, sosiokulttuuriseen sekä työsopeutumiseen, liittyen näin ollen läheisesti kaikkiin muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa tutkittuihin sopeutumisen muotoihin.

Vaikka tässä tutkimuksessa eri sopeutumisen muotoja käsiteltiin toisistaan erillisinä muuttujina, on kuitenkin syytä huomata, että kyseiset sopeutumisen muodot ovat yhteydessä toisiinsa. Kuten muuttoa edeltävän vaiheen tulosten tarkastelun yhteydessä suoritetun rakenneyhtälömallinnuksen pohjalta voitiin huomata, tutkittuja sopeutumisen muotoja yhdistävät esimerkiksi monet niiden ennustajista. Näin ollen muuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa esimerkiksi työntekijöiden yleinen tyytyväisyys muuttovalmisteluihin (riittäväksi koettu aika, informaatio ja tuki muuton valmisteluun) oli yhteydessä kaikkiin muuttoa edeltävässä vai-

heessa huomion kohteena olleisiin sopeutumisen muotoihin: osallistujien hyvinvointiin, organisaatioon samaistumiseen, ja asenteisiin suomalaisia kohtaan. Tämän lisäksi eri sopeutumismuodot olivat yhteydessä toisiinsa myös muuton jälkeisessä vaiheessa, jossa löydettiin vahvoja korrelaatiota eri sopeutumismuotojen välillä. Esimerkiksi mitä voimakkaammin työntekijä samaistui Kemikaalivirastoon, sitä tyytyväisempi hän oli työhönsä ja tällä työtyytyväisyydellä oli edelleen myönteinen yhteys työntekijän yleiseen hyvinvointiin. Samaten, mitä vähemmän sosiokulttuurisia vaikeuksia ulkomaalaistaustaiset työntekijät jokapäiväisessä toiminnassaan ja kanssakäymisessään suomalaisten kanssa kohtasivat, ja mitä enemmän kontakteja heillä oli suomalaisiin, sitä myönteisemmät olivat heidän asenteensa suomalaisia kohtaan. Saadut tulokset osoittavat selvästi, että kehittämällä keinoja edesauttaa työntekijöiden yhdentyyppistä sopeutumista, voidaan usein edistää myös muita sopeutumisen muotoja.

Tämä tutkimus tuotti paljon hyödyllistä tietoa EU-viraston kansainvälisten työntekijöiden Suomeen muuton valmistelusta ja heidän integroitumisestaan Suomeen. Lisäksi tutkimus on ainutlaatuinen katsaus oma-aloitteisesti Suomeen tulleiden kansainvälisten asiantuntijoiden kohtaamiin, maahanmuuttoon ja uuteen työhön sopeutumiseen liittyviin haasteisiin ja siihen, millaisiksi erilaiset näitä haasteita helpottamaan suunnitellut tukitoimet on työntekijöiden keskuudessa koettu. Tutkimus tuotti myös uutta akkulturaatio- ja organisaatiopsykologista tutkimustietoa korostaen sopeutumisen moniulotteisten tutkimusotteen hyödyllisyyden lisäksi myös pitkittäistutkimusten tarpeellisuutta haluttaessa tutkia kokonaisvaltaisesti uuteen maahan sopeutumista. Tutkimustulokset täydentävät lisäksi aiempaa

ekspatriaatteja koskevaa tutkimuskirjallisuutta kohdistamalla huomionsa kyseisessä kirjallisuudessa tähän asti pitkälti sivuutettuun ryhmään eli oma-aloitteisesti (ulkomailta) muuttaviin kansainvälisiin asiantuntijoihin.

Tutkimuksen tuloksia voidaan pitää palautteena Suomen ensimmäisen EU viraston työntekijöiden ja heidän perheidensä sopeutumisprosessista Suomeen. Tutkimustulosten valossa on mahdollista ymmärtää ja edistää Kemikaaliviraston kansainvälisten työntekijöiden työskentely- ja asumisolosuhteita Suomessa sekä kehittää menetelmiä, jotka helpottavat tulevaisuudessa Suomeen muuttavien työntekijöiden sopeutumisprosessia. Tutkimustulokset ovat hyödyllisiä myös Helsingin kaupungin näkökulmasta, koska niiden avulla voidaan arvioida ja edelleen kehittää Kemikaaliviraston kansainvälisille työntekijöille suunnattuja palveluita. Tieteellisen antinsa lisäksi tämän tutkimuksen tulokset saattavat olla hyödyksi myös muille korkeasti koulutettuja asiantuntijoita vastaanottaville organisaatioille sekä yhteisöille.

Tutkimuksen päähuomio keskittyi muuttoprosessiin vaikuttavien tekijöiden sekä niihin liittyvien eri sopeutumistyyppien välisten suhteiden kuvaamiseen. Tutkimuksessa ei siis arvioitu erityyppisten interventioiden toimivuutta eikä tutkimustulosten valossa näin ollen ei voida suoraan sanoa, millaisia konkreettisia interventioita olisi kehitettävä parhaan mahdollisen sopeutumisen saavuttamiseksi. Tästä huolimatta tutkimustulosten perusteella on mahdollista esittää suuntaa-antavia suosituksia liittyen sellaisiin kansainvälisten työntekijöiden sopeutumista edistäviin tekijöihin, mihin omatoimisesti muuttavia asiantuntijoita vastaanottavien organisaatioiden kannattaisi jatkossa erityisesti kiinnittää huomiota.

Ensiksikin organisaatioiden tulisi pyrkiä

tarjoamaan työntekijöilleen riittävästi tukea muuttoa edeltävänä aikana. Organisaatioiden tulisi tarjota työntekijöilleen riittävästi aikaa valmistautua muuttoon, riittävästi tätä valmistautumista helpottavaa tietoa sekä riittävää muuton valmistelussa tarvittavaa tukea. Työntekijät arvostavat erityisesti apua asunnon löytämisessä uudessa maassa sekä organisaation tukea uuden maan kielen oppimisessa. Organisaatioiden tulisi itse työntekijän lisäksi josain määrin tukea myös työntekijän mahdollisesti mukana muuttavaa perhettä.

Toiseksi organisaatioiden tulisi huomioida se, että työntekijöiden tarvitseman tuen määrä riippuu työntekijän taustasta. Työntekijät, jotka tulevat kohdemaasta kulttuurisesti poikkeavasta maasta tarvitsevat enemmän apua sopeutumisessa kuin työntekijät, jotka tulevat samankaltaisesta maasta.

Kolmanneksi organisaatioiden tulisi huolehtia siitä, että tuleville työntekijöille tarjotaan jo ennen muuttoa realistista tietoa muuton kohdemaasta, tulevasta elintasosta sekä tulevasta työnkuvasta. Työntekijöille annettun tiedon tulisi olla realistista, mutta samalla sen tulisi keskittyä maiden samanlaisuuksien kuvaamiseen erojen korostamisen sijaan. Vastavasti olisi hyödyllistä korostaa tulevan työn ja elinympäristön eurooppalaista sekä kansainvälistä luonnetta.

Neljänneksi, muuttoa seuraavassa vaiheessa uusien työntekijöiden jo aloitettua työssä organisaatioiden tulisi kiinnittää huomiota sekä menettelytapojen että vuorovaikutuksen oikeudenmukaisuuteen organisaation sisällä. Mikäli näissä havaitaan puutteita, tulisi organisaatioiden pyrkiä kehittämään toimintatapoja, joilla oikeudenmukaisuutta lisätään ja työntekijöiden sopeutumista tätä kautta helpotetaan.

Viidenneksi organisaatioiden tulisi tukea

työntekijöiden sopeutumista samanaikaisesti eri elämäntilanteilla (psykologinen, sosiaalipsykologinen, sosiokulttuurinen sekä työsopeutuminen). Tämä on tärkeää, sillä onnistunut sopeutuminen yhdellä saralla edistää usein sopeutumista myös toisilla elämäntilanteilla.

Lopuksi organisaatioiden tulisi edistää toimia, jotka mahdollistavat työntekijöiden sosi-

aalisten verkostojen kasvun niin muuttoa edeltävänä aikana kuin muuton jälkeenkin. Sosiaalisia verkostoja kartuttavaa toimintaa (esim. yhteinen vapaa-ajan vietto, vierailut, verkko-keskusteluryhmät, ym. toiminta työpaikan ulkopuolella) tulisi suunnata niin itse työntekijöille kuin heidän perheilleenkin.

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1. Introduction

As a result of globalization and increased international mobility in the European Union, including Finland, more and more individuals migrate to work in other countries, either as a long-term solution or for a defined period of time. Labour migrants are seen by many countries as a means of replacing ageing populations in different sectors of the labour market, such as geriatric health, manual work and public services. In addition, the European Union strives to attract international professionals in order to improve its competitiveness in technology, communication and other highly specialized areas. Besides encouraging migration of highly skilled professional into the EU, the Union is itself an important employer of international professionals in its various bodies. One recent development in migration is thus, the diversification of migrant groups and migrant profiles. Furthermore, labour migration no longer concerns only workers with either very little education, such as manual workers, or highly qualified executive managers, sent on overseas assignments. Instead, new migrant profiles are evolving outside of the traditionally defined categories. We can now monitor the migration of highly skilled professionals who seek challenging job opportunities abroad. However, as information on occupations and records of educational qualifications are seldom available, the exact number of highly skilled international professionals remains unknown. The phenomenon of migration among highly skilled professionals for labour purposes is nevertheless apparent (Wolters, 1997). Statistics from the United Kingdom illustrate

the growth of this trend; the number of work permits granted to managers as well as to scientific and technical professionals, which was around 5 000 in 1996, rose to approximately 19 000 in 2000 (OECD, 2002). The observed increase in the international mobility of highly skilled employees shows that significant changes are taking place both in the present-day labour markets and in migration politics.

New and increasingly complex forms of labour migration pose a challenge to the receiving countries that aim not only to attract work migrants but also to retain them (Bürgelt, Morgan, & Pernice, 2008). Accomplishing the latter task requires an understanding of the experiences of international employees, including their motivations for relocating, their expectations regarding the receiving society and the employer, as well as the difficulties employees from different backgrounds may face in adjusting to a specific environment and life situation. Employers and officials who wish to ease the relocation and adjustment of expatriates need to engage in active assistance and training to support the employees' integration into the new country and work culture. Further, empirical knowledge of these processes is essential for identifying the best practices leading to successful adaptation.

A key interest in acculturation psychology is understanding what happens to individuals, having grown up in one cultural context, attempt to live in another (Berry, 1997). The main purpose of this study was to advance the existing knowledge on the integration and adaptation of international professionals work-

ing for the EU, and to point out key challenges in the relocation process both before and after moving to a new country. Our work combines and further develops two approaches used in the study of immigrant adaptation: the acculturation framework (Berry, 1997; 2006a) on the one hand, and expatriate adjustment (Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Hechanova, Beehr, & Christiansen, 2003) on the other. In our study, the pre-migration stage received special attention, since to date it has been largely unexplored both empirically and theoretically in the literature on (post)migration adjustment. In particular, we argue for expanding the acculturation approach through a better conceptualization of the *pre-acculturation* stage, which encompasses a variety of social, psychological, as well as cultural experiences and changes among international employees prior to their relocation. Furthermore, emphasizing acculturative processes in the pre-migration stage offers a more socio-psychological perspective on the way the pre-departure period is conceived in the literature on expatriate adjustment.

The present study looked at highly skilled international professionals in the Finnish context. In 2007, a total of 26 050 people immigrated to Finland from foreign countries. This amount exceeds preceding year's by 3 600 immigrants, and is in fact the highest number of immigrants per annum since Finnish independence in 1917 (Statistics Finland, 2008) The increasing attractiveness of Finland is underlined by the fact that immigration into Finland from other EU countries has been growing since 1997, whereas emigration from Finland into other EU countries has remained stable during the past few years. In 2007, Finland experienced a positive net migration of 4 400 persons from other EU countries (Statistics Finland, 2008).

Finland's foreign community, at 2.7 per cent of the total population, is very small in comparison to other European countries (Statistics Finland, 2008). Similarly, compared to other European cities, Helsinki's foreign community, which makes up seven per cent of the city population, is rather small (OECD Science, 2007). Considering the growth of immigration and the subsequent changes in the labour market, gaining a better understanding of how to attract and retain professionals is a very timely issue.

The Interprof project studied employees from the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA), which is the first specialised agency of the European Union located in Finland. Located in Helsinki, the ECHA started operating in June 2007. The ECHA staff manages the registration, evaluation, and subsequent authorisation and restriction of chemical substances within the EU (ECHA, 2008). At present, the ECHA staff consists of approximately 300 employees, and the number is expected to rise to a total of 550 by the year 2011.

The ECHA and other EU agencies are organizations established in one of the member countries in order to accomplish specific technical, scientific or managerial tasks. They are composed of employees from various member countries who have voluntarily chosen to apply for a post abroad. Due to these particularities, the expatriate experiences of employees working in such agencies differ from the situations outlined in the management literature of expatriates, which is mainly based on the experiences of business executives sent abroad by parent companies. In addition to the different starting points of EU agency employees, the receiving organisation also differs from what is commonly cited in management lit-

erature. So far, little is known about this specific form of migration of skilled EU nationals within the European Union (OECD, 2002).

The aim of this study was to shed light on the adjustment processes related to relocation among highly skilled migrants within the EU. The study contributed to the theoretical understanding of migrant adjustment processes by studying both the pre-migration and post-migration stages through a comprehensive approach that takes into account many different factors influencing adjustment (e.g., social and organizational support, relocation

assistance, cultural distance, acculturation attitudes, European and national identification, and perceived organizational justice). Since the study's focus is on describing the relationships between different factors related to the relocation process and the resulting adaptation outcomes, it could not provide information on the exact interventions that would be the most effective in supporting adaptation. We can, however, provide some general guidelines concerning the necessary types of intervention. These are discussed in the final chapter.

2. The adjustment of international professionals

In this section, we review some central findings from both research on expatriates and from literature on acculturation and immigrant adaptation. Before proceeding, however, a few conceptual clarifications are needed. Firstly, the literature is full of different terms for various migrant groups such as sojourners, expatriates, international highly skilled workers, labour migrants and immigrants. The term sojourner refers to individuals who “travel abroad to attain a particular goal within a specified period of time” (Bochner, 2006, p. 181) and consists of groups such as tourists, international students and expatriate workers (Bochner, 2006). Expatriate research often focuses on business sojourners sent abroad by their employers for commercial or business reasons. Increasingly, however, individuals seek out employment possibilities abroad on their own without limiting themselves to more traditional expatriate-bound sectors. More recently, researchers have also begun studying so-called self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs) who, unlike employees working for multinational corporations, have themselves made the decision to move abroad and do not follow a career path within one single organization (Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, & Barry, 1997).

In this report, we study employees from a newly formed EU agency as a specific group of SFEs. Within the larger category of SFEs, our focus is on highly educated individuals. The OECD (2002), nevertheless, remarks that there is a “lack of internationally agreed definition of a ‘highly skilled worker’, which

limits analysis at international level”. Generally, however, highly skilled professionals are defined as having a university degree or extensive experience in a given field (Iredale, 2001), which is the case for our participants. In order to specify the participants of our study and enable the future comparability of results, we decided to refer to this group as *highly skilled SFEs*. Where referring to previous research, however, we use the terms used by the original authors.

Other potentially confusing concepts include the terms acculturation, adaptation, integration, assimilation, expatriate adjustment, cross-cultural adjustment, and intercultural effectiveness, which are often used interchangeably by researchers and politicians alike. *Acculturation* is a key concept in the social psychological study of migrants. The original definition, now widely used in the field, refers to “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Acculturation is generally understood as a process of psychological and cultural change that leads to different adaptation outcomes (Berry, 1997). In the acculturation framework, integration and assimilation represent two different acculturation strategies, that is, ways in which an immigrant can relate to the culture of origin and the host culture. In this study, we use integration and assimilation to refer to such acculturation strategies. Since integration and assimilation

may differ in their implications for an individual's adaptation, the two concepts should not be confused with each other. *Adjustment* is more or less analogous to adaptation but is more commonly used with regard to expatriates. We use the terms adjustment and adaptation interchangeably.

The process of acculturation has been approached by looking at, for example, the attitudes of migrants towards cultural adaptation (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bukjaki, 1989), their cultural identification (e.g., Berry, 1993; Liebkind, 2006), social interactions (e.g., Aponte & Johnson, 2000; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), and their proficiency in the language of the new country of residence (e.g., Hansen, 1995; Scully, 2000). These factors all have an influence on how, and how well, newcomers acculturate. According to the bi-dimensional acculturation framework developed by Berry and his colleagues (e.g., Berry, 1990; Berry et al., 1987, 1989; Sam, 2006), immigrants settled in the host society must confront two basic issues: (1) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?" and (2) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the receiving society?". Based on these two dimensions of acculturation attitudes, four distinct acculturation strategies can be distinguished: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (e.g., Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006). The integration strategy refers to a situation where an individual is oriented both towards preserving his/her own heritage culture as well as towards being a part of the new culture. Assimilation can be defined as an immigrant's willingness to develop contacts with the dominant culture at the expense of losing his/her original cultural characteristics, whereas sep-

aration refers to a strong need to maintain one's own ethnic culture while avoiding contact with hosts. Marginalisation is defined as a tendency to detach oneself from both cultures. Empirical studies in several countries have shown that integration is the most commonly preferred acculturation strategy in contrast to marginalization, the least preferred option (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006). Furthermore, integration is often shown to be related to the best adaptation outcomes (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). It should be noted that individuals may adopt different strategies in different areas and stages of life. For example, a person may actively seek assimilation in the work environment while favouring separation or integration (e.g., by choosing to use one's native language) at home.

Despite a large amount of research on the processes of acculturation and adaptation, nearly all have focused on the period following relocation. We argue, however, that the way in which an individual adapts to a new environment is also affected by factors prior to relocation, such as the level of preparedness, expectations, contacts with the future host population, changes in attitudes, and so on. In order to fully understand the different factors affecting adaptation, the acculturation process needs to be studied from the very beginning. Following Berry (Berry, 2006b, p. 48), we call for research to take into consideration both "the moderating factors that exist prior to and those that arise during the process of acculturation."

2.1 Adaptation – a multidimensional phenomenon

Following common usage in the fields of acculturation and cross-cultural psychology, we use *adaptation* to refer to changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands. Adaptation, in other words, includes the changes resulting from acculturation. Some of the changes are short-term (e.g., pre-migration adaptation), some long-term (e.g., changes in attitudes and views; language acquisition), and may take both positive and negative forms (Berry, 1997).

Although adaptation is sometimes depicted as a unidimensional single phenomenon, the experience of migrants is often more complex, involving different areas of life in which adaptation takes place. It is, therefore, fruitful to distinguish between different types of adaptation and their indicators. In the acculturation literature, a common distinction is made between *psychological* and *socio-cultural* adaptation (Berry, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993).

Psychological adaptation refers to psychological and emotional well-being and satisfaction and is often measured by asking people to evaluate their general mood, life satisfaction and physical health. Factors found to predict psychological adaptation among immigrants include life-changing events, cognitive appraisals of change, stress-coping capabilities, personality, social support, cultural distance between the society of origin and the receiving society, cultural identity, and acculturation strategies (Berry, 2006b; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In addition, determinants of psychological adaptation discussed in literature concerning expatriates include the fit between the person and his/her assignment, as

well as motivations to undertake the assignment (Ward et al., 2001).

Socio-cultural adaptation, in turn, concerns the social skills an individual needs in order to function successfully in a new cultural context (e.g., Masgoret, 2006; Swagler & Jome, 2005; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Socio-cultural adaptation is assessed mostly through self-ratings regarding how well the individual manages his/her life in the new environment. Socio-cultural adaptation has been predicted by cultural knowledge, the quantity and quality of contact with host nationals, intergroup attitudes, acculturation strategies, cultural distance, language fluency, length of residence in the new country, previous experience abroad, and intercultural training (Berry, 2006b; Ward et al., 2001).

In their influential ABC model of adaptation, Ward and others (Ward et al., 2001; Ward, 2001) add a third type of adaptation by distinguishing between affective, behavioural and cognitive components of adaptation. Drawing mainly on the so-called stress and coping framework, the ABC model equates the affective component (A) with psychological adaptation. Successful emotional adaptation is seen as a result of successful coping with acculturative stress that stems from the loss of one's habitual environment (including mother tongue and social networks) and the difficulties in adjusting to the receiving country (e.g., Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Behavioural adaptation (B) refers to socio-cultural adaptation and it is based on the culture learning approach which emphasises the processes involved in acquiring specific skills needed to "fit in" or accomplish effective interactions in the new surrounding (Ward, 2001). Finally, the cognitive (C) adaptive outcomes include, according to Masgoret and Ward (2006), vari-

ables such as identity, attitudes and values. From our perspective, a problematic aspect of the ABC model is that it defines cultural values, social identity and intergroup attitudes as purely cognitive processes. Social identities and intergroup attitudes include emotional, evaluative and behavioral components. In addition, social identities, which are complex and flexible, also depend on the policies, identities and attitudes of the majority (see, for example Bourhis et al., 1997). Thus, following Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Mähönen (in press) we prefer to call the third dimension of adaptation *socio-psychological* in that it incorporates both identity and intergroup relations.

We support conceptually distinguishing socio-psychological adaptation from psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. Socio-psychological adaptation concerns the way people perceive and think about themselves and members of other groups, and includes the processes involved in developing, changing and maintaining identities in a new country. When studying the adaptation of migrants, including international professionals, the role of intergroup relations (such as discrimination and negative host attitudes) and of different collective identities are central in understanding their experiences in adapting to the new society. To date, however, literature on expatriates has paid little attention to the role of identities and attitudes in the adaptation process.

A fourth dimension of adaptation identified mainly in the expatriation literature is *work adaptation* (Aycan, 1997b; Black & Stephens, 1989). No consensus exists regarding what exactly is meant by work adaptation. Based on previous studies, we approach work adaptation through two main concepts: organizational identification and job satisfaction. How-

ever, it should be noted that others have also measured work adaptation through, for example, work performance (Aycan, 1997a). Job satisfaction has been related to factors such as supervisor's management style, good workplace communications, trust in management, interesting work, the feeling that one is treated with respect, career advancement opportunities, and work/family balance (McCaughey & Bruning, 2005). Perhaps unsurprisingly, studies have linked decreased job satisfaction to turnover intentions (Hellman, 1997) and some studies use intent to stay as a direct measure of job satisfaction (McCaughey & Bruning, 2005). From an organization's perspective, high turnover rates increase costs through the constant need to recruit new workers, while the human costs are often borne by the expatriates and their families. Furthermore, dissatisfaction with one's work and difficulties in adjusting to the new work environment are presumably reflected in other areas of life, such as stress levels and attitudes towards the host society and its representatives (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Liu & Lee, 2008).

Organizational identification, in turn, can be defined as the sense of oneness individuals have with an organisation and the degree to which individuals define themselves as members of that organisation (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983). Identification with work-related groups has been found to be an important motivational factor guiding all kinds of organizational behaviour, ranging from individual job performance to organizational citizenship behaviour (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). It is, therefore, a key concept when studying how international employees adapt to their new work environments and society at large.

Organizational identification is often con-

fused with organizational commitment and other conceptually close constructs (e.g., organizational socialisation, engagement, affiliation) (Gautam, Van Dick, & Wagner, 2004; van Knippenberg, 2006). Following several others (e.g., Gautam et al., 2004; Riketta, 2005), we argue for the need to distinguish organizational identification from other related constructs. Meyer and Allen (1991) conceptualise organizational commitment as a combination of three components: affective, continuance, and normative commitment. Affective commitment defines the employee's positive emotional attachment to the organisation, while continuance commitment reflects the continued refusal to leave a company due to the perceived high economic and social costs of losing organizational membership. Normative commitment, in turn, refers to a feeling of obligation towards the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991).

In the present study, we chose to approach work adaptation through organizational identification (instead of organizational commitment) because it is unlikely that all three components of the latter are already present in the pre-migration stage – a key focus in our study. Continuance commitment is unlikely to exist prior to the move to Finland, as there is not yet anything to leave. Similarly, any form of loyalty or moral obligation towards the organization is still likely to be absent as the future employee is not yet an effective member of the ECHA. The affective aspect of organizational commitment, however, is very similar to organizational identification. Unlike continuance and normative commitment, the affective commitment – or, organizational identification – can already be present before an individual becomes a member of an organization in the form of expectations and motivations

regarding future membership, which makes it particularly suitable for the present research. Consequently, it is possible to measure this affective component of work commitment already in the pre-migration stage, allowing us to study the very first stages of work adaptation. In general, there has been increased interest from organizational psychology in the concept of organizational identification and there have been calls to use it as a framework for examining employees' affection towards an organization (Aycan, 1997b). However, despite the increased interest in organizational identification, expatriate work adjustment is still often analyzed through commitment to the organization. To our knowledge, the present research is the first empirical study on highly skilled SFEs that explores the organizational identification prior to moving abroad.

Organizational researchers have identified several different antecedents to organizational identification, including perceived organizational prestige (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994), perceived organizational justice (Olkonen & Lipponen, 2006), length of membership (Bhattacharya, Rao, & Glynn, 1995), and employee age (Riketta, 2005). In summary, work adaptation – approached in this study through organizational identification and job satisfaction – is expected to play a key role in the integration and well-being of international professionals and, therefore, needs to be included when studying the relocation experience.

As presented above, our study distinguishes between four different types of adaptation: psychological, socio-cultural, socio-psychological and work adaptation. No previous studies have approached the adaptation of international employees simultaneously through these four types of adaptation. There-

fore, when discussing our results, we need to refer to findings obtained within other frameworks, such as Black and Stephens' (1989) three-dimensional framework of international adjustment, which is commonly used in the management literature. Black and Stephens (1989) theorize that international adjustment consists of work adjustment, interactional adjustment, and general adjustment. While the latter refers to general conditions within the non-work environment, interactional adjustment focuses on adjusting to interaction with host nationals. Work adjustment is related to one's adjustment to the work role. (Black & Stephens, 1989.) According to Aycan (1997b), these three facets of adjustment are conceptually similar to work adaptation, socio-cultural adaptation, and psychological adaptation.

Much of previous research on expatriates and immigrants presents adjustment as a single construct (e.g., international or cross-cultural adjustment), forfeiting the possibility to make finer distinctions and thoroughly understand different aspects of the expatriate experience. While some researchers have made the distinction between different types of adaptation (e.g., Black et al., 1991; Ward et al., 2001), few studies have looked at how they relate. Until now, there has been no research that uses a comprehensive framework for investigating, for example, how work adjustment is related to psychological well-being or socio-cultural adaptation, or the connections between outgroup attitudes and cultural skills. The present study was designed to provide new information on the relationships between different types of adaptation. In the following section we discuss connections between the different types of adaptation proposed in previous research.

2.1.1 An integrated model of adaptation

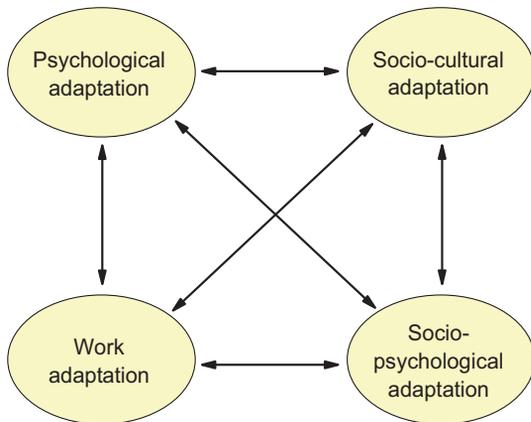
Researchers have proposed different associations between work adaptation and other types of adaptation. Takeuchi et al. (Takeuchi, Yun, & Russell, 2002) found support for the hypothesis that socio-cultural adjustment is positively related to work adjustment, and Aycan (1997b) has suggested that both psychological and socio-cultural adjustment together predict work adjustment, measured as effectiveness and commitment. According to Aycan (1997b), the success of expatriation depends not only on the personal characteristics of the employee, but moreover on organizational support and assistance prior to and during the assignment, both of which influence commitment to the organization. Similarly, Searle and Ward (1990) demonstrated that sojourners' psychological adjustment was related to task-effectiveness. These findings suggest that psychological adjustment plays a significant role not only in the individual's well-being, but also in an individual's overall organizational success. Thus, previous research suggests a twofold link to work adjustment both from psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. In addition, others have proposed an opposite causality where satisfaction with employment conditions leads to greater general adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Liu & Lee, 2008).

With regard to socio-psychological adaptation, cultural identification has been found to predict different types of adaptation (Ward et al., 2001). In Ward's (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) study on international aid workers, identification with one's home country was related to better psychological adaptation, while a strong identification with host nationals was associated with better socio-cultural adaptation. Thus, studying identification processes is

central if we are to understand different adaptive outcomes. Besides cultural identification, outgroup attitudes have also been shown to be related to psychological adaptation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Solheim, 2009). In their recent study, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim (2009) found, in addition, that this link is reciprocal; the better the attitudes towards the representatives of the new country of residence, the better the participants adapted psychologically and vice versa.

Despite the results presented above, we still lack a clear understanding of how exactly the different types of adaptation are related. Different studies have looked at specific links between adaptive processes and outcomes, but a comprehensive framework has yet to be developed. This study presents an attempt at integration by combining the four adaptation types into a single integrated model (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Connections between four adaptation types



2.1.2 Time and adaptation

Contrary to everyday thinking, adaptation does not increase linearly as a function of time spent in the new context. This well-documented

finding in expatriate literature has motivated researchers to identify alternative patterns to explain adjustment over time. The U-curve theory (UCT), originally introduced by Lysgaard (1955), describes adjustment as following the form of a U-curve composed of four stages. The first weeks after arrival are characterized by fascination and enthusiasm, followed by feelings of inadequacy, frustration and hostility towards the host nation and its people. Then, after 4-6 months, the adaptation of cultural norms and values is achieved and ultimately an effective functioning within the host society is reached (Liu & Lee, 2008). The U-curve theory, however, has been criticized as an over-generalization that does not always reflect reality (Church, 1982).

We found it useful to differentiate between the four types of adaptation with regard to the effects of time. Socio-cultural adaptation has been observed to follow a fairly linear pattern among most migrants (rapid improvement in the beginning, followed by a stabilisation at a certain level afterwards), making it relatively easy to predict. This is due to the fact that socio-cultural adaptation develops as a function of the amount and quality of contacts with the host population (Berry, 2006, p. 53; Ward et al., 2001, p. 42).

Psychological adaptation tends to be more influenced by specific events in an individual's life (Ward et al., 2001, p. 42). For example, marital and occupational statuses influence the process of adjustment (Tung, 1998). According to Tung's (1998) findings, moving abroad with a family reduces the time needed for adjusting to the new environment. Additionally, professionals in non-supervisory positions, as opposed to senior managers, take less time to adjust psychologically (Tung, 1998). Therefore, individuals accompanied by

their families and who work in non-supervisory positions can be expected to experience less stress and better well-being, i.e., faster psychological adjustment.

The time limit of six months is often seen as a crucial point in expatriates' general adjustment. According to Torbiörn (1982), expatriates overcome a large portion of their difficulties within 6 months of arrival as the cultural shock fades away. Similarly, Sullivan (1993) regards the period from three to six months as crucial to the expatriates' adjustment process; once the professional reaches this point, he/she is unlikely to resign and return to his/her home country. This is supported by findings that show that almost half of the expatriates feel comfortable in the new environment after four to six months (Tung, 1998). It is only in the beginning of the relocation period that the expatriate suffers from a combination numerous life changes and possible low stress-coping resources (Ward et al., 2001). Therefore, we consider it relevant to analyze post-migration adjustment approximately half a year after relocation. It is nevertheless important to note that, although the tendency for problems to occur is highest in the first 4-6 months of expatriation (mainly due to socio-cultural challenges), new difficulties related to, for example, work or personal relationships may arise at later points (Ward et al., 2001).

2.2 Pre-migration stage and pre-acculturation

While extensive research has been conducted to identify different factors related to immigrant adaptation once an individual has arrived in the new country of residence, few studies exist on factors affecting adaptation *prior to*

relocation. As a consequence, existing (post-migration) research implies that acculturation attitudes and patterns of behaviour are formed in the process of immigrants' post-migration contact in the new country of residence. This neglects the possibility that immigrants come to a new country of residence with pre-existing patterns of attitudes and behaviour (see Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001; Tartakovsky, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2009).

In the few studies taking sojourners' and expatriates' pre-migration factors into consideration to predict cross-cultural adjustment, it has been suggested that immigrants' *entry status in their country of settlement* affects their acculturation orientation (Berry, 1997). Entry status factors typically include language and cultural knowledge (e.g., Mavreas, Bebbington, & Der, 1989; Mavreas & Bebbington, 1990), personality characteristics related to outgoingness, such as assertiveness, likeability, sociability, extraversion, ego control, self-monitoring, and a need for cognitive closure (e.g., Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, & Mannetti, 2004; Padilla & Perez, 2003), initial plans, motivations and aspirations (e.g., Bürgelt et al., 2008; Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, & Lynch, 2007; Mavreas et al., 1989), socio-economic status (i.e., educational and occupational levels) (e.g., Beiser, Johnson, & Turner, 1993), and age (e.g., Mavreas et al., 1989; Penaloza, 1994).

These factors are results of lifelong individual psycho-social development and are highly relevant determinants of post-migration adaptation among immigrants. In addition to such individual level entry characteristics, some studies have also looked at the *socio-psychological profiles* of future immigrants. For example, in his exceptional studies on potential

and, later, actual Jewish adolescent migrants from Russia and Ukraine to Israel, Tartakovsky (2002, 2007, 2008) showed that immigrants differ in terms of the adaptiveness of their pre-migration emotional and behavioural patterns. These patterns include psychological and behavioural problems, self-esteem, motivation for immigration, attitudes towards acculturation and the host country, and awareness about the living conditions in the host country (Tartakovsky, 2002, 2007, 2008). The weaker these accumulated psychological resources in the pre-migration stage were, the greater was the acculturative stress and psychological and socio-cultural maladjustment in the host country.

Similarly, Bürgelt and her colleagues (2008) showed that among German immigrants in New Zealand, the level of psychological and social preparedness concerning the migration process was an important pre-migration factor facilitating the post-migration adaptation. In this qualitative retrospective study, immigrants seemed to benefit from pre-migration resource structures that helped them avoid problems and increase their psychological and social resource structures (e.g., sufficient language competence, realistic expectations, cultural awareness, knowledge of migration processes, joint migration decision, and adaptation strategies) (Bürgelt et al., 2008). Mavreas, Bebbington, and Der (1989), too, have pointed out that pre-migration acculturation is likely to facilitate an individual's post-migration acculturation. In their retrospective study among Greek Cypriot immigrants in London, the authors found that immigrants' prior contacts with English people as well as work and study experiences abroad were associated with an increased command of the English language, better knowledge

about England, and with less ethnocentric attitudes. All these factors, in turn, were positively associated with better post-migration acculturation (Mavreas et al., 1989). Finally, social support is another pre-migration dimension that is often said to predict adjustment (Ward et al., 2001). Both the family, and in the case of expatriate employees, the organization where one works, can be sources of social support.

