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Title	"Leave and Come Back, Maybe": Mobile Scientists On Their Way To The Promised Land
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"Leave and Come Back, Maybe": Mobile Scientists On Their Way To The Promised Land.

Even though considered a global phenomenon, the internationalization of researchers varies widely between countries (European Commission 2016). In Switzerland, a particularly competitive and attractive academic environment (Bataille, Le Feuvre, and Kradolfer In Press) in which more than 50% of the academic workforce comes from foreign countries (Franzoni, Scellato, and Stephan 2012), local researchers are highly encouraged to move abroad for some time, especially at the beginning of their career (Toader, Dahinden, and Schaer 2016). However, relatively few studies have described how researchers personally experience pressures to be geographically mobile either by embracing or rejecting them; sometimes successively. In our study, we aimed at exploring the geographical trajectories of young female and male researchers working in the Swiss academic context. We used ideal-types to analyze how the period of international mobility may crystallize significant spillover effects between life domains of individuals.

We draw on a qualitative analysis of 65 semi-structured interviews conducted within two European projects and featuring post-doctoral researchers of various nationalities, scientific fields, and gender and family arrangements.

Case studies of individual trajectories lead us to explore a conceptual distinction between aspirations and resources on the one hand (also known as "motility" in the work of Kaufmann, (2015), and the actual objective practices of mobility (short versus long-distance, short versus long duration, etc.) on the other.

Analyzing jointly both the subjective attitudes towards international mobility and the

objective mobility practices resulted in a richer and a more subtle framework for analyzing the social characteristics of the work-life interface.

We used biographical interview data of a group of 65 post-doctoral researchers to identify, in reference to Weber's methodology, four distinct ideal type models in reference to international mobility: the cosmopolitan, the pragmatic, the anchored, and the outlaw.

The first ideal-type, cosmopolitan, is characterized by an intense aspiration for living abroad as well as a high level of actual mobility. For the cosmopolitan, not only mobility is a good choice career-wise but is also highly personally fulfilling and intrinsically worthy. Mobility is seen by the researcher as a part of the traditional scientific ethos; built on a sense of discovery, passion, open-mindedness, and flexibility. It is mobility *hic* and *nunc*: bringing together the private and professional sphere and putting as much emphasis on the journey as on the goal.

For the second ideal-type, pragmatic, the realization of mobility is less of an aspiration, but rather a rationalized decision based on professional rules. Well aware of the role geographical mobility plays in the normative system of excellence, the pragmatic primarily moves for the career's sake in the hope of finding, after a transitory period abroad, a permanent position back home. The researcher may still enjoy the journey, but is deeply aware of the costs - especially personal and social - that come along. The pragmatic focus on keeping the move feasible, often ending up in neighboring countries and accessible cities. Mobility is seen as a necessary evil, a demanding step toward a better future.

The anchored researcher, a third ideal-type, sees mobility as a meaningful part of the academic ethos. The anchored possess the material, cognitive and cultural resources to move abroad, and aspirations to discover new horizons. Yet, the researcher remains ambivalent and chooses to give preference to familial or professional responsibilities that happen to be locally bound. Even though a sedentary human being, the anchored researcher still gives his/her trajectory a sense of mobility by nurturing a professional network beyond borders or moving between Swiss institutions and language areas.

Although sharing the sedentary trajectory with the anchored type, the outlaw never aspired for his or her part to be geographically mobile. In the environment of a high professional uncertainty, the outlaw sees mobility as a meaningless sacrifice that trades personal well-being and sense of settlement for a utopian reward. Lacking the resources to handle the material and social costs associated with mobility, the researcher comes to see academic norms as a burden, and may leave academia altogether.

Based on the analysis of 65 case studies, these ideal-types illustrate how the mobility trajectories of various groups of postdoctoral researchers in the Swiss context are intertwined with career norms and private/family concerns. The decision to go abroad - and for a few researchers to remain sedentary - stems from various, and sometimes opposing, aspirations and representations of career norms. While the cosmopolitan fully embraces the experience of mobility as a part of the scientific ethos, the pragmatic experiences it as a concession, the anchored as an aspiration conflicting with private considerations, and the outlaw as a burden.

We found that the pressure to be geographically mobile is experienced differently by various groups that include both male & female researchers. The variation in the experience of the normative expectation for international mobility does not correspond to simple, binary social distinctions between individuals as of male vs female; married vs single, with vs without children. However female researchers' mobility patterns appear partly distinct from those of the majority of their male counterparts and they don't imply the same symbolic "price-to-pay" in the short or medium term for the women concerned, or for their personal relationships.

Our findings question a number of ingrained beliefs about the geographical mobility patterns of young researchers; they should be of particular interest to people involved in higher education mobility policies, as well as to anyone trying to ensure that talented researchers have equal chances to fulfill their potential, regardless of their private configuration.

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