

‘Being a foreigner is no advantage’

Career paths and barriers for immigrants in Norwegian academia

Tatiana Maximova-Mentzoni, Cathrine Egeland,
Tanja Askvik, Ida Drange, Liv Anne Støren,
Trude Røsdal og Agnete Vabø



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Abstract:

Together with the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU), the Work Research Institute (AFI) conducted a study based on a variety of methods and data sources, aimed at *obtaining knowledge about the career paths of persons with an immigrant background in higher education and research in Norway* for the Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (the KIF Committee).

The study consists of a literature review, analyses of selected, available and relevant statistics, as well as qualitative case studies of three institutions. The case studies have encompassed individual interviews and focus group interviews with academic staff, diversity advisers and managers, as well as analyses of strategy documents compiled by three sample institutions in the higher education and research sectors.

The study shows that master's degree holders with an immigrant background have a much greater desire to work in research and more often plan to pursue a doctoral degree than master's degree holders without an immigrant background. Persons with an immigrant background are also less likely to hold a position in academia compared to those with a majority background. This tendency is the same within all subject areas, but the disparities vary somewhat. The fewest disparities are seen in technical subjects, health studies, social studies and law. The disparities are greater in the arts and humanities, pedagogy, and business and administration. The case study shows that most of the informants have not viewed the recruitment process as problematic, but they feel there is a lack of *inclusion* in the workplace. They also say that little is done in their research communities to create an inclusive environment.

Key words:

Diversity, immigrants, higher education sector, research sector.

Preface

Over the past few years, higher education and research have been characterized by greater ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. The number of students with an immigrant background has risen, and there are more foreign-born academics. Higher education in Norway is also characterized by a growing number of international students taking all or part of their education here.

The Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (the KIF Committee) has been working with gender equality for many years. The committee's mandate in 2014 was expanded to include ethnic diversity. At that point in 2015, the committee wanted an exploratory study to be carried out in order to *obtain knowledge about diversity and the career paths of persons with an immigrant background in higher education and research in Norway.*

Together with the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU), the Work Research Institute (AFI) conducted the study in the second half of 2015. Cathrine Egeland (AFI) was the project leader.

This report, written by researchers at AFI and NIFU, is the result of the study. The report is made up of several research contributions based on different methods and data sources. Chapter 4, on plans and aspirations to work in research, was written by Liv Anne Støren (NIFU), and Chapter 5, which analyses statistics on labour market participation among doctorate holders in Norway, was written by Ida Drange (AFI) and Tanja Askvik (Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences). Chapter 6, on diversity and challenges for foreign-born academics at three institutions in Norwegian higher education and research, was written by Tatiana Maximova-Mentzoni (AFI), Cathrine Egeland and Trude Røsdal (NIFU). The review of research literature in Chapter 3 was also written by Maximova-Mentzoni. Chapter 7 reflects on findings that have emerged in the various parts of the project, and Chapter 9, on proposed measures, was written by Maximova-Mentzoni and Egeland. Agnete Vabø (NIFU) contributed to the introduction and chapter 4, while the entire project group provided input to the concluding recommendations for further research.

Paula Mählck (University of Stockholm) provided valuable input on perspectives and research questions from the current status of Nordic research on diversity in academia.

AFI and NIFU would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who has given their time as informants and contact persons at the three case institutions involved in the project. Their goodwill, interest and willingness to take time out of a busy workday has enabled us to obtain important knowledge about diversity and barriers to foreign-born academics at Norwegian higher education and research institutes.

AFI and NIFU would also like to thank Elisabeth Ljunggren, Ella Ghosh and Heidi Holt Zachariassen of the KIF Committee for their assistance along the way and for giving us the opportunity to conduct a very interesting research project. The reference group for the project consisted of Silje Vatne Pettersen and Lars Østby (both Statistics Norway), Berit Berg (NTNU) and Bernadette Kumar (Nakim).

Finally, we would also like to thank Arild Steen (AFI) for his quality assurance of the report. Any errors and omissions are, however, the responsibility of the authors.

A note on this translation: This report is a translated version of the Norwegian language report «Å være utlending er ingen fordel» Karriereløp og barrierer for innvandrere i norsk akademia, published in February 2016. The translation was done by Carole Hognestad and Jennifer Follestad, and the authors have read through and made some adjustments to the terminology in each chapter of the report. All

interviews were transcribed to Norwegian for the original report. They have all been translated directly to English in this version.

Work Research Institute, February 2017

Innhold

Preface

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Summary

Researchers from the Work Research Institute (AFI) at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences and the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU) have jointly prepared this report on *diversity and the career paths of persons with an immigrant background in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors* on commission from the Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (the KIF Committee).

The report contains a literature review of relevant research literature from the Nordic countries, analyses of a selection of relevant and accessible statistics, as well as qualitative case studies at of three institutions in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors. The case studies include individual and focus group interviews with academic staff, diversity advisers and representatives of the management, and analyses of strategic documents on diversity produced at the three institutions.

In recent years, the Norwegian higher education and research sectors have become more ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse. The share of foreigners in higher education and research institutions has grown substantially since 2000, from 14 per cent in 2001 to 22 per cent in 2009. The growth has been most pronounced among PhD candidates and postdoctoral fellows. The share of foreign-born academic staff is about 20 per cent among associate professors and professors.

Like the academic staff from the majority population, the foreign academic employees are segregated along a gender axis. We find most women in the health and medical subjects, and the share of women is lowest among the professors. At the same time, the share of foreign-born women in the MNT subjects (mathematics, natural sciences and technology) and among professors is larger than the share of women from the majority population.

What does Nordic research say about ethnic diversity among employees in higher education and research?

The literature review shows that very little research has been carried out in the Nordic countries on diversity and career paths among persons with an immigrant background in academia. Most of the studies conducted on ethnic diversity in academia have been done in the USA. Teaching and research employees with an immigrant background make up a group that has been almost completely ignored in higher education studies.