Thus, in addition to entry status factors such as personality and socio-demographic factors, there are a variety of *pre-migration emotional, attitudinal and behavioural patterns as well as changes in these patterns* that characterize the pre-acculturation of immigrants and may influence the migrants' migration experiences and post-migration adaptation considerably (e.g., Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009). Consequently, we need to expand our current understanding of the migration-adaptation link. We suggest that to develop a more comprehensive model of immigrant adaptation, the concept of '*pre-acculturation*' needs to be acknowledged. In previous theoretical literature (Sam & Berry, 2006) and empirical studies (Bürgelt et al., 2008; Mavreas et al., 1989; Mavreas & Bebbington, 1990) as described above, the concept of pre-acculturation has mainly been used to refer to a number of personal characteristics (socio-demographic and personality), as well as push/pull factors and their derivatives (such as motivations, goals, etc.). Analogous to the concept of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1936), but based on a more social psychological approach, we suggest that *pre-acculturation may be considered as a process that refers to the phenomena resulting when a potential migrant comes into a pre-migration contact with the society of immigration, with subsequent changes in his/her*

cultural, emotional, attitudinal and behavioural patterns. Pre-migration acculturation, then, includes a variety of social, psychological and cultural *characteristics* of the immigrant, as well as *changes prior to migration* that follow his/her decision to emigrate, adjustment to this decision, pre-contact experiences and preparation for the migration process. Post-migration acculturation, in turn, is perceived as a new period in the immigrants' lives during which they continue their life-span development, as well as the acculturation process aided by a number of characteristics developed prior to migration (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001).

In sum, although there are some studies with measurements in the pre-migration stage, there is no systematic empirical research of the relationships between the pre- and post-migration stages. We argue, moreover, that the acculturation process of immigrants in general, and of international professionals in particular, cannot be properly understood without focusing also on the pre-acculturation stage.

In the next sections, we will describe those factors that, based on the theoretical assumptions, we assume to have an effect on migrants' pre- and post-migration adaptation. Previous (post-migration) research has focused largely on so-called stressors because of the serious effects that migration experiences can have on expatriates' psychological well-being and mental health. It is, however, important to understand both the risks as well as the protective factors related to pre-migration experiences because these experiences influence later psychological adaptation. Taking such factors into account might be a first step towards developing interventions aimed at reducing the negative effects of relocation stress.

Furthermore, the different types of adaptation (psychological, socio-cultural, and work adaptation) are often found to be interrelated, but they are not always predicted by the same factors. For example, factors that predict work adaptation do not necessarily predict psychological adjustment (Black, 1988). This is why it is important to study different types of adaptation separately. In order to optimally support relocating individuals, research needs to identify the factors related to each type of adaptation at different stages of the relocation process. Sometimes, however, authors make no distinction between different types of adaptation and speak simply of factors predicting adaptation in general. In the following discussion of factors predicting (post-) migration adaptation, we try to specify the relevant type of adaptation wherever possible. A separate section is devoted to work adaptation with the aim of identifying the specific factors influencing it.

2.3 Pre-migration factors related to adaptation

2.3.1 Background factors

To begin with an expatriate's pre-departure orientation, demographic factors, previous international experience, motivations to move, expectations regarding the relocation, and pre-departure preparation as well as training are all factors that exist prior to relocation but which may play an important role in successful adaptation. Demographic factors that have been studied in relation to migration stress and coping include gender, age, generational status, income, and education. No consistent differences have been found in adaptation be-

tween men and women, and the influence of gender on psychological adaptation is likely to be moderated by personal and situational factors. Results concerning the effects of age are also ambiguous. Education, however, is consistently found to be associated with better adaptation. The positive effects of education have been linked to greater culture-specific knowledge and skills, higher status occupations, and higher income. (Ward et al., 2001, p. 93-94.)

The role of previous mobility and international experience in adaptation and successful expatriation has been confirmed in various studies, and is based on a twofold mechanism. Prior international experience can lead to anticipatory adjustment (Black, 1988), which facilitates later relocation. Previous mobility can lead to the acquiring of cultural skills which aid in socio-cultural adaptation (Ward et al., 2001, p. 89). The skills acquired during previous foreign experiences may also reduce the uncertainty experienced when relocating (Borstorff, Harris, Feild, & Giles, 1997). Finally, prior international experience has been shown to have a significant impact on work adaptation. For example, Holopainen (2005) showed that employees' prior international experience had an impact on their work performance. In addition to prior experiences of working abroad, previous knowledge of the new country of residence and its culture may be obtained for example through media, books, and interacting with people from the host culture, for example, during the recruitment process.

Individuals have different reasons and motivations for applying to work abroad, and these may significantly influence how the individual adjusts to the new work and domestic environment. In order to gain a more com-

prehensive picture of adaptation, we need to further understand the relocating individual's motivations and expectations. Tartakovsky (2001) divided motivations into three categories: (1) Preservation motives, which include the need for physical, social and psychological security; (2) Self-development motives, which reflect the importance of personal growth in knowledge, skills and abilities; and (3) Materialism motives, which refer to the striving for financial wealth (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001). Taking such personal aspirations into consideration may, for example, help to explain why some individuals are more likely than others to work until the end of their contracts abroad (Ward et al., 2001, p. 183).

In addition to motivations, expectations regarding future work and living conditions may have an important effect on adjustment. Expectations have an effect on how stressful situations are evaluated, that is, whether or not adaptation difficulties come as a surprise. Accurate expectations may boost confidence, which in turn strengthens stress-coping skills in dealing with potentially stressful life changes (Ward et al., 2001, p. 76). Often, however, there is a mismatch between expectations and reality, as expectations are either surpassed or unmet (Ward et al., 2001, p. 76). When, for example, the situation is less difficult than anticipated and expectations are surpassed, this leads to greater satisfaction (Martin, Bradford, & Rohrlich, 1995), while unmet expectations may have negative implications for the relocation process. Not surprisingly, previous empirical studies have associated previous mobility with realistic expectations of what to look forward to (Louis, 1980).

In order to improve the accuracy of employees' expectations and anticipatory adjustment, employers can provide pre-departure

training. So-called 'realistic job previews' are recommended as a way to match expectations with actual and potential experiences (Averill, 1973). They involve a realistic display of both the positive and the negative aspects of a future job in a foreign country (Katzell & Thompson, 1990). Providing favourable as well as unfavourable job-related information to the candidates prior to moving increases the possibility of adequate anticipatory adjustment, and prevents the negative consequences of unexpected surprises and stress. In other words, information-giving, and cultural sensitization are key training techniques in successful pre-departure training.

In addition to enhancing realistic expectations and socio-cultural adjustment (defined as the development of behaviours expected in the new surroundings), cross-cultural training has also been shown to have a positive impact on self-development (psychological well-being, increased self-confidence), cognitive skills (better understanding of host social systems and values) as well as interpersonal skills (interaction with host nationals) (Deshpande & Viswesvaran, 1992). Furthermore, studies suggest that the less abstract and the more practical the cross-cultural training, the more successful it appears to be (Ward et al., 2001, p. 269).

Finally, according to Forster (1990), adequate time to prepare for the move has a positive effect on both the perceived change in moving from one country to another and the actual adjustment to the new country and assignment. The longer the period of notice to the employee before relocation, the more it promotes anticipatory adjustment (Forster, 1990).

2.3.2 Cultural factors

Cultural distance is a term used to express how culturally similar or different a person thinks his or her home country is compared with the new country of residence. Previous post-migration studies (e.g., Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000) have shown that the smaller the cultural distance, the more positive the evaluation of the host nation is both on an interpersonal and an intergroup level.

According to Ward (Ward et al., 2001), cultural distance is an important determinant of socio-cultural adjustment (e.g., Searle & Ward, 1990). Accordingly, several studies found that adjustment becomes more demanding as the cultural differences increase between the host culture and the individual's own culture (Black et al., 1991; Church, 1982; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). For example, in their study on American expatriates in the Pacific Rim, Black and Stephens (1989) found a negative connection between cultural distance and expatriates' adjustment to the country of assignment as well as their intention to stay on the assignment. Similarly, Suanet and Van de Vijver (2009) showed that perceived cultural distance was associated with psychological and socio-cultural adjustment.

Not all studies, however, have confirmed this relationship between cultural distance and different facets of adjustment. Some researchers have even criticized previous studies for exaggerating the link between cultural distance and acculturation (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). For example, in their study of Finnish expatriates in 22 countries, Holopainen and Björkman (2005) found no connection between cultural distance and the work adaptation, measured in the study as expatriates'

performance. Similar results have been reported by Tung (1998), who found no significant relationship between cultural distance and the American expatriates' success. Due to these inconsistent results, in our study we decided to verify whether cultural distance ultimately has an effect on international employees' adjustment.

2.3.3 Individual factors

Personality traits represent variations in basic human ways of acting and experiencing (McCrae & Costa, 1997), prompting individuals to behave in certain ways in particular situations and to accomplish certain goals (e.g., Buss, 1989; McCrae & John, 1992). It is, then, unsurprising that personality characteristics are related to expatriate adjustment and work performance. The best-known and most widely used measure of personality is the so-called Big Five personality scale. The Big Five scale measures five personality factors – extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness – which have been shown to be stable across time, contexts, and cultures (Digman, 1989, 1990; McCrae & Costa, 1987; McCrae & John, 1992). Extraversion refers to the quantity of social interaction; an extroverted person is considered to be outgoing and talkative (Barrett & Pietromonaco, 1997). Agreeableness is a tendency towards cooperative behaviour and social acceptance (Huang, Chi, & Lawler, 2005). Conscientiousness involves an inclination towards self-discipline and it functions as a strong predictor of work-performance (Salgado, 1997). Emotional stability is a tendency to experience unpleasant emotions in a less stressful manner. It is regarded as the opposite of neuroticism, which in turn is associated with adjectives

such as “anxious”, “depressed” and “self-pitying” (McCrae & John, 1992). Openness, in turn, refers to connotations like “wide range of interests” (McCrae & John, 1992) and an appreciation for art, adventure and experiences in general.

In cross-cultural literature, several personality traits have been linked to immigrant adjustment. In particular, characteristics related to smooth social interactions have been shown to influence cross-cultural adjustment (Caligiuri, 2000b). For example, in a study on expatriates in the United States, extroversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability were negatively related to their desire to terminate the assignment, whereas conscientiousness was positively related to their (supervisor-rated) work performance (Caligiuri, 2000a, b). Of all five personality traits, extraversion is most commonly shown to foster adjustment among sojourners (e.g., Searle & Ward, 1990), although results remain inconsistent (Ward et al., 2001). Swagler (2005) proposes that extraversion could be seen as a “universal communicator” due to its facilitating effect on possible communication. Thus, it could not only enhance socio-cultural adaptation but it could also have an impact on psychological adaptation.

Neuroticism, in turn, has been related to adjustment problems in both longitudinal (e.g., Furukawa, 1997) and cross-sectional studies (e.g., Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004). In their study, Ward and her colleagues (2004) showed that both neuroticism and extraversion were related to psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. Although theoretically justified, a positive link between international adjustment and openness to change has not received empirical confirmation. Conversely, van der Bank and Rothman (2006) found openness to

change to be negatively related to cross-cultural adaptation, meaning that open individuals were less adjusted than others. Overall, research findings remain inconclusive regarding the relationship between different personality traits and sojourner adjustment (van der Bank & Rothmann, 2006). This relationship is also explored in this study.

In addition to personality traits, research on self-esteem and self-concepts constitute a major area of interest in relation to psychological adjustment (Aronowitz, 1984). Self-esteem is strongly influenced by how others in the society value one's skills. In a qualitative study on Korean expatriate women in the United States (Suh & Lee, 2006), the expatriates showed lower levels of self-esteem as a result of their assignment abroad. Self-esteem has generally been found to predict mental health or psychological resilience among immigrants and minority group members (e.g., Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996). In immigration studies, this relationship is often found to be mediated by a variety of migration- and acculturation-related stressors, such as perceived discrimination (e.g., Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000b; Verkuyten, 1998; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), which, in turn, have an effect on psychological problems (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). This implies that negative migration experiences not only directly influence psychological adaptation, but that self-esteem plays an important role as a mediator in adaptation. Further studies are, however, essential to confirm the role played by self-esteem in the psychological adjustment of expatriate professionals.

2.3.4 Relocation stress

In addition to the stressors mentioned in the previous sections (such as cultural distance, lack of knowledge about the country of immigration, negative contact experiences and perceived discrimination), expatriates' psychological adjustment is predicted by their levels of stress prior to the relocation. Moderate levels of relocation stress are not harmful per se, since heightened levels of stress generally accompany any positive change, which in turn increase the individual's alertness and enable higher levels of performance (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986). The negative effects of relocation stress, however, may occur when the stress is prolonged and surpasses the individual's capacity and resources (such as social support) to deal with the stressful experiences (Berry, 2006b; Berry, 1998; Liebkind, 1996). Thus, it is the expatriate's ability to deal with potentially stressful situations that is regarded as an important determinant of adjustment (for a review, see Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985) and work performance (Holopainen & Björkman, 2005).

2.4 Post-migration factors related to adaptation

2.4.1. Intergroup contact

Positive interpersonal relations with members of the new society have a positive effect on immigrant adjustment (Moghaddam, Taylor, & Wright, 1993). In the context of expatriation, Ward and her colleagues (Feinstein & Ward, 1990; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993) have found that satisfying re-

relationships with host nationals predict psychological well-being in sojourners. According to Ward (Ward et al., 2001), both the frequency of sojourners' interaction with hosts as well as the quality of these contacts have an impact on socio-cultural adjustment.

Moreover, according to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), contact with members of an outgroup leads to more positive attitudes and less prejudice towards the outgroup. A more recent development of the contact hypothesis suggests that the perceived importance, or the personal relevance, of the contact explains reductions in prejudice better than the quality or the quantity of contact (Gautam et al., 2004). In addition to reducing prejudice and improving out-group attitudes, contact with members of the new society facilitate the learning of culturally appropriate norms and behaviours (Black et al., 1991), thereby enhancing socio-cultural adaptation.

Meeting members of the host society is not, however, always straightforward and depends also on general attitudes towards immigrants and foreigners in the host society. Sometimes contact is not characterized by positive intergroup relations, but rather by intergroup prejudice and experiences of discrimination. Studies on ethnic minority and immigrant groups consistently show a relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being, with perceived discrimination having direct, strong and long-lasting negative effects on psychological well-being (Williams, 2003), including depression (Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Feng Hou, & Rummens, 1999), distress and anxiety (Kessler, 1999), and acculturative stress symptoms (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Perhoniemi, 2006; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a, 2000b). The link between perceived discrimination and

psychological well-being has also been suggested to have a reverse causality where psychological stress increases the perception of discrimination. Distressed individuals would, thus, experience or recall more experiences of discrimination than those not suffering from psychological difficulties (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009).

In this study, we analyse how the presence and quality of contacts with Finns before and during the relocation process is related to psychological, socio-psychological and socio-cultural adaptation among international professionals.

2.4.2 Protective factors

The stress and coping perspective to acculturation highlights the role of protective factors, which buffer the effects of acculturative stress on psychological adaptation among migrants. Acculturation changes and negative experiences, in particular, often tax psychological resources needed in adjustment processes and thus require coping responses (Ward et al., 2001). Within this work, coping is defined as a cognitive and behavioural action undertaken by an individual to manage a stressful situation (see Folkman et al., 1986; Lazarus, 1993). Lazarus and Folkman (Folkman et al., 1986) classify stress-coping strategies into problem-focused and emotion-focused categories. Problem-focused strategies try to intervene in the relation between the individual and the social context by concretely influencing and changing the stressful factor. In contrast, emotion-focused strategies seek to influence the *perception* of the stressful factor or event by the individual. This has an impact on the perceived level of stress, even though the situation itself has not changed (Lazarus, 1993).

The central objective of coping strategies is to save the individual from stressful experiences. For a long time, research on coping suggested problem-focused coping strategies were more effective in stress-reduction than more passive emotion-focused approaches.

For example, Noh and Kaspar (2003) showed that only active and problem-focused coping strategies reduced depression resulting from discrimination. Similarly, in a study on Western expatriates working in China, Selmer (1999) concluded that managers who used problem-focused coping strategies adjusted better than those using emotion-focused strategies. Furthermore, Stahl and Caligiuri (2005) showed that German expatriate managers in Japan and the US were better adjusted cross-culturally when using problem-focused coping strategies. Nevertheless, these coping strategies were not related to the intention to remain on the assignment (Stahl & Caligiuri, 2005).

However, because the effectiveness of a stress-coping strategy depends on the interaction between the individual and the context, many researchers have concluded that no coping strategy can be a priori judged as most effective (e.g., Lazarus, 1993). The perceived severity of the difficulties, as well as an evaluation of their controllability, influences the choice of a coping strategy and its actual effectiveness in reducing stress (Punamäki & Puhakka, 1997). In general, emotion-focused and evasive coping strategies are considered to be the best suited to situations in which an individual perceives him- or herself as lacking a real possibility to influence the problem at hand, while problem-focused coping strategies are superior in situations over which the individual has some control (Folkman, 1980; Klingman, Solomon, Waysman, Schwarzwald, & Weisenberg, 1993).

Perceived social support provides additional coping resources to deal with new and stressful situations, such as cross-cultural assignments (e.g., Fontaine, 1986). Both the direct and indirect positive effects of social support networks on an individual's well-being in general, and adjustment to a new country in particular are widely recognized (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985; García & Ramírez, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). Social networks may offer, among other things, emotional support, concrete help and advice, as well as material support. In addition, they may improve an individual's ability to deal with problems indirectly by reinforcing their self-esteem and presenting different problem-solving strategies (Lin & Ensel, 1999). During international assignments, social support becomes particularly important as the relocating individuals face both an absence of established social networks and the challenge of developing new networks in a new cultural milieu. Consequently, social support seems to be of greatest importance in the initial stages of international assignments, which are often associated with high stress (van der Bank & Rothmann, 2006).

Individuals may obtain social support from various sources. Potential sources of support include family, friends and other acquaintances, work organization as well as co-workers and supervisors. Many expatriates bring their spouses or family along to the country of expatriation and the supportive role of spouses is well-documented in expatriate literature (e.g., Black & Stephens, 1989; James, Hunsley, Navara, & Alles, 2004). Findings also show that the family's adjustment to the new country is a key predictor of expatriates' willingness to accept subsequent overseas assignments (Larson, 2006).

In addition to family and friends, support can be provided by members of the receiving society. Acculturation literature emphasizes the importance of host networks for adjustment among immigrants (e.g., García & Ramírez, 2002) and studies have shown that host support networks enhance the well-being of sojourners (Ward et al., 2001). In addition, immigrants' contact with networks left behind in their home countries may be an important source of support that promotes their adjustment in the new society (Schultz, 2001). Finally, migrants may receive social support from "comparable others", such as other expatriates (Adelman, 1988). Support and interaction with other expatriates has been found to enhance cross-cultural adjustment (Briody & Chrisman, 1991).

Social networks can be approached by looking at several aspects. Firstly, the *availability* of social support refers to the amount and versatility of social networks. Secondly, social support may be assessed by addressing the *actual use* of these networks, i.e., how frequently an individual is in contact with the members of his or her social network. Finally, studies show that *perceived social support*, i.e., the feeling that social support is available should one need it, has a positive effect on individuals' psychological well-being (Liebkind et al., 2004).

2.4.3 Cultural identification

Throughout their lives people strive to answer the question "Who am I?". According to Social Identity Theory (SIT) introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1979), individuals often define themselves in terms of their group memberships. A person can regard him- or herself for example as a "European", a "moth-

er" or "father", a "non-Finn" or a "member of ECHA". An individual's self-concept consists of the knowledge of these multiple memberships, the value attached to them, as well as their emotional significance (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The core argument of SIT is that individuals strive for a positive self-concept and that the way to achieve this is through a positive evaluation of one's in-group, in contrast to relevant comparison groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

As becomes clear from the example above, different simultaneous group memberships do not need to contradict each other, but can co-exist and even reinforce each other (see e.g., Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996). For example, in their research on Polish citizens, Mlicki and Ellemers (1996) observed both a strong national identity and an emphasis on European identity within the same individuals. In the situation where individuals have complex, co-existing identities, our task is to understand how to best support a positive self-esteem, which in turn contributes to psychological well-being and adjustment. With the exception of organizational identification, in the case of the highly skilled SFEs in our study, social identities likely to influence adjustment include European identification, as well as the ongoing identification with their own home country. Furthermore, it may be useful to examine whether and to what extent the participants identify with Finland and the Finnish society.

The role of cultural identification in adaptation has been studied mainly within the field of acculturation research, and much less among expatriates (Phinney & Chavira, 1992; see Phinney, Horenezyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). The impact of cultural identification on immigrant adaptation has been studied using measures of both ethnic and national identifi-

cation. In expatriate research, national identification refers to the identification with one's country of origin, whereas in acculturation research, national identification is typically used to refer to immigrants' identification with the new host country. In this study, we use the term national identification to refer to the identification with participants' home country.

Several studies have failed to demonstrate a link between cultural identity and psychological adaptation (Ouarasse & van de Vijver, 2005; Roberts et al., 1999). In other words, it seems that whether a person identifies strongly or weakly with his/her country of origin or ethnic group does not have an impact on well-being. However, while cultural identification does not seem to influence psychological adaptation, it may have an effect of socio-cultural adaptation. For example, in immigration research, individuals with a high degree of ethnic identification partake in more ethnic behaviour than nationals, and therefore, show lower levels of socio-cultural adaptation (e.g., Mirsky, Baron-Draiman, & Kedem, 2002). When working abroad, situations may arise where one's cultural identity enters into conflict with work or organizational identity. Often work organizations strongly prefer similarity and homogeneity (e.g., Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995), thus hindering the creation of more original and complex workplace identities that would foster the integration of international employees. In work organizations that are appreciative of diversity, culturally different employees may develop dual or integrated identities that allow them to combine old and new identities (e.g., Avery, McKay, Wilson, & Tonidandel, 2007; Gilbert & Ivancevich, 2001; Richter, 2006). Recent findings suggest that integrated identities among minority employees are determined

by organizational policy and climate, as well as attitudes of majority members within the work organization, with diversity policies being the most supportive of dual identities (e.g., Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, & Ellemers, 2003; Luijters, van der Zee, & Otten, 2008). Integrated identities have been put forward as an effective way of promoting positive intergroup relations, although results remain contradictory (e.g., van der Zee, Atsma, & Brodbeck, 2004).

It is important to note, however, that immigrants will not integrate into the workplace or host society unless they wish to identify with it, regardless of organizational or societal policies and practices. This can be the case particularly among employees who are only engaged to work in the host society on a temporary basis (such as short-term or circular EU-migrants) and who, therefore, do not feel a need for affiliation with the host society or organization. Migrating professionals who only intend to take the benefits of mobility without the possible drawbacks of immigration and settlement may, however, use a super-ordinate identity, such as the European identity, to transcend national and cultural identities.

2.4.4 Factors predicting work adjustment

The well-being of employees is commonly considered to be an important factor contributing to the success of an organization. In addition to psychological and socio-cultural adaptation, work adaptation in particular reflects the well-being of an individual within an organization. Factors that have been proposed to predict expatriates' work adjustment include organizational support, assistance prior to and during the stay abroad, and the attitudes the

individual holds towards the new work environment (Aycan, 1997b). In addition, perceiving one's work environment as prestigious can lead to a stronger identification with the organization (Dutton et al., 1994). This is in line with the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), which asserts that individuals tend to identify with prestigious and positively evaluated groups in order to enhance their positive self-esteem.

While the role of social support in overall expatriate adjustment has been widely confirmed, little research exists on the effects of organizational support on expatriate adjustment (Kraimer, Wayne, & Jaworski, 2001). The few studies that do exist have shown that perceived organizational support enhances work adjustment by increasing employees' affective attachment to the organization (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986), organizational commitment (Guzzo, Noonan, & Elron, 1994), as well as job satisfaction (for a review see: McCaughey & Bruning, 2005). The lack of perceived organizational support, on the other hand, has been linked to dissatisfaction and increased turnover intentions (Guzzo et al., 1994). Perceived organizational support has also been positively related to employees' psychological well-being and stress. For example, in their study on South African expatriates in 21 countries, van der Bank and Rothman (2006) found that support from the host company was related to lower work-related stress levels among the employees.

Besides employees themselves, organizational support for adjusting to a new environment can also be directed towards the family of the expatriate. The fact that the adjustment of an expatriate's family has often been found

to be a key reason for expatriates' success in completing their international assignment (e.g., Arthur & Bennett, 1995) highlights the importance of assistance and support for the expatriate's family.

A further factor that may have an effect on work adaptation is perceived organizational justice, understood as the degree to which an organization, its policies and the way it treats its employees are perceived as fair and just by its members. Even though perceived organizational justice has been the focus of different disciplines' interest in organizational issues, studies on international professionals have only rarely included this concept and, to our knowledge, have never systematically examined how the perceived fairness of decision-making and employee treatment affects expatriates' work adaptation.

Perceived organizational justice can be divided into two different dimensions: distributive justice refers to the fair division of resources (e.g., salaries, promotions, vacations), while procedural justice refers to the quality of decision-making processes and the way employees are treated during these processes, i.e., the quality of treatment (Lind & Tyler, 1988). The focus of this study, however, includes only procedural justice as it has been shown to play a more decisive role in attitudes towards the workplace (e.g., Blader, Chia-Chi Chang, & Tyke, 2001; Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Tyler & Blader, 2003), thereby influencing both organizational identification and job satisfaction (Ambrose, 2002; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Smith et al., 2003; Tyler & Blader, 2000). Feelings of injustice are likely to create dissatisfaction and may lead to marginal identities among the employees. Such dissatisfaction has been

shown to have several deleterious effects, including heightened turnover intentions (Ambrose, 2002; Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998; Tyler & Blader, 2000). Results concerning the connection between perceptions of justice and work adaptation (measured for example as job performance), however, remain inconsistent (for a meta-analysis of existing studies, see Cohen-Charash, 2001). One of the aims of this study is, thus, to gain a better understanding of the possible connection between justice and work adaptation in an international organization.

2.5 Aims of the study

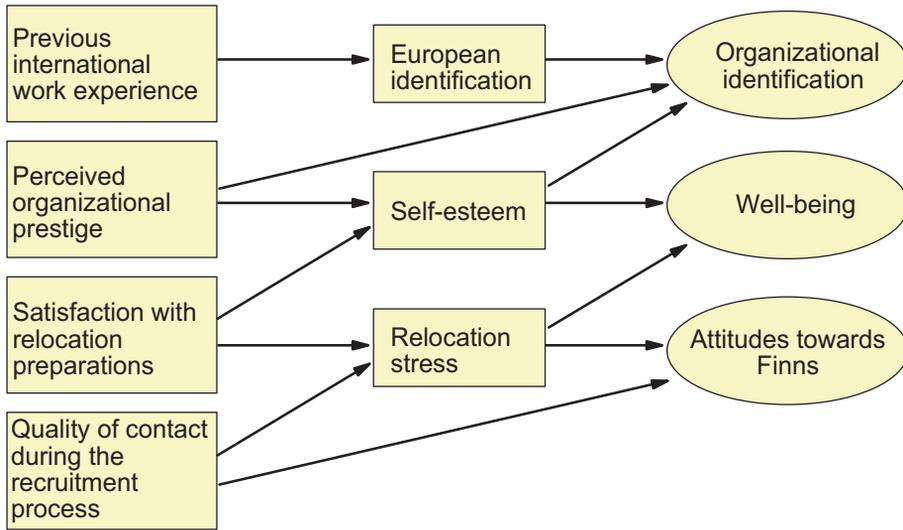
In this chapter we gave a general overview of the literature on the acculturation and adaptation of immigrants, with a focus on expatriate professionals in particular, emphasizing the multidimensionality of their adjustment process and highlighting the role of the pre-migration stage. Based on this review, the aims of the present study can be divided as follows:

2.5.1 Pre-migration phase:

1. To describe the pre-migration experiences (prior professional background, knowledge about Finland and Finnish culture, stressfulness of the relocation, social support, etc.) of international professionals. In addition, we were interested in finding out what motivated the participants to move to Finland and work for the ECHA, as well as how they perceived the assistance provided by the ECHA and the City of Helsinki.
2. To examine the factors related to the pre-migration psychological well-being of international professionals.

3. To map attitudes towards Finns among international professionals prior to their relocation, as well as the factors affecting these attitudes.
4. To study the degree of organizational identification with the ECHA in the pre-migration stage and the factors related to organizational identification.
5. To investigate the relationships between different pre-migration adaptation outcomes. It was hypothesized that the three types of adaptation studied – psychological (i.e., well-being), socio-psychological (i.e., attitudes towards Finns) and work adaptation (i.e., organizational identification) – share common predicting factors and are in this way connected. The theoretical model of the expected relationships is presented below (Figure 2). In addition to the connections displayed by arrows in the Figure 2, it was assumed that the four predictors (previous international work experience, perceived organizational prestige, satisfaction with relocation preparations, and quality of contact (with Finns) during the recruitment process) would correlate with each other; the three mediators (European identification, self-esteem, and relocation stress) would correlate with each other, and the three types of adaptation (organizational identification, well-being, and attitudes towards Finns) would correlate with each other.

Figure 2. Theoretical model of the employees' pre-migration adaptation



2.5.2 Post-migration phase

1. To describe the post-migration experiences (satisfaction with decision to move to Finland, job satisfaction, national and European identification, perceived organizational justice, social support, etc.) among the international professionals. In addition, we were interested in finding out to what extent participants' expectations were met concerning work, life in general, and living conditions in Finland, as well as how the participants perceived the post-migration assistance provided by the ECHA and the City of Helsinki.
2. To study the factors related to the post-migration psychological well-being of the international professionals.
3. To map the attitudes towards Finns and acculturation (i.e., desire for contacts with Finns and for the maintenance of native culture) among the international professionals after their relocation, as well as the factors related to these attitudes.
4. To study the factors related to the post-migration socio-cultural adaptation of the international professionals.
5. To study the factors related to the organizational identification with the ECHA in the post-migration stage.
6. To investigate the relationships between different adaptation outcomes.

2.5.3 Longitudinal assessment

1. To study the changes in psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation types between the pre- and post-migration assessments.
2. To study the factors related to changes in outcome measures (i.e., three adaptation types).

3. Methods

3.1 Sample and data collection

The recruitment process to staff the Agency began in 2006 with the aim of hiring 550 employees by 2011. The gradual nature of the recruitment process meant that invitations to participate in the study were sent to the future employees of the ECHA – beginning in November 2007 and continuing until July 2009 (for the purpose of this report) – with between 10 and 20 individuals receiving an invitation each month. This long and steady data collection approach can be seen, however, as an advantage due to its balancing effects on daily politics and current affairs, which may have influenced the answers given.

In all, 132 employees of the ECHA took part in the study. One hundred ten individuals participated in the first round of the study by answering the pre-departure questionnaire. Forty-nine employees answered the post-arrival questionnaire in the second round of the study. In total, 24 participants answered both rounds, providing data for small-sample longitudinal analyses. The overall response rate of the non-Finnish participants was 48 per cent for the pre-migration study, and 45 per cent for the post-migration study. In addition to these non-Finnish participants, 22 participants of Finnish origin answered the pre-migration study, and 5 answered the post migration study.

During the first round, a link to the electronic questionnaire was sent through ECHA recruitment services to all those who had been engaged to work for the Agency but who also, in most of the cases, still remained in their

previous countries of residence (with an exception of the few Finns already living in Finland). Since the invitations were sent together with an information package from the ECHA recruitment services, the research team did not, at any point, have access to the participants' contact or other personal information.

The participants were requested to answer the questionnaire prior to their departure to Finland, without further time specifications. As a result, some participants may have filled out the questionnaire directly before moving to Finland, while others may have answered weeks or months before relocating. The time span between applying for the post and filling out the questionnaire also varied greatly, from 20 days to over 1.5 years, indicating that for some participants the preparation time was clearly longer than for others. Some of the items were directed particularly towards non-Finns (e.g., cultural similarity). Finns were told to not answer these questions and told to skip to the next section.

After the participants had arrived in Finland, invitations to take part in the second round of the study were sent. At the time of their participation, the vast majority of the participants had been in Finland for about five months.

Both the electronic questionnaires and the accompanying invitation letters were in English. The invitations included a brief description of the study and encouraged employees to participate in the study, emphasizing that all data would be strictly anonymous and analyzed on a group level only, and that staff or

management of the Agency would not have access to the database or the individual-level results.

The second round invitation specifically encouraged the participation of those employees who had already taken part in the first round of the study. Both invitation letters included the research team's contact information, allowing the participants to contact the researchers in case of misunderstanding or questions.

3.2 Description of the pre-migration sample

Of the 110 employees who participated in the first round (pre-migration), exactly 50 per cent were women and 50 per cent men. The even distribution of men and women in this study distinguishing it from earlier studies on expatriates in which men have often been the majority. The mean age of the employees was 38 years (standard deviation 7.27). The youngest participant was 25 and the oldest 56 years old at the time of answering the questionnaire.

The participants included individuals of 25 different nationalities from the European Union. Twenty-two participants had a Finnish nationality and four of them held a second nationality. Out of the 22 Finns, only 7 lived in Finland at the time of answering the questionnaire, i.e., before beginning their assignment at the ECHA. Participants with a Finnish background were included in most analyses of the pre-migration stage. In some analyses they were separated from the main group in order to compare how employees with a Finnish background differed from the rest.

Fifty-one per cent of the participants were married or living as a couple. The majority of

the participants (61 %) were planning to move to Finland together with family members. Forty-four per cent had children moving with them, of which 63 per cent were school aged children.

All of the participants were highly educated and had completed some form of college education. Almost three quarters of the group (71 %) had a master's degree or a doctoral degree. In their previous jobs, 67 per cent had worked as administrative or scientific officers or assistants, while 20 per cent had a managerial background. At the ECHA, 83 per cent were to work as administrative, scientific officers or assistants. Ninety-three per cent were expected a contract lasting at least four years.

Most of the participants also had previous international experience, with 73 per cent having worked abroad earlier. Thirty-eight per cent of the participants had spent over five years working abroad prior to their assignment at the ECHA and 55 per cent had previously worked for the EU.

The participants differed greatly in terms of their Finnish language proficiency. As expected, participants with a Finnish background spoke Finnish as their mother tongue, while 81 per cent of the non-Finns spoke no Finnish at all. A minority of 10 per cent of the non-Finns said they spoke Finnish at least moderately.

3.3 Description of the post-migration sample

Of the 49 participants taking part in the second round (post-migration phase of the study), 53 per cent were women and 47 per cent men. The mean age of the employees was 39 years (standard deviation 7.32). The youngest par-

ticipant was 26 and the oldest was 59 years old at the time of answering the questionnaire. The participant pool was made up of 19 different nationalities from the European Union. Five of the participants had a Finnish background and only one of them held a second nationality. Due to the small number of Finns, we did not study them separately but included them in the analyses. However, Finns were excluded from the analysis when studying socio-psychological adaptation as well as from the analysis focused on socio-cultural adaptation, as Finns were not supposed to answer to the questions measuring attitudes towards Finns, and the answers of the Finns would not have described the process of managing everyday life in a new country.

Sixty-three per cent of the participants were married or living as a couple. The majority of the participants (59 %) had moved to Finland together with family members and 23 per cent had children moving with them. At the ECHA, 90 per cent of the participants were employed as administrative, scientific officers or assistants, and 94 per cent had a contract lasting at least four years. While 35 per cent said they spoke no Finnish at all, 47 per cent evaluated their language proficiency as poor.

According to the ECHA HR department, both the pre- and post-migration samples were representative of the staff of the European Chemicals Agency in terms of socio-demographic factors.

3.4 Description of the longitudinal sample

The longitudinal sample consisted of 24 participants and was split up into 58 per cent women and 42 per cent men. Originally, 27

participants had answered both the pre- and post-migration questionnaires but three of them were Finns and therefore left out of the longitudinal analysis. On its own, a group of three individuals would have been too small to compare as a group, while including them in the analysis together with the international employees could have distorted the results concerning two (i.e., socio-cultural adaptation and attitudes towards Finns) of the three adaptation types which were the measures included in the longitudinal analysis.

The mean age of the participants was 39 years (standard deviation 7.25) with the youngest being 26 years old and the eldest 56 years old. The participants came from 16 different countries from within the European Union. Forty-six per cent of the participants had children and 52 per cent of the participants had moved to Finland with their spouses, children or other relatives.

At the ECHA, 87 per cent of the participants were employed as administrative or scientific officers or assistants. Ninety-two per cent had a contract with duration of at least four years. While 88 per cent of the participants of the longitudinal sample said in the pre-migration assessment that they spoke no Finnish at all, in the post-migration stage 42 per cent evaluated their language proficiency to be poor and the remaining 50 per cent stated that they spoke no Finnish at all.

The data's validity is supported by a non-systematic attrition rate. We did not notice a specific pattern of what kind of people answered both the pre- and post-migration questionnaires, but we could deliver an analysis based on two equally balanced data-sets. The participants who answered both questionnaires could not be specified according to age, gender, or any of the three adjustment

outcomes studied in both stages of the project (psychological, socio-psychological and work adjustment). In addition, neither educational background nor the level of assignment at the ECHA was found to predict answering both questionnaires.

The fact that the analyses produced significant results despite the relatively small number of participants (compared to most surveys in the field) demonstrates the strength of our theoretical reasoning. Had the predicted

relationships been weaker, obtaining significant correlations would have required a larger sample.

3.5 Measures

Detailed descriptions (information of the sources of the measures used, e.g., answer options, directions of the scales) of all measures can be found in Appendix I.

4. Results

Due to the design of this study and the composition of the data, we analyzed the data in three separate parts: pre-migration, post-migration, and longitudinal (see Table 1). In the first part of the results, we focused on pre-migration. We described the people who relocated to Finland to work at the ECHA, their expectations concerning life in Finland, and how they experienced the relocation process. Despite the fact that the ECHA invests large amounts of time and resources in choosing its employees through a highly competitive recruitment procedure, relatively little is known about how employees prepare for the forthcoming relocation and the critical issues that make this process challenging for them. Furthermore, we looked at key factors that may impact the employees' future adaptation processes, such as the attitudes and predispositions they hold before coming to Finland.

In the second part, post-migration, we looked at how the ECHA's employees settled down in Finland, and how they experienced the integration process both at the workplace and in the new society. In this phase, we were interested, for example, in what the employees thought about the new environment, what kind of challenges they met in their everyday life, and the attitudes they held towards the ECHA. We then showed which predispositions, attitudes, and experiences were related to their post-migration psychological, socio-psychological, work, and socio-cultural adjustment. The interplay between these post-migration adjustment outcomes is an important part of the relocation process and is subsequently described.

A special interest of this study was to see how the employees' attitudes and experiences changed during the relocation process, i.e., between the pre- and post-migration phases. Part three, the longitudinal part, addresses this question, and examines whether and in what direction the employees' psychological, socio-psychological and work adjustment changed between the two points in time. We should note, however, that the data sets for the two rounds partly consist of different people (i.e., many new employees joined the study at its post-migration assessment phase and not all participants of the pre-migration phase continued their participation after relocation). As a result, we do not have comparative data for all participants and can longitudinally compare only those who answered both questionnaires (N = 24).

Results from the analyses focusing on either the pre- or post-migration stage solely are correlational, meaning that we cannot empirically establish the causal relationships between different variables, but instead rely upon theoretical assumptions. However, these complementing correlational analyses with longitudinal data is a clear strength of our study. By collecting data from the same individuals using the same measures at two different points in time, we can observe changes within individuals, and thereby establish causal relationships.

Table 1. The main research aims and samples of the study

	Part I Pre-migration phase	Part II Post-migration phase	Part III: Longitudinal assessment
Research aims	1. To describe the pre-migration stage 2. To predict psychological, socio-psychological and work adjustment in the pre-migration stage	1. To describe the post-migration stage 2. To predict psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and work adjustment in the post-migration stage	1. To analyze changes in predict psychological, socio-psychological and work adjustment between the pre- and post-migration stages
Sample	Total N = 110 Non-Finns n = 88	Total N = 49 Non-Finns n = 44	Total N = 24 (only non-Finns)

4.1 Part I: Pre-migration phase

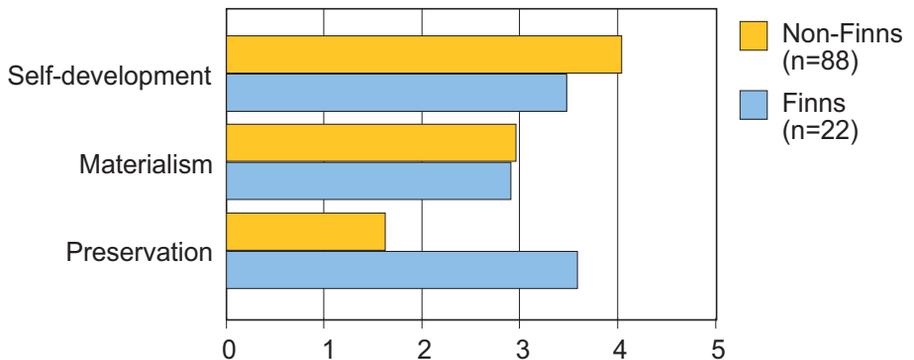
4.1.1 The socio-psychological profile of the ECHA employees in the pre-migration stage

Answers from 110 participants in total were included in the analysis of the pre-migration data. When considering the general questions of how the employees prepared for the relocation and what they expected in the pre-migration stage, we combined the answers of non-Finns (n = 88) and Finns (n = 22). However, when studying questions that were likely to give different results based on the employees’

cultural origin, we analyzed the answers of Finns and non-Finns separately.

First, we analyzed the employees’ motivations for applying for a position in Finland. Three different motivational reasons were assessed: self-development, materialism, and preservation. We found a decisive difference between native Finns and employees coming from other European countries. While Finns favoured preservation (mean 3.6) and self-development (mean 3.5), non-Finns reported self-development as their primary motivation to work in Finland (mean 4.0). This difference, illustrated in Figure 3, seems logical when one

Figure 3. Motivations for applying for the work in Finland



keeps in mind that Finns have a chance to preserve their culture when returning to work and live in Finland. Materialistic motives did not emerge as a key motivation either for the Finnish or the non-Finnish group.

Next, we looked at how the employees perceived the pre-departure orientation and assistance provided by the ECHA and/or the City of Helsinki. The results differed significantly with respect to the participants' origin: the non-Finnish employees needed more support than their Finnish colleagues (see Table 2). For all participants, the most valued forms of assistance were assistance in finding information about the relocation process (56 % of

the non-Finnish and 27 % of the Finns found the assistance “very important”), as well as in locating a new home in Finland (60 % of the non-Finnish and 18 % of the Finns found the assistance “very important”). Furthermore, 47 per cent of the non-Finnish participants said that the help that they received in learning the Finnish or Swedish language was “quite” or “very important, while 18 per cent stated that while this help was needed or it was not provided.

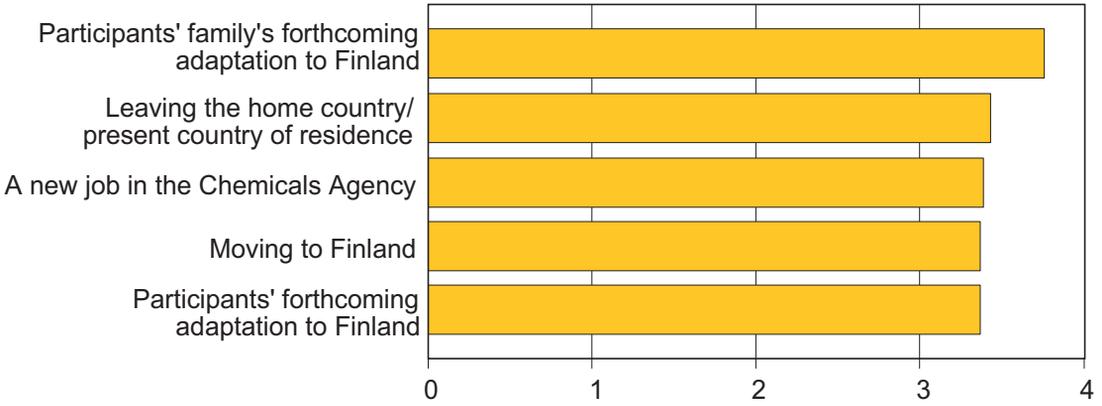
The participants were also quite satisfied with the time (mean 3.5 on a 5-point scale), information (3.8), and assistance (3.7) they were given to prepare for the relocation.

Table 2. The assistance provided by the ECHA and/or the City of Helsinki during relocation

	Not important at all (%)	Somewhat unimportant (%)	Quite important (%)	Very important (%)	Assistance was not provided (%)	Assistance was not needed (%)
a. Assistance in finding school/day care	7/5	1/0	11/0	23/14	3/0	55/82
b. Assistance in helping spouse find employment in Finland	10/5	3/0	8/0	9/5	12/9	57/82
c. Assistance in locating a new home in Finland	5/0	2/5	28/9	60/18	5/0	5/64
d. Assistance in helping family members to integrate into Finland	6/5	5/0	14/5	13/5	15/5	49/82
e. Assistance in finding domestic help services	6/5	11/5	15/9	19/5	15/0	34/77
f. Assistance in finding information on the relocation process	1/5	2/5	31/14	56/27	3/0	7/50
g. Assistance in learning the Finnish/Swedish language	5/9	13/5	24/0	23/0	18/9	18/77
h. Assistance in finding information on the Finnish culture and society	1/9	6/0	41/14	26/0	10/5	6/73

Note: in each sell, the 1st number presents the answers of the Non-Finnish participants (n = 88), and the 2nd number the answers of the Finns (n = 22).

Figure 4. Perceived relocation stress as compared to other stressful situations (N = 110, for adaptation of the family: n = 66)



In general, relocation stress was not experienced more markedly than stress experienced during other demanding life events (mean 3.3 on a 7-point scale). Nevertheless, stress was perceived to accumulate unevenly (see Figure 4). In instances where a family was accompanying the employee to Finland, the most worrisome part of relocation process was judged to be the adaptation of the whole family to Finland. Conversely, for employees who did not have an accompanying family, this was not an issue, and their attention was turned to other possible difficulties of the relocation process (moving to Finland, a new job in the ECHA, the employee’s own forthcoming adaptation in Finland), which turned out to be the most stressful events. However, a total of over 70 per cent of the participants indeed named the new job at the ECHA as a clearly stressful event in their lives, of which 31 per cent labelled it as quite severe; 18 per cent as severe; 15 per cent as very severe; six per cent as one of the most severe events they have ever faced and, finally, two per cent thought that it

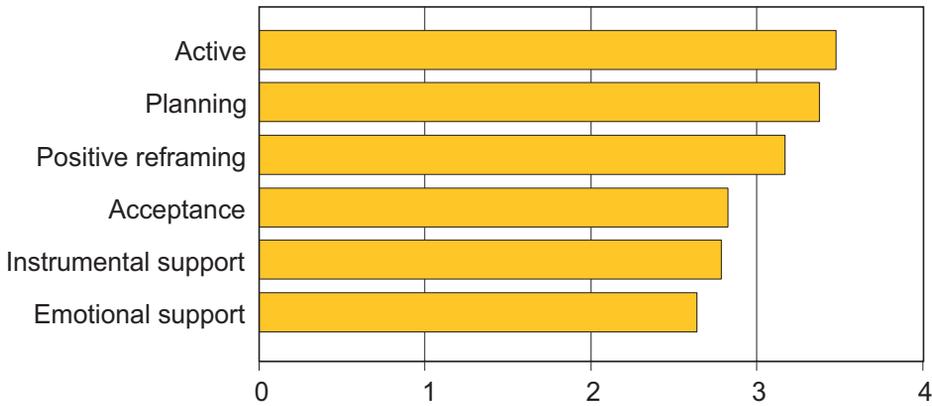
was the most severe event they had ever faced.

Considering the general well-being of the employees, the participants reported a remarkably high rate of general well-being (mean 4.0 on a scale from one to five). High health rates were obtained for all three components of well-being (general mood/affect (4.0), life satisfaction (4.0) and physical health (4.1)). The participants portrayed their personality as being open to experiences (mean 5.8 on a 7-point scale). Conscientiousness (5.8) and emotional stability (5.8) were two additional traits found frequently among the self-descriptions of the participants. Agreeableness (5.3) and extraversion (4.5) were given slightly less importance.

Concerning self-esteem, the participants saw themselves in a very positive light (mean 4.4 on a scale from one to five), for example, with 96 per cent stating that they felt that they have a number of good qualities (somewhat agree or strongly agree).

An analysis of the stress-coping strategies showed that participants were used to tak-

Figure 5. Participants' preferred stress-coping strategies (N = 110)



ing an active, problem-solving in coping with stressful events (mean 3.5 on a scale of one to four) (Figure 5). In addition to using the active stress-coping strategy, participants said they often responded to stress by planning and thinking about how to deal with the situation (mean 3.4), and framing the difficult situation they were in positive way (3.2).

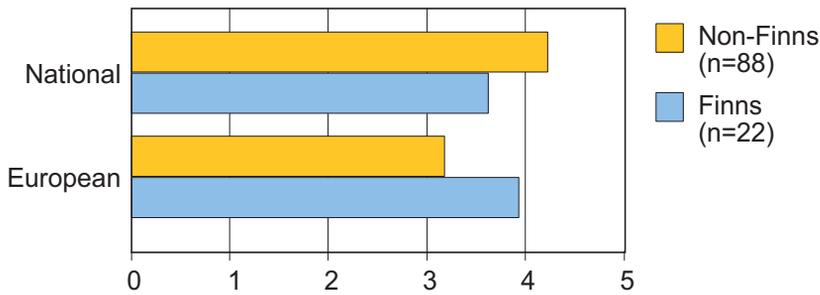
Finally, the employees perceived the social support they received through social networks as highly satisfactory (mean 4.3 on a five-point scale). Perceived emotional support was high (mean 4.3), for instance, with 89 per cent of the participants somewhat or strongly agreeing with the statement “Whenever I am sad, there are people who cheer me up”. Similarly, participants felt that their social networks could provide them with instrumental support (mean 4.4). For example, 96 per cent felt there were people who would offer them help when it was needed. It is, however, plausible that the creation of social support networks in Finland would be more challenging for the non-Finnish than Finnish participants. This is

partly because the Finns already in the pre-migration stage had on average more both relatives (90 % reported having 10 or more relatives) and friends (77 % reported having 10 or more friends) in Finland than the non-Finnish participants, of which 47 per cent did not have any friends and 90 per cent, respectively, did not have any relatives living in Finland.

4.1.2 Finland and Finns as perceived by the participants at the pre-migration stage

In order to study the participants' identifications with different groups prior to relocation, we measured the extent to which they identified with Europe and their home country. The participants regarded themselves much more as Europeans (mean 4.2 on a five-point scale), than in terms of national group membership (3.3). Ninety-two per cent of participants said they were glad to be European. In other words, being European was clearly a significant reference category for the participants. While participants with a Finnish background

Figure 6. National and European identification



showed similar levels of European identification (mean 3.9) as their non-Finnish colleagues (4.2), the Finns showed significantly ($t = -2.1, df 108, p < .05$) higher levels of national identification (3.6) when compared to non-Finns (3.2). The finding seem logical considering that the Finns had chosen to work in their home country, while all other participants had moved abroad to work for a European organization.

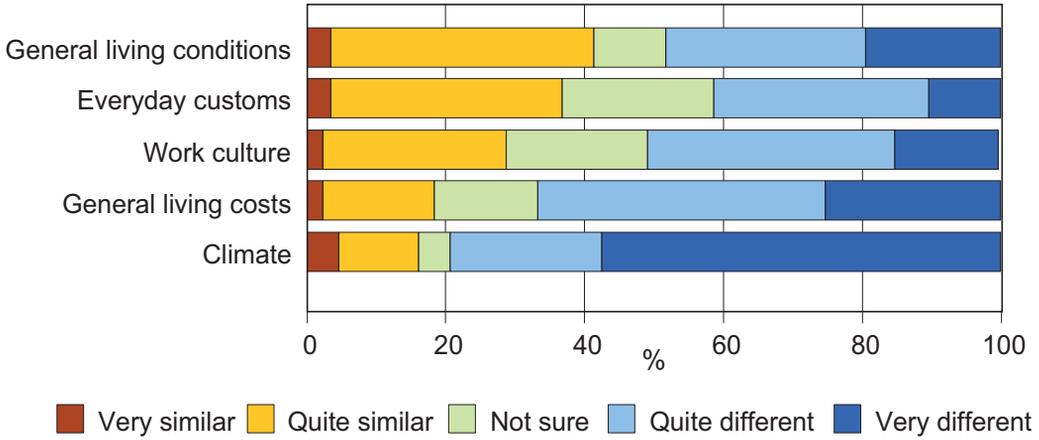
We also measured the non-Finns' perceptions of cultural distance between Finland and Finnish people on the one hand, and their home country and their own country men on the other. The first, perceived dissimilarity, measured the perceived differences between people in the participant's home country and Finland regarding, for example, values, gender roles and overall cultural similarity. The second measure, culture novelty, included items on differences in everyday customs, living conditions and costs, climate, as well as work culture. Average scores on both measures were fairly similar, with a mean score of 3.5 on culture novelty (larger scores indicating greater difference between the countries), and a mean score of 3.2 on perceived dissimilarity (with larger scores indicating greater dissimilarity between the countries). The dimen-

sions on which Finland was seen to differ the most from the participants' home countries included: climate (79 % clearly agreeing with the statement that their home country and Finland differed in this respect) and general living costs (67 % clearly agreeing with the item). In contrast, differences in everyday customs, general living conditions, and work culture were thought to be smaller (see Figure 7).

In terms of perceived country prestige, Finland was seen in positive light (mean 3.7 on a five-point scale) by participants. The responses to the statement "Finland is considered one of the best countries in the EU" illustrated this well; a total of 52 per cent somewhat or strongly agreed with this statement. In addition, 73 per cent claimed that one's fellow nationals think highly of Finland. Here, there was no decisive difference between Finns and non-Finns.

Moving from general perceptions to more personal experiences, we were interested in both the quantity and quality of the non-Finnish participants' contacts with Finns in the pre-migration stage. Seventy-four per cent of the participants had been in contact with Finns before applying for the job at ECHA and rated these contacts mostly as very (60%) or quite (29%) pleasant. Many of the participants (78

Figure 7. Perceived culture novelty in per cents (n = 88)

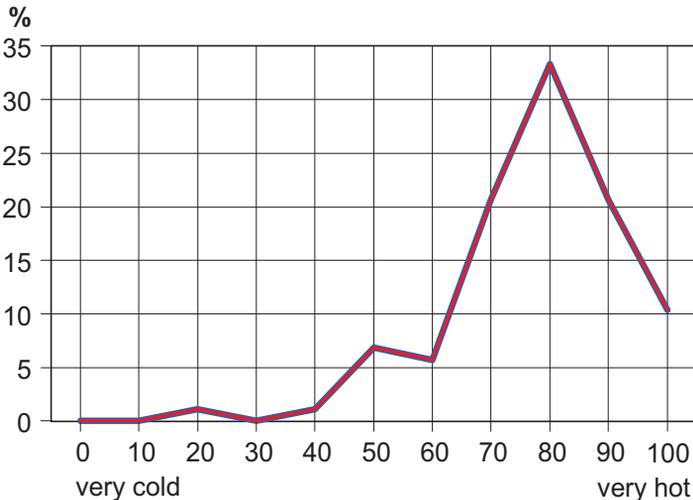


%) were in contact with Finns during the recruitment process, and most of them evaluated the contacts as very pleasant (70%) or quite pleasant (20%). The number of contacts increased somewhat once the participants began the application and relocation process, which was probably due to contact with the staff of the ECHA or other contacts that came as a

result of the new workplace. In addition, the quality of contacts seems to have evolved in a positive direction.

To measure the non-Finnish employees' attitudes towards Finns, the Feeling thermometer was used. Participants showed largely positive attitudes towards Finns; around 64 per cent of the participants stated that their

Figure 8. Feeling thermometer: non-Finnish participants' (n = 88) attitudes towards Finns



feelings were 80 or higher on a scale from 0 = very cold to 100 = very warm (see Figure 8).

The results on acculturation attitudes concern only non-Finns, who have to learn how to deal with two cultural frameworks. The participants were strongly oriented towards contacting host nationals after migration (mean 4.6 on a scale from one to five). Additionally, the participants had strong aspirations to maintain their own cultures (3.3).

Table 3. Fourfold table of the participants' (n = 88) acculturation attitudes

Marginalization 0 %	Integration 80 %
Separation 0 %	Assimilation 20 %

The participants were divided into four categories according to their acculturation strategy, following Berry's (e.g., 1997) model. As seen in Table 3, participants were very positively oriented towards the forthcoming relocation. As many as 80 per cent were classified as integrationists based on their acculturation attitudes, meaning that they were strongly oriented towards contact with Finns as well as a maintenance of their own culture. The rest of the participants, 20 per cent, were categorized as assimilationists, meaning that they were strongly oriented towards contacts with Finns but did not value maintenance of their

own cultures as much as the integrationists. This is very interesting considering results of previous acculturation research have constantly shown participants, albeit in small numbers, falling also into the other two categories (separation and marginalization) of the fourfold Table. Since integration (and presumably also the assimilation strategy, especially when speaking about the pre-migration stage of the relocation process) can be regarded as the most adaptive strategy, while separation and marginalization as the least adaptive, the participants' acculturation strategies in this study were extremely positive.

4.1.3 The ECHA as perceived by its future employees

The participants of this study not only established and evaluated their relation to the country of relocation, but also their organization. There were high expectations among participants regarding their new jobs, as they were very pleased with their positions prior to applying to the ECHA. A high level of general job satisfaction concerning their previously occupied positions was seen among the participants (mean 3.8 on a five-point scale), which means that 77 per cent of the participants placed their answers above the midpoint (i.e., 3 on a five-point scale) of the scale.

Taking these previous experiences into consideration, the participants expressed a relatively high rate of organizational identification with the ECHA (mean 3.7 on a five-point scale) in the pre-migration phase. This was accompanied by the perception that *other* people or organizations also perceived the ECHA as a prestigious organization (the mean of perceived organizational prestige was 3.7 on a five-point scale).

Table 4. Perceived organizational support (N=110)

	Strongly disagree (%)	Somewhat disagree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Somewhat agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Support was not needed (%)
a. The ECHA has shown an interest in my well-being.	1	2	30	44	23	X*
b. The ECHA has provided me with many opportunities to ease the transition to Finland.	2	4	37	30	27	X*
c. Help is available within the ECHA whenever I have questions or concerns about living in Finland.	0	3	28	36	33	X*
d. The ECHA has provided my family members with enough assistance to help them to adjust to Finland.	0	4	18	14	8	56
e. The ECHA has shown an interest in my family's well-being.	1	4	21	14	9	51

* Note: This response option was not offered for the first three items.

Positive attitudes towards the ECHA may result from the perceived organizational support provided by the ECHA during the recruitment process. The perceived level of organizational support received was relatively high (mean 3.9 on a five-point scale), as was the support received by the participants' families (3.6). Slightly more than half of the participants (57%) stated that he/she had been provided, at least to some extent, opportunities by the ECHA to ease the transition to Finland (see Table 4). In a similar fashion, 69 per cent of the participants stated that they had received help from the organization concerning their questions and concerns related to their migration to Finland. The small gap in perceived support given to the participants as well as perceived support given to their families is partly due to the lack of need for this type of support among some of the participants. The majority (56%) stated that no help was needed for the adjust-

ment of the family in relocating to Finland, which may be partly due to the fact that 40 per cent of the participants were planning to move to Finland alone without a family.

4.1.4 Factors related to employees' psychological adaptation in the pre-migration phase

In the pre-migration stage, several factors were related to participants' psychological adaptation, measured as general well-being and stressfulness of the relocation (see Figure 9 for all significant effects). The two measures of psychological adaptation were highly correlated ($r = -.40$)¹, meaning that a high rate of relocation stress was connected to low levels of general well-being.

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all results are significant at least at the level of confidence of 95 % ($p < .05$).

First, we expected that the personality traits of the participants would be related to their psychological adaptation. Of the five personality traits studied, extraversion and conscientiousness seemed to be most adaptive; people who described themselves in terms of these character-traits showed decisively better rates of well-being ($r = .32$ for extraversion / $r = .29$ for conscientiousness) and less stress ($r = -.23$ / $r = -.26$, respectively). Psychological well-being, in contrast to stress, was also accompanied by emotional stability ($r = .50$), openness to experiences ($r = .39$), and agreeableness ($r = .23$). Moreover, employees equipped with a higher self-esteem reported better well-being ($r = .47$) and less stress ($r = -.24$).

Second, we tested whether the participants' cultural identification and perceived organizational and country prestige were related to their psychological adaptation. Surprisingly, the higher the employees' national identification (i.e., strong bonds to the respective home country), the lower their level of psychological well-being ($r = -.27$). In addition, the higher their European identification, the more stressful they perceived the relocation ($r = .21$). This may be explained by the fact that an employee who identifies him/herself as a European might perceive working in a new EU agency as stressful because of the increased need to perform well, and, the possible effects of this performance on the employee's self-esteem. Regarding the participants' perceptions of the general attitudes that others have of the ECHA and Finland, we found that both perceived organizational prestige and perceived country prestige were positively related to well-being. Perceiving that other people held positive attitudes towards the ECHA was related to somewhat higher levels of well-being ($r =$

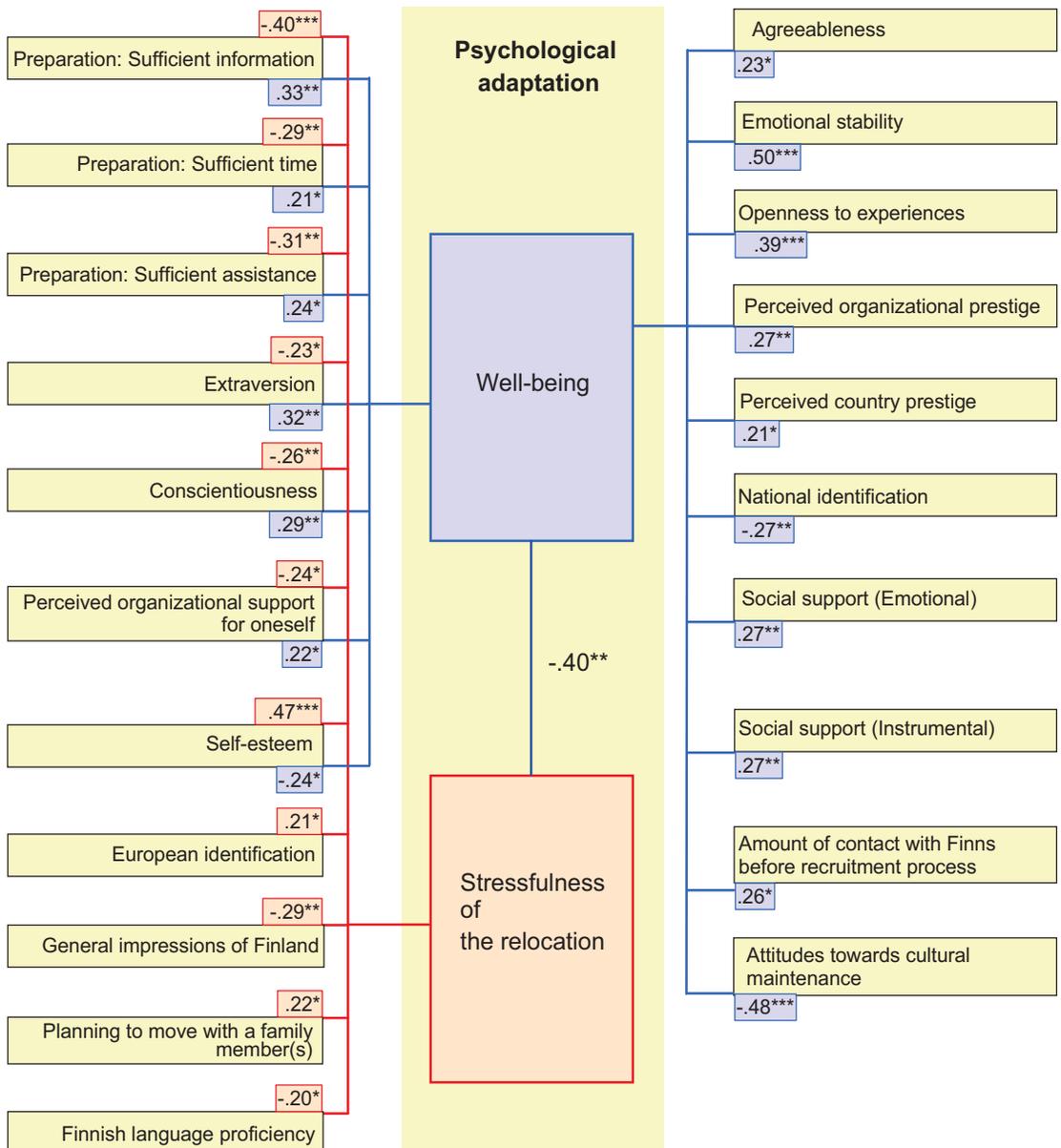
$.27$). Similarly, perceiving that others held positive attitudes towards Finland was positively related to better well-being ($r = .21$). Neither perceived organization prestige nor perceived country prestige was related to relocation stress. However, regarding (non-Finnish) participants' general impressions of Finland, it was shown that perceiving Finland more negatively was related to higher relocation stress ($r = -.29$), but not related to their general well-being.

The participants' ($N = 110$) satisfaction with preparations was related to both their well-being and relocation stress. Participants who were satisfied with relocation-related preparations (i.e., sufficient time, information and assistance given to prepare) displayed both better well-being ($r = .29$) and a clearly lower rate of perceived stress ($r = -.38$). It is noteworthy that all three sub-categories of satisfactory relocation preparations had a similar impact on participants' well-being and perceived stressfulness of the relocation. The sufficiency of received information was strongly related to both increased level of well-being ($r = .33$) and decreased amount of relocation stress ($r = -.40$), while time ($r = .21$ / $r = -.29$) and assistance ($r = .24$ / $r = -.31$) showed slightly lower, but still significant, correlations. In terms of support provided by the employer, perceived organizational support for oneself was related to the participants' better well-being ($r = .22$) and lower relocation stress ($r = -.24$). The perceived amount of support received through personal social networks showed similar results. Those employees receiving more emotional ($r = .27$) and/or instrumental support ($r = .27$) described their well-being as more satisfactory. All of the social support factors were related to lower levels of relocation stress.

Whether the participants were planning to move with or without a family to Finland had an effect on their experiences of stress ($r = .22$). When accompanied by someone, the

participant perceived the situation as more stressful than when coming alone. This can be explained by the additional demands of relocating an entire family.

Figure 9. Factors related to employees' psychological adaptation in the pre-migration phase (** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$)



Additionally, contact with Finns before the relocation process was positively correlated to non-Finnish participants' well-being ($r = .26$). In instances where there had been contact, psychological adaptation was better in terms of improved well-being.

Finally, we analyzed whether the non-Finnish participants' acculturation attitudes (i.e., attitudes towards contact with future hosts and cultural maintenance) were related to well-being and stress. The participants who expressed a strong desire to preserve their own culture in the new country (i.e., cultural maintenance attitude) expressed lower levels of well-being than participants who were more oriented towards the new culture ($r = -.48$). Relocation stress, however, was not related to the acculturation attitudes held by the participants.

Good Finnish language proficiency was inversely correlated to the perceived stressfulness of relocation ($r = -.20$). Proficiency in Finnish slightly decreased relocation stress. This, however, might be an effect of the Finnish participants perceiving relocation as less stressful (mean 2.8 on a seven-point scale) than non-Finns (3.4). When we analyzed these groups separately, the impact of language proficiency disappeared.

Contrary to our hypothesis, neither the perceived stressfulness of relocation nor the subjective well-being was related to: the number of visits to Finland, contact with Finns during the recruitment process, the quality of contacts before and during the relocation process, perceived dissimilarity of people in Finland compared with one's home country, culture novelty, attitudes towards contact with Finns, and perceived organizational support for the family. In addition, the participants' age, gender, origin (Finn or non-Finn), or acculturation time (i.e., the time between applying for

the job at the ECHA and answering the questionnaire) did not play any role in psychological adaptation.