However, the research that has been carried out in the Nordic countries shows, for example:

- the need to clarify the terminology used in the discourse on diversity in academia;
- that it is more difficult for foreign-born academics to gain employment in higher education and research than it is for scholars from the majority population;
- foreign-born academics experience exclusion caused by internal recruitment and unwritten rules;
- mastery of other languages besides English is a vital key into the academic community.

Plans and aspirations for working in research – are there disparities between master’s degree holders with and without an immigrant background?

Master’s degree holders with an immigrant background are considerably more likely to work in research and have plans to obtain a PhD degree than master’s degree holders from the majority population. The disparities in research ambitions are found across the full range of grades. This means that more master’s degree holders with an immigrant background and poor grades aspire to working in

research than their peers without an immigrant background. It also means that master's degree holders with an immigrant background and *good* grades have such aspirations more often than their peers with good grades from the majority population.

Young people with an immigrant background who have completed upper secondary school are more likely to enter higher education directly than their peers from the majority population. Individuals from the Asian region stand out in this respect. Young people with an Asian background who have the opportunity to enter higher education because they have completed upper secondary school have high academic ambitions.

We do not know whether their aspirations will ever be realized, but we can say with a large degree of certainty that there is considerable potential for research recruitment among master's degree holders with an immigrant background.

Does an immigrant background influence the probability of obtaining a relevant position in Norwegian academia? Statistics concerning labour market participation among doctoral degree holders in Norway

The analyses show that persons with an immigrant background are less likely to be employed in higher education and research compared to persons from the majority population. The tendency is the same for all disciplines, but varies to some degree. The fewest disparities are found in technical subjects, health studies, social studies and law. The disparities are more pronounced in the arts and humanities, pedagogy, and business and administration.

Gender differences are similar across regional background, and are generally more noticeable than the differences related to immigrant background. Further research should nevertheless perform intersectional analyses of the importance of gender and immigrant background to find out whether the barriers in academia are similar for women with and without an immigrant background.

Persons with a non-Western immigrant background and those with a majority background have approximately the same length of tenure; however, persons with an immigrant background are under-represented among professors and over-represented among researchers and in lower-level teaching positions at universities and university colleges.

Foreign-born academic staff in Norway: challenges related to career paths and HR response

It can be more challenging for immigrants than the majority to attain a permanent position in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors. This may be due to poor or non-existent Norwegian language skills, a lack of networks and references, or a lack of cultural or contextual understanding which is important in teaching positions and in Norwegian academia in general – perceived by some of the informants in the case studies as 'too Norwegian'. The challenges may also be caused by unconscious or implicit bias in recruitment processes, or incompetence in the system, making it difficult for Norwegian institutions to evaluate foreign applications, educational qualifications and formal competencies which may be formulated using styles and profiles different to the Norwegian ones. The informants from the case institutions also stress what they perceive to be structural discrimination in the recruitment processes in academia. This discrimination is expressed in specific forms of nepotism, cultural cloning and closed recruitment processes.

Even if gender, class and ethnic background probably intersect in different ways and with different outcomes for different individuals and groups, the case informants pay little or no regard to this – even when asked directly about their experiences and reflections on, for example, being foreign and female

in a male-dominated environment. In these cases, the informants did not regard the intersection between ethnicity and gender as relevant at all. Rather, they perceived ethnicity and gender as somehow oppositional or competing within the academic context, as many of them emphasized that they definitely found it 'harder to be a woman than to be foreign' in Norwegian academia.

In the higher education sector, a great deal is being done to foster diversity among staff. Both HR and management at many institutions seem to base their work on the understanding that diversity is best facilitated and ensured through effective recruitment processes. Most of the informants at our case institutions have experienced the recruitment process as unproblematic.

Based on our case studies, it seems that rather than recruitment problems, it is *workplace inclusion* that represents a challenge for the academics and the institutions in higher education and research in Norway. The informants feel that little has been done at their institutions to facilitate inclusion at the workplace level.

The informants describe the lack of inclusion as a stumbling block to a successful career in academia, and many say *insufficient diversity management* at all levels of the organization is part of the problem.

The case studies also show that the various needs for support arrangements among the foreign-born academic staff have not been surveyed, and are therefore not known and identified by HR and management at the institutions.

Language skills are perceived to be a key to inclusion in academia. At the same time, the case studies reveal tensions between ambitions related to diversity at the institutional and workplace level (where proficiency in Norwegian is important) and ambitions related to international competence and excellence (where English is the internationally recognized language of communication at all levels).

The case studies indicate there is a need to clarify diversity ambitions pertaining to higher education and research, as well as the relationship between diversity, anti-discrimination and inclusion in the sector. Two of our case institutions have chosen to employ a 'broadened concept of equality' in their diversity work. This is ambitious, but it may be challenging for the efforts to remove barriers to foreign academics' career paths in Norwegian academia. The general shift towards diversity in traditional equality work in academia entails not only greater complexity, but it is also challenging since it is related to a shift towards more focus on individual careers.

The findings form a diverse backdrop for both reflections on diversity and diversity efforts in higher education and research, and result in a number of recommendations for measures and further research on diversity in academia.

Recommended measures:

- A shift in focus from recruitment processes to inclusion processes;
- Greater focus on diversity management;
- A critical look at diversity symbolism and declarations;
- A survey of the need for specific support arrangements among academic staff in Norwegian academia;
- Establishment of mentoring programmes for immigrants in academia;
- Greater involvement from and raising awareness within the higher education and research institutions;
- New conceptualizations of academic mobility.

Recommendations for further research

Little research has been done on diversity and career paths among immigrant academics in higher education and research in Norway, so there are plenty of knowledge gaps to be filled with further research:

- There is a need for systematic mapping and studies of practices of inclusion and management of ethnic diversity in both Norwegian and Nordic higher education and research contexts.
- The literature review carried out for this project indicates a need for a systematic review of international research literature on the subject.
- There is a need for research on similarities and differences between various disciplines pertaining to career paths for both women and academics with an immigrant background.
- There is a need for knowledge about immigrant academics and Norwegian academics with an immigrant background who apply for, but do not succeed in obtaining a permanent position at higher education and research institutions in Norway. What specific barriers do they meet?
- There is a need for longitudinal studies of whether and how descendants of immigrants to Norway manage to attain permanent positions in higher education and research.
- There is a need to look closer at career paths in academia in light of accompanying studies of descendants of immigrants to Norway and their social mobility paths.