4.1.5 Factors related to participants' socio-psychological adaptation in the pre-migration stage

In the pre-migration stage, several factors were related to the socio-psychological adaptation of the participants, measured as attitudes towards Finns (i.e., feeling thermometer) (see Figure 10 for all significant effects). For this section we only analyzed data from non-Finnish participants. First, we looked at the relationship between participants' socio-psychological adaptation and acculturation attitudes and, as expected, participants' attitudes towards contact with Finns were related to their attitudes towards Finns ($r = .22$). The more favourably participants were oriented towards contact with Finns, the more positive their attitudes towards Finns. In addition to the relationship between attitudes towards Finns and the amount of contact before the recruitment process ($r = .28$), we found that attitudes towards Finns correlated strongly with the perceived quality of contacts before ($r = .57$) and during the recruitment process ($r = .42$). When these contacts were evaluated positively, outgroup attitudes were more positive, too. Similarly, the social network in Finland seemed to be important for the participants; people who had more Finnish friends perceived Finns more positively in general ($r = .25$). In addition, the perceived dissimilarity of Finns and Finnish culture compared with one's own country correlated with attitudes towards Finns ($r = -.22$). When one perceived Finnish people to be similar to one's own co-nationals, the attitudes towards

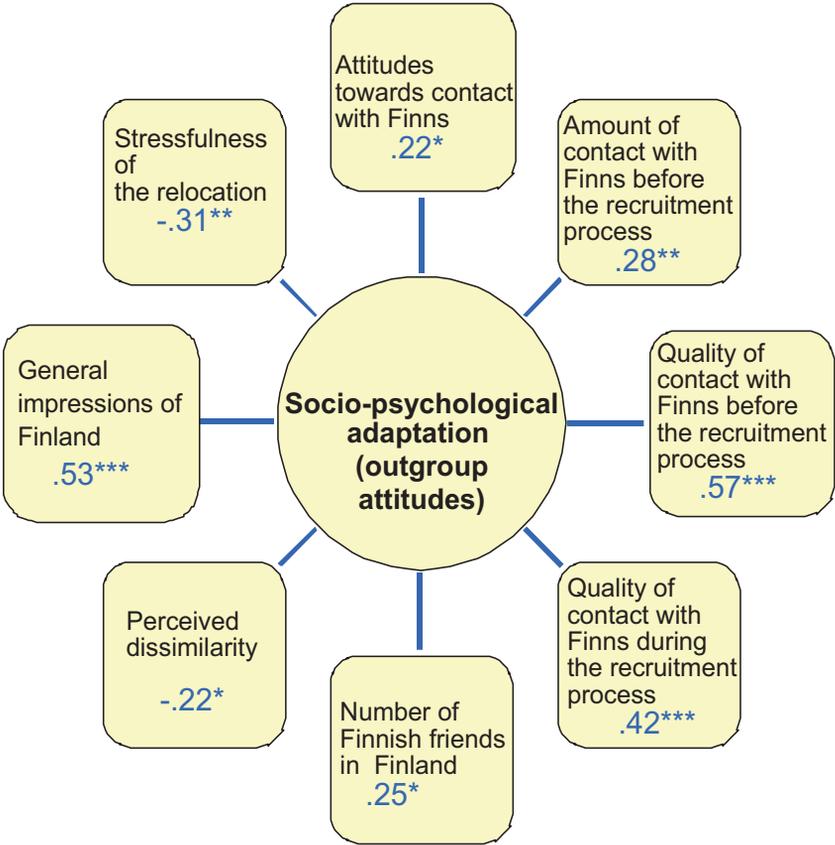
Finns were more positive. Overall, having a positive general impression of Finland was related to better socio-psychological adaptation ($r = .53$).

Somewhat unsurprisingly, relocation stress was negatively related to the attitudes towards Finns ($r = -.31$). Negative attitudes might cause stress, but inversely, stress may lead to negative outgroup attitudes. Our results only confirm the existence of this relationship and cannot comment on the direction of the causality.

Unlike the perceived positive relationship

between the dissimilarity of Finns to one's own co-nationals and outgroup attitudes, culture novelty was not related to attitudes towards Finns. Nor did we find a relationship between socio-psychological adaptation and participants' age, gender, acculturation time, perceptions of how others view the ECHA and Finland, or their attitudes towards cultural maintenance. In addition, we did not find any connection between participants' national or European identification and attitudes towards Finns.

Figure 10. Factors related to employees' socio-psychological adaptation in the pre-migration stage (***) $p < .001$; (**) $p < .01$; (*) $p < .05$



4.1.6 Factors related to participants' work adaptation in the pre-migration phase

At the pre-migration stage, work adjustment could be assessed only in terms of the participants' developing organizational identification. In this section, all the analyses were carried out by using data from all of the participants ($N = 110$). The results are displayed in the Figure 11. Firstly, the participants' organizational identification was strongly related to their European identification ($r = .38$). This result seems logical considering the fact that the ECHA is a European Agency. Secondly, organizational identification was positively related to previous international work experience (i.e., how many times the participant had worked abroad) ($r = .21$). We assume that it is easier to identify with the ECHA as a unit of the European Union, when having worked abroad.

As described in the section on cultural identification, individuals strive for a positive self-image. In line with this, perceived organizational prestige was positively linked to organizational identification ($r = .25$). Furthermore, participants' self-esteem was positively related to work adjustment ($r = .22$). Self-confident participants showed greater identification with the ECHA than did participants with lower self-esteem.

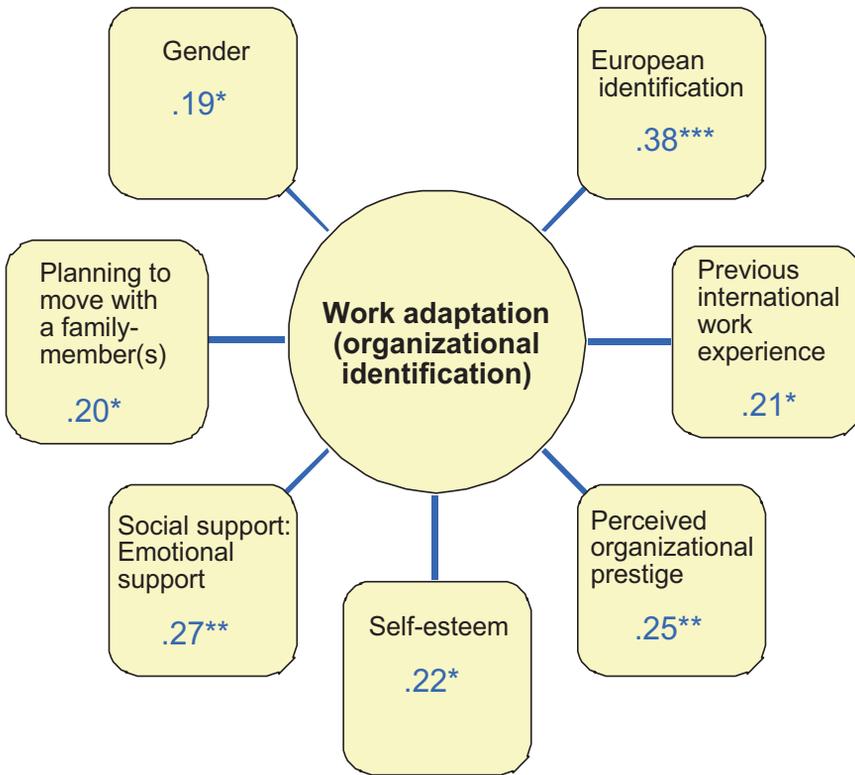
Further, social support was linked to higher organizational identification. People who perceived receiving more support through social networks identified more with the ECHA than those who perceived a lack of support from these networks. This, however, was true only for emotional support, which correlated with work adjustment ($r = .27$), contrary to instrumental support which did not. Emotional support may inhibit the loneliness and seclusion associated with relocation. Emotional support,

thus, may promote a positive outlook towards the future job thereby fostering organizational identification.

Moving to Finland with family member(s) was positively related to work adjustment ($r = .20$). Participants with accompanying families showed stronger attitudinal ties with the ECHA than those without accompanying family members. This can, at least partly, be attributed to the perceived seriousness of the relocation process when family members accompany employees abroad. Gender was also related to work adaptation in the sense that male participants identified slightly more with the ECHA in the pre-migration stage of the study.

Considering the participants' previous job satisfaction, it is expected that participants who had been dissatisfied in their previous jobs would look forward to their new position and express this anticipation through higher organizational identification. The participant's previous job satisfaction, however, did not correlate with organizational identification. In addition, neither satisfaction with relocation preparations nor the perceived stressfulness of the relocation was related to the participants' organizational identification. Further, and quite surprisingly, neither organizational support for the participant nor support for his/her family correlated with organizational identification. This finding may be explained by the point in time when the pre-migration questionnaire was administered. The participants did not, at that time, have much experience of the support provided by the ECHA. Prior assignments in the organizations of the European Union and total time spent working abroad were not related to organizational identification, and neither were acculturation time, age nor origin.

Figure 11. Factors related to employees' work adaptation in the pre-migration phase (** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; * $p < .05$)

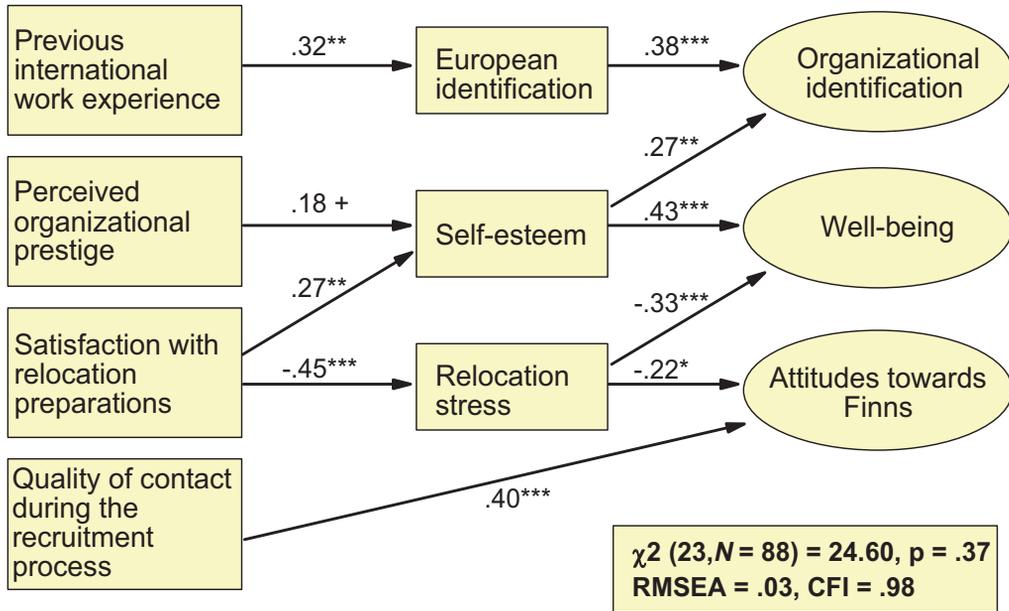


4.1.7 Model predicting employee's adaptation in the pre-migration phase

This part of the report aims to combine the three domains of employee adaptation (psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation) into a single model and to simultaneously investigate factors predicting these outcomes. The hypothesized model was developed on the basis of previous literature (see Figure 2 for theoretical model), as well as the correlations of this study. The model was subsequently tested using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). Results of the analysis are displayed in Figure 12.

According to the results, previous international work experience seemed to be an important factor explaining work adaptation measured as organizational identification. We found that previous work experience in an international working environment was related to the employees' higher identification with the ECHA through higher European identification (mediator). In other words, the employees' prior international career fostered their European identification, which, in turn, had an impact on the positive development of their new organizational identification with the ECHA, thus reflecting the positive relationship between the two foci of identification.

Figure 12. Structural equation modelling of the shared predictors of the non-Finnish participants' (n = 88) pre-migration adaptation types (***) $p < .001$; **) $p < .01$; *) $p < .05$



Previous international work experience was not, however, the only factor that influenced organizational identification. Perceived organizational prestige, mediated by self-esteem, was also related to organizational identification. In other words, the fact the ECHA was seen in a positive light by other people (perceived organizational prestige) slightly enhanced the participants' self-esteem (marginal statistical significance). High self-esteem, in turn, had positive implications for both the organizational identification and well-being of the participants.

The participants' satisfaction with the relocation preparations (sufficient time, information and assistance) was a further important factor in predicting the different types of adaptation. Satisfaction with the preparations, mediated by self-esteem, was related to all

three types of adaptation: organizational identification, well-being, and attitudes towards Finns. Thus, following Social Identity Theory, it seems that by giving new employees sufficient time, information and assistance to prepare for their relocation, the ECHA demonstrated to its new members that they were valued by the organization. This, in turn, enhanced the participants' self-esteem especially in those cases where the participants identified strongly with the ECHA. Enhanced self-esteem, which was related to higher levels of organizational identification, also improved the participants' well-being. Furthermore, besides self-esteem, satisfaction with preparations was also related to participants' attitudes towards Finns mediated by relocation stress. To summarise, this means that dissatisfaction with preparation factors may not only lead to

lower levels of organizational identification, increased relocation stress and decreased general well-being, but also to possible negative attitudes towards Finns.

It seems that attitudes towards Finns are partly dependent on preparation factors (which can easily be improved), and so attitudes towards Finns can be kept positive by restricting relocation stress through satisfactory and sufficient preparation support. Another factor predicting attitudes towards Finns was the participants' perceived quality of contact during the recruitment process. When the participants perceived contact with Finns during their recruitment process positively, their general attitudes towards Finns were also positive. Thus, in light of the results, it seems that participants made a connection between the perceived quality of contact (mainly contacts with ECHA staff) and host society at large.

On the contrary, our hypothesis concerning the connection between perceived organizational prestige and organizational identification was not supported. The correlations between the predictors were non-significant, as were the correlations between the different types of adaptation. Concerning the mediators studied, relocation stress and European identification had a weak, positive correlation ($r = .15$).

4.2 Part II: Post-migration phase

The results concerning the post-migration experiences of the ECHA employees were analyzed using data from the second round of data collection ($N = 49$), which included five participants of Finnish origin. The participants had resided in Finland for five months on average at the time of answering the second

round of the questionnaire. As noted earlier, this data included both participants who answered the first round questionnaire as well as participants who took part only in the second round. Due to the small number of Finnish participants in this data, the results were not analyzed separately for Finns and non-Finns. However, with questions concerning non-Finnish participants, the analyses were based on the data of the 44 non-Finns.

4.2.1 The employees' experiences of the relocation process and life in Finland

First, we were interested in how the employees evaluated their past experiences of relocation after having moved to Finland. The relocation was experienced as a demanding and stressful life event. However, when compared to other demanding life events, relocation stress was not experienced more markedly than stress related to other demanding life events (mean 3.4 on a seven-point scale). For the employees accompanied by a family, the family's adaptation proved to be a slightly emphasized stressor, with a total of 23 per cent stating that the relocation of the family was one of the most stressful events in life so far.

The assistance provided by the Agency and/or the City of Helsinki during the relocation process was largely evaluated to be important (see Table 5). Assistance in learning Finnish or Swedish was regarded as important (i.e., "quite" or "very important") by 68 per cent of the participants, while help in housing-related issues, respectively, was regarded as important by 45 per cent of the participants. In regards to assistance in helping employees' spouses find work, 14 per cent stated that the need for this type of assistance was not at all met. Similarly, the need for help in finding do-

mestic help services was not met in the case of 20 per cent of the participants. It is important to stress that it was not that these forms of assistance were not needed, but this type of assistance was not received even though it was needed. To build on this analysis of the whole post-migration sample, and due to the big differences in the needs of the Finnish and non-Finnish participants in the pre-migration analysis (regarding the assistance), we wanted to go into Finnish participants' answers in more detail. The Finns answered all five items in a consistent way: one fifth (20%) replied that assistance was not at all important, 60 per cent stated that assistance was not needed, and 20 per cent stated that assistance was not provided. These results clearly demonstrate that assistance needs, as required by Finns and by non-Finns, were very different. This is not surprising considering that non-Finnish participants must simultaneously adapt to a new culture, working environment, and recently es-

tablished, new organization. However, as the group of the Finns (n = 5) observed here was extremely small, the results for Finns and non-Finns are not displayed separately in Table 5.

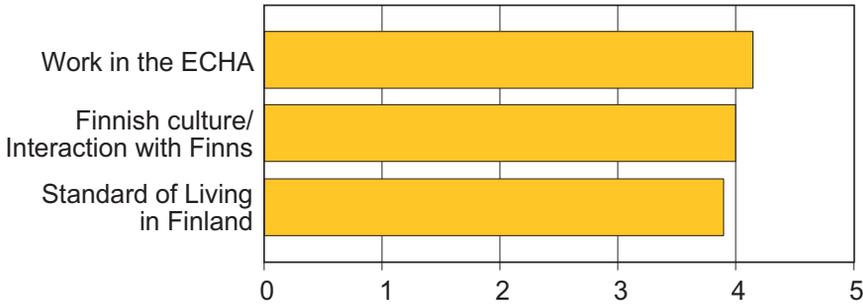
After relocation, the employees perceived their general well-being as good (mean 3.7 on a five-point scale). All components of well-being, i.e., general mood and affect (mean 3.8), as well as life satisfaction (3.7), and physical health (3.7) seemed to be in balance. However, when taking a closer look at the single items of the scale, we found some health related problems that may have developed during the relocation process. For example, only 46 per cent of participants said that they definitely felt fresh and rested after waking up, and almost one third had recently felt disheartened and sad.

Concerning satisfaction with life in Finland, the responses were highly positive (mean 4.0 on a five-point scale). Thus, based on the results of the study, it seems that participants

Table 5. Assistance provided by the ECHA and/or the City of Hki during relocation (N = 49)

	Not important at all (%)	Somewhat unimportant (%)	Quite important (%)	Very important (%)	Assistance was not provided (%)	Assistance was not needed (%)
a. Assistance in helping spouse to find employment in Finland		4	4	8	14	55
b. Assistance in housing related issues in Finland	4	10	18	27	8	33
c. Assistance in helping family members to integrate into Finland	10	8	10	10	12	51
d. Assistance in finding domestic help services	12	14	4	10	20	39
e. Assistance in learning the Finnish/Swedish language	2	8	25	43	8	14

Figure 13. Met expectations (N = 49)



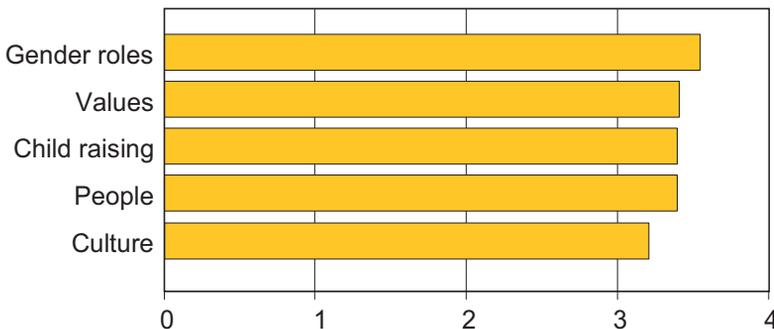
were generally satisfied with their decision to move to Finland.

Regarding participants' expectations of work, interactions with Finns and Finnish culture, standard of living, especially work expectations had largely been met (Figure 13). Eighty-six per cent of participants stated (i.e., agreed strongly or somewhat agreed) that they worked at the organizational level they had expected, and 80 per cent were satisfied with the level of responsibility they had achieved. In addition, 78 per cent thought they had the level of autonomy in their job that they had expected. A great majority of the participants stated that getting to know Finnish culture and interacting with Finns had been as interesting

(mean 4.0) as they expected. Also, the expectations concerning standard of living in Finland were met in most of the cases (mean 3.9).

Cultural distance was measured by using the same measures as in the pre-migration study. Regarding the perceived dissimilarity, the participants (n = 44) perceived Finnish culture and Finns as relatively dissimilar compared to their country of origin (mean 3.4 on a five-point scale). However, participants differentiated how similar or different these cultures were in different areas of comparison (see Figure 14). While culture in general (mean 3.5) and gender roles (3.6) were seen as differing the most (between the country of origin and Finland), Finnish people themselves (3.2)

Figure 14. Perceived dissimilarity (n = 44)



were perceived to be, in many ways, similar to people in participants' own home countries. Values (3.4) and practices of raising children (3.4) were located in between.

Regarding culture novelty, similar kinds of results were obtained. As a country, Finland was perceived as quite dissimilar to one's country (mean 3.6 on a five-point scale) in the post-migration phase as well. Whereas climate (4.1) and general living costs (4.1) were seen as the most dissimilar features of Finland compared to the participants' country of origin, everyday customs (3.1) and general living conditions (3.2) were rated to be as similar as they were in one's country of origin. Work culture (3.6) fell in between these two, which is not surprising when taking into consideration the international working atmosphere of the ECHA.

The perceived social support was high (mean 4.1 on a five-point scale). A great majority (85% of participants) expressed this by saying that there are some people who offer them help when needed. No differences were found between the extents to which participants perceived instrumental and emotional support.

Regarding contacts with Finns, one fourth (26 %) of the non-Finnish participants reported that they did not have any Finnish friends, one third (33 %) reported having two to three Finnish friends, and one fifth (21 %) had three to five Finnish friends. Less than 10 per cent had 10 friends or more. The non-Finnish participants met their friends mostly on weekly (40 %) or daily basis (35 %).

In general, most of the non-Finnish participants (n = 44) felt that they had not been discriminated against in Finland (mean 1.9 on a five-point scale). For example, answers given to the question "I feel like Finns accept my foreign background" show that only 16 per

cent of the participants felt that Finns did not accept their foreign background (by answering strongly or somewhat disagree).

Most of the participants (n = 44) had not experienced many difficulties with regard to socio-cultural adaptation in Finland, which was measured through perceived difficulties in daily life (mean 4.1 on a five-point scale). Making friends (mean 3.4 on five-point scale), dealing with the climate (3.3), understanding jokes and humour (3.5), and finding enjoyable food (3.7) turned out to be the most problematic issues. In contrast, the participants found the following issues unproblematic: using public transport (4.8), going shopping (4.5), Finnish pace of life in general (4.8), finding one's way around (4.8), being able to see two sides of an intercultural issue (4.8), and talking about self with other people (4.8).

Participants' (N = 49) identification with Finnish people and culture at the time of the second questionnaire, when the participants had been in Finland for approximately half a year, was not particularly high (mean 2.7 on a five-point scale (see Figure 15)). Also, the level of identification with one's home country (mean 3.2) was only slightly above the scale midpoint. Thus, compared to national identification and identification with Finns, it seems that participants' cultural identification pattern was highly European (mean 4.1).

Outgroup attitudes held by the participants (n = 44) towards Finns were positive (mean 8.5 on ten-point scale) (Figure 16). Roughly 20 per cent of participants said that they had the warmest possible feelings towards Finns, while a further 39 per cent rated their feelings towards Finns between 70-90. It should be noted that only a tenth of the participants (9 %) held somewhat negative attitudes (below 50 in the scale) towards Finns.

Figure 15. Cultural identification (N = 49)

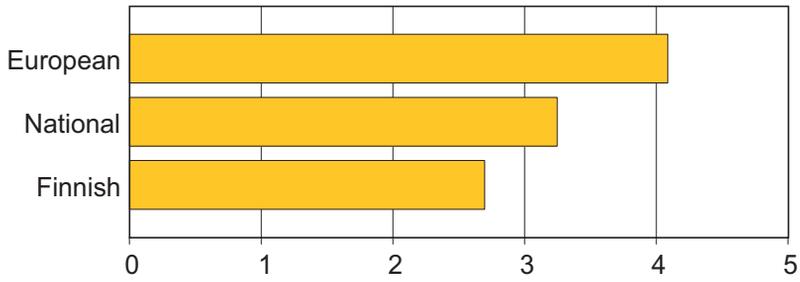
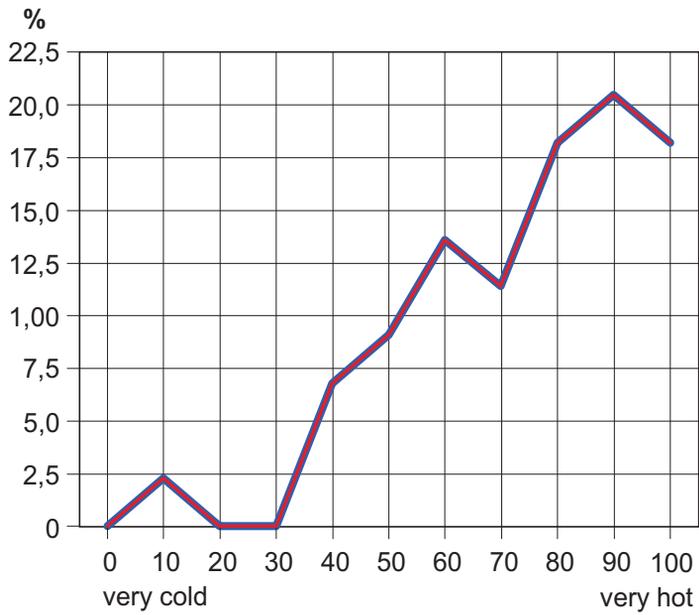


Figure 16. Feeling thermometer: non-Finnish participants' attitudes towards Finns (n = 44)



4.2.2 The employees' experiences of work in the ECHA

The employees' organizational identification with the ECHA was clearly positive (mean 3.8 on a five-point scale). For example, about 88 per cent of participants agreed somewhat strongly with the statement "When I talk about the chemicals Agency, I usually say "we" rather than "they". Furthermore, 65 per cent of the participants said that they felt that the ECHA's successes were their personal successes and 80 per cent stated that they were very interested in what others thought about the ECHA. In terms of perceived organizational support, the results show that support for oneself differed clearly from perceived support for one's family. While participants perceived that they personally received sufficient organizational support (mean 3.6 on a five-point scale), organizational support given for the family (mean 2.1) was significantly lower ($t = 5.1$, $df 37$, $p < .001$).

Perceived organizational justice was assessed by measuring both interactional and procedural justice perceptions of ECHA employees. Perceived interactional justice measured to what extent participants felt they had been treated fairly by the authorities of the ECHA. The mean of the five-point scale was 4.2, showing that participants felt very fairly treated. Eighty-five per cent said their supervisor considered their viewpoints in matters that affect them. Procedural justice, which refers to the perceived fairness of decision making processes, was regarded to be satisfactory (mean 3.9 on a five-point scale). For example, 73 per cent of the participants said that the ECHA collects sufficient information when making decisions that directly affect the participants.

In line with these findings, participants reported high levels of general job satisfaction (mean 4.1 on a five-point scale). For example, 92 per cent stated that they were generally satisfied with the kind of work they did at the ECHA.

Considering participants' evaluations of their own job performance, 72 per cent of the participants perceived their job performance to be superior to that of their colleagues, while only 28 per cent felt that their performance was inferior.

4.2.3 Factors related to employees' psychological adaptation in the post-migration stage

We measured psychological adaptation in the post-migration stage by assessing the well-being of the participants, as in the pre-migration assessment (see Figure 17 for all significant effects).

Not surprisingly, the participants' satisfaction with life in Finland showed a strong correlation with the employee's well-being ($r = .42$). Similarly, there was a strong positive correlation between the employees' job satisfaction and well-being ($r = .41$). It is, therefore, important for the organization to pay attention to its employees overall satisfaction with life, and provide necessary assistance.

Well-being was also measured by examining to what extent the participants' expectations concerning the relocation process had been met. Both the expectations concerning work ($r = .41$) and cultural interaction ($r = .36$) (e.g., "Meeting Finnish people" and "culture turned out to be as interesting as I expected") were positively related to the participants' well-being. Higher well-being was a result of these expectations having been met,

while at the same time, a feeling of disappointment concerning the workplace, Finnish culture or interaction with Finns led to lower well-being.

Social support received from social networks correlated positively with the participants' well-being. Instrumental social support ($r = .42$) had a slightly higher correlation than emotional ($r = .37$), meaning that sufficient and satisfactory social support led an increase in well-being. Likewise, organizational support, which predicted well-being ($r = .36$), was regarded as important. These relationships to well-being reflect the need for organizational support by individuals adapting to both a new position in a new organization as well as to a foreign country. Organizational support signals to the individual that he/she is, in fact, valued by the organization which, in turn, has a positive effect on an individual's self esteem. A very strong positive correlation between the employees' self-esteem and well-being ($r = .66$) was also observed.

Regarding organizational justice, the results of the study clearly show the importance of fair treatment. Both interactional ($r = .38$) and procedural justice ($r = .36$) were positively related to the employees' well-being; perceived unfair treatment was associated with lowered levels of psychological adaptation.

The participants' well-being was related to only one type of stress-coping strategy, positive reframing ($r = .32$). The results suggest that employees who actively used this coping strategy perceived their well-being to be better than those employees who did not resort to positive reframing. Reframing observed difficulties in a positive manner seems to have a positive impact on well-being. Planning was also related to well-being. Employees who felt that the situation is under control and can

clearly visualize the required next steps of action seem to have higher well-being. This result may hold true because Finland is characterized as a well organized and planning-focused society, thus, results in other European countries may not necessarily be similar.

Somewhat surprisingly, national identification was negatively correlated with well-being ($r = -.30$). This means that the more the employees identified with their own home countries, the lower their well-being. This may be the result of the participants identifying strongly with their home countries feeling a strong sense of longing to return.

Factors that were not related to psychological adaptation included; age, gender, origin (a non-Finn or a Finn), satisfaction with preparations, acculturation time, the degree to which expectations concerning the standard of living were met, perceived organizational support for participants' families, preferred stress-coping strategy (active, emotional support, instrumental support, planning), accompanying family member(s), European identification, Finnish identification, and organizational identification. In addition, concerning the non-Finn participants, the following factors did not relate to psychological adaptation: amount and quality of contacts in the workplace as well as outside of the workplace, general impressions of Finland, acculturation attitudes (attitudes towards cultural maintenance and contact with hosts), and perceived discrimination.

4.2.4 Factors related to employees' socio-psychological adaptation in the post-migration stage

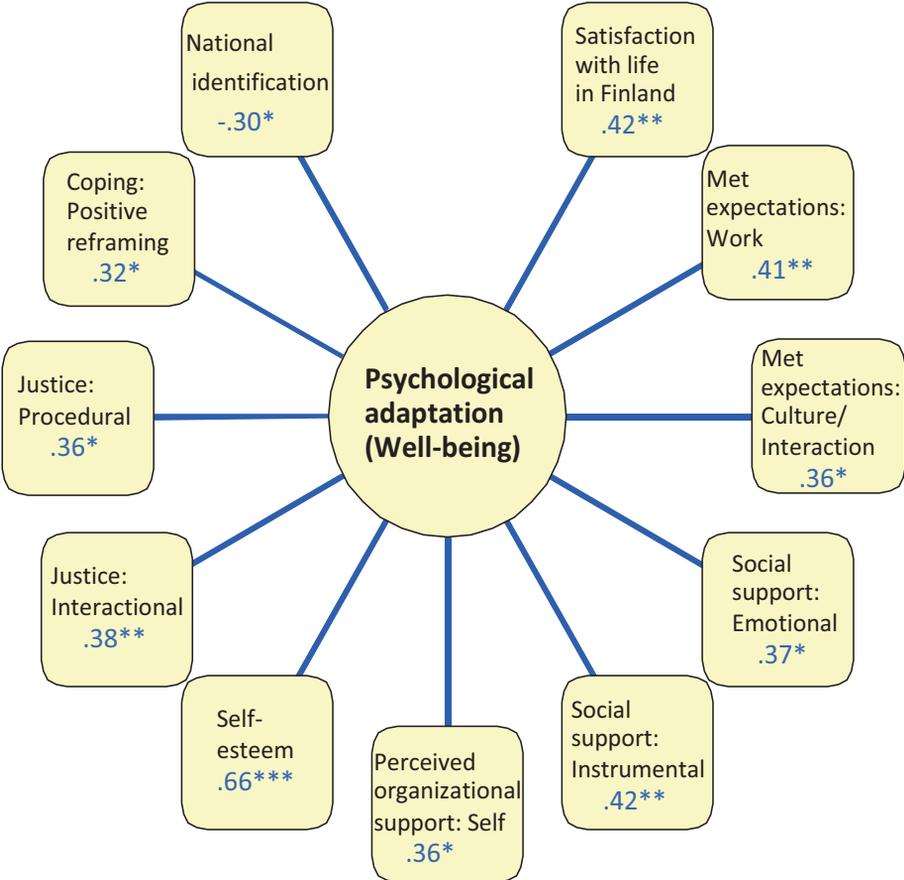
In the post-migration stage, several factors were related participants' socio-psychologi-

cal adaptation, which was measured as attitudes towards Finns (i.e., feeling thermometer) (see Table 18 for all significant effects). In analyzing outgroup attitudes, only data from non-Finnish participants ($n = 44$) was used.

There was a strong link between socio-psychological adaptation and participants' overall satisfaction towards assistance ($r = .53$) as well as information ($r = .47$) and time

($r = .39$) devoted to preparing for the relocation. In addition, the degree to which expectations concerning the standard of living ($r = .49$) and the culture/interaction with Finns ($r = .44$) were met strongly and positively correlated with the participants' attitudes towards Finns. In the same fashion, satisfaction with life in Finland ($r = .52$) and the size of the social network in Finland (measured as the number of friends living in Finland) ($r = .37$)

Figure 17. Factors related to employees' psychological adaptation in the post-migration phase (** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; * $p < .05$)

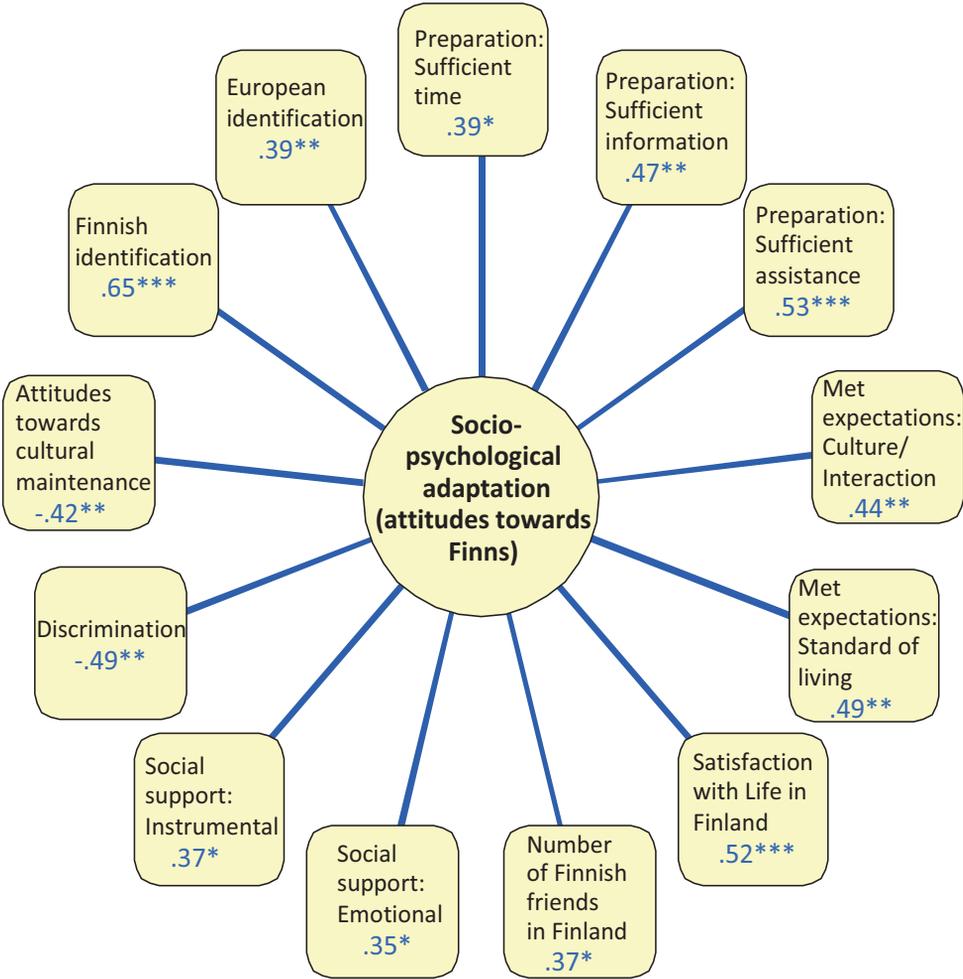


were positively related to socio-psychological adaptation. In addition, both emotional ($r = .35$) and instrumental ($r = .37$) social support were related to attitudes towards Finns. In other words, participants who were satisfied with the availability of social support – both in terms of emotional and instrumental support –were more positively oriented towards Finns, which is to say they were better socio-culturally adapted. These results clearly dem-

onstrate the importance of social support and assistance in a smooth adjustment to a new country and organization.