There is a need for knowledge about the trade unions' role and participation in either maintaining or dismantling barriers in academia and their potential contribution to inclusion and promotion of diversity at both the institutional and workplace level.

1. Introduction

In this introduction, we present the theme of the report, and the report's background and status in relation to diversity and foreign-born academics in Norwegian higher education and research. We then examine the working conditions and culture in academia, and various theories and explanations for the lack of diversity, i.e. in relation to the employer, prejudices and discrimination, cultural characteristics and homosocial reproduction. Finally, we provide an overview of the various sections and structure of the report.

Theme of the report

In recent years, higher education and research have been characterized by greater ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. The number of students with an immigrant background has risen, and there are more foreign-born academic staff. Higher education in Norway is also characterized by an increasing number of international students taking all or part of their education here.

The Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (the KIF Committee) has been working with gender equality for many years. The committee's mandate in 2014 was expanded to include ethnic diversity. At that point in 2015, the committee wanted an exploratory study to be carried out in order to *obtain knowledge about diversity and the career paths of persons with an immigrant background in higher education and research in Norway*. The project would include 1) a review of relevant Nordic research on ethnic diversity among academic staff, 2) knowledge of potential career barriers related to immigrant background and gender, 3) input into policy proposals and initiatives at national and institutional level, and 4) the identification of research questions for further research.

The project would include academic staff with an immigrant background, i.e. immigrants and 'Norwegian-born to immigrant parents'. Since the share of academics in the latter category is very small in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors, the study mainly encompasses immigrants or foreign-born academic employees.¹

As there is currently no systematic and cohesive research work in this area, we have designed a project that is primarily *exploratory*. The idea has been to acquire more knowledge about career paths and career barriers for foreign-born academic staff in Norwegian higher education and research, and to identify the areas where *more* knowledge is needed.

The project is *not*, therefore, about social mobility among academics with an immigrant background in Norway, or about discrimination of immigrants in the Norwegian labour market generally, or immigrants' transition to higher education, but on **immigrants' career paths and career barriers in the Norwegian higher education sector and research sector**.

¹ In the report we also use teaching and research staff and academics.

Background and status

Foreign-born academics in Norway

A number of research reports, particularly in Norway, have examined different characteristics of foreigners in higher education and research, and have looked at how the composition of the foreign-born academic staff in higher education and research has evolved over the years. Who is foreign, and where are they to be found, are the main questions in these studies (Olsen and Sarpebakken, 2011; Børing and Gunnes, 2012; Olsen, 2013). This type of research is important because it gives an indication of any imbalances and systematic disparities in academic mobility, subject affiliation, position, gender and sector affiliation between Norwegian and foreign-born academics. This type of research also provides a good basis for developing new research questions in the field.

From this research we know that the share of foreigners in Norwegian higher education and research has increased considerably since 2000, from 14 per cent in 2001 to 22 per cent in 2009. The increase is especially pronounced for doctoral and postdoctoral positions (Børing and Gunnes, 2012). Figure 1 shows the development among doctoral candidates (graduates at ISCED level 8).

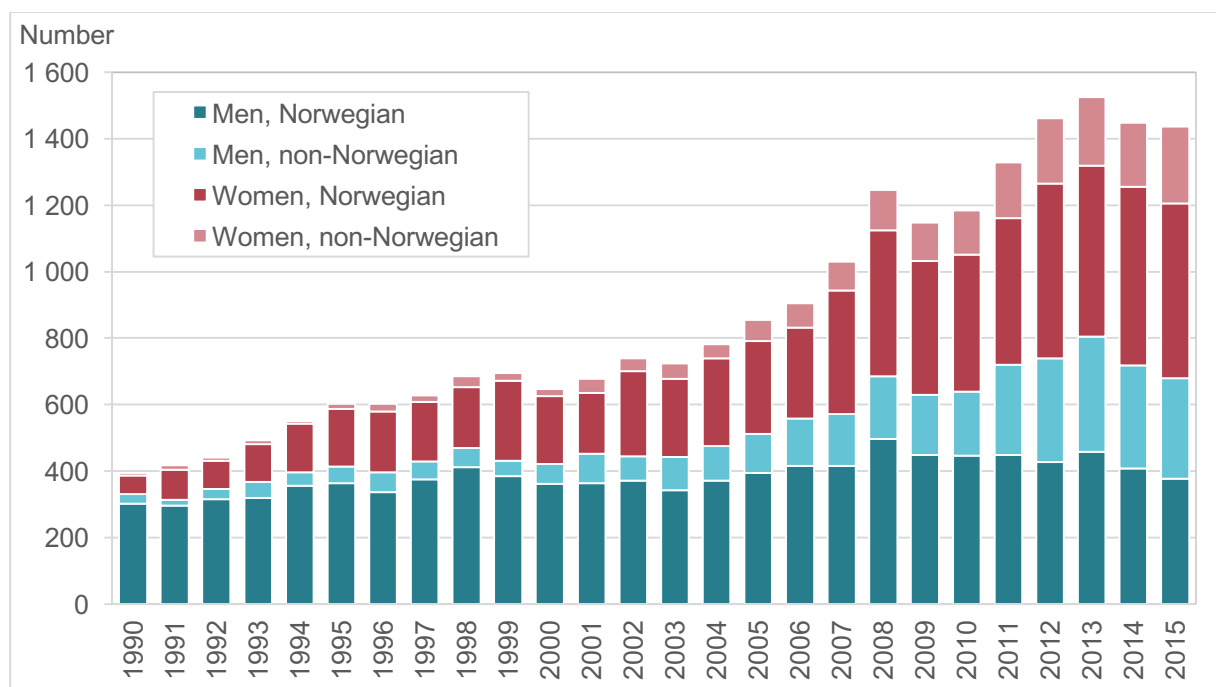


Figure 1 Graduates at ISCED level 8 (doctorates) by gender and citizenship: 1990-2015.