On the other hand, experiences of discrimination ($r = -.49$) were negatively related to outgroup attitudes. Experiencing prejudiced behaviour seems to worsen participant attitudes towards Finns. In addition, it seems that the connection between negative outgroup attitudes and their strong attitudes towards

Figure 18. Factors related to employees’ socio-psychological adaptation in the post-migration phase (** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; $p < .05$)



maintaining one's own cultural heritage signals a possible separation orientation. Similarly, a negative opinion about Finns was related to the desire to preserve one's own culture ($r = -.42$).

In accordance with our assumptions, we found a positive relationship between identification with Finns and attitudes towards them ($r = .65$). Being emotionally attached to Finland and Finnish people was related to more positive attitudes towards this group. In addition, European identification was related to more positive attitudes towards Finns ($r = .39$). Finland, an EU country, appears to benefit from the fact that the employees of the ECHA tend to perceive themselves actively as European. Since Finns are by definition Europeans, both Finns and the employees belong to the same superordinate group (i.e., are members of the common "ingroup") and are, thus, perceived more positively.

Factors that were not connected to socio-psychological adaptation included: age, gender, perceived dissimilarity of Finnish culture and people, culture novelty, national identification, organizational identification, and self-esteem. Somewhat surprisingly, participant attitudes towards contact with Finns was not related to their actual attitudes towards Finns.

4.2.5 Factors related to employees' socio-cultural adaptation in the post-migration stage

In this section, we examine one more type of adaptation, socio-cultural adaptation. It was not studied in the pre-migration phase of this study due its contextual nature. Acquiring the skills to successfully function in a new societal environment (i.e., socio-cultural adaptation) is a demanding task for migrants and

international employees alike. It is, therefore, important to identify the factors that are related to socio-cultural adaptation because the process of socio-cultural adaptation can be eased – to some extent – by influencing these factors. Significant relationships between the socio-cultural adaptation and related factors are presented below in Figure 19.

The results show that satisfaction with life in Finland was positively related ($r = .40$) to the employees' socio-cultural adaptation, which is to say, satisfied employees also adjusted better to everyday situations. Additionally, observing one's home country as less culturally distant (compared to Finland) was also related to better socio-cultural adaptation. The culture novelty of Finland ($r = -.37$) and the perceived dissimilarity of Finns and Finnish culture ($r = -.42$) were both linked to more difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation among the participants. A successful preparation for the relocation might influence this perception, which is supported by our results. The participants' perceptions of having received sufficient information ($r = .46$), time ($r = .39$) and assistance ($r = .43$) to adequately prepare for their relocation were all strongly related to acquired socio-cultural adaptation. It seems that the better the participants had perceived preparations, the easier it was for them to accurately imagine what life in the new country of residence would be like, fostering this way their later socio-cultural adaptation. In addition, there was a strong positive correlation between socio-cultural adaptation and the degree to which expectations concerning the interaction with Finns and Finnish culture ($r = .47$) and the standard of living ($r = .40$) were met.

Moreover, the importance of perceived social support was demonstrated by the posi-

tive correlation between both emotional ($r = .33$) as well as instrumental support ($r = .34$) and socio-cultural adaptation. Considering these results in the broader work context, it is possible that larger professional networks include more new social acquaintances in Finland, which also act as sources of social support. In the ECHA there are many foreign co-workers who share similar experiences of a new work and social environment, and, as such, they may support each other in the process of learning new social skills. Further, some

of the new work acquaintances are Finnish, which can aid in getting to know the ‘Finnish way of life’, and give a boost to socio-cultural adaptation – demonstrated in this study by the strong, positive correlation ($r = .45$) between the number of Finnish friends in Finland and socio-cultural adaptation. Accordingly, identification with Finland and Finnish people, in other words feeling like a member of Finnish society, was strongly positively correlated ($r = .66$) to socio-cultural adaptation.

As was the case with the connection be-

Figure 19. Factors related to employees’ socio-cultural adaptation in the post-migration phase (** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; * $p < .05$)



tween socio-psychological adaptation and discrimination discussed above, there was also a very strong negative connection between discrimination and the employees' socio-cultural adaptation. Higher levels of perceived discrimination were related to lower degrees of adaptation ($r = -.65$).

The following factors were not related to socio-cultural adaptation: age, gender, satisfaction with life in Finland, national and European identification, attitudes towards cultural maintenance and contact with hosts, self-esteem, perceived organizational support, and whether or not there were family members accompanying the employees to Finland.

4.2.6 Factors related to employees' work adaptation in the post-migration phase

We measured work adjustment among the employees of the ECHA in a twofold manner through organizational identification as well as job satisfaction. They were significantly linked to each other ($r = .43$) and shed light on how well the employees have adapted to their work environments (the results are displayed in the Figure 20).

Organizational justice appeared to be the most fundamental factor linked to work adjustment. Procedural justice, meaning the quality of decision-making processes in an organization, and interactional justice, which refers to fair or unfair treatment by superiors, were both strongly related to employees' organizational identification ($r = .39$ for procedural justice / $r = .47$ for interactional justice) and job satisfaction ($r = .66$ / $r = .50$, respectively). These results highlight the positive impact of fair treatment and transparent decision-making on levels of identification with the organization as well as on job satisfaction.

Met expectations concerning work were also extremely important. Not meeting these expectations was related to lower levels of organizational identification ($r = .32$) and remarkably decreased job satisfaction ($r = .65$).

A relatively strong positive relationship between perceived organizational support for the employee and increased job satisfaction ($r = .41$) was also present. An employee who felt that he/she has received enough support from the organization was generally more satisfied with his/her job. Satisfaction concerning relocation preparations, specifically concerning sufficient preparation time, was positively related ($r = .30$) to organizational identification. In practice, this means that those employees who thought that they had received adequate and sufficient time to prepare for their relocation to Finland identified more strongly with the ECHA. In addition, perceived instrumental social support, arising from the participants' different social networks, was positively related to organizational identification ($r = .30$).

As predicted, European identification was related to organizational identification ($r = .30$) in the post-migration stage of the study. This may be due to the fact that EU organizations, including the ECHA, are highly respected in Europe. Therefore, if an individual identifies him-/herself as European s/he is likely to regard the whole EU, and the ECHA, in a positive manner. Additionally, when non-Finns perceived Finns as similar to the people in their home countries, the non-Finns displayed higher job satisfaction and vice versa ($r = -.29$). An explanation for this is that, when one shares a similar background with one's co-workers (some of whom are Finnish), a mutual approach towards work and work-related problems is fostered. This shared point-

of-view, in turn, leads to increased job satisfaction.

Interestingly, the satisfaction with life in Finland in general was related to the employees' job satisfaction ($r = .32$). This suggests the important role played by work in the lives of the ECHA employees. Also, whether or not the participants were accompanied by family had a positive effect on work adaptation in terms of job satisfaction. Those employees accompanied by family member(s) seemed to be more satisfied with their job in ECHA.

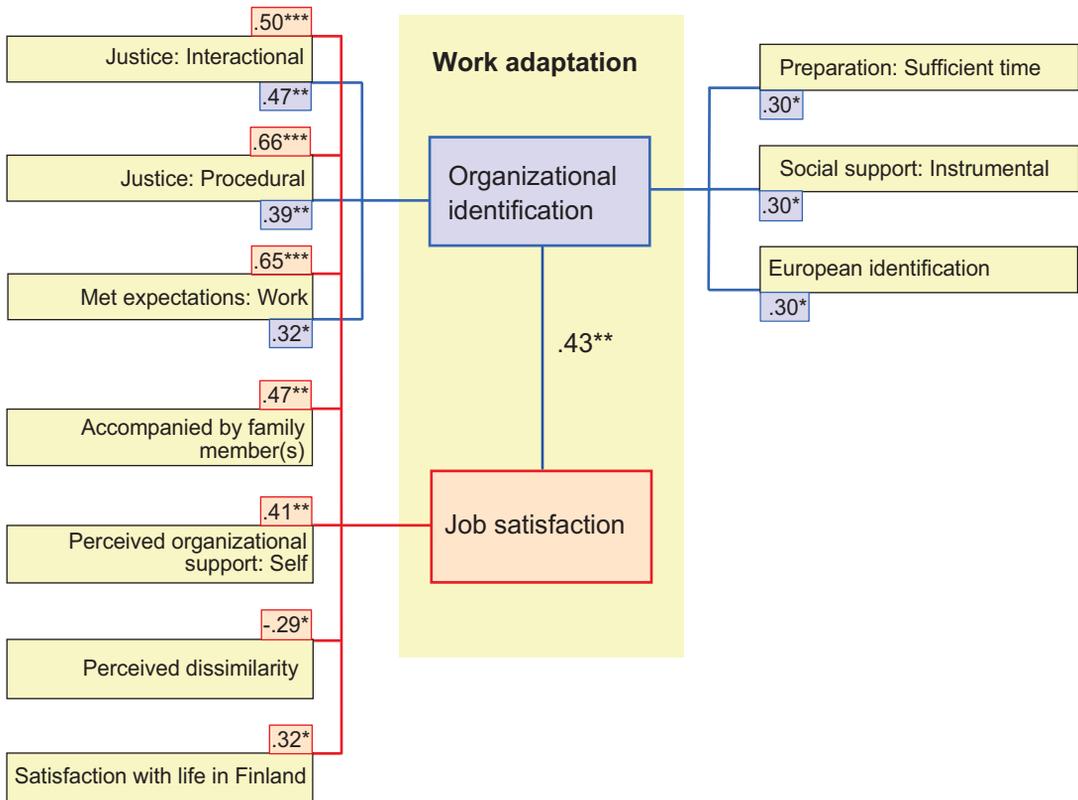
The participants' acculturation time, age, gender and country of origin were not significantly

related to either job satisfaction or organizational identification.

4.2.7 Relationships between the four adaptation types

In the previous section, we described the factors associated with each of the four adaptation domains (psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural and work adjustment). These domains pinpoint different areas of acculturative change. Next, we explored how these domains are related to each other using correlations. Significant relationships be-

Figure 20. Factors related to employees' work adaptation in the post-migration phase (***) $p < .001$; **) $p < .01$; *) $p < .05$



tween the post-migration outcome measures are presented below in Table 6.

First, employee well-being was related to job satisfaction ($r = .43$). When employees reported higher levels of well-being, they also reported a higher degree of work adaptation in terms of job satisfaction. This is a two-way link. Well-being can lead to higher job satisfaction and/or job satisfaction can lead to better well-being. This has far-reaching implications. In order to improve employee well-being and job satisfaction, both for the benefit of the individual and the organization, this relationship has to be taken into consideration. This connection not only accounts for positive effects, but for negative ones as well; therefore, suffering from bad mental or physical health may have a negative effect on work adjustment in terms of job satisfaction. In turn, whether or not the employee is dissatisfied with his/her position has consequences for the well-being of the employee. Unsurprisingly, job satisfaction was also positively correlated ($r = .47$) with organizational identification, as both are indicators of work adjustment. In this case, it is easy to understand the relationships between different factors of one type of adjustment; positive attitudes and behaviour seem to reflect liking and satisfaction.

A negative correlation between socio-cultural adaptation and socio-psychological adaptation, measured as attitudes towards Finnish people, ($r = -.56$) was observed. When skills (acquired on the spot or through training) better enabled employees of the ECHA to cope with everyday life in the new environment (i.e., was better adapted socio-culturally), their orientation towards Finns was more positive. Again, both forms of adaptation were found to mutually support each other. It may be advantageous to foster a positive image

of Finnish people – which may lead to higher motivations and a subsequent higher level of socio-cultural adaptation – or conversely, develop employee social skills, which might make it easier for employees to get to know Finnish people, thereby enhancing outgroup attitudes (adapt socio-psychologically).

4.3 Part III: Longitudinal assessment

Thus far, we have discussed future employees in the pre-migration stage and actual employees in the post-migration phase separately. The attitudinal make-up of these two groups has been presented and we have analyzed the extent to which the different facets of preparatory action and preceding attitudes influence different adaptation outcomes. This insight would, however, be somewhat incomplete without shedding light on the aspect of personal development and its effect on the adaptation models. Major changes, such as relocating to a foreign country, have the potential for far-reaching effects. It is important for both the organization and employees to reach a mutual understanding of the relocation process as a continuous process that is characterized by its own dynamics and complexity. The longitudinal analysis was undertaken with all non-Finnish participants who had answered both the pre-migration and post-migration questionnaires by July 2009 ($n = 24$).

We found no significant changes in socio-psychological adaptation, measured as outgroup attitudes, between the pre- and post-migration phases. As can be seen in Figure 21, the participants' positive opinions of Finns in the pre-migration phase (mean 8.8 on a ten-point scale) did not change after their relocation to Finland. Rather, employee opinions

Table 6. Correlations between the four post-migration adaptation outcomes (***) $p < .001$; **) $p < .01$; *) $p < .05$

	Psychological adaptation (well-being)	Socio-cultural adaptation	Socio-psychological adaptation (Attitudes towards Finns)	Organizational identification (work adaptation)
Psychological adaptation (well-being)	ns.			
Socio-cultural adaptation	ns.			
Socio-psychological adaptation (Attitudes towards Finns)	ns.	.56***		
Organizational identification (work adaptation)	ns.	ns.	ns.	
Job satisfaction (work adaptation)	.43**	ns.	ns.	.47**

Note: The relationships are calculated using the full post-migration data (N = 49) except for the case of socio-cultural and socio-psychological adaptation where the data consisting of non-Finns only was used (n = 44).

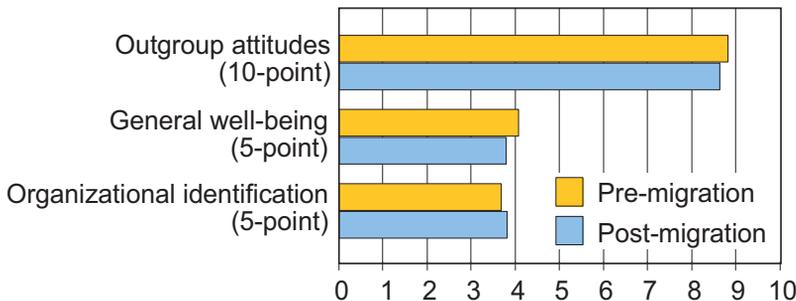
concerning Finns remained at approximately the same level (mean 8.7).

Work adaptation, measured through organizational identification, was already high in the pre-migration phase. Post-migration identification with the ECHA did not increase; instead it stayed at the same, relatively high, level as in the pre-migration phase. This can be viewed as a good sign of organizational integration.

The general well-being of the participants,

however, showed a significant change. Characterized by a high rate of well-being in the pre-migration phase (mean 4.1 on a five-point scale), the participants' well-being decreased significantly in the post-migration stage (mean 3.8) ($t = 2.61, df 21, p < .05$). When separately considering the components of general well-being, we found that the biggest change concerned physical health, which was at a high level in the pre-migration phase (mean 4.4 on a five-point scale), but decreased significantly

Figure 21. Means of the outcome measures used both in the pre- and post-migration stages (N = 24)



in the post-migration phase (3.8) (see Figure 22).

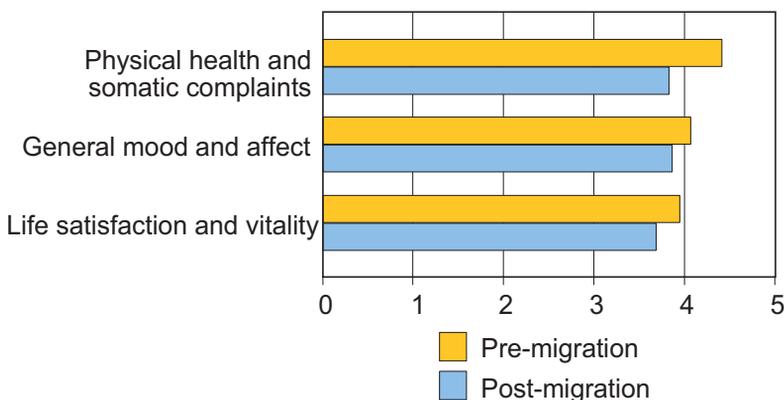
In order to explore the factors behind the decline in well-being, we studied the impact of different pre- and post-migration factors on the change in participants' well-being by analyzing (using partial correlations) which factors correlated with the participants' post-migration well-being when the initial state of well-being was taken into consideration. In the pre-migration phase, not many factors were identified as negatively affecting well-being. There were two exceptions: among individuals who did not employ planning as a stress-coping strategy ($r = -.45$) a decrease in well-being was observed, and among individuals who perceived greater dissimilarities between Finland and their home countries ($r = .44$). In both instances, levels of pre-migration well-being were controlled for. In other words, regardless of the participants' initial state of well-being in the pre-migration stage, a failure to employ planning as a stress-coping strategy led to a decline in the participant's well-being. Similarly, the initial belief that Finland was

very different to one's country of origin was associated with decreased well-being.

In the post-migration stage there seemed, however, to be multiple factors relating to the decline in participants' well-being: a lack of positive reframing as a stress-coping strategy ($r = -.58$), a lack of social support both concerning emotional ($r = -.73$) and instrumental ($r = -.71$) support, an aversive attitude towards contact with hosts ($r = -.54$), a feeling of not receiving sufficient support from the organization ($r = -.57$) as well as unmet expectations concerning work ($r = -.51$).

We could not compare and analyze the level of social-cultural adaptation longitudinally because there were no conditions in which this kind of adaptation could be effectively measured during the pre-migration phase. The measurement methods concern life in the host society and the personal appraisal of how well one will succeed in this new surrounding. As the pre-migration phase occurs before the actual migration, socio-cultural adaptation cannot be measured before arriving in the new environment.

Figure 22. Longitudinal changes in the three components of general well-being (N = 24)



5. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to describe the integration and adaptation processes of international professionals working at the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA), and to point out key challenges for employees in the relocation process, both before and after moving to Finland. This study is nationally and internationally unique in three respects. First, it used a multifaceted approach to integration and adaptation among highly skilled self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs) working for the EU by studying the psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and organizational aspects of their adjustment. Second, unlike most studies that focus solely on the post-migration stage of the relocation process, this research placed an emphasis on the pre-migration stage of the adaptation process; in particular, those pre-aculturative phenomena that exist prior to relocation and determine the pre-migration adaptation among highly skilled SFEs. Finally, the study examined the role of pre-acculturation factors in explaining post-migration adaptation outcomes among highly skilled SFEs, arguing for the importance of intervening in and promoting employee integration starting from the pre-migration stage. Consequently, the study used a longitudinal design, incorporating one baseline assessment at the pre-migration stage and one follow-up assessment at the post-migration stage.

According to the literature on expatriate adaptation, many pre-migration factors are relevant for successful intercultural experiences (e.g., professional background, prior

international experience, language competence, stress-coping capabilities, motivation, expectations, level of cognitive and emotional preparedness, etc.), and should be taken into account when investigating adaptation in the new environment as well as for planning interventions aimed at enhancing adjustment. In addition to exploring these pre-migration factors, this study examined the employees' experiences in dealing with Finnish authorities (including support), perceived organizational support, amount and quality of contacts with future host nationals, perceived cultural similarity and novelty, acculturation attitudes, and other factors expected to be related to different adaptation outcomes (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation) in the pre-migration stage. In the post-migration stage, we focused on employee satisfaction with living and working conditions, the amount and quality of social interaction within the Agency and with Finns, satisfaction with services organized specifically for the ECHA employees by the City of Helsinki and ECHA itself, met expectations concerning work in ECHA, and life in Finland and other acculturation experiences (such as communication problems and perceived discrimination). We analyzed the relationships between these factors and four post-migration adaptation types: psychological (high level of general well-being), socio-psychological (positive attitudes towards Finns), socio-cultural (few difficulties in social interactions and everyday life), and organizational (high levels of job satisfaction and organizational identification)

to explore how post-migration factors were related to better adjustment.

Our aim in conducting this research was to gain insights into issues of importance, not only in terms of their scientific contribution, but also in terms of their practical relevance to organizations and communities receiving highly skilled international employees. The results, therefore, function as feedback on the relocation and integration challenges of the first employees of the ECHA and their families. These results can be used for understanding and further improving their working and living conditions, as well as for developing ways of facilitating the integration of future employees. In addition, the results may be useful for City authorities in adjusting services developed to support the employees of the ECHA in Helsinki. Moreover, the results may be used when establishing other European institutions in Finland or elsewhere in the future. Following the practical nature of our study, the results are discussed below mostly in terms of their practical implications.

A central interest of the study concerned possible changes in psychological well-being, outgroup attitudes (i.e., attitudes towards Finns) and organizational identification of the ECHA employees after their relocation. According to the results, the employees' attitudes towards Finns were positive and their organizational identification with the ECHA was high already prior to the relocation. In the post-migration stage no changes were observed in outgroup attitudes (i.e., attitudes towards Finns) or organizational identification. The psychological well-being of the employees, however, decreased significantly after their relocation, indicating a need to pay special attention to the processes leading to successful psychological adaptation.

The decrease in well-being following relocation was in line with our expectations. Moving to a foreign country can be highly stressful, following previous research (e.g., Ward, 2001) that indicates a similar decrease in expatriates' well-being 4-6 months after relocating. We should, however, avoid drawing simplistic parallels between the stress related to relocation and reduced levels of adaptation. Stress can also have a positive effect by increasing the individual's alertness and enabling higher levels of performance. Only prolonged stress that exhausts individuals' resources should be avoided by the implementation of necessary measures in both the pre- and post-migration phases of the relocation process.

Apart from the socio-cultural challenges encountered in a new environment, little is known about the pre- and post-migration factors that may explain the decrease in the psychological well-being in the post-migration stage (as compared to the well-being at the pre-migration stage). In particular, little is known about which factors can be influenced at the pre-migration stage. A more detailed analysis of the decrease in psychological well-being showed that this change was – in the pre-migration phase – mainly related to the limited use of planning as a stress-coping strategy and perceived dissimilarity between Finland and one's country of origin. In other words, a lack of planning in stressful situations and perceiving Finland and Finns to be different from one's own home country in the pre-migration stage of the study led to a decrease in the participants' well-being in the post-migration stage regardless of their initial level of well-being.

In the post-migration stage, decreased psychological well-being was related to the limited use of positive reframing as a stress-coping

strategy, unsatisfactory social and organizational support, negative attitude towards contacts with Finns, and unmet expectations concerning the work assignment in ECHA.

In addition, a separate analysis of the employee adjustment during the pre- and post-migration stages showed that certain (protective) factors were positively associated with psychological well-being during each of the stages. The fact that no changes were observed in the employees' socio-psychological and work adaptation does not mean that factors contributing to these adaptation types at different stages of the relocation process are not worth discussing. On the contrary, a better understanding of these factors can contribute to better pre-departure training to support the development of protective factors at the beginning of the relocation process. Next, we discuss the risk and protective factors that influence adaptation outcomes at different stages of the participants' relocation process, with a special emphasis on the factors relevant to early interventions.

Expatriate literature has recently started to highlight the importance of adequate pre-departure assistance, as well as training, in supporting relocating individuals. What has not yet been determined is of what exactly such adequate support should consist. In this study, the employees' satisfaction with organizational assistance and support – in terms of providing them with sufficient time, information and assistance during the whole relocation process – turned out to be a highly important factor that decreased relocation stress and fostered overall well-being in the pre-migration stage of the relocation process. In addition, in the post-migration stage, the way in which participants retrospectively perceived the adequacy of time, information, and assistance

given to them during the relocation preparations was significantly related to their later socio-psychological (i.e., what kind of attitudes they held toward Finns) and socio-cultural adaptation (i.e., managing everyday life situations and social interactions in Finland). Additionally, perceptions of having had sufficient time to prepare for the move were, in the post-migration stage of the study, related to higher levels of organizational identification. Our findings are in line with the results of van der Bank and Rothman (2006) who showed that support from the host company is related to lower (organizational) stress levels among the employees. Similarly, Foster (2000) has demonstrated that the longer the preparatory time, the better the adaptation.

This assistance is important not only for the employee, but also for his or her accompanying family members. Our results indicated that employees found the adaptation of family members to be even more stressful than their new work at the ECHA. This emphasizes the need to provide adequate support to the whole family. Assistance in locating a new home in Finland, finding day-care or schools for children, and helping spouses find employment were regarded as important by many participants. Furthermore, we observed that employees accompanied by their families showed a stronger organizational identification with the ECHA already in the pre-migration stage of the relocation process, as well as higher levels of job satisfaction in the post-migration stage, than employees who came unaccompanied. A possible explanation for this link between accompanied relocation and work adjustment is that by relocating with one's family, the employee feels more committed to the new work partly because the decision to move to a new country with a family is often a long-term solution.

Consequently, organizations that wish to retain their employees and support their adjustment should provide measures directed at the whole expatriate family. It is important to note that highly skilled SFEs often receive less organizational pre-migration support than traditional expatriates sent abroad by their employer. The latter tend to receive a greater amount of organizational support from both a sending- and a receiving organizational unit. In contrast, highly skilled SFEs lack the support of a sending organization. Consequently, the role of the receiving organization, the society and the support they provide to SFEs are of a particular importance.

In terms of practical issues, housing and the choice of neighbourhood were among the most critical issues in a recent ACRE-study on highly skilled migrants in the Helsinki metropolitan area (Kepsu, Vaattovaara, Bernelius, & Eskelä, 2007). The study noted that the residential patterns of highly skilled migrants in Finland were extremely close to those of Finns in the same socio-economic category, a finding that is in line with several other international observations (e.g., Glebe, 1986; White & Hurdley, 2003). According to the ACRE report (Kepsu et al., 2007), problems highly skilled migrants encounter in Helsinki's housing sector include the low availability of reasonably priced and high-quality rental apartments, the use of only the Finnish language in most housing services, and the prejudice of Finns towards foreigners. This stresses the importance of the assistance provided in this study by the City of Helsinki, and, later by the ECHA, in finding housing for employees of the ECHA and their families. Finally, while job opportunities are one of the most important pull-factors attracting international experts to Finland, encountering difficulties in

finding spousal employment poses challenges to staying in the country on a long-term basis (Forsander, Raunio, Salmenhaara, & Helander, 2004). The low permeability of the Finnish labour market for immigrants is a well-acknowledged obstacle that diminishes the competitiveness of the City of Helsinki and the whole country in the international labour market. While larger societal and political measures are needed to deal with these issues, the adaptation of international employees would be enhanced by addressing the employment difficulties faced their family members.

With regards to employee expectations about the new cultural and work environment, the results of this study show that expectations play an important role in post-migration adaptation. The perception that expectations (concerning participants' work in ECHA as well as Finnish culture and interactions with Finns) were unmet after relocation was related to decreased well-being in the post-migration stage. In addition, (un)met expectations concerning the standard of living in Finland and Finnish culture and interactions with Finns were related to both socio-psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. The better these expectations were met, the more positive participants' attitudes were towards Finns and the less they perceived difficulties in managing everyday life situations in a new country. Having expectations met in terms of the new work in the ECHA was also strongly related to higher levels of work adaptation, both in terms of organizational identification as well as job satisfaction. Our findings confirm those from previous research in that employees should be exposed to realistic expectations of what is involved in relocation rather than painting a rosy picture of what is to come. While organizations naturally seek to recruit enthusiastic employees,

they should ensure that employees receive sufficient and realistic information about their future work and new country of residence. Pre-migration support should, therefore, include a training component aimed at producing more realistic and accurate expectations of the new culture and work environment.

When asked about identification with different groups, the employees of the ECHA perceived themselves primarily as Europeans. In the post-migration stage, European identification was positively related to socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., more positive attitudes towards Finns) and work adaptation (i.e., higher levels of organizational identification). A high level of national identification (identifying with one's country of origin), in turn, was related to lower psychological well-being. Our findings are in line with work by Liebkind (2006) and Berry (1993), which shows that cultural identification influences how newcomers acculturate to the new environment. Ward (1999) has obtained similar results in a work context, underlining the important role of the employees' foci of identification. Generally, a strong willingness to maintain one's own culture and a high level of national identification can lead to fewer contacts with host nationals. Limited social networks in the new country of residence, furthermore, are related to a decrease in psychological adaptation. Similarly, we found that a stronger orientation for maintaining one's own culture after relocation was related to lower levels of well-being. Additionally, having a low number of friends in Finland (for non-Finnish participants) was related to lower degrees of socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., more negative outgroup attitudes) as well as decreased socio-cultural adaptation (i.e., experiencing everyday life situations in Finland as more difficult).

Identifying with the super-ordinate group (i.e., EU) transcends national and cultural boundaries, allowing for a smoother transition between countries and several adaptive advantages. Receiving organizations should, therefore, strive to encourage shifting identification to the European level by drawing attention to similarities – rather than differences – between the country of departure and the receiving country, as well as by underlining the European and international nature of life and work in Finland. Presenting a positive yet realistic image of a European Finland in the training sessions can build an identity “bridge” to successful integration.

Social support was a key factor related to the different types of adjustment, both before and after relocating. In the pre-migration stage, perceived social support was related to lower relocation stress, higher psychological well-being, and stronger identification with the ECHA. In the post-migration stage, there was a strong relationship between perceived social support and all four types of adjustment. Our results are in line with earlier research that has shown social support to have both direct and indirect positive effects on an individual's well-being in general, and adjustment to a new country in particular (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985; García & Ramírez, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). In the ACRE study (Kepsu et al., 2007), one of the most significant findings was the importance of – and problems with – social life for advancing career possibilities and settling in the city. Professional networks were perceived by international professionals as tightly-knit and difficult to access, which weakened their professional opportunities as well as their everyday life satisfaction. In the private sphere, international professionals perceived the nature

of social life in Helsinki and the relative lack of migrant networks as challenging.

In the case of the ECHA, the employees perceived sufficient organizational and high general social support both before and after moving to Finland. In addition, they were highly satisfied with their decision to move to and live in Finland. These results imply that, overall, participants received sufficient social support. However, one quarter of the non-Finnish participants reported that they did not have a single Finnish friend in Finland. This suggests that participants faced challenges in building social networks in Finland.

The ECHA, and multinational organizations in general, can take measures to foster social support for employees both before and after relocation. In the pre-migration stage, employers can put future employees in contact with each other – for example, through on-line discussion groups, electronic blackboards, and social networking sites – to create opportunities for finding solutions for mu-

tual problems and worries. These pre-migration networks not only provide social support at the beginning of the relocation process, but they can also begin to foster organizational identification among future employees.

In the post-migration stage, organizations can further support the development of social networks by bringing employees together as a part of work or leisure, as well as by providing opportunities for contacts with the host population. These post-migration networks can lead to higher psychological well-being among the employees, foster cohesion within work units and teams, as well as increased identification with the organization. Furthermore, increased contacts with the host population and greater exposure to the host culture can promote good intergroup relations and positive attitudes towards the host culture, preventing the “expatriate bubble” (Ward, 1998) that can separate international professionals from the wider societal context.

Summary of practical recommendations:

Since this study was focused on the relationships between different factors related to the relocation process and resulting adaptation outcomes, we cannot specify the exact interventions that will be most effective in fostering adaptation. We can, however, provide some general guidelines on the types of interventions that may be helpful in easing the adaptation process. Based on the results of our study, we make the following practical recommendations for organizations receiving international highly skilled employees:

- Organizations should offer practical assistance in the pre-migration stage, particularly in issues related to housing and learning the language of the new country. Organizations should also recognize that the need for organizational support and assistance differs in regard to the origins of employees, and this need is evidently greater for employees who come from very different cultures.
- In addition to providing help to the relocating employee, providing assistance for the spouse and children (including help in finding employment for the spouse) should also help ease the family's relocation process.
- Organizations should ensure that future employees receive realistic information about the new country of residence, their future standard of living, as well as their future work. While realistic, the information provided should draw attention to the similarities, rather than differences, between the country of departure and the receiving country. The European and international nature of the work and living environment should also be emphasized.
- Organizations should pay attention to both procedural and interactional justice inside the organization and, if needed, strive to enhance them through various kinds of organizational practices to ensure the successful organizational adaptation of employees.
- Organizations should design measures to foster the development of social networks both in the pre-migration (e.g., on-line discussion groups) and post-migration stages. Moreover, common activities (e.g., leisure clubs, visits, etc.) should be aimed at the employees and their families, and should include contact with members of the new country of residence.
- Organizations should be aware that employees moving to a new country need to adapt, in various ways, to life in the host country. As such, organizations should strive to simultaneously support all types of adaptation (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, and work adaptation). This is important given the connections between different types of adaptation; that is, successful adaptation in one area may encourage better adaptation in another.

In the specific context of EU units recruiting employees mainly from abroad, the task of providing employees with proper orientation

and training to facilitate their subsequent acculturation and adaptation is particularly challenging. Before the actual move, face-to-face sessions are often difficult and costly to organize. Therefore, organizations need to make use of all other communication possibilities. The results of this study showed that satisfaction with the amount of information and assistance received prior to relocation has an impact on relocation stress and well-being, indicating that it is important to establish communication channels from the very beginning. Information technology can offer ways to inform and train future employees by creating session-like learning environments where employees can gain a more realistic impression of the life ahead and begin to establish new social networks.

In conclusion, the study generated useful knowledge about the relocation and integration processes, as experienced by international employees of the first EU agency in Finland. The study provides a unique view of the experiences of highly skilled SFEs both prior to their relocation to Finland, as well as during their adjustment to new cultural and work environments. The study offers new insights in the field of acculturation and organizational psychology by highlighting the need for multidimensional and longitudinal assessments of adaptation. Furthermore, it contributes to existing knowledge of expatriate adjustment by focusing on a relatively understudied group of highly skilled SFEs.

Appendix I. Measures

Pre-migration stage and pre-acculturation

Motivations for applying for a position Finland. To investigate participants' motivations for working in Finland, we administered a modified version of a measure originally introduced by Tartakovsky & Shalom (2001). This measure was only included in the first round. Motivations related to self-development (i.e., personal growth in abilities, knowledge, and skills) were measured by a three-item subscale (e.g., "Interest in experiencing different cultures."); motivations related to materialism (i.e., financial well-being, wealth) on a three-item subscale (e.g., "Desire to raise my standard of living."); and motivations related to preservation (physical, social, and psychological security) with a single item ("Desire to be reunited with relatives living in Finland."). Participants rated the importance of each reason in their decision to relocate on five-point scales ranging from 1 = absolutely unimportant to 5 = very important.

Satisfaction with relocation preparations. We assessed participants' perceptions of pre-departure preparation in both rounds by asking whether they had been given sufficient time, information and assistance. We used a modified version of a measure introduced by Foster (2000). Participants responded on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = not at all enough to 5 = more than enough.