Source: NIFU, Doctoral Degree Register

As shown in **Figure 2**, the share of foreign-born academic staff is high among potential recruits, and among PhD candidates and postdoctoral fellows. Among the PhD candidates, foreign-born staff make up approximately a quarter of the total population, while the corresponding figure for postdoctoral fellows is around 40 per cent.

With regard to PhD candidates, the research shows that about half of the foreigners who have taken a doctorate in Norway have left or have not been employed in Norway. Only 30 per cent, or a lower percentage with a non-Norwegian citizenship, of the individual doctoral cohorts had an affiliation with Norwegian higher education and research after completing their doctorate, compared to 60 per cent

of doctorate holders with Norwegian citizenship. According to Olsen (2013), this may be due to the fact that *many of the foreigners [e.g. the quota students] have not been able to or not wanted to settle in Norway* (Olsen, 2013: 28). Another study shows a considerably smaller share of foreign-born PhD candidates compared with the Norwegian-born who were employed in the higher education sector four years after their doctoral period began (Børing and Gunnes, 2012). Meanwhile, we also know that compared to Norwegian citizens, a somewhat lower share of the foreign doctorate holders with a non-Norwegian citizenship who remained in Norway are teaching in the higher education sector and have taken up professorial or associate professorial positions at universities and university colleges (Olsen, 2013). It appears to be more difficult for foreign-born doctorate holders to secure jobs in the higher education sector in Norway, despite attaining academic competence in this sector.

A similar pattern is found for the career paths of postdoctoral fellows. A lower share of foreign-born postdoctoral fellows from the same postdoctoral cohort have attained professor/researcher 1 competence or have been appointed in an associate professor/researcher 2 position. This may indicate some kind of career barrier in the higher education and research sectors for foreign-born academics (Børing and Gunnes, 2012).

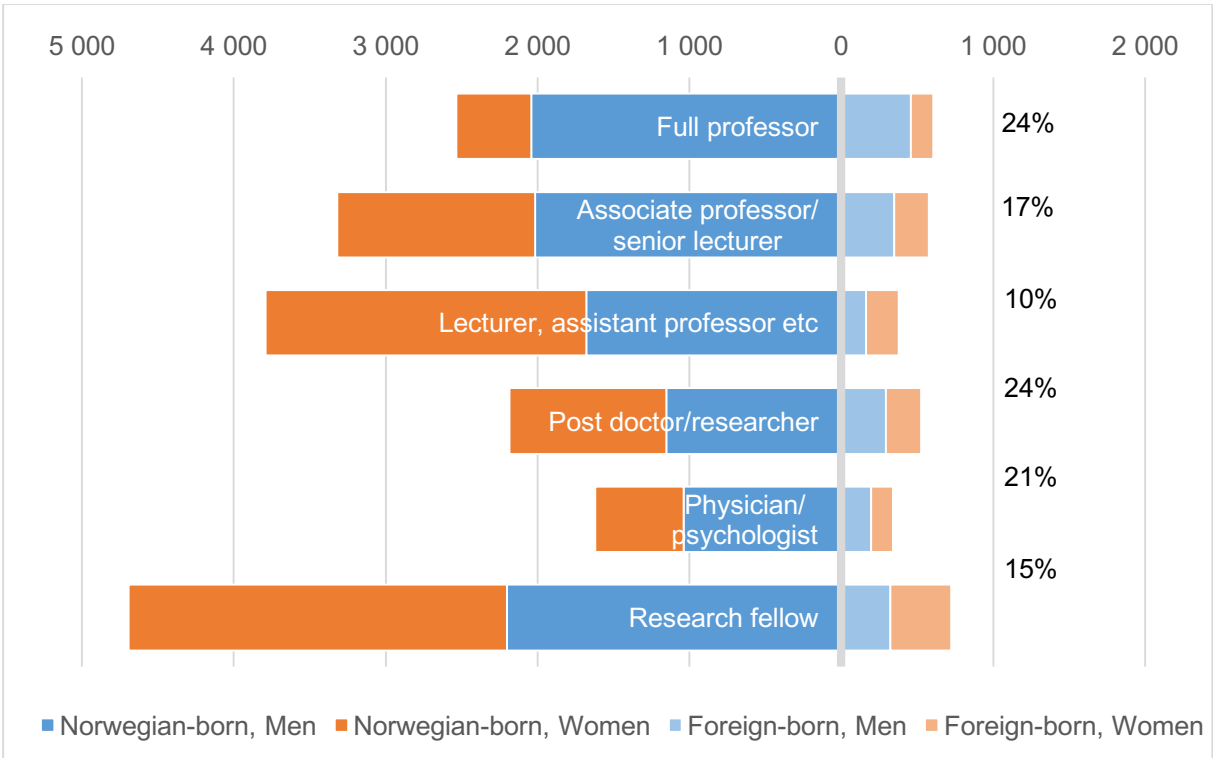


Figure 2. Academic staff in the higher education sector in 2009, by position, gender and country of birth (Norway/foreign).