Assistance before and during relocation. In order to measure the perceived assistance provided specifically by the ECHA and/or the City of Helsinki, we modified a measure developed by Aryee & Chew (1996). In the first

round, five items concerned assistance to the employee (e.g., "Assistance in finding knowledge on the relocation process.") and three items concerned assistance to the family (e.g., "Assistance in helping spouse to find employment in Finland.") Participants rated all eight items on a six-point scale (1 = not important at all – 4 = very important, 5 = assistance was not provided, 6 = assistance was not needed). In the second round the item concerning assistance to find a new home was changed into general assistance in housing related issues in Finland. In addition, three other items were left out.

Cultural factors

Perceived dissimilarity. Using a modified version of the Perceived similarity scale (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006), we asked participants to rate how similar or different their home country was compared to Finland in five general domains (culture, values, parenting, people in general and gender roles). Participants gave their answers on scales ranging from 1 = very similar to 5 = very dissimilar. This measure was used in both the first and the second round questionnaires.

Culture novelty. Using a culture novelty measure introduced by Torbiörn (1982) and further developed by Black & Stephens (1989), we asked participants to rate how similar or different their home country and Finland were in five cultural aspects. We added a fifth dimension (work culture) to the four

original dimensions (everyday customs, general living conditions, general living costs and climate). Participants responded to the five items on scales ranging from 1 = very similar – 5 = very different to participant's country of origin. This measure was used in both rounds of the study.

Contacts and discrimination

Socio-cultural adaptation. In the second round, we measured participants' experienced difficulties in Finland with the Socio-cultural Adaptation scale (e.g., Swagler & Jome, 2005), which included 29 items (e.g., ease of making friends, finding food to enjoy). On a five-point scale, participants rated the difficulty of different aspects of life in Finland (1 = extreme difficulty - 5 = no difficulty (reflecting better socio-cultural adaptation)).

Discrimination. We assessed the degree of experienced discrimination in the second round using a modified version of Schmitt et al.'s Measure of Discrimination (2003), and Jasinskaja-Lahti and her colleagues' measurement (2009), which was adapted to fit the Finnish context. All of four items (e.g., "I feel Finns accept my foreign background") were rated on a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree).

Relocation stress

Stressfulness of the relocation. We measured the stressfulness of the relocation in both the pre- and post-migration stage by asking participants to rate the severity of the relocation compared to other stressful events and situations in their lives. The introductory question ("how stressful would you rate") was introduced by Aldwin & Revenson (1987). The

five items used in our study were adapted to suit the context of international relocation of the highly skilled (e.g., "Leaving your home country/present country of residence"; "A new job in the Chemicals Agency"). We used a seven-point scale (1 = not severe at all - 7 = most severe event I have faced) developed by Terry (1994).

Individual factors

Personality. In the first round, we used the Ten-item Personality Inventory (TIPI) developed by Gosling et al. (2003) to assess participants' self-reported personality traits. The scale included 10 items (e.g., "extraverted, enthusiastic") with two items from each of Thurstone's (1934) Big Five Personality Domains (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness). Participants evaluated the traits on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree (i.e., not like the participant) to 7 = strongly agree (i.e., like the participant).

Self-Esteem. We measured participants' self-esteem in both rounds, using a measure introduced by Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 1965, see also Rosenberg 1973). Participants rated 10 items (e.g., "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on equal plane with others") on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Coping strategies. To assess participants' stress-coping strategies when confronted with stressful life events, we modified a measure by Carver (1997). The measure, included in both rounds, consisted of 12 items gauging the use of six coping strategies (two items each); active coping (e.g., "I've been concentrating my effort on doing something about the situation I'm in"), use of emotional support (e.g.,

I've been getting emotional support from others"), use of instrumental support (e.g., "I've been getting help and advice from other people"), positive framing (e.g., "I've been trying to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive"), planning (e.g., "I've been trying to come up with a strategy about what to do") and acceptance (e.g., "I've been learning to live with it"). The responses were indicated on scales ranging from 1 = don't at all to 4 = a lot.

General health. To measure participants' subjective physical, mental and emotional health statuses in both pre- and post-migration stages, we used the General Well-Being Index (GWBI) by Hunt and McKenna (1992; see also Gaston & Vogl, 2005). The 22-item measure contained three dimensions: General mood/affect (13 items), Life satisfaction (6 items), and Physical health (3 items). Participants responded on a five-point scale (1 = not at all – 5 = very much).

Satisfaction with life in Finland. In the second round, participants' satisfaction with life in Finland was assessed by using a scale introduced by Hackman & Oldman (1975). We reduced and modified the original five items down to the applied two items (e.g., "I frequently consider moving out from Finland") to fit our context and changed the response scale to a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) instead of an original five-point scale.

Met expectations. In the second round, participants were asked to indicate the degree to which their expectations concerning work, the standard of living in Finland, as well as interaction with Finnish people and culture were met. The fulfilment of work expectations was measured with three items (e.g., "My position is at the organizational level I expected"). Cul-

tural/interaction expectations were measured with two items (e.g., "Meeting Finnish people and culture turned out to be as interesting as I expected"). Both subscales were developed by Suutari and Brewster (2003). To measure participants' expectations concerning their standard of living (e.g., "My economic situation in Finland has corresponded to my expectations"), we modified and combined two items originally developed by Tartakovsky and Shalom (2001), and Suutari and Brewster (2003). The participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with each statement on a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree – 5 = strongly agree).

Social networks and social support

Social support. To measure participants' perceived available support from social networks, we employed a measure developed by Schulz & Schwarzer (2003). A four-item subscale measured emotional support (e.g., "Whenever I am not feeling well, other people show me that they are fond of me") and another four-item subscale measured instrumental support (e.g., "When everything becomes too much for me to handle, others are there to help me"). Participants responded on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Identification and attitudes

Feelings towards Finns. To measure participants' outgroup attitudes (i.e., their feelings towards Finns both before and after relocation), we applied Verkuyten's (2007) Feeling Thermometer. Participants rated their feelings towards Finns on a scale ranging from 0 = very cold to 100 = very warm.

Cultural identification. We assessed participants' cultural identity in both rounds with Mlicki and Ellemers' (1996) Identity measure. In the first round, two five-item subscales measured the degree of national identification and European identification, containing both cognitive (e.g., "I see myself as a representative of my own nationality") and affective (e.g., "I am glad that I belong to this nationality") components. Participants responded on five-point scales ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. In the second round, we introduced an additional five-item subscale now modified to measure identification with Finland and Finns (e.g., "I am glad that I am a member of the Finnish society").

Acculturation attitudes. To measure participants' attitudes towards intercultural contact both before and after relocation, we modified a measure previously used by Rohmann, Florack and Piontkowski (2006; see also Zagefka & Brown, 2002). We measured participants' attitudes towards culture maintenance with a three-item subscale (e.g., "I think it is important that the international employees of the Agency maintain their own cultures in Finland"). Participants' attitudes towards contacts with hosts after immigration were also measured on a three-item scale (e.g., "I think it is important that the international employees of the Agency have Finnish colleagues"). Participants responded on five-point scales ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Perceived country prestige. In the first round, we asked participants to indicate how they imagined other people thought about Finland. To measure perceived country prestige, we modified four items of Mael & Ashforth's (Mael & Ashforth, 1992) six-item measure of perceived organizational prestige and added a

fifth item to the modified four items. In all, we asked participants to rate five items (e.g., "Other people in my home country think highly of Finland") on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Work-related factors

Organizational identification. We measured participants' identification with the ECHA both before and after relocation. We used a five-item measure introduced by Mael & Ashforth (1992), modified to fit the context of the ECHA (e.g., "If a story in the media criticized the Chemical Agency, I would feel embarrassed"). Participants responded on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Perceived organizational prestige. In the first round, we asked participants to indicate how they imagined others thought about the ECHA. We adapted the six items (e.g., "The ECHA is considered one of the best agencies of the EU") of the Organizational Identification measure developed by Mael & Ashforth (1992) to fit our context. Participants rated the statements on a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree – 5 = strongly agree).

Perceived organizational support. We measured perceived organizational support provided by the ECHA in both rounds with a modified version of a measure introduced originally by Kraimer & Wayne (2004). We asked participants to indicate their agreement or disagreement with five statements (e.g., "The ECHA has shown an interest in my well-being.") on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with a sixth option, "Support was not needed" for two items concerning support to one's fami-

ly (e.g., “The ECHA has provided my family members with enough assistance to help them to adjust in Finland”).

Perceived organizational justice: Interactional justice. In the second round, we asked participants to indicate how fairly or unfairly they felt they were treated within the ECHA. We used a modified version of Moorman’s (1991) measure. Six items (e.g., “Your supervisor provides you with timely feedback about the decisions and their implications”) were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Procedural justice. In the second round, we also measured participants’ perceptions of the ECHA decision-making processes in terms of procedural justice (e.g., “The agency collects enough information necessary for making decisions”). We applied a modified, seven-item version of Moorman’s (1991) measure. Participants responded on a five-point scale rang-

ing from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Job satisfaction. To measure participants’ job satisfaction, we modified a measure introduced by Hackman & Oldman (1975). In the first round, we assessed satisfaction with the participant’s previous job, leaving items out concerning intentions to quit (e.g., “I frequently think of quitting this job”) since the participants had already made the decision to move to Finland. This reduced the original subscale from five to three items, now solely focused on general job satisfaction (e.g., “I am generally satisfied with the kind of work I did in my previous job”). In the second round, general job satisfaction was measured by the original five-item subscale, which included intentions to quit. In both rounds, we used five-point response scales ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree instead of the original seven-point scales.

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The arrival of the European
Chemicals Agency in Helsinki
– administrative perspectives
on the arrangement of
integration services

Executive summary

The establishment of the European Chemicals Agency in Finland was the result of a lengthy process. Initially, Finland's political Figures had expressed a desire to see the European Food Safety Authority established in Finland, but this eventually fell into Italy's hands. Thereafter, Finland set its sights on the European Chemicals Agency. The goal was met, and on 13 December 2003 it was decided to locate the seat of the Chemicals Agency in Helsinki. The Chemicals Agency began to operate at the beginning of June 2007, as the so-called REACH Regulation came into force.

In practice, measures to receive the Agency and its staff began once a Seat Agreement between Finland and the European Commission had been signed. Responsibility for coordinating reception of the Agency lay with the Prime Minister's Office. The role of the City of Helsinki was to organise reception and installation services for the Agency's staff.

The project was of national importance. It was thought that the establishment of the Agency would also promote commercial activity in the industry in Helsinki. In the background during the project's inception, concerns were also aired about how attractive Finland and the Helsinki region were as a place of work and residence to employees intending to apply for work with the Agency. These were among the starting points for the creation in Helsinki of a novel system of reception services for Chemicals Agency employees.

The aforementioned reception and installation services are the subject of this report's examination. Firstly, we investigate how the

public sector organised itself to satisfy the service needs of a common target group, and what sort of co-operative practices were created. It is important to pick apart good practices, so that their reuse in future is recognised and systematic. Secondly, the report examines the public service needs of Chemicals Agency staff and their families, and how these needs were met. The aim here is to investigate what sort of services highly educated immigrants and their family members need more generally. The third angle centres on what government agents understood the integration of highly educated immigrants into Finnish society to entail, and how it was thought that this could be supported.

One of the more central intentions of the study is to produce information for policy and policy makers. The European Chemicals Agency case illustrates how the City of Helsinki is able to implement integration services in co-operation with various government bodies and what form these take. The case illustrates the highest quality of integration services which can be achieved in the current situation. The Chemicals Agency's arrival in Helsinki can be interpreted as a case which reveals how novel integration services can be created through co-operation between government bodies, and how the organisers of the services understand the process of integration.

The study material comprised project-related documents and interviews with experts. Sixteen interviews were carried out, and they focused on the project's central agents and sectors. City of Helsinki officials make up the

majority of those interviewed, since the research's emphasis lay on areas that fell under the City's charge.

The organisation of the City's authority

The central authority, which governed the whole Chemicals Agency project on an operational level, comprised co-ordinators from the Prime Minister's Office and the City of Helsinki Administration Centre. They carried out bilateral co-operation between each other and with all other areas of administration. According to a rough distribution, co-operation by co-ordinators from the Prime Minister's Office focused on government ministries, while the chief responsibility of co-ordinators from the City of Helsinki Administration Centre was regional co-operation, as well as co-ordination of activities within the City of Helsinki.

In the City of Helsinki Administration Centre, organisation of reception and installation services was co-ordinated by the city secretary. The service adviser to the staff of the Chemicals Agency worked directly under her and, in addition to providing advice, gathered information for the Ekstranet web site tailored to Agency staff. On the communications side, responsibility for maintenance of web pages lay with the City of Helsinki.

Contact persons nominated to the Chemicals Agency project from each area of administration participated in planning and organising services. In spite of the project's cross-sector nature, organisation largely occurred in accordance with the central authority's model. The principal party of co-operation for administrative bodies was the central authority, particularly the service adviser to the staff of the Chemicals Agency. The adviser's role as

a compiler and conveyor of information concerning installation services meant that it was easiest for representatives of various administrative bodies to be in direct contact with her.

The City of Helsinki was responsible for planning installation services for the Chemicals Agency, and mainly for organising them. As a result of this, other cities in the region were primarily recipients of information rather than active participants. At its most visible, regionality was presented in communications, the aim of which was to have arriving Chemicals Agency employees and their families perceive the Helsinki region as a coherent area of employment and residence.

A positive image was conveyed of co-operation between administrative agents. Individual agents considered the project to be important both nationally and for the Capital region. The securing of the European Chemicals Agency for Finland and Helsinki was the result of a lengthy process, and some of the interviewees had participated in the application process for the first Agency project, the European Food Safety Authority. This may be regarded as one factor among others explaining the high level of motivation of authority agents, which was also reflected during co-operation onto other agents. The facility of co-operation was also promoted by the project organisation, the advantages of which were centralised co-ordination and the service adviser's great performance. A low threshold in terms of making contact further assisted the flow of information.

No particularly new co-operation practices emerged in the project, which would have been possible to transfer to a more general level in immigration work. The high-level working group activity between the government and municipalities was nevertheless a unique

process, through which individuals working in key areas with issues relating to immigration of highly educated experts were given valuable experience for continuation and development of such work in the future. Social networks were also strengthened. Although no directly transferrable co-operative practices emerged, the Chemicals Agency project's indirect benefit can be called significant within the authority. The time for utilising co-operative practices since the project's conclusion is also so short that it is not yet possible to say what mushrooms remain to be picked as a result of the project. It should be considered that this report has not examined chemicals industry-related events, discussion fora, nor other significant ramifications with regard to the Helsinki region.

Installation services, and their generalisation in immigration services

The starting point for services for Chemicals Agency staff is Article 15 of the Protocol on the Privileges and Immunities of the European Communities. It states that all European Communities' officials and their family members are within the jurisdiction of the Communities' own social security system, and thus outside their national social security system. This is supplemented by the Seat Agreement between the Finnish state and the European Commission, which defines certain immunities of Agency staff with regard to services. The focus of this report's examination is primarily on services not specified in the Seat Agreement, and particularly on reception and installation services for which the City of Helsinki was responsible.

The reception and installation services or-

ganised for Chemicals Agency staff and their families comprised centralised information and the Ekstranet web site, personalised service advice, and procurement of housing. The privileges regulated by the Seat Agreement include the right to place a child in publicly provided daycare. The attempt to establish a European School was also decided in the Seat Agreement, and linked to this was the organisation of temporary schooling in preparation for the European School.

Because the Agency began its operations in Helsinki without the initial 18-month period in Brussels typical for EU agencies, the City of Helsinki offered advice and support for the Agency's personnel department regarding, in addition to public services, also those services which the Agency organised for its own employees. This illustrates the role of the City of Helsinki in the initial stage of the Agency's installation.

The most suitable candidates in terms of broader application in immigration services would appear to be the continuation of centralised information activities, as well as the development of Internet services targeted towards special groups. Centralised information activities continue on the Internet in the form of the Info Bank service. In future, it would be good to add European languages to this service, which will presumably happen as the number of immigrants from these language areas increases.

The housing procurement service, as it was offered in this project as a service ordered from the market, is the least suitable for broader application due to its prohibitive cost. Immigrants are usually already entitled to public housing provision services. Nevertheless, the waiting lists for dwellings provided by the public service are so long that if there is a

genuine desire to attract work-based immigration to Finland, a housing procurement service may continue to be indispensable, in the Capital region in particular. So far, primarily private-sector employers have purchased this sort of service for their foreign employees.

Specialised services directed towards the Agency's staff were primarily justified with reference to Finland's international marketing and efforts to attract foreign labour. The starting point was that Agency staff on temporary contracts were seen as a something of a business card from Finland to elsewhere in Europe once they and their families eventually return to their home countries.

Integration

The integration of Agency staff on the one hand, and of their other family members on the other, were distinguished as separate processes which were primarily defined by whether the individual had a ready job in Finland upon arrival. Finding a job for the spouse left at home was defined as a quite central, even indispensable channel into social integration. Socialisation occurring in school and at day-care came up in the context of integration of children. In practice, this means that integration was defined as social intercourse with the majority Finnish population.

Consequently, notwithstanding the emphasis placed on the social significance of the work community, it was also seen as a risk factor with regard to Chemicals Agency staff. According to this view, the Agency community, which is an international working community, may end up cutting itself off on its own islet with limited interaction with Finnish communities.

The authority's role as a promoter of integration was seen as supporting social intercourse with Finns within the realm of normal public services. In schools and daycare, physical spaces shared with Finns were regarded as important, as were employment measures directed towards spouses left at home. Information was said to be of great significance in opening up the opportunities offered by the Capital region, for example, when informing about recreation possibilities in surrounding nature, and cultural amenities.

On the other hand, integration was seen as depending so heavily on individual initiative that the possibilities open to the authority in promoting it were said to be rather limited. This view is linked to one central difference between Agency staff and other work-based immigrants – the nature of their employment relationships. The employment relationships of the Agency's staff are temporary in nature, so their orientation towards the future can already be regarded as distinct in relation to immigrants who come to Finland permanently. It was thought that employees arriving for a limited period would relate to Finnish society as an interesting environment where the most important thing is that basic services function.

The temporary nature of the employment relationships of Agency staff was also linked to the fact that they and their family members were regarded as possible business cards from Finland once they returned to their home countries. This perspective emerged especially when considering the reasons for the most exceptional reception and installation services.

Yhteenveto

Kemikaaliviraston perustaminen Helsinkiin oli pitkän prosessin tulos. Suomen poliittiset päättäjät olivat ensin ilmaisseet tahtonsa elintarvikeviraston perustamisesta Suomeen, mutta tämä kariutui Italian vastustukseen. Suomi asetti tämän jälkeen tavoitteekseen kemikaaliviraston perustamisen. Tavoite saavutettiin, ja kemikaaliviraston kotipaikaksi päätettiin Helsinki 13.12.2003. Kemikaalivirasto aloitti toimintansa kesäkuun alussa 2007, kun nk. REACH-asetus tuli voimaan.

Käytännössä toimet viraston ja sen henkilöstön vastaanottamiseksi alkoivat, kun toimipaikkasopimus Suomen ja Euroopan Komission välillä oli allekirjoitettu. Viraston vastaanoton koordinoitavastuu oli valtioneuvoston kanslialla. Helsingin kaupungin rooli oli järjestää viraston henkilöstölle vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalvelut.

Hanke oli kansallisesti tärkeä. Viraston perustamisen arvioitiin aktivoivan Helsingissä myös alaan liittyvää liiketoimintaa. Lähtötilanteessa taustalla olivat myös keskustelut, joissa oli esitetty huoli siitä, miten houkuttelevana työ- ja asuinpaikkana virastosta työnhakua suunnittelevat kokevat Suomen ja pääkaupunkiseudun. Tällaisesta lähtökohdasta Helsinkiin luotiin uudenlainen vastaanottopalveluiden järjestelmä kemikaaliviraston työntekijöitä varten.

Tämän raportin tarkastelun kohteena ovat mainitut vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalvelut. Ensiksi selvitetään, millä tavalla sektorihallinto organisoitui yhteisen kohderyhmän palveluntarpeiden tyydyttämiseksi, ja millaisia

hallinnon yhteistyökäytäntöjä luotiin. Hyvien käytäntöjen purkaminen on tärkeää, jotta niitä voitaisiin siirtää eteenpäin hallitusti ja tiedostetusti. Toiseksi tarkastellaan kemikaaliviraston työntekijöiden ja heidän perheidensä julkisiin palveluihin kohdistuvia tarpeita sekä sitä, millä tavalla tarpeisiin vastattiin. Tämän tarkoituksena on sen selvittäminen, millaisia palveluita korkeasti koulutetut maahanmuuttajat ja heidän perheenjäsenensä yleisemmin tarvitsevat. Tutkimusraportin kolmas näkökulma on selvittää, mitä korkeasti koulutettujen maahanmuuttajien integroituminen suomalaisen yhteiskuntaan merkitsee hallinnon toimijoiden näkökulmasta, ja millä tavalla sitä ajatellaan voitavan tukea.

Tutkimuksen keskeisimpänä tarkoituksena on informaation tuottaminen toimintapolitiikka varten ja informaationa toimintapolitiikan tekijöille. Tapaus kemikaalivirasto kertoo siitä miten ja millaisia kotoutumispalveluja kaupunki pystyy toteuttamaan eri hallintokuntien välisessä yhteistyössä. Tapaus kuvaa sitä, millaisiin kotoutumispalveluihin nykytilanteessa parhaimmillaan kyetään. Kemikaaliviraston tuloa Helsinkiin voidaan tukia tapauksena joka paljastaa miten uudenlaisia kotoutumispalveluja voidaan tuottaa hallintokuntien välisessä yhteistyössä ja miten integroituminen ymmärretään palvelujen järjestäjien toimesta.

Tutkimusaineistona on käytetty hankkeeseen liittyviä asiakirjoja ja asiantuntijahaastatteluja. Haastateltavia on ollut 16, ja ne on kerätty projektin keskeisiltä toimijoilta ja toimialoilta. Valtaosa haastatelluista on Helsingin kaupungin organisaatioista, sillä raportin

painopiste on Helsingin kaupungin vastuualueelle kuuluneissa tehtävissä.

Kaupungin hallinnon järjestäytyminen

Koko kemikaalivirastoprojektin operatiivisella tasolla keskushallinto koostui valtioneuvoston kanslian ja Helsingin kaupungin hallintokeskuksen koordinaattoreista. He toimivat kahdenvälisessä yhteistyössä paitsi keskenään, myös kaikkien eri hallinnonalojen kanssa. Karkeasti jakaen valtioneuvoston kanslian koordinaattorien yhteistyö painottui ministeriöihin, ja Helsingin kaupungin hallintokeskuksen koordinaattorin pääasiallisena vastuualueena oli seutyhteistyö sekä Helsingin kaupungin sisäisen toiminnan toiminnan koordinointi.

Vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalveluiden järjestämistä koordinoi hallintokeskuksessa kaupunginsihteeri. Hänen suorassa alaisuudessaan työskenteli kemikaaliviraston henkilöstön neuvoja, joka neuvontatehtävän lisäksi keräsi tietoa viraston henkilöstölle räätälöityyn Ekstranet-sivustoon. Viestinnän osalta kaupungin vastuulla oli huolehtia verkkosivuista.

Kunkin hallinnonalan kemikaalivirastoprojektiin nimetyt yhdyshenkilöt olivat mukana suunnittelemassa ja järjestämässä palveluita. Huolimatta projektin poikkisektoraaalisesta luonteesta järjestäytyminen tapahtui pitkälle keskushallintomallin mukaisesti. Hallintokuntien pääasiallinen yhteistyötaho oli keskushallinto, erityisesti kemikaaliviraston henkilöstön palveluneuvoja. Neuvojan rooli asettautumispalveluja koskevan tiedon kerääjänä, kokoajana ja välittäjänä vaikutti siihen, että eri hallintokuntien edustajien oli helpointa olla yhteydessä suoraan häneen.

Kemikaaliviraston asettautumispalvelui-

den suunnittelusta ja myös pääosin järjestämisestä vastasi Helsingin kaupunki. Tästä johtui, että muut seudun kaupungit olivat lähinnä informaation jakelun kohteena, eivät niinkään aktiivisina osallistujina. Näkyvimmin seudullisuus oli esillä viestinnässä, jonka tavoitteena oli, että maahan tulevat kemikaaliviraston työntekijät perheineen hahmottaisivat Helsingin seudun yhtenäisenä työssäkäynti- ja asuma-alueena.

Hallinnon toimijoiden välisestä yhteistyöstä välittyi myönteinen kuva. Yksittäiset toimijat pitivät projektia tärkeänä kansallisena ja pääkaupunkiseudullisena hankkeena. Kemikaaliviraston saaminen Suomeen ja Helsinkiin oli pitkän prosessin tulos, ja osa haastatelluista oli ollut mukana jo ensimmäisen virastohankkeen, elintarvikeviraston, hakuprosessissa. Muiden tekijöiden joukossa tätä voi pitää yhtenä hallinnon toimijoiden korkeaa motivaatiotasoa selittävä tekijänä, joka heijastui myös yhteistyössä muihin toimijoihin. Yhteistyön helppoutta edisti myös projektiorganisaatio, jonka etuja olivat keskitetty koordinointi sekä palveluneuvojan suuri työpanos. Myös matalan kynnyksen yhteydenpito helpotti tiedonkulkua.

Projektissa ei syntynyt erityisiä uusia yhteistyökäytäntöjä, joita olisi voitu siirtää suoraan yleisemmälle tasolle maahanmuuttotyössä. Valtion ja kuntien välinen korkean tason työryhmätyöskentely oli kuitenkin ainutlaatuisen prosessi, jonka välityksellä ihmiset, jotka työskentelevät keskeisillä paikoilla korkeasti koulutettujen osaajien maahanmuuttoon liittyvien kysymysten parissa, saivat projektin aikana arvokasta kokemusta jatkotyöhön. Myös sosiaaliset verkostot vahvistuivat. Vaikka suoraan siirrettäviä yhteistyökäytäntöjä ei siis syntynyt, voi kemikaalivirastoprojektin välillisen hyödyn todeta olleen merkittävä hallinnon sisällä. Aikajänne yhteistyökäytäntöjen

hyödyntämiselle on myös sen verran lyhyt, että vielä ei voi sanoa, mitä kaikkea projektin siemenistä kasvaa jatkossa. On myös huomioitava, että tässä raportissa ei ole keskitytty itse kemikaalialaan liittyvien tapahtumien, keskustelufoorumien eikä myöskään muiden Helsingin seudun kannalta merkittävien seurannaisvaikutusten tarkasteluun.

Asettautumispalvelut ja niiden yleistäminen maahanmuuttopalveluissa

Kemikaaliviraston henkilöstön palvelujen lähtökohtana on Euroopan yhteisöjen erioikeuspöytäkirjan 15. artikla, jonka mukaan EY:n kaikki virkamiehet perheenjäsenineen ovat yhteisön oman sosiaaliturvajärjestelmän piirissä ja näin ollen kansallisen sosiaaliturvajärjestelmän ulkopuolella. Tätä täydentää Suomen valtion ja Euroopan komission välinen toimipaikkasopimus, jossa määritellään palvelujen osalta tietyistä henkilöstön erivapauksista. Tämän raportin tarkastelun kohteena ovat pääosin toimipaikkasopimuksen ulkopuoliset palvelut, ja erityisesti Helsingin kaupungin vastuualueelle kuuluneet vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalvelut.

Kemikaaliviraston henkilöstöä ja heidän perheenjäseniään varten järjestettyjä vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalveluita olivat keskitetty tiedotus ja Ekstranet-Internetsivusto, henkilökohtainen palveluneuvonta sekä asunnonvälitys. Toimipaikkasopimuksessa sovittuihin erityisoikeuksiin sisältyy oikeus laittaa lapsi julkiseen päivähoidon. Myös Eurooppa-koulun perustamispyrkimyksistä päätettiin toimipaikkasopimuksessa, ja tähän liittyi Eurooppa-kouluun valmistavan väliaikaisen koulutuksen järjestäminen.

Koska virasto aloitti toimintansa suoraan

Helsingissä ilman EU-virastoille tavallista 18 kuukauden alkua Brysselissä, Helsingin kaupunki tarjosi neuvontaa ja tukea viraston henkilöstöosastolle paitsi palveluista, joita julkinen hallinto tarjosi, myös niistä palveluista, joita virasto järjesti omille työntekijöilleen. Tämä kuvaa Helsingin kaupungin merkitystä asettautumisen alkuvaiheessa.

Laajemmin maahanmuuttopalveluihin yleistettäväksi palvelun muodoksi näyttäisi parhaiten sopivan keskitetyn tiedotustoiminnan jatkaminen sekä erityisryhmille kohdistettujen Internet-palveluiden kehittäminen. Keskitetty tiedotustoiminta jatkuukin Infopankkisivuston muodossa Internetissä. Jatkossa siihen olisi hyvä lisätä eurooppalaisia kieliä, ja näin tulleekin tapahtumaan maahanmuuton lisääntyessä näiltä kielialueilta.

Asunnonvälityspalvelu sellaisenaan kuin se tässä projektissa markkinoilta tilattuna palveluna tarjottiin, on heikoimmin yleistettävissä hintansa vuoksi. Maahanmuuttajat ovat yleensä oikeutettuja käyttämään julkisia asunnonvälityspalveluita jo nyt. Julkisen palvelun asuntojonot ovat kuitenkin sen verran pitkät, että on selvää, että mikäli Suomeen halutaan houkutella maahanmuuttajia työn perässä, asunnonvälityspalvelu saattaa muodostua etenkin pääkaupunkiseudulla välttämättömäksi. Toistaiseksi tämän tyyppisiä palveluja ovat ostaneet ulkomaisille työntekijöilleen lähinnä yksityisen sektorin työnantajat.

Viraston henkilöstölle järjestettyjä palveluita perusteltiin pääosin Suomen kansainvälisen markkinoinnin ja ulkomaisen työvoiman houkuttelemisen kautta. Lähtökohtaisesti määräaikaisilla työsopimuksilla työskentelevä viraston henkilöstö on nähtävissä ikään kuin käyntikorttina Suomesta muualle Eurooppaan, kun työntekijät ja heidän perheensä aikanaan palaavat kotimaihinsa.

Integraatio

Viraston työntekijän ja toisaalta perheen muiden jäsenten integraatio eroteltiin erilaisiksi prosesseiksi, joita määrittää ensinnäkin se, onko henkilöllä valmiiksi työpaikka Suomeen tullessaan. Työpaikan löytyminen kotona olevalle puolisololle määriteltiin hyvin keskeiseksi, jopa välttämättömäksi väyläksi sosiaaliseen integraatioon. Lasten kotoutumisen kontekstina nousi esiin koulussa ja päivähoitossa tapahtuva sosiaalistuminen. Käytännössä integroituminen määrittyi siis sosiaalisena kanssakäymisenä suomalaisen valtaväestön kanssa.

Tästä johtui, että huolimatta siitä, että työyhteisön sosiaalista merkitystä korostettiin, se nähtiin myös riskitekijänä kemikaaliviraston henkilöstön kohdalla. Virastoyhteisö, joka on kansainvälinen työyhteisö, saattaisi tämän näkemyksen mukaan johtaa eristäytymiseen omaksi saarekkeekseen, jonka vuorovaikutus suomalaisiin yhteisöihin olisi rajallinen.

Hallinnon rooli integraation edistäjänä nähtiin sosiaalisen kanssakäymisen tukijana suomalaisten kanssa normaalipalvelujen piirissä. Kouluissa ja päiväkodeissa yhteiset fyysiset tilat suomalaisten kanssa nähtiin tärkeinä, samoin kotona olevaan puolisoon kohdis-

tettavat työllistämistoimet. Tiedotuksella todettiin olevan suuri merkitys pääkaupunkiseudun mahdollisuuksien avaamisessa, esimerkiksi luontoalueiden käyttömahdollisuuksista sekä kulttuuripalveluista kerrottaessa.

Toisaalta kotoutuminen nähtiin niin omaehtoisena, että hallinnon mahdollisuudet sen edistämässä todettiin hyvin rajallisiksi. Tämä näkemys liittyy eräseen keskeiseen eroon kemikaaliviraston henkilöstön ja muiden työperäisten maahanmuuttajien välillä eli työsuhteiden laatuun. Viraston henkilöstön työsuhteet ovat lähtökohtaisesti määräaikaista, jolloin myös tulevaisuusorientaation voi ajatella olevan erilainen suhteessa maahanmuuttajiin, jotka tulevat Suomeen jäädäkseen. Määräajaksi tulevien ajateltiin suhtautuvan suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan ikään kuin kiinnostavana ympäristönä, jossa tärkeintä on, että peruspalvelut toimivat.

Viraston henkilöstön määräaikaisiin työsuhteisiin liittyy myös se, että henkilöstö ja heidän perheenjäsenensä nähtiin mahdollisina käyntikortteina Suomesta, kun he aikanaan palaavat kotimaihinsa. Tämä näkökulma oli esillä erityisesti silloin, kun pohdittiin syitä erityisiin vastaanotto- ja asettautumispalveluihin.

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for their time and interest: Minna Heikkilä from European Chemicals Agency; Jyri Ollila from Prime Minister's Office; Marja Terttu Mäkiranta from Ministry of Social Affairs and Health; Satu Heikkinen from Ministry of Education; and Henni Ahvenlampi, Riitta Venesmaa, Eero Waronen, Anu Riila, Eeva Penttilä, Satu Järvenkallas, Pasi Brandt, Mika Lappalainen, Eero Holstila and Hanna-Leena Nuutinen from City of Helsinki.

1. Introduction

The European Chemicals Agency began its operations in Helsinki on 1 June 2007 following lengthy preparations. Practical measures for the reception of the agency began once the Seat Agreement between the Finnish state and the European Commission had been signed.

The responsibility for co-ordinating reception of the Chemicals Agency lay with the Prime Minister's Office. A working group summoned by State Secretary Risto Volanen defined the aims of the project, linked partners up with the Chemicals Agency project, and settled the distribution of tasks and budget responsibilities. The Prime Minister's Office was deemed responsible for realising the project as a whole and managing public communications for the project. The City of Helsinki was given responsibility for arranging services for the reception and installation of Agency staff, which was the first phase of integration (*"kotouttaminen"*). The English-language word "integration" can be translated by two related but separate Finnish-language concepts: *"kotouttaminen"* and *"kotoutuminen"*. The former refers to the viewpoint of the parties attempting to actively integrate others – typically state employees or bodies – while the latter refers to the perspective of the individual undergoing integration.

The European Chemicals Agency's commencement in Helsinki was exceptional. A European Union agency will typically begin operating in Brussels under the European Commission's "wing" for the first 18 months, before transferring to its permanent site. However, the European Chemicals Agency began

its operations in Helsinki, which in turn meant that the City of Helsinki had a central role in the project.

The project was also of national importance. From the government's perspective, the project was above all an exercise in placing "Finland within Europe": Finland as an active player in a key European Union sector, and Finland as a domicile and working environment for European officials. Establishment of the Agency was also regarded as an opportunity to activate local chemicals-related business. In the background during the project's inception, concerns were also aired about how attractive Finland and the Helsinki region were as a place of work and residence to employees applying to work with the Agency. The European Chemicals Agency's earlier, much more limited brief had previously been the responsibility of a 40-person¹ European Chemicals Bureau in Ispra, Italy, and questions over climate and Finland's geographically marginal position were among the factors considered in terms of Helsinki's attractiveness as a site. These were among the starting points for the creation in Helsinki of a novel cluster of reception and installation services for Chemicals Agency employees.

Chapter three, "Aims and key recommendations", of the Finnish Government Bill (HE 88/2007) submitted to parliament states that

¹ The current Chemicals Agency's final strength in terms of staff is estimated to be around 450 employees.

the purpose of the Seat Agreement is to fulfil the EU chemicals REACH Regulation, the Protocol on the Privileges and Immunities of the European Communities, and the regulation required by the Protocol's rules for implementation, to the extent that the matter is regarded as needing clarification or new regulation in order to facilitate the initiation and consolidation of the Agency's operations in Finland. It is further specified that *"the Agency's establishment and operations in Finland will also require many practical arrangements which it has not been deemed necessary to define in the Seat Agreement"*. The emphasis of this report's examination is on the aforementioned practical arrangements. The principal focus is not on the establishment of the Agency per se, however, but rather on the reception and establishment of services conceived for Agency

employees either intending or considering relocation to Finland from abroad.

The European Chemicals Agency case illustrates how the City of Helsinki is able to implement integration services in co-operation with various government bodies and what form these take. The Chemicals Agency's arrival in Helsinki is interpreted as a case which reveals how novel integration services can be created through co-operation between government bodies, and how the organisers of the services understand the process of integration (cf. Laine, Bamberg & Jokinen 2007).

The experiences gained in the Chemicals Agency process will also help to improve services directed at other immigrants. Some of the services created during the project have already been transferred to the City's standard portfolio of services.

2. The research task and material

In research on social activity, a distinction is often made between researching the political system (*polity*), political activity (*politics*, typically performed by politicians) and the regulating aspect of political action (*policy*, typically performed by government officials in implementing a particular political line) (see Palonen 2002, 200). The services arranged by the City for Chemicals Agency staff were an example of policy.

Policy analysis has a long tradition in international social scientific discussion (see e.g. Fischer 2003). A choice is often made in such research between performing analysis *for* policy (i.e. to facilitate its execution) and analysis *of* policy (see e.g. Gordon, Lewis & Young 1997). This research has been performed for policy. More specifically, it is intended as information for policy-makers, particularly those City of Helsinki agents involved in the delivery of services for immigrants.

In this report, the case of the Chemicals Agency is discussed from three angles. Firstly, we investigate how the public sector organised itself to satisfy the service needs of a common target group and what sort of cooperative practices were created. It is important to pick apart examples of good practice by government, so that their reuse in future is recognised and systematic.

Secondly, the report examines the public services organised for Chemicals Agency employees and their families from the perspec-

tive of government agents. Investigating the contents of, and perceived need for, services will provide additional information regarding the sort of services typically required by highly educated immigrants and their families.

The third angle centres on what government agents understood the integration of highly educated immigrants to entail, that is, the immigrants' integration in the passive sense (see the Introduction above: "*kotoutuminen*") as individuals into Finnish society. Employees of the European Chemicals Agency were already employed upon their arrival in the country, so it is interesting to see how integration of highly educated and employed immigrants and their families was perceived within government, and how agents of each area of administration perceived their own role in supporting the integration process.

It is important to examine the integration services organised for Chemicals Agency staff in a situation where the proportion of Finland's population with a foreign background has grown, and continues to grow substantially, and where the demand for new, well-functioning services is also growing constantly.

The study material includes project-related documents and interviews with experts. Sixteen interviews were carried out, and they focused on the project's central agents and sectors. City of Helsinki officials make up a substantial proportion of those interviewed, since the research's emphasis lay on areas that fell

under the City's charge. The list of interviewees is as follows (organisation in brackets):

Anja Vallittu
(*City of Helsinki Administration Centre*)

Henni Ahvenlampi
(*City of Helsinki Administration Centre*)

Riitta Venesmaa
(*City of Helsinki Administration Centre*)

Eero Waronen
(*City of Helsinki Administration Centre*)

Anu Riila
(*City of Helsinki Personnel Centre*)

Eeva Penttilä
(*City of Helsinki Education Department*)

Satu Järvenkallas
(*City of Helsinki Social Services Department*)

Pasi Brandt
(*City of Helsinki Social Services Department*)

Mika Lappalainen
(*City of Helsinki Economic and Planning Centre*)

Eero Holstila
(*City of Helsinki Economic and Planning Centre*)

Hanna-Leena Nuutinen
(*City of Helsinki Health Centre*)

Satu Heikkinen
(*Ministry of Education*)

Marja-Terttu Mäkiranta
(*Ministry of Social Affairs and Health*)

Jyri Ollila
(*Prime Minister's Office*)

Jukka Malm
(*Prime Minister's Office/
Finnish Environment Institute*)

Minna Heikkilä
(*European Chemicals Agency*)

Interview material was deemed the best way to approach the subject in the early stages of the study, since there was an absence of existing literature on the subject. The minutes of various meetings are scattered across different areas, and some of them are also classified documents.

3. The establishment of the European Chemicals Agency in Helsinki

The establishment of the European Chemicals Agency in Finland was the result of a lengthy process. Initially, Finland's political figures had expressed a desire to see the European Food Safety Authority established in Finland, but this eventually fell into Italy's hands. Thereafter, Finland set its sights on the European Chemicals Agency. The goal was met, and on 13 December 2003 it was decided to locate the seat of the Chemicals Agency in Helsinki (2004/97/EY, EURATOM). The Chemicals Agency began to operate at the beginning of June 2007, as the so-called REACH Regulation² came into force (HE 88/2007).

The Agency is an independent legal body. Its staff are employed by the European Commission, one of the implications of which is their exceptional tax status in relation to other individuals working in Finland³. According to the REACH Regulation, the European Chemicals Agency is governed by the Protocol on the Privileges and Immunities of the European Communities (SopS 102–103/1994). The con-

ditions of employment which govern officials⁴ and other servants of the European Communities apply to the Agency's staff.

In compliance with the aforementioned regulation, the Finnish government and the European Chemicals Agency negotiated a Seat Agreement. Host agreements typically define the relations between international organisations and their host states. Finland has concluded this sort of agreement with, for example, international organisations operating here. The European Chemicals Agency is the first specialised EU agency situated in Finland, and as is mentioned in Finnish Government Bill (HE 88/2007), the existence of a Seat Agreement is an important issue from the perspective of Agency staff (*ibid.*).

The Seat Agreement comprises 16 articles in total (International treaty 11/2008). The most important of these in terms of provision of services are Articles 12 and 13. The twelfth article specifies that the children of Agency staff shall have access to municipal daycare services under the same conditions as children do in their municipality of residence. The thir-

² The REACH Regulation (EC) No 1907/2006 is a regulation by the European Parliament and Council of Ministers, and stands for Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals (REACH). The regulation amends around 40 different EU directives and constitutes binding legislation for all EU member states (Finnish Environment Institute).

³ Staff employed by the European Chemicals Agency pay taxes to the European Union, not to Finland.

⁴ According to Finnish Government Bill HE 88/2007, the European Chemicals Agency's staff are defined thus: "The European Chemicals Agency's staff shall constitute those officials designated or temporarily transferred by the European Commission or by member states, as well as other servants who the European Chemicals Agency employs as the execution of its tasks requires."

teenth article defines the access of the children of Agency staff to the Finnish school system. The government committed itself to promoting access for family members of Agency staff to primary education in Helsinki in accordance with Finnish legislation and to supporting the establishment of a European School in Helsinki.

According to Article 14 of the Seat Agreement, the Agency employees' immunities "*are granted in the interest of the Agency and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves*". Aside from the privileges and immunities listed in the Seat Agreement, the Agency's staff are bound by Finland's laws and decrees.

4. Administrative composition

The following is an examination of the officials and organisations charged with arranging reception and installation services for Chemicals Agency staff. Public services in Finland are organised in sectors, and immigrants require services from several sectors simultaneously. Service administration must work closely together so that services appear straightforward to new arrivals. For this reason, it may be presumed that co-operation between administrative sectors takes on an unusually significant role. The special legal position of Chemicals Agency staff also posed an additional challenge in arranging reception services for them.

Working groups operating on three levels were assigned to the project by the state. Personnel corresponding to the working groups' project were nominated from the City of Helsinki's own organisation by the Mayor of Helsinki. In the high-level steering group, the City government was represented by Deputy Mayor Pekka Korpinen. City Secretary Anja Vallittu was nominated as representative for the operational-level working group and Chief Communications Officer Eero Waronen as representative for the communications group.

The City Secretary co-ordinated the organisation within the City Administration Centre of those reception and installation services for which the City of Helsinki was responsible. The service adviser to the staff of the Chemicals Agency worked directly under her and, in addition to providing advice, gathered and compiled information for the Ekstranet web site tailored to Agency staff.

4.1 Emphases in administrative co-operation

Next is a description of the project organisation and co-operation between agents on an inter-administrative and regional level. The material has been analysed by examining what sort of co-operative practices took shape in the project.

The examination focuses on those organisations represented by the study interviewees, and the emphasis among these was upon City of Helsinki organisations. Excluded, thus, were a great number of agents and organisations with whom the interviewees have been in contact, but who were not, in the proper sense, agents in the organisation of installation services for Chemicals Agency staff. The form of co-operation under consideration is bilateral co-operation, evidence of which emerged in the interviews. Joint meetings to which all parties were invited, for example, are not considered in this examination.

The central authority, which in this project refers to the Prime Minister's Office and the City of Helsinki Administration Centre (the authorities co-ordinating the process), carried out bilateral co-operation both among themselves and with various other government sectors. There were two co-ordinators serving in the Prime Minister's Office, and their co-operation network was primarily extended to various government ministries. For its part, the City of Helsinki Administration Centre was made responsible for regional co-operation and for co-ordination of activities between

City of Helsinki organisations. One of the interviewees from the Prime Minister's Office described the co-operation thus:

"There was co-operation with information: I kept others up to date. As far as co-operation across the capital region goes, that was largely handled through [city central government]. They managed all the traffic between and within municipalities. From where I was sitting, the fact that we had an opposite number in the City who was familiar with all these organisations and procedures was a pretty good system. It made everything run really smoothly."

The interviewee emphasises that co-operation covered almost all matters:

"Yeah, I mean, if I stop and think about whether there were any matters where there wasn't co-operation – I can't think of anything which didn't involve that, kind of, element of co-operation."

The service adviser played a central role in the project, and the adviser's task description also defined organisation of other administrative agents. The service adviser served as a gatherer, compiler and distributor of information between Agency staff and various areas of administration. One interviewee described the arrangement from the perspective of public sector bodies as follows:

"It's been quite wise to have this kind of centralised point – so that the all the city's various public sector bodies didn't act in a way where the left hand doesn't know what the right hand is doing. In my

view it was an excellent way to organise it, and presumably it was also important from ECHA's perspective that the City of Helsinki spoke to them with one voice."

Project organisation was thus rather trouble-free from the perspective of both the customers and of administrative agents in other areas. As a result, there was relatively little need for co-operation between areas of administration, and matters were primarily handled through the central authority. One interviewee noted that:

"it was a great concept to have this specific office for these matters, because we knew that [the adviser] was gathering everything together and co-ordinating and inquiring, so we didn't need to set up any co-operation with the Agency ourselves. He – I imagine – carried out this co-operation between agencies by gathering us together and requesting information. So, if there hadn't been this one office, we would have been facing quite a different situation."

One can observe from the above comment that the number of co-operative relationships varied among project agents, depending on whether it was the project's central authority or individual public sector bodies. Of course, agents in public sector bodies did also have some other co-operative relationships beyond their fixed connection to the central authority. One good example of the need for cross-sector co-operation within the government was the issue of the rights of Agency staff and of their family members to social and healthcare services. Although fundamentally these come under the charge of the Ministry of Social Af-

fairs and Health, when speaking of Agency staff, this is tied up with the official domicile issue described in the previous chapter, which in turn comes under the charge of the Ministry of the Interior.

According to a central authority interviewee, regionality was not strongly present in the project, although it was identified as a general aim. The City of Helsinki's central government was in contact with other municipalities in the Capital region on an ad hoc basis, addressing issues affecting each municipality individually:

“When people move to other municipalities, such as when [for example] the first family moved to Sipoo, co-operation was carried out with Sipoo [afterwards]. And there have been discussions with other municipalities in the Helsinki region - as soon as we've been aware that some of the people moved there, we went through matters with [those municipalities]. They've received general information.”

Judging by the interview material, there has been very little regional co-operation between various areas of administration, the small amount that did take place was primarily restricted to information sharing. One interviewee described the situation thus:

“---They've [colleagues in the Capital region's other municipalities] been kept up to date on these matters. It was more a case of just informing people.”

He justifies this by saying:

“Helsinki had the chief responsibility here”.

On the other hand, in other interviews it was suggested that regional co-operation was already so close that the project did not necessitate any new aspects to these relationships, which in turn conveyed the impression that there was little co-operation for the Agency project:

“Given that we co-operate so closely with colleagues in Espoo, Vantaa and these other cities anyway.”

The following comment also supports this interpretation:

“It's an everyday thing nowadays, this Capital region co-operation, so we didn't have to search long for people to work with.”

According to interviewees from the project's central authority, conveying this regional approach to the customers was a particularly important part of communications:

“In this project, we were hoping that the municipalities would be able to communicate in tandem about what we are, but it hasn't yet worked out.”

The interviewee ascribes this to a failure by the project management to communicate the need to realise this joint communication with sufficient force.

“There would be a real need for that sort of [pan-regional communication] because this is a genuinely regional place of employment, so people want to know what these areas are like. I mean, if we haven't produced the sort of web site

where all four municipalities genuinely explain what each area is, according to this target group's needs – we do have helsinginseutu.fi, but it doesn't really serve this group – then we should at least have a paper we can present which gives this sort of impression.”

One example of regionality implemented in this project is the organisation of daycare. A contact person was nominated within the daycare unit of the City of Helsinki Social Services Department, who was in contact with colleagues in the Capital region's other municipalities. He operated as a link between the central authority and other municipalities and was able to speak as a proxy for other municipalities in planning meetings. That way, the central authority did not need to be in contact with the daycare units of each other municipality separately. The interviewees point out that although (even) in daycare terms, the issue only concerned a small number of children, there were many such small-scale matters in the project, so the centralised model which was adopted functioned well.

4.2 The quality of co-operation

In addition to co-operation networks, the interviewees were asked about the nature of co-operation: how co-operation between various organisations went, how successful and less successful co-operation manifested itself, and the reasons behind this. The intention is to investigate – and this was a subject of discussion in the interviews – whether the project produced any co-operative practices which could be extended to other efforts directed towards immigrants.

This is how one interviewee summed up his impressions of the Chemicals Agency project about a year after its conclusion:

“This may sound quite astonishing but, in my opinion, we didn't have any problems here.”

All interviewees agreed that the quality of co-operation was excellent, and in several interviews this was ascribed to the high level of motivation:

“This was an important thing to both of us - this job - to the City of Helsinki, but also to the government.”

One interviewee described the background to this motivation:

“I suppose that motivation also came from the sheer difficulty of this project, given that it was so difficult just to get the Agency here in the first place, and then there was this feeling that, now that we've got the thing, let's do the job properly. Maybe there's a bit of that Finnish need to show what we're capable of, – that we handle things well. And we can be proud that it's all done professionally.”

Comments similar to the following were also repeated in the interviews:

“Everyone felt that we were all working towards the same end.”

In addition to high motivation, another factor facilitating co-operation which was suggested by the interviewees was functional project

organisation, the chief advantages of which were centralised co-ordination and a project-specific resource in the role of the service adviser.

A further factor identified by several interviewees was the attempt to maintain a low threshold in terms of intercommunication. Whenever the situation required it, individual agents made direct contact with the person or agency who could provide necessary information or other assistance, thus avoiding time-consuming intermediary channels of communication. Requests for information and other contacts were not simply directed at superiors, to be delegated below.

According to the interviewees, money was naturally the source of most discussion, in other words, who would pay for services not included in the budget, such as communication. The interviewees nevertheless add that consensus was achieved on these issues. Another point of debate centred on daycare service needs and how they should be met. The alternatives were the principle of specialised services (for children under 10 months of age, as well as English-language daycare) and the principle of ordinary services, and discussion of these took place explicitly within the central authority. As is further observed in the chapter on service provision, the principle of normal services was ultimately adopted. One interviewee described the process as follows:

“it’s a question of protecting the interests that arise from one’s own role, defining just what normal means. And it’s essential to also have that discussion where one person’s task is to see to it that the job is performed as well as it can be, and the other’s task is to say ok, let’s do this as well as possible, but there have

to be limits somewhere, there are certain accepted limits in public service provision. At its most fruitful, it also means that people dare to have that discussion. But I’d definitely say that in future, with these one-off issues, as a large municipality, to a certain extent we often end up in a driving role, which makes co-operation with the ministry extremely important. I’m in no way saying that it went poorly, it didn’t. But it does just show how important [co-operation] is and how we need to be at those meetings at sufficient intervals because it’s the first thing this job [needs] – discussion.”

The European Chemicals Agency project did not lead to the production of any novel cooperative practices within the central authority. Existing contacts were of course strengthened. Some interviewees described the project as beneficial in creating networks. This is how one interviewee summed up the accumulation of social capital and familiarity with organisations:

“It’s always easier to make contact with people you know – you can send an email or just call, and, of course, to [also] know organisations outside the City, how they work and to know a bit about what they do. It’s useful. And I also think that, on the other hand, for both the state and for those other private service providers, it’s quite nice to observe that the City will help when necessary and is also capable of helping them. That maybe the [the issue] is handled a bit more broadly, they don’t just limit themselves to their own organisation but instead also turn their gaze this way.”

Some felt instead that the establishment of the Chemicals Agency was so specific a case that it is not possible to utilise the co-operative networks formed there in more general immigration issues. Each expert also has his or her own network of relationships, so it is not possible to speak of a single common network. Moreover, different people work on broader immigration issues and are responsible for immigration matters generally. These people were not involved in preparing reception and installation services for Chemicals Agency staff, as one interviewee noted.

The central role played by the City of Helsinki emerges in some of the comments by representatives from government ministries, when the discussion turned to the possibility of continuing tight co-operation on immigration matters:

“No, it hasn’t been discussed. I suppose we’ve been quite trusting that the City [of Helsinki] is very much an active partner here. That it’s taken care of. It’s an impression that’s nevertheless backed up by evidence of resources and dedicated staff and all sorts of information services and such. It’s organised rather well”. Another ministerial representative commented: “The City of Helsinki actually functions fairly well in arranging these matters like immigration and teaching for speakers of foreign languages and such, so I wouldn’t say that this has particularly brought us any new information. We rather received that from them [the City of Helsinki].”

5. Services

The following is an examination of the starting points in terms of arranging services, and the special agreements made in doing so. In section 5.2, both the service needs and how they were met are examined. There is also an examination of which arranged services were publicly funded and which were left for Agency staff to purchase on the open market. This section also examines how the interviewees defined Agency staff and their families as service users in relation to other immigrants arriving in Finland to take up work. Finally, the section examines whether the process produced any new types of service which, in the view of the interviewee, would be suitable for general adoption in immigrant-focused services.

5.1 Services: starting points

The entitlements and responsibilities of Finland's statutory social security system arise on the basis of either residence or employment (Government Bill HE 88/2007). A person residing in Finland refers to a person whose home and dwelling is in Finland and who permanently and primarily resides here. Persons residing in Finland are entitled to such social security provision as child benefit and some other social security provisions from Finland's Social Insurance Institution Kela. A person residing in Finland is also entitled to municipality-run social and healthcare services as intended by the Act on the Municipality of Domicile (201/1994). In his or her employment relationships, the person falls under

Finnish statutory earnings-related pension insurance, accident insurance and unemployment protection (HE 88/2007).

The starting point for services for Chemicals Agency staff is Article 15 of the Protocol on the Privileges and Immunities of the European Communities. It states that all European Communities' officials and their family members are *within the jurisdiction of the Communities' own social security system, and thus outside their national social security system*. For this reason, the Seat Agreement frees Finland's social insurance system of the additional expense of providing services to Agency staff. The Agency's own social security responsibilities include pension provisions specified in staff contracts, sickness insurance – or healthcare – as well as family benefits (Government Bill HE 88/2007).

The arrangement described above is a simple model of the division of responsibility for arranging social and healthcare services. The actual situation is more complex, however, since Municipality of Residence is assigned on an individual level, which means that, for example, the spouse of an Agency employee who is independently employed in Finland is assigned Municipality of Residence. This creates differences in status among members of the same family. Thus, in clarifying the conditions for service provision, identifying individuals from among the group was among the authority's first tasks. This process of identification took time and was finalised in autumn 2007, at which point the Agency had already begun operating. This chapter examines pub-

lic services arranged for Agency employees and their families from the perspective of central authority agents.

5.2 Services by different areas of administration

The interviewees worked in different areas and at different levels of administration – some more concrete, others more abstract. At the beginning of each area's examination is a presentation of the interviewee's/interviewees' role and tasks in the Chemicals Agency project.

Although the report's chief emphasis is on services external to the Seat Agreement, this chapter examines the more central types of services subject to negotiation, such as information and personal advice, healthcare services, daycare, procurement of housing, and schooling. This group includes also those services which are legally specified in the Seat Agreement but whose auxiliary services, or whose precise form of delivery, was subject to later negotiation.

Because the Agency began its operations in Helsinki, without the 18-month period in Brussels that is usual for EU agencies, the City of Helsinki's advice and support to the Agency's personnel department encompassed not only public services but also those services which the Agency arranged for its own employees.

Information and personal advice services

The City of Helsinki Administration Centre managed communications for the project to the extent that it was directed at arriving or potential employees. The following is an examination of the project from the perspective

of individuals working with information and personal advice services.

The aim of information activities was to inform the Agency's arriving employees in as comprehensive a manner as possible of all the practical matters relating to organising work and family life in Helsinki. This includes all potentially required information regarding, for example, public transport, housing, schooling, daycare, healthcare services, cultural amenities, sport and fitness services, and so forth. As one interviewee working with communications notes, on the basis of discussions within the communications group, it was also considered important to share information about

“what Finland is and what are the cultural heritage and traditions etc.”

The most important channel was the Internet, but so-called mini-fairs and paper brochures were also used to provide information on the same basic matters.

The most substantial investment in terms of services directed at Chemicals Agency staff was the employment of a personal services adviser. The adviser conveyed questions from Agency staff to various areas of administration, informed Agency staff of the services offered by various areas, developed the advice service on the basis of customer feedback, and sought and actively relayed information regarding even the most varied installation services and contexts that Agency staff might require. Thus, an individual who has moved to, or is considering moving to this country might contact the adviser with various questions or requests for information, instructing the adviser personally over the phone or by email.

The services adviser's tasks also included translating Finland's official practices and

service system for non-Finnish-speakers – not simply linguistically, but also culturally. In many cases, a simple linguistic translation was inadequate, and official information had to be modified to make it more comprehensible to outsiders. Advice during the initial stage centred on points where the Finnish system differed from the system in the arrival’s country of origin. One example of this is the principle of residential proximity in schooling and daycare: in the Finnish system, the location of a family’s dwelling determines where that family’s children attend daycare and school – something which arrivals from elsewhere in Europe could not have predicted.

Once the Agency had begun operating, the services adviser’s work and the pool of information accumulated therein were partially transferred to the Caisa cultural centre where, in addition to continuing to provide advice, the adviser participated in further development and planning of immigration-related services. For the entirety of the Chemicals Agency project’s duration, the services adviser was an important co-ordinator and communicator of information on services for Agency staff. This is how he described the aims of his work:

“Right from the beginning the aim has been to provide a soft landing for Chemicals Agency staff and their family, and to enable them to enjoy their residence in Helsinki, to be satisfied.”

The specificity of the personal advice service is suggested by the following comment from one communications-group interviewee:

“-- which was entirely new, I don’t remember any other time when the City decided that we were going to offer this

sort of personalised communication to a particular group, that they would receive extra service, assistance with their banking, with arranging contracts and that sort of thing.”

The most central online service was the Ekstranet web site specifically tailored to Chemicals Agency staff. The web site was set up prior to the service adviser’s employment, and once the adviser had begun work, the web site was developed in response to customer feedback. The intention was to have the web site meet the informational requirements of Agency workers arriving in Finland to the greatest possible extent. The web site was thus developed in a reciprocal process with Agency staff, who were able to log into the web site with the help of a password. Through Ekstranet, it was also possible to conduct surveys of staff before their arrival, which made it possible to anticipate schooling, healthcare, and daycare service needs. In contrast to more traditional public service web sites, Ekstranet also featured links to the contact details of private service providers.

According to interviewees from the communications group, Finland is at the forefront among EU countries in terms of online services. However, the majority of areas identified by the communications group as in need of future development were bound up with Finnish government organisations and other partners. The group strove to fulfil all wishes, but this was not always possible. One such wish was:

“It would be nice if there was some kind of cosy online service which managed to convey the vibes of the Finnish way of life. Well, it’s not terribly easy to produce that in such a way that the service has

any actual use. It basically ended up being restricted to factual information, the information we put up there.”

Another example of the service providers’ ambition is the suggestion of an online calendar for key persons in contact with certain staff, which would report in real time the location and future availability of these contact persons at any given moment. The benefits of applications such as these were ultimately deemed too small to merit the investment, however, so the idea was abandoned.

Because the supply of Finnish web sites directed towards immigrants was almost non-existent at the project’s inception, the informational needs of Chemicals Agency staff also ended up serving the informational needs of immigrants more generally:

“The idea was that this could serve as a pilot scheme for our own immigrant services which don’t exist, or which have been quite limited, given that we haven’t actually received a huge amount of immigrants. Yeah, it pretty much worked out that whatever was gathered for the ECHA web site – okay, healthcare and specialised services aside – much of it was also sort of just general immigrant information. I know a few people myself who moved to Finland who don’t have anything to do with ECHA, but who sought information from the ECHA web site. Given that they couldn’t find it anywhere else.”

In this sense, the communications group established to service Chemicals Agency employees performed a dual role, and information gathered on the Ekstranet web site was then utilised on the Info Bank web site (www.

infopankki.fi) for immigrants, which features information about Finland in 15 different languages directed at new arrivals here.⁵

The beginning of 2008 saw the establishment of a working group for online communications directed at immigrants, which includes representatives from the Capital region and the Info Bank service. In the working group, regionality is discussed as an aim and as a point of development. Info Bank’s biggest problem has been that Espoo and Vantaa are not represented there. The interviewees ascribe this to the limited amount of resources. The aim for the future is to turn the service into a genuinely regional and also national immigrant service. In planning the service, several questions of principle must be considered, such as whether communications aimed towards specific target groups should be placed on the web site. The project is expensive, so the government has committed to meeting half of the development costs, according to one interviewee. Municipalities in the Capital region are to fund the other half.

Healthcare services

The Agency’s staff do not fall under Finland’s public healthcare system, rather the Agency organises healthcare services for its staff by concluding agreements with private providers. The Agency also concludes separate agreements for specialised nursing services. In addition to this, first aid care is the right of anyone in Finland who needs it.

In the project, the healthcare services rep-

⁵ Initially, the Info Bank was established primarily to serve refugees, but the selection of languages has been extended in recent years. The number of European languages offered by the service remains quite limited, however.

representative who was interviewed served as a contact person for healthcare services. He participated in the “Helsinki helps” mini-fair, among other events. His role was to convey to the adviser’s office information required from the City of Helsinki Health Centre, and also to inform his own agency’s executive director, departmental heads and lawyers about events in the Chemicals Agency project.

Municipal maternity clinic services emerged as one special need. The Agency was offered the possibility of purchasing these services as required. No specialised services were organised, nor was there even any discussion to that effect. The interviewee stresses the statutory nature of healthcare services, which left officials little room for manoeuvre.

Finnish healthcare services were already in possession of a guide detailing the rights of foreign citizens to care, so it was not necessary to create a new one specifically for serving Chemicals Agency staff and their family members. In terms of healthcare services, the emphasis in the Chemicals Agency project was on providing information. Material was distributed through media such as mini-fairs. It touched on instructions for emergency situations, healthcare services open around the clock, etc. Information was chiefly directed towards the Agency’s personnel department, leaving it to share this information with its own employees, but emails received directly from customers were also answered.

From the perspective of healthcare services, the primary aspect distinguishing Agency employees and their family members from other immigrants arriving in Finland to take up work was status. The Agency’s own Seat Agreement played a decisive role in relation to entitlements and duties regarding Finnish healthcare services. As a formal considera-

tion, employer-contracted healthcare services are common practice in the corporate world, for instance, nor in this regard are the Agency staff exceptional in their use of healthcare services when compared with other immigrants arriving to take up work.

Because no special types of healthcare service were created for the Agency’s staff and their families, there were also no innovations in the Chemicals Agency project which could be implemented in immigrant services more generally.

Social services: daycare

As noted above, all EC officials are within the jurisdiction of the Community’s own social-security system and thus outside the Finnish social-security system. One exception in social services, however, is daycare, which is provided for in the Seat Agreement. According to this Seat Agreement, the children of the staff of the Agency shall have access to daycare organised by Finnish municipalities under the same conditions as children do in their municipality of residence. A client fee for the daycare services rendered may be charged in conformity with the provisions of the legislation concerning client fees in social welfare and health increased by the amount of the educational allowance applied to children under the age of six under EU Staff Regulations. Such a client fee must not exceed the real expenses incurred for the provision of those services. At the time that the Government Bill HE 88/2007 was submitted, and as is stated therein, the highest allowable fee is EUR 293 per month per child. The Bill states that resulting additional costs to the municipalities will be compensated with funds from the state budget (HE 88/2007).

The following section examines organisation of daycare. Three individuals were interviewed, two of whom were responsible for daycare in the City of Helsinki Social Services Department and one of whom was from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. The emphasis of the analysis is on the negotiations within the City of Helsinki Social Services Department since, from the Ministry's perspective, daycare issues were primarily a question of interpreting legislation.

In the beginning, it was not known how many people required daycare services, so it was **uncertain** that there would be sufficient places available. The interviewees note that in reality there has been less demand daycare places has been much more limited than anticipated. By the time interviews were conducted (summer 2008), less than 10 places had been requested.

The most important preferences in terms of daycare centred on the language used and the eligibility of children under the age of ten months for daycare. The Chemicals Agency staff expressed an interest in English-language daycare, which is not available as a municipal service in Helsinki. In Finland, publicly provided daycare does not cater for children under the age of ten months. In EU-employment relationships, the period of parental benefits is markedly shorter than in Finland, so parents place their children in daycare as early as three months after birth.

With regard to both English-language daycare and daycare for children under the age of 10 months, it was decided to offer only the normal municipal daycare services. The Agency's staff use private providers for daycare of children aged 3–10 months. The interviewees stress that the starting point here, as was the case for daycare arrangements more

broadly, was equality and the so-called normality principle.

“Nevertheless, we then decided – and in retrospect it seems quite a good solution – that we wouldn't grant any [special entitlements], because it's about equality. It was an issue where we said: actually, we do also sometimes get questions from Finns about this [so it would be unfair to grant entitlements in this case].”

Information in English about daycare services – private sector options included – was provided to the Agency's staff. It was decided that applications for daycare from Agency staff would be handled centrally in the City of Helsinki Social Services Department, so that applications would not be lost. Thus, applications for a daycare place are delivered to the daycare unit of the City of Helsinki Social Services Department, whence they are directed to the municipality in which the family is domiciled, if this is not Helsinki. The interviewees state that when customers make contact, they are often unsure of their own domicile of residence, so this centralised system ensures that applications join the queue in good time and that the four-month obligation period⁶ can begin.

The interviewees had not observed any differences in the service needs of Agency staff in comparison to other immigrants taking up work in Finland; instead, they were more likely to see commonalities. Similarly to Agency staff, many work-based immigrants work long hours, so the demand for evening daycare

⁶ The municipality's obligation is to arrange a daycare place within four months of an application's submission date.

services was not a new one. One difference between the needs of Agency staff and Finnish public-service users is that the former typically apply for a daycare place near the Chemicals Agency building. Finns, instead, are more likely to prefer a place in their own residential area. Commenting on this difference, one interviewee notes that:

“There’s also of course the fact that, at least in the beginning, it’s the place they’re first attached to – a Finn wants to integrate into his neighbourhood – but, there may be several reasons, they may feel that there’s a sense of security having their children close by.”

As was the case with healthcare services, there were also no innovations in daycare services produced in the Chemicals Agency project which could be implemented more generally. More efficient provision of English-language information was the most significant spin-off and the web site for daycare services

“was knocked into shape”,

as one interviewee notes. The need for English-language service has persistently increased, and service directed towards the Chemicals Agency staff was seen as part of a wider process of internationalisation:

“That’s why it wasn’t such a strange thing; you can see that we’ve become more international within the space of a few years, and this will only become increasingly apparent. In that sense the [Chemicals Agency] was just one part of that process”.

The weak demand for public-sector daycare may be linked to the fact that no specialised, public services were organised to supplement the basic daycare entitlement. More fundamental a reason, however, was presumably the fact that the number of children of Agency staff living in Finland is smaller than was anticipated. Firstly, this results from a decision by some staff to commute between Finland and their home countries. Secondly, as one interviewee noted, the group of Agency staff included “[surprisingly many] people living alone”.

Procurement of housing as a service

Along with personalised advice, one of the biggest investments in organising reception and installation services for Chemicals Agency staff was the assistance provided in finding a flat or home. In discussions within the so-called high-level working group, representatives of the government and the City of Helsinki agreed that the City would provide assistance to Agency staff in organising housing. The group also decided to seek recreational areas for Agency staff. The motive for this service was the desire to ensure that the Agency was provided with everything it needed to function properly, including well-settled employees:

“It was about ensuring that housing wasn’t an impediment to recruiting staff. Making it possible to say with confidence that you’ll find a home here - in this sense, this city is pleasant and services work well. That was the starting point.”

Among those interviewed, the officials from the City of Helsinki Administration Centre were the ones with direct experience in plan-

ning the procurement of housing as a service. For the Chemicals Agency project, they served as planners and experts in housing procurement issues.

At the beginning of the project, there was no knowledge of the housing-related needs of Agency staff. A dearth of previous experience further complicated the initial process of defining goals. It was known that in Central Europe, rented dwellings are more likely to come fully furnished than in Finland, and it was estimated that there would be much demand for furnished flats. From the perspective of new arrivals, a home is the most important, indispensable practical issue, and there was a desire to ensure that the process of finding a home ran smoothly. It was also assumed – partly mistakenly – that the arrivals would have quite high demands:

“that their expectations and hopes, their level of housing, and their requirements might be quite high.”

One interviewee describes the service’s aims and presuppositions as follows:

“The level of service ultimately depends on what the people coming here want. In that respect there were mistaken ideas: it was imagined that there would be demand for luxury properties, and this would be a market for luxury properties; it wasn’t understood that the majority of these people are just ordinary employees even if they are well-paid, that they don’t want to spend large amounts on housing; instead they just want quite ordinary flats. [At least that’s what] the majority [want].”

At the initial stage, a number of quite creative ideas were discussed, such as construction of an entire block of flats specifically for Agency staff. This idea was abandoned fairly quickly, and discussion began about how the existing markets could be utilised:

“in this region there are half a million; that’s a pretty large housing market, you’ll find something for sure. It’s just a question of digging it out. And if there isn’t the supply, there will soon be enough once the demand comes through. So the question is, how do we get this demand and supply to meet. There’s no need to build new houses, especially none that are built specifically for EU employees, nor do they want to live in the same house; we just need to Figure out how to work these markets”.

It was decided to adopt the model from international companies, Nokia’s operational model, for example. A so-called re-location consultant arranging housing for foreign arrivals was sought from the market. The service was put to a competitive bid and won by the company Vuokraturva Helsinki Relocation. Vuokraturva’s services were utilised during the Agency’s first year of operation, from May 2007 to May 2008.

In addition to the housing service, tours of Helsinki’s residential areas were organised on “Helsinki Day”:

“One headed west and the other east where they went through different residential areas, and even into homes; there were some places where we managed to get inside, so they’d have some sort of

idea of the level, and of course we told them the prices and such”.

The interviewee emphasises that planning the housing service had nothing to do with setting up any concrete services; rather, there was an attempt to create a model which would allow the needs of service users to emerge clearly. Ultimately, the City played only a minor role in determining the details of housing needs.

“you don’t need some official looking over their shoulder and deciding what sort of flats they actually wanted in the end.”

Another interviewee mentions the general criteria in managing housing:

“There were those sorts of needs that appeared to be important to many – naturally, if they came as a family – that they are all in one package, like is it possible to get a place near their future schools. The location was important – yeah, certainly the majority of homes were found here in the city centre. That’s where they work, after all. They want to live in the city centre, or they’ve headed for a neighbouring municipality, such as Espoo or Sipoo, if they’re more interested in a detached house”.

A site in Vuosaari was identified as a place of recreation for the Agency staff, and the Agency’s deputy director was taken to inspect the site. The staff decided that it was too small, however, and the City limited itself to providing a list of agents who organise recreational services or who could find an appropriate place.

The interviewees stated that they had so little experience with immigrant issues and that, on the other hand, the project was such a specific case, that they did not find parallels with other immigrants arriving in Finland to take up work. They felt that, in many ways, the Chemicals Agency project was a pilot-style learning process for public-sector organisations.

The idea that the housing service could be transferred and applied to immigration services more generally provoked conflicting comments. One interviewee suggested that it might be an effective method in attracting foreign labour to Finland:

“This same template could work really well. Because that’s the real threshold issue for many migrants – it’s something basic which should be managed by the time they come here”.

Another interviewee stressed the independence of companies in recruiting foreign labour and organising installation services:

“I’d suspect not, because this has now been sorted out together with the Helsinki Regional Chamber of Commerce. These companies are quite independent, and they obtain these services on the market, and many of these recruiting firms have been established and all sorts of re-location firms which offer services. So ultimately, there aren’t too many things they need from the City. Actually, at the beginning of this process, the City kind of had the illusion that it would organise everything, and when discussions were had with the Chamber of Commerce, it was observed that these companies don’t need us. This Nokia example is

of course on a large scale, they've never come asking us for anything, they've organised it [themselves]. --- When Metso Automation is looking for employees from Poland, it has its own channels, its own subcontractors and services. Or when Espericare is recruiting nurses from the Philippines, it doesn't need the City to help it".

Education: The European School

The Seat Agreement states that Finland's Government will promote access of family members of the staff of the Agency to primary education in the Helsinki area in accordance with the Finnish legislation. The Government also commits to supporting the project for establishing in Helsinki a school accredited to European Schools. In Regulation 1612/68 of the Council on the free movement of workers in the Community, and in accordance with Article 12 of the Directive, Member States must take measures to secure for the children of Agency servants the best possible conditions for this education (HE 88/2007).⁷

In December 2005, a working group led by the Ministry of Education was established to investigate the educational needs and possibilities in the Capital region of the children of Chemicals Agency staff arriving and of other international staff. At that time, the working group suggested the establishment of a European School or a partner school in Helsinki (HE 88/2007.)

⁷ In Finland, basic education and compulsory schooling, as well as pre-primary education, are regulated by the Basic Education Act (628/1998), upper secondary schooling is regulated by the General Upper Secondary Schools Act (629/1998), and vocational education is regulated by the Vocational Education Act (630/1998). (HE 88/2007.)

Two interviews were conducted with officials involved with arranging educational services. One of the interviewees is in the service of the Ministry of Education, and the other works in the City of Helsinki Education Department. Both have participated in the working groups, planning education services for the children of Chemicals Agency staff.

The aim of the project was obvious to the interviewees: the aim of basic education is always to arrange quality schooling for the children. A further factor linked to education arranged for the family members of Agency staff was the need to ensure that the educational requirements of the children would not be a barrier to recruiting highly skilled labour. Examined below are the arguments and factors considered by the education experts, which led to the establishment of the European School. Other education-related needs are also examined, as are the ways in which they were met.

The City of Helsinki Education Department was already fairly well prepared for the Agency project before the initiation of practical measures. Information about arranging education services had already been sought in 2005 in Luxembourg, for example, which receives much work-based immigration. Basic information was also available in the form of results from an earlier survey of international families living in the Capital region, which investigated, among other things, the families' needs and hopes with regard to primary and secondary education.

"So we had information about what problems they had. So in that sense I think we were well prepared, and when I was in the first government working group – who was it that led it again? Jyri Ollila - then I had all the statistics, eve-

rything was mapped out, how many places there were in schools, etc.”

The interviewee predicted that there would be few children on the following grounds:

“Just the general introversion of Finland and such made me assume that e.g. secondary-school-aged children would finish their education in their own country, and then it was to be assumed that plenty of the people who came here – given that the union had just opened up – would be from new member states and among them there would be a majority of young women without children. Well all of this has proven to be the case – there are indeed very few children.”

It was observed that Agency staff were more demanding than Finnish parents with regard to their children’s schooling:

“I’m not a teacher myself, so I can’t say what it’s been like in practice, the work in schools where there are plenty of immigrant children. I’ve been told by teachers who’ve been in Brussels that over there this parental activity is quite considerable, and parents’ demands are quite high. So it perhaps differs at least from us – certainly they’re able to be more demanding than is generally the case here.”

Because Agency staff work quite long days, it became apparent during the organisation of schooling services that there was also a need for an after-school club to be arranged. The government decided against arranging such a club, however. Rather, as is generally the case

with the European School, the parents organise it themselves:

“The system works like this: the parents arrange transport, meals, long afternoon activities and everything like that. It’s a different [system] to ours”.

As well as meeting the needs of children of Agency staff, the decision to establish the European School was also made with a view to the future:

“Finns returning [from time spent living abroad], for example, which is happening more and more all the time”.

Or as another of the interviewees summed up:

“The fundamental thing was that it was self-evident that Helsinki would quickly become more international; we in the school system already knew that.”

In terms of education services, one of the more significant experiments in the portfolio of services developed for this project was the temporary enrolment of the children of Chemicals Agency staff at the Helsingin Normaalikoulu school, once the Agency had begun operating. This took place while permanent premises for the European School were first sought and then renovated. For this purpose, a programme of so-called preparatory schooling was developed for the European School, and this temporary arrangement concerned the 2007–2008 school year. The proper European School began operating in autumn 2008. Its current premises are on Bulevardi, near the Chemicals Agency.

In connection with this, a discussion began about opening the European School to others besides the children of Agency staff. In the background to this was the idea of socialising immigrant children:

“This is also important in terms of integration.”

The European School began operating in autumn 2008. Primarily, the school was established for the children of the staff, working in Finland, of an Agency of the European Communities (the European Chemicals Agency) sited in Finland. Conditions permitting, from autumn 2010 the school will also be opened to other (category II) children (European Schooling Helsinki web site: www.esh.fi).

The school's establishment was novel in an operational sense. The last time a state school was founded was more than half a century ago, so that, as one interviewee puts it:

“the memory of that wasn't there any more: we set out on the basis of not much to build this thing, by the book as it were”.

The interviewee viewed the Agency staff as comparable with other international labour, so

the results of surveys on the needs of the latter were also utilised in planning services for Agency staff. It is nevertheless apparent that concrete educational needs are quite individual: they depend on where the child attended school previously, at what level, and what the child's country of departure is (not necessarily their home country).

One project service which could possibly be offered to immigrants more generally was the so-called medium language experiment adopted in the European School. A pupil on the English-language track, for example, would choose a third language at a later stage, such as German or French, through which he or she would study some other subjects. The interviewee found the experiment rather interesting and possibly worth utilising even at the national level.

The demarcation line between the public and private sectors in schooling services was primarily around school healthcare. Along with their parents, the children of Agency staff are covered by the staff's medical contract. In terms of other “accompanying services” provided to the children of Agency staff, school meals are charged. In addition, the children are charged fees for certain materials. In other respects, the school is free of charge.

6. Integration of European Chemicals Agency staff – the perspective of services administration

The following is an examination of how the interviewees perceived the concepts of integration and *kotoutuminen* (i.e. integration on the individual, passive level; see Chapter 1: Introduction) – the two shall be examined in juxtaposition – in this context, and to what extent they viewed them as something that could be promoted by any area of administration. In this context, integration is considered particularly at the level of the integrating (*kotoutuminen*) individual. It should be noted that the organisation of reception and installation services, which the City of Helsinki was responsible for, does not refer directly to support for the process of *kotoutuminen* or integration. The integration of immigrants is the aim of state and local immigration policy, and following John Berry (Berry et al. 1992) it is examined as one model of so-called acculturation. In this sense, integration and *kotoutuminen* describe a process in which the individual strives to increase his or her participation in the social arenas of the destination country (for example in the social, cultural and economic environments) but also appreciates belonging to his or her own ethnic minority group.

By organising the reception and installation services, it was intended to facilitate from the very beginning tangible attachments to the new country, place of residence, and use of services. It was known that integration as an aim was not a topic of active discussion by interviewees when considering ad-

vice and installation services for Agency staff and their family members. Instead, their aims were more concrete. Precisely for this reason, however, it is interesting to examine how government agents understand *kotoutuminen* and how they describe the government's opportunities for supporting *kotoutuminen*.

6.1 The Integration (*kotoutuminen*) of ECHA staff

In discussion, the concepts of integration and *kotoutuminen* were treated as synonyms. Some of the interviewees stated that the issue of integration was not actively considered during the process, while others stated that it had been given a great deal of consideration. All in all, the emphasis in discussion of integration was on social and cultural dimensions. A large proportion of interviewees defined integration of the target group as becoming socialised into Finnish communities: neighbourhood, a school, a daycare place, recreational clubs etc. Exercising influence at the level of society was also mentioned as one possible arena in which people could strengthen their sense of attachment. Cultural integration was instead seen as participation in various events, for example concerts.

The interviewees drew a distinction between the status of Agency staff on the one hand, and of their family members on the other. It was thought that individuals on the

Agency's payroll would integrate into their own office community relatively quickly and effortlessly:

"I've understood that it's usually easy to be one of the employees, like those engineers at Nokia: they arrive and go into the office, where they start [tapping] away at the computer; it's all the same whether they're in Singapore or in Helsinki."

The employees' spouses, however, are usually unemployed, non-Finnish-speaking job seekers, according to the central authority's interviewee. Without Municipality of Residence, they are usually not entitled to unemployment benefits and employment subsidies, which are intended for municipal residents. This distinguishes them from other unemployed immigrants. The group's needs remained relatively obscure to the authority's planners:

"In a way, what was left most open in all of this was the spouses' integration and their possibilities for employment. It's been talked about many times, the fact that that it slipped through the net, that we don't know what each employee's spouse wants on the whole. We didn't put a lot of energy into finding out about it [the spouses and their needs]."

Along with financial independence, the employees' access to Finnish working life was seen as an important, in some interviews even indispensable, precondition for social integration:

"In Finnish society there is the stay-at-home wife, certainly she's in her own cubicle".

The interviewee continued by describing residential areas which are quiet during the day, noting that:

"They must have seemed quite dead."

Embracing "Finnishness" in some other way was seen as an alternative to integration through work:

"But then this family's – to establish a relationship with Finnish and Finnishness, I'd think that if they're able to live here with that kind of everyday joy, I'd think they'd manage to adapt. In a way, finding their own family's familiar and nice habits, apply them to this Finnish context."

One of the interviewees noted, however, that it is relatively difficult to forge social ties with Finns:

"This has been quite a monocultural society, there are good sides here. For example, people speak English, but certainly you can see that it's difficult to break into Finnish social circles."

The development of children's integration was also seen as its own process, separate from that of the parents. This is illustrated, for example, by the following comment by a planner of daycare services:

"These ECHA people, well it's also their children, they're the main customers, when we're talking about their integration we're talking about a matter quite different from ECHA's employees."

In addition to daycare, the other central space

of integration is the school. In terms of the path taken in their schooling, the children of Agency staff are in a special situation. The aim in establishing the European School was to ensure coherence of the syllabus and learning environment:

“What sort of curriculum is followed there [in schools] around Europe in these European Schools, so one aim was to create the sort of [situation] where these children who had done a few years there, other years here, their learning path or passage through school would be as consistent as possible, that there was a clear continuum. So that they didn’t end up jumping from one system to another. So it’s hoped that they also experienced the establishment of this school in that way, that it would make things easier for them.”

One of the interviewees also used relatively strong words to describe the rootlessness of the children resulting from the international nature of their parents’ jobs.

“Animal protection works better than protection of children. Animal protection takes care to quarantine animals when transporting them from one country to another. But it’s cruel how these people pursuing a career transport their children from one country to another – they don’t lay down roots anywhere, and they’re carried here, there and everywhere, it’s quite absurd --- While here in Finland parents are thinking, whether the child is left in the same group that he’s become accustomed to at daycare, or when he moved to lower secondary school, they whirl around like satellites.”

The precondition for integration, opportunities for interaction, varied depending on the arrival’s family and life situation. Families with children, for example, have more opportunities for natural interaction by virtue of their children, than do individuals living alone in Finland. One interviewee noted that:

“There are surely big differences here if you think that it’s a single ECHA employee [who has children] or without children. They integrate into Finnish [society] in quite a different way – They’re no doubt quite work-focused, but then if they’re families with children, they end up integrating or get to integrate in quite a different way, because they put their children into this system, outside of the working environment. Then they’re no doubt similar to [any] other families. Especially if they’ve chosen municipal daycare. They will notice that there are other non-Finns.”

The interviewees felt that there was a risk that the employees would become strongly attached to their own Agency community. From this perspective, it was considered problematic in terms of integration if the Agency’s staff spent their free time exclusively with colleagues, because it could lead to segregation of the group from the rest of society. This in turn might cause them to form only a weak attachment to Finnish society. This sort of inference is supported by, among other things, the fact that, even if there are also Finnish employees, the Agency’s working language is English, and Finnish is not needed, as one interviewee noted.

In some interviews, the individuals’ own active approach was seen as decisive from the perspective of integration:

“So I’d regard it as something largely left to the interest and initiative of these employees and their family members themselves, how much they want to study the Finnish language, how much they want to integrate, how many place their child in a Finnish kindergarten, and how many want an au pair who speaks their own language, so yeah, in my view it’s largely their own choice.”

This perspective is also supported by the target group’s legal status, as one of the interviewees noted:

“In any case, the measures taken in their integration are independent (outside of the Integration Law), since the majority don’t have the possibility of official municipal residence in Finland. Consequently, the majority of services offered to municipal residents are not available to them. One of the most important restricted services is the integration programme and its language and other studies.”

6.2 The authority’s role in promoting integration

For many of the interviewees, the role of their own administrative area in promoting integration was defined by the attempt to support social intercourse between Finns and Agency staff and family members within the domain of normal public services. For example, schools – which are already vitally important places of integration in terms of such matters as language teaching – were instructed to hold joint parents’ evenings so that the affairs of

the children of Agency staff were not handled separately, rather, at least at the beginning of the evening, all of the parents were in the same space. Shared physical space in schools alongside local children was also seen as important, as was tight co-operation with Finnish schools in the area during the phase when the European School was beginning its operations. The significance of social interaction was also behind criticism which, according to one interviewee, was directed towards the establishment of European Schools. The schools were said to “ghettoise” children to their own units.

“And now it’s terrific that, given there are so few children at this stage, they’re in contact with a Finnish school, there are pupils in Helsingin normaalilyseo now, they’re there at the other end and they dine in the same space and use the same places, [but they are in] upper secondary school. The little ones don’t have that contact.”

Entry into working life is also based on the idea of social interaction. For this reason, one interviewee felt that heavy investment should be directed towards employing spouses left at home. The measure suggested by the interviewee is quite radical in comparison to employment services offered to other immigrants:

“I’d hope that there’d be a real attempt to organise jobs for them. Even if that meant, say, paying the employer a bit more, [as] the person isn’t able to speak Finnish straight away, that would be good.”

The socialising function of daycare is also

deeply significant. As one interviewee sums the matter up:

“It’s a sort of point of encounter there in your own neighbourhood. It’s a place where it’s quite obvious why you go there, why you’re there, the kids are dropped off and picked up, and there’s also the aim of chatting a bit, like, how’s the child been doing, so yeah, in that sense I see it as significant, the role of childcare. Especially given that automatic contact between adults as well as between children.”

The promotion of cultural integration was emphasised alongside social interaction.

“We’ve had the idea of making Helsinki known through some campaign. – Culture or sports or the equivalent. But nevertheless, something similar to what we do for other target groups. This has still been under some consideration, it could be a nature hike to Viikki, for example, or what’s customary to do here in Finland.”

Also apparent in this quote is the Finnish emphasis in integration: a relationship with nature. The proximity of nature in the Capital region, and the abundance of green space in Helsinki are seen as an inviting and easy, almost intrinsic element of forging a sense of attachment for people arriving from elsewhere.

The role of the authority in supporting the target group’s integration may also entail distributing information in order to open up opportunities in the operational environment.

“So we’d also offer them information about what sort of foreign associations

there are here, how they could meet their own countrymen and that sort of thing. That would also help, and also to have a look at what sort of interests can be pursued here, how to find new friends, how to get into Helsinki and the Helsinki lifestyle and that sort of thing.”

Some interviewees suspected that the motive for integration may spring fundamentally from humane reasons beyond authorities, which are not easily articulated.

“I remember marvelling when we were there at the mini-fair that there were quite a few bachelors. I said that maybe the integration would take place through marriage, which is a perfectly sound justification for remaining in Finland permanently. Which isn’t maybe a question of services and such, nor work, but rather quite a humane reason.”

A comment by one interviewee sums up the significance of services:

“For these immigrants who are outside of the Integration Law, the reception and advice service has been a unique opportunity to access support if they’ve been aiming at permanent integration.”

6.3 Differences in starting points in relation to other work-based immigrants

One of the central authority interviewees described the similarities between Agency staff and other Finnish immigrant groups:

“The closest comparable group could be expatriate workers in multinational companies along with their families, who make up an estimated 5–10 per cent of all immigrants in Finland. The Chemicals Agency staff are a well-educated group of individuals versed in languages, and financially capable of arranging training to assist their own integration should they so wish. Other comparable groups are people with a Finnish spouse who have moved to Finland for family reasons, which is the most common reason for immigrating to Finland. The last of the most comparable groups is Finns returning from time spent living abroad who want to work in an international atmosphere.”

On the basis of interviews, the central difference in the starting points for integration of Chemicals Agency staff and their families in relation to other work-based immigrants is the temporary nature of the former’s employment relationships. The majority of employees will presumably not remain long in Finland. In that case, as one interviewee sums up,

“processes are quite speedy for them: integration, going to work, attending school, and disengaging quickly, too.”

This has a natural impact on the arrivals’ motivation to forge an attachment to Finland:

“As I see it, these employees here don’t necessarily even try to integrate other than perhaps at the point where they decide to remain here more permanently, or if they have a Finnish spouse, in which case they would in turn do it through that spouse.”

Despite the temporary nature of many employment relationships – or perhaps precisely for that reason – there has been a desire to promote the integration of Chemicals Agency staff. As one interviewee describes:

“We should create an opportunity for this type of families, too, to adapt to this society, as it were, and to be able to live here without major troubles, and even quite comfortably.”

The Chemicals Agency’s staff and their family members are an indisputably significant “business card” from Finland and Helsinki to their destination countries, once they eventually leave the Agency. This idea is noticeable in the background of all the interviews:

“The fact that they integrate into Finnish society, that is, they’re here for a longer or even a shorter time, but that they enjoy our services and are able to communicate satisfaction with our services globally, well it’s as though they bring away Finnish --- recognition. I see this as a marketing tool, this integration into Finnish society. The benefit runs two ways. And then it’s also a sort of cultural export. And knowledge of Finland in Europe, because naturally they discuss with their colleagues what they think of Finnish society and of services in Helsinki in general.”

The following encapsulates the interviewees’ conceptions of how Agency staff differ in relation to the rest of the population of work-based immigrants:

“This expertise – and linked to that,

they're better paid on average, they're more highly skilled on average, more independent, less in need of assistance or of these so-called services. But demanding, nevertheless."

In several interviews, consideration was given to the employees' position and status. When specialised services have been organised for the group, the question has inevitably arisen as to whether they are in keeping with the principle of equality, or whether the Chemicals Agency's staff constitute some sort of welfare state elite. The general view conveyed by the interviews was more complex than this formulation. Several interviewees emphasised that the Agency staff were a group of ordinary European employees who, with certain legally defined immunities of an EU agency, work in Finland and live like the majority of other people living in Finland.

"Talk of some EU elite is ultimately quite pointless when it comes to this gang. They're ordinary people, after all."

In these sorts of discussions, special measures taken to promote integration were approached through the principle of parity:

"We act as we also do for others. The City does also show hospitality to others, it arranges equivalent happenings. We heavily market Helsinki Day, it's turned into Helsinki Week. All the events are open to everybody."

The special attention and streamlining of services directed towards Agency staff was justified as marketing and conveying a positive image of Finland. This was noted as important in

securing staff for the Agency, even if for no other reason. Several interviewees brought up Finland's cold climate and peripheral location, as well as the need to have this re-conceived as something attractive. In communications, marketing's traditional image of Finland and the reality of urban Finland clashed and provoked discussion:

"Well yeah, when the advertising agency was first presenting an idea it was all about that sort of Finnish landscape of lakes and sea, and then we pointed out that this is actually located in a city: a couple of buildings wouldn't be out of place. It was quite an essential matter given that there were also rumours at the time that this Chemicals Agency would be located somewhere out the back of nowhere, so yeah, it was then built in such a way that there were more urban images than rural images. But it's perhaps the contradiction between that sort of conventional image of Finland, and the image required for this specific project. With these people coming to live here, you don't need to present this kind of holiday destination. Rather, you tell them there's quite a good urban structure here which functions and services are available. It's quite a different message."

As a justification of various activities carried out on a trial basis, such as extension of cultural events, there was expression of support for "Finnishness" and of broadening the social sphere:

"If we want to promote that broader integration with Finns and into Finnish activities, in that sense, it would be worth

also maintaining some of these activities in future. Now there's been the starting point that this sort of special support was quickly wound down, and afterwards everything functions as per usual. I don't think it should be unthinkable for the City and the government to now and then ponder whether there was something worth continuing. Taking into account that the number of Agency staff will still grow substantially over the next 2.5 years, and it's not until 2010 that they have the whole crew on board, and in that sense – it would be worth sustaining integration support.”

Some of the interviewees also spoke directly of elite immigrants. In this case, the significance of, for example, cultural pastimes was raised:

“They're no doubt accustomed to that sort of culturally rich bustle during their leisure time.”

Working in the service of the Agency also affords a special status:

“They have the advantage that they've all got well-paying work, that others may

be pondering it a little, and then an esteemed status. These are people who are admired and looked up to.”

The conception of an EU elite does not, however, mean unequal treatment by the authorities. The same interview continued:

“I don't want to talk of elitism all the time, it was a strategic choice [organising advice and installation services]. On the other hand, the amount we invested had the effect that the Commission's experienced negotiators certainly understood that we're serious and that we're doing everything we can to make sure the whole thing succeeds.”

Interaction is a prerequisite for integration, as was noted earlier. It is self-evident that integration is a two-way process, and both the immigrant and the surrounding associations are participants. In this concept, the interviewee goes one step further:

“Certainly the trickiest matter in this integration business is ultimately how Finns' own sense of self will fare. The fact that this isn't any longer a purely Finnish, patriotic Finnish nation-state.”

7. Conclusion

This chapter clarifies the analysis's most central observations. The results should be placed in the context of the study's subject: the Chemicals Agency project's aim to organise a service, using all of the available resources, which could be considered to facilitate the installation of Agency staff. As well as Helsinki and the Capital region as a place of residence, the target of installation was also defined as the Finnish service system.

7.1 The organisation of the City's authority

The central authority began to organise following the nomination of responsible organisations. The report is focused on the City of Helsinki's part as an organiser of reception and installation services for the Chemicals Agency, in other words, the initial phase of integration. The role of the Prime Minister's Office across the entirety of the project was quite significant, but the City of Helsinki was responsible for installation services, so it has been at the centre of this report's examination.

Working group activity was divided into three different levels. In the steering group, a deputy mayor represented the City, on the operative level, the city secretary served as the City's co-ordinator, while in the communications group, the City's Administration Centre's communications contact person performed this role.

The organisation of installation services was co-ordinated by the city secretary in the

City of Helsinki Administration Centre. Directly beneath her worked the adviser to the Agency's staff, who, in addition to providing advice, gathered information for the Ekstranet web site tailored to Agency staff. On the communications side, the City's responsibility was to take care of the web site.

Contact persons nominated to the Chemicals Agency project by each administrative area took part in planning and organising services. In spite of the project's cross-sector nature, organisation largely occurred in accordance with the central authority's model. The principal party of co-operation for administrative bodies was the central authority, particularly the service adviser to the staff of the Chemicals Agency. The adviser's role as a compiler and conveyor of information concerning installation services effectively concentrated all key information in the project's central authority, which meant that it was natural for representatives of various administrative bodies to be in contact with him. In terms of content, administrative bodies close to one another carried out some degree of co-operation, but no genuinely new forms of co-operation between administrative bodies developed in the process.

The City of Helsinki was responsible for the planning, as well as most of the organising of installation services. As a result of this, other cities in the region were primarily the targets of distributed information, and not so much active participants. One example of regional co-operation by administrative bodies is the planning of daycare services in such a

way that the responsible person in the City of Helsinki Social Services Department, in conferring on issues related to the organisation of daycare with government ministries, spoke not only for Helsinki, but also as a proxy for other municipalities in the Capital region.

At its most visible, regionality was presented in communications, the aim of which was to have arriving Chemicals Agency staff and their families perceive the Helsinki region as a coherent area of employment and residence. In Internet communications, for example, information was compiled by subject for the whole region, not exclusively on services in the Helsinki area.

The quality of administrative co-operation was described almost uniformly as positive and trouble-free. Notwithstanding the fact that there were also difficult phases in the process, the interviews strongly conveyed the conviction of individual agents that the project was important both nationally and for the Capital region. The securing of the European Chemicals Agency for Finland and Helsinki was the result of a lengthy process, and some of the interviewees had participated in the application process for the first Agency project, the European Food Safety Authority. This may be regarded as one factor explaining the high level of motivation of authority agents, which was also reflected in co-operation onto other agents. The facility of co-operation was also promoted by the project organisation, the advantages of which were centralised co-ordination and the service adviser's great performance. A low threshold in terms of making contact further assisted the flow of information.

No particularly new co-operation practices emerged in the project, which would have been possible to transfer to a more general level in immigration work. The high-level work-

ing group activity between the government and municipalities was nevertheless a unique process, through which individuals working in key areas with issues relating to immigration of highly educated experts were given valuable experience for continuation and development of such work in the future. Social networks were also strengthened. Although no directly transferrable co-operative practices emerged, the Chemicals Agency project's indirect benefit can be called significant within the authority. The time for utilising co-operative practices since the project's conclusion is also so short that it is not yet possible to say mushrooms remain to be picked as a result of the project. It should be considered that this report has not examined chemicals industry-related events, discussion fora, nor other significant ramifications with regard to the Helsinki region.

7.2 Reception and installation services, and their generalisation in immigration services

The reception and installation services organised for Chemicals Agency staff and their families comprised centralised information and the Ekstranet web site, personalised service advice, and procurement of housing. The privileges regulated by the Seat Agreement include the right to place a child in publicly provided daycare. The attempt to establish a European School was also decided in the Seat Agreement, and linked to this was the organisation of temporary schooling in preparation for the European School.

Because the Agency began its operations in Helsinki without the initial 18-month period in Brussels typical for EU agencies, the City

of Helsinki offered advice and support for the Agency's personnel department regarding, in addition to public services, also those services which the Agency organised for its own employees. This significantly increased the role of the City of Helsinki in the initial stage of the Agency's installation.

One of the intentions of the study has been to investigate whether the reception and installation services organised for Chemicals Agency staff forms of service which could be applied more broadly in immigration services. On the basis of the interviews, the most suitable candidates for this would be the continuation of centralised information activities, as well as the development of Internet services targeted towards special groups (cf. the Ekstranet web site). The housing procurement service, in the form in which it was implemented in this project, was considered the least generalisable service.

Centralised information activities continue on the Internet in the form of the Info Bank service. In future, as one of the interviewees stated, it would be good to add European languages to this service. The web site was initially created for refugees, and this is still reflected in both the site and its selection of languages. The number of work-based immigrants as a proportion of all immigrants is increasing, so the emphasis in communications should perhaps be shifted in that direction. Raunio et al. (2009) also suggested an advice service with a centralised, regional approach to communication. The researchers stated that a visible and recognisable advice service would speed up official work by directing customers. Tied to this is the proposal that reception of official documents also be centralised. In this model, installation services are divided into provision of guiding advice, which is the

responsibility of the cities; bureaucratic management, which channels and manages information and which is carried out by an official in the administrative area in question; personalised advice, which is again the responsibility of the cities; as well as personalised additional services or installation services proper, which are handled by the private sector (*ibid.* p. 148). In the Chemicals Agency project, the personalised services adviser worked as party who delegated tasks and customers' questions, following which he effectively responded with one voice to all possible questions. Naturally, this sort of service cannot be extended to all immigrants, so a distribution of tasks and an elimination of bottlenecks in the form suggested by the researchers may be the sensible approach.

The interviewees thoughts on the applicability of services were mainly based on consideration of available resources. For example, housing procurement as a service ordered on the market is expensive and laborious, and immigrants are usually already entitled to public housing provision services. Nevertheless, the waiting lists for dwellings provided by the public service are so long that if there is a genuine desire to attract work-based immigration to Finland, a housing procurement service may continue to be indispensable, in the Capital region in particular. So far, primarily private-sector employers have purchased this sort of service for their foreign employees. Various relocation companies have also quickly increased in number in recent years.

Raunio et al. (2009, 147) note that the distribution of labour between the public and private sectors in the production of services remains unclear in many areas. The advice service directed at a certain group in the Chemicals Agency project is comparable with instal-

lation services offered by private sector relocation companies. The public sector has typically limited itself to providing generalised advice. In this case, however, aspects such as the staff's special tax status placed exceptional demands in terms of conveying information. These needs were served by the personalised advice and centralised information service.

The other service provided which was exceptional in public sector terms was housing procurement, which was in fact provided as an outsourced service. Other services not traditionally provided by the public service were not organised, even if demand for such emerged. For example, the public sector did not offer English-language daycare services, nor daycare for children under the age of 10 months. These were instead left to the staff to purchase in the private sector.

In communicating information, services provided by the public and private sector were often intermixed. The Ekstranet web site, created exclusively for Chemicals Agency employees, also provided information about private-sector services, which a public-sector web site does not usually do. One authority representative also mentioned providing Agency staff with information about the contact details of some private-sector service providers on behalf of his own administrative area, but also noted that he had considered this sort of information provision partly problematic for a public official. Questions relating to the division of labour between public-sector and private-sector service provision will no doubt multiply as immigration increases, and this will also create pressure for the establishment of common ground rules for public sector office-holders.

Specialised services directed towards the Agency's staff were also generally seen from

the perspective of Finland's international marketing and attracting foreign labour. The starting point was that Agency staff on temporary contracts were seen as a calling card from Finland to elsewhere in Europe once they return to their home countries.

7.3 Integration

The integration of Agency staff on the one hand, and of their other family members on the other, were distinguished as separate processes which were primarily defined by whether the individual had a ready job in Finland upon arrival. In discussion, questions of difficulty in integration primarily emerged in reference to the situation of the spouse left at home. Finding a job for the spouse left at home was defined as a quite central, even indispensable channel into social integration. In practice, this means that integration was defined as social intercourse with the majority Finnish population.

Consequently, notwithstanding the emphasis placed on the social significance of the work community, it was also seen as a risk factor with regard to Chemicals Agency staff. According to this view, the Agency community, which is an international working community, may end up cutting itself off on its own islet and interacting little with Finnish communities.

The authority's role as a promoter of integration was seen as supporting social intercourse with Finns within the realm of normal public services. In schools and daycare, physical spaces shared with Finns were regarded as important, as were employment measures directed towards spouses left at home. Information was said to be of great significance in

opening up the opportunities offered by the Capital region in terms of nature, culture and life as an immigrant.

On the other hand, integration was seen as depending so heavily on individual initiative that the possibilities open to the authority in promoting it were said to be rather limited. This view is linked to one central difference between Agency staff and other work-based immigrants – the nature of their employment relationships. The employment relationships of the Agency's staff are temporary in nature, so their orientation towards the future can already be regarded as distinct in relation to immigrants who come to Finland permanently. It was thought that employees arriving for a

limited period would relate to Finnish society as an interesting environment where the most important thing is that basic services function, but that ultimately their orientation towards integration would be comparable to that of a tourist.

The temporary nature of the employment relationships of Agency staff was also linked to the fact that they and their family members were regarded as possible calling cards from Finland once they returned to their home countries. This perspective emerged especially when considering the reasons for the most exceptional reception and installation services.

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research series

Founding the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA) in Finland was the result of a long process. After four years of preparations, the ECHA began its operations on 1st June 2007. The project was nationally important: everything had to be done to show the best sides of the city as an international metropolis and to make the move for Europe's best experts in the field as smooth as possible.

The aim of this report is to provide knowledge about the integration process and factors affecting the adaptation of the ECHA employees as well as about the process of developing and adjusting reception and integration services of the City of Helsinki for international professionals. While the InterProF project focuses on the subjective experiences of the ECHA employees concerning their relocation to Helsinki, The Chemicals Agency in Finland project describes in more detail how and what kinds of integration services the city can provide to foster the integration of international professionals, and how these services have worked in the ECHA case from the perspective of the city authorities.

The results presented in this report can be used for better understanding of and further improving the working and living conditions of the international professionals in Finland. This is important in order to further develop ways of attracting highly skilled immigrants and thus to advance the competitiveness of Finland also in the future.