Source: NIFU, Register of Research Personnel/SSB

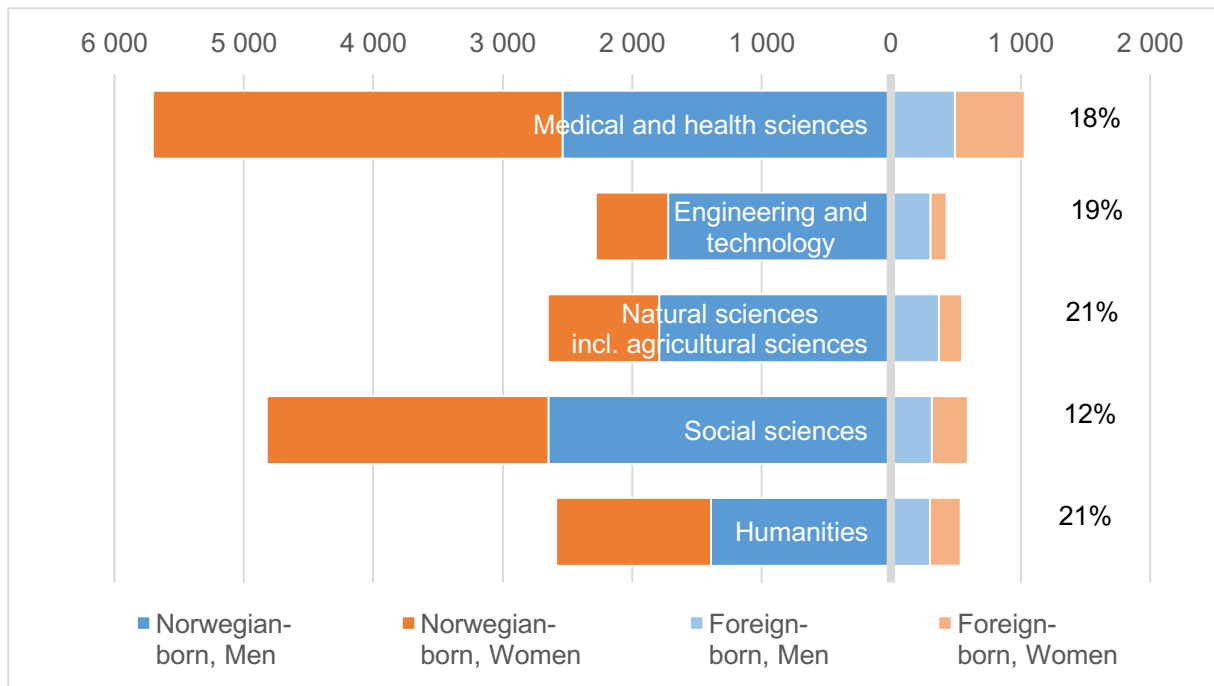


Figure 3. Academic staff in the higher education sector in 2009, by field of science, gender and country of birth (Norway/foreign). The share of foreign-born staff is in parenthesis.²

Source: NIFU, Register of Research Personnel/SSB

² Source: NIFU/Statistics Norway

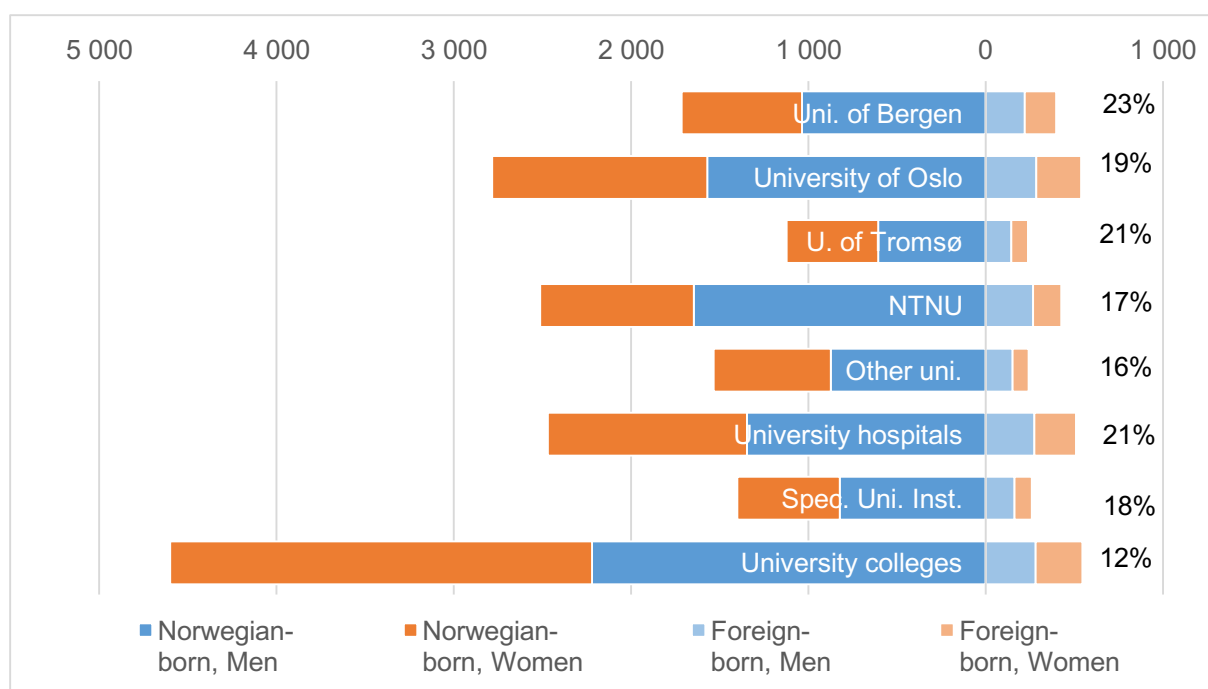


Figure 4. Academic staff in the higher education sector in 2009, by institution, type of institution, gender and country of birth (Norway/foreign).³

Source: NIFU, Register of Research Personnel/SSB

At institutional level, the highest share of foreign-born academic staff is found among the larger universities with academic breadth and the specialized university institutions. The University of Bergen has the highest share, with 23 per cent. The public university colleges, which are less research intensive than the universities, have a relatively low share, with an average of 12 per cent of foreign researchers.

In addition to the vertical segregation patterns found among foreign-born academic staff, we also find horizontal patterns, in the form of subject disparities. As shown in Figure 3, most foreign researchers are found in mathematics and natural science subjects, as well as technology.

As in the case of Norwegian academic staff, foreign researchers are distributed along the gender axis. Most women are found among medical and health studies, and the share of female professors in these subjects is low. However, in relative terms, the share of foreign female researchers in mathematics, natural sciences and technology and at professor level is slightly higher than the share of Norwegians, which indicates a certain potential to improve the gender balance in the recruitment of foreign researchers.

Given the ethnic diversity among academic staff in academia, the employees' country of origin is an important background variable. The vast majority of foreign researchers are from Nordic and European countries. The share with a non-Western background is relatively small, especially among permanent staff and professors. A number of fellows with a non-Western background are found at master and doctoral level under the quota scheme, but since grants and loans are not cancelled if they continue

³ The share of foreign-born staff is shown in parenthesis. Source: NIFU/Statistics Norway

their career in Norway, a large share of these disappear out of the country after finishing their studies.

Academia – organizational culture and working conditions

Higher education and research has historically encompassed a privileged group among the working population, where the employees – the academic staff (which in Norwegian universities consisted solely of men until 1912) – have had access to and social acceptance for assistance and secretarial support in their work, while servants and stay-at-home wives have had responsibility for the family and home.

In recent years, developments have taken place in the higher education sector that have changed both the content and form of the academic staff's work. On a general level, the changes in the higher education sector and research sector are linked to global, social and economic changes, and these have impacted on research policy and education policy. These developments are often interpreted as the consequence of or a response to the challenges that have arisen with the emergence of a post-industrial and globalized society, with large student populations, mass universities, and a focus on transparency, governance and management. One of the most discussed descriptions of the changes has been presented in several rounds by inter alia Michael Gibbons and Helga Nowotny, who believe all scientific research activities have seen a shift towards gradually more open, heteronomous and 'user-driven' activity (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2001).

The evolution of society has changed both academia and the research institutes' status, function and work, whilst to some extent changing the academic staff's composition in terms of ethnicity, gender and social class. Thus, academia is currently facing an organizational culture shift from a privileged, self-regulating and self-recruiting culture enabled by a society with clear class distinctions and traditional gender divisions of labour, to a more performance-oriented culture with growing demands for planning, registering and reporting the academic work (Egeland and Bergene, 2012).

Career progression in the higher education and research sectors manifests itself as individual competition based on performance and credited qualifications within a hierarchy in which it is possible and culturally attractive to advance (Egeland and Bergene, 2012). Academic staff in full-time positions at universities and university colleges in Norway worked 47.6 hours per week on average in 2010. This is ten hours more than the contractual working hours for public sector employees, and nearly eight hours over the legal limit stipulated in the Working Environment Act of Norway (Egeland and Bergene, 2012). Being a researcher cannot, therefore, be classed as a 9 to 5 job.

Additionally, many jobs within academia are not permanent positions; the general rule for Norwegian employers is to give employees permanent contracts in order to secure job protection and predictability. Temporary employment contracts should, therefore, only be used when strictly necessary. Against this background, it is evident that the universities and university colleges in Norway have twice as many temporary positions as the national average, not counting trainee positions etc. (Ministry of Education and Research, 2010a). The uncertainty surrounding 'future activity' and a steady income may lead to an imbalance in the recruitment of researchers in the sector. The average age of a candidate defending a doctoral thesis in Norway was 37.9 years in 2009; recruits could therefore be around 40 years old when applying for ordinary positions. Many therefore find themselves in a temporary qualification race during the stage of their life where they are getting married and having children, which brings with it a need for financial predictability. Unlike the universities and university colleges, the institutes in the research sector, which are subject to the Working Environment Act of Norway,

offer *permanent* positions.

To date, no studies have been conducted on whether and how working conditions in the higher education sector and research sector affect the sectors' ability to recruit and retain foreign-born academics.

The situation with the employer

There are, however, several studies on working life in general showing that immigrants are less likely to find a job that is suited to their level of competence and to secure a permanent job at all (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008; Drange, 2009), even when they have graduated from a Norwegian education institution (Villund, 2008; Støren, 2010). The theories on why employers do not recruit or promote immigrant employees highlight how this is associated with a greater perceived risk for companies in terms of a) productivity and deliveries, b) working environment and potential conflicts, c) higher costs associated with hiring the wrong person, employer obligations in relation to absence, training etc., and d) the competence requirements being defined in a way that does not benefit immigrants. It may be that education and work experience are given extra weight, but that there are no procedures for assessing competence from different cultural backgrounds, or when this would benefit the job seeker (Rogstad and Solbrække, 2012). These theories show that employers discriminate against immigrant applicants on the basis of general assumptions or considerations of how well they fit into or are suitable for the organization.

No comprehensive and systematic research exists on whether and how this also occurs in the higher education sector and research sector in Norway. Studies of so-called 'knowledge migrants' or highly skilled educated immigrants conducted in Norway and in other countries reveal that this group encounters more barriers in the job market than the majority population; barriers to finding relevant jobs and to attaining credit for their level of competence, in relation to language and cultural codes (van Riemsdijk and Cook, 2013; Brekke, 2008; Fosslund, 2012; 2013). These barriers particularly apply to female knowledge migrants who want to gain a foothold in a new job market during the period in their life when it is normal to have children, but who may, to a greater extent than men, be faced with conscious and unconscious notions of conflicts between the role of employee and carer.

Biases and colour blindness

The notion of academia as a free labour market where selection is exclusively based on neutral academic merits is too narrow a framework of understanding if the intention is to explore the mechanisms and processes that may be behind the recruitment patterns. Against this backdrop, a growing number of researchers are taking a closer look at the importance of unconscious (influenced by society and culture) selection mechanisms and preconceptions – 'unconscious bias' – in the job market in general and in higher education and research in particular (see for example Lee, 2005; Wood et al., 2009; Carlsson and Rooth, 2007; 2008; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). In the literature review *Unconscious bias and higher education* (ECU 2013), a distinction is made between unconscious bias and implicit bias, where the former refers to a form of bias that an individual is not even aware of or has control over, while the second refers to a bias that has manifested itself, but has perhaps not been recognized. The literature review repeatedly refers to implicit bias since most of the studies examined deal with biases that can be demonstrated, but for which no responsibility is taken at institutional or organizational level. The review concludes that there is reason to pay attention to different forms of implicit bias in higher education and research, and that this affects selection processes among both students and staff.

Discrimination in recruitment

What about discrimination? Does it contribute to a lack of diversity in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors? According to Arnfinn Midtbøen, deciding the extent of discrimination in recruitment processes based on gender and ethnicity is challenging. This is mainly due to the fact that discrimination in recruitment is not always readily apparent, and that the research therefore has mostly had to be based on indicators (Midtbøen, 2014). He further observes that this does not automatically imply that discrimination does not exist; there are good reasons to assume that discrimination in the form of unfair treatment takes place in recruitment processes, but such treatment is difficult to identify and demonstrate to be unfair. Against this background, the use of experimental methods to study discrimination has become increasingly common. One such method is the field experiment, where job applications that are otherwise the same are, for example, marked with different names, indicating the gender or ethnicity of the applicant. When all relevant job factors (education, work experience, language skills, etc.) are equal, it is then possible to explore whether the applicant's gender or ethnicity (as indicated by their name) will determine the employer's choice, since the difference in treatment cannot be explained in any other way (Midtbøen and Rogstad, 2012; Midtbøen, 2014). In summary, Midtbøen observes that a wide variety of field experiments over several decades have uncovered discrimination based on both gender and ethnicity in the USA, Canada, Australia and several European countries. However, it is difficult to compare the experiments in these studies since the national contexts differ in terms of the economic situation, culture and labour market conditions. Discrimination in recruitment processes does, however, occur in all studies (Midtbøen, 2014).

Whether and how discrimination based on ethnicity is present in recruitment processes in Norwegian higher education and research is difficult to say since no studies have been conducted that demonstrate unfair treatment, e.g. using field experiments such as those described by Midtbøen. Time constraints in this project prevent us from carrying out any such experiments as part of this study, not least because the work entailed in producing announcements, appointment of expert committees, recommendations, etc. in the recruitment process in Norwegian higher education and research is so time-consuming and arduous. However, if such an experiment could be conducted given sufficient resources and time it would undoubtedly be very interesting. We therefore recommend this in the section of the report that covers future research.

Homosocial reproduction and selection

It has further been observed that recruitment to academic posts in academia is characterized by homosocial reproduction: a strong tendency to recruit people similar to oneself (Kanter, 1977; Bourdieu, 1988). The identification of homosocial recruitment practices can in itself help to explain the composition of staff in academic positions and prestigious professions. The concept also suggests that academia is not a gender, ethnic and class-neutral field, but a social system in which 'non-academic criteria' such as gender, geographic location, cultural, economic and social background, sexual orientation, etc. may have a bearing on the assessment of academic background. 'Academic suitability' is thus an expression of socially transformed categories of suitability, and recruitment choices a result of both academic and social assessments and hierarchization.

The transition from being a student to presenting oneself as a candidate for an academic position or a doctoral fellowship is only one of several stages in a more comprehensive academic and social selection process. In an academic career pathway, a number of factors in a complex interplay have a bearing on selection and rejection. Taking a doctoral degree and securing a permanent, academic position in

academia is generally a challenging process in which the candidate is dependent on professional, financial and social support from their surroundings in order to maintain the confidence and the framework conditions needed to succeed. Although the share of foreign-born PhD students and researchers is increasing, many Norwegian institutions and research communities are still heavily influenced by internal recruitment practices. Suitable candidates are often selected during their studies as the student-supervisor relationship evolves. Networks and contacts are important for everyone in academia – in the same way as in the labour market in general.

Cultural characteristics

Career opportunities vary considerably between the different institutions in the higher education sector and the research sector; attractiveness, competition, funding for research and other conditions all differ between institutions, subject areas and disciplines. Technology and economy are characterized by alternative attractive career opportunities for candidates, which may also partly explain why these subjects recruit far more foreign-born doctoral candidates and academic staff than, for example, the humanities and social sciences. Such market logic helps to create different career opportunities across subjects, as well as disparities in the criteria for success. This is related to how long it takes to secure a permanent position, which formal and informal requirements – thresholds – must be surpassed, the volume of published material required, the number of postdoctoral periods, or when candidates are considered ‘old’ or ‘young’. These are patterns that may explain the different recruitment patterns for the social characteristics among those recruited.

However, recruitment patterns are not just a product of supply and demand in a neutral market logic. The disciplines’ and subject fields’ type of knowledge, as well as thematic, theoretical and methodological traditions, and the disciplines’ and subject fields’ social and intellectual status in academia and in society are all associated to varying degrees with, for example, women and men. This in turn is reflected in the distinctive cultural features that apply to the academic/professional roles and practices that are fostered and maintained in different specialized cultures (Egeland and Tømte, 2014; Vabø et al. 2010). In this perspective, it is also reasonable to assume that different types of knowledge and specialized cultures are open to non-white or non-Western applicants to varying degrees.

Any such practice will typically be characterized by ‘silence’, i.e. not talked about, which is partly the reason why it seldom attracts any great level of awareness in the academic communities (Mählick, 2013). Identifying such mechanisms through empirical research is not only challenging from a methodology, but probably also controversial (see the debate in the wake of Elisabeth L’Orange Fürst’s *Kvinner i Akademia – inntrengere i en mannskultur?* (Women in Academia – intruders in a male culture?) from 1988). This may partly explain why there is currently no systematic and cohesive research being conducted on selection processes and academic mobility based on ethnicity and the interplay between ethnicity and gender in the Norwegian higher education sector. The theme causes discomfort because the selection process and academic mobility in academia are expected to be based on objectivity when selecting the best qualified person for the job (Egeland, 2001).

On this empirical and theoretical basis, AFI and NIFU have jointly developed a design for a study of career paths and career barriers for foreign-born academic staff in higher education and research in Norway.

The sections and structure of the report

This report is made up of several different research contributions based on different methods and data sources. The report describes and analyses different groups and research questions related to diversity, barriers and career paths for immigrants in Norwegian higher education and research. The research contributions are presented in the form of chapters, written by researchers at AFI and NIFU. Chapter 4, on plans and aspirations to work in research, was written by Liv Anne Støren (NIFU), and Chapter 5, which analyses statistics on labour market participation among doctorate holders in Norway, was written by Ida Drange (AFI) and Tanja Askvik (Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences). Chapter 6, on diversity and challenges for foreign-born academics at three institutions in Norwegian higher education and research, was written by Tatiana Maximova-Mentzoni (AFI), Cathrine Egeland and Trude Røsdal (NIFU). The review of research literature in Chapter 3 was also written by Maximova-Mentzoni. Chapter 7 reflects on findings that have emerged in the various parts of the project, and Chapter 9, on proposed measures, was written by Maximova-Mentzoni and Egeland. Agnete Vabø (NIFU) contributed to the introduction and chapter 4, while the entire project group provided input to the concluding recommendations for further research.

The report is structured as follows: the introduction is followed by a presentation of the project's various sections, as well as methods and data sources. As regards the quantitative data sources, and the limitations of these and analysis models, these are explained in more detail in connection with each analysis. Following the chapters on the literature review, the quantitative analyses and the results of the case studies, we present a separate chapter that discusses some of the dilemmas in recruitment and inclusion of foreign-born academics in Norway. We conclude with recommendations for future measures and further research.

2. Methods and data sources

As already discussed, we have adopted an exploratory approach to the study since there is currently very little research on immigrants' career paths, academic mobility and ethnic diversity in Norwegian higher education and research.

The KIF Committee wanted a project consisting of 1) a review of relevant Nordic research on ethnic diversity among academic staff, 2) knowledge of potential career barriers related to immigration background and gender, 3) input into policy proposals and initiatives at national and institutional level, and 4) the identification of research questions for further research.

The various aspects of the project are discussed in order below.

It should be noted that the design and methods are *not* triangulated towards one well-defined phenomenon to be described and explained in different ways or from different angles. The choice of methods, data sources and design is based on the need to conduct an *exploratory* project which, rather than describing different aspects of a single, specific phenomenon, shows that diversity and immigrants' career paths and opportunities in higher education and research *encompass several different phenomena, research questions, groups and challenges*.

On this basis, there is no conclusion across chapters or analyses since these concern various groups and various research questions related to diversity, barriers and career paths in Norwegian higher education and research. Individually, however, the analyses form the basis for the reflections and recommendations presented in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Literature review

The purpose of the literature review was to summarize existing research in the field of 'ethnic diversity among employees in academia' in the Nordic countries. This research question has been broadly defined in order to be able to identify areas with accessible knowledge. In this study, we aimed to elucidate the following areas to the greatest degree possible:

- recruiting ethnic diversity to academia
- employment conditions for staff with an immigrant background in academia
- career barriers related to ethnicity and gender
- working environment at universities and university colleges that are multicultural workplaces
- diversity management in academia

The population was defined as 'persons with an immigrant background who apply for jobs or are employed in teaching and research positions at universities or university colleges'. Thus, words such as 'ethnicity', 'diversity', 'immigrant' and 'foreign' were relevant search terms.

The search was limited to one geographic area – the Nordic region. Otherwise, the search was fairly open in relation to the inclusion criteria. For example, there were no restrictions on the type or year of study. We defined a few exclusion criteria in order to target our focus. We excluded:

- studies that examine types of diversity other than ethnic diversity, and without any correlation to the ethnicity of employees
- studies on ethnic diversity among students in the higher education sector
- studies on ethnic diversity in other parts of the education system, such as kindergartens, primary schools, lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools

The search was conducted in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and English.

In the search, we used accessible databases at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences and NIFU. In terms of Scandinavian catalogues of research publications, the relevant databases to search in were those of Nordic universities, university colleges, public libraries and scientific journals:

- Oria (incl. Bibsys, Idunn, Nora, OECD library and a number of other databases)
- LIBRIS.se
- DFF (forskningsdatabasen.dk)
- Kora.dk
- Nordart
- Arblin (incl. SWEPUB, UPPSÖK, FALF FORSKARDATABAS).

We also searched in international catalogues:

- Scencedirect
- Escohost (incl. Academic Search Premier, EconLil, ERIC, SocIndex)
- Scopus
- Social Sciences Citation Index
- EPIC

The librarian at NIFU assisted with part of the literature search. Example of a search combination:

(higher education OR academia OR research) AND (staff OR faculty) AND (diversity OR migrant OR ethnic OR colour) AND (nordic OR scandinavian OR norway OR sweden OR denmark OR iceland OR finland OR norwegian OR swedish OR finnish OR danish OR icelandic).

In the databases where it was technically possible to search titles and abstracts, we refined the searches accordingly. In other databases, such as ORIA, we searched in the full text.

In addition to the search library catalogues, we used some alternative methods to search literature, such as a review of the bibliographies of relevant literature identified, as well as tips from experts in the field. One of the few experts on diversity in academia in the Nordic region, Paula Mählck from the University of Stockholm, assisted us in this part of the project by giving a presentation in September 2015 of the research situation in the field.

The search identified about 20 scientific papers that fulfilled the inclusion criteria. It should be noted, however, that due to limitations in project organization, only 40 hours were allocated for the literature search. The search cannot, therefore, be considered systematic. It is possible that some relevant studies were not identified in the search.

Knowledge on possible career barriers related to immigrant background and gender

In line with the project description, the report identifies knowledge about career paths and diversity in academia. We did this by combining a) analyses of selected, accessible and relevant statistics with b) qualitative case studies of three institutions. The case studies included individual interviews and focus group interviews with foreign-born academic staff, diversity advisers and managers at the three sample institutions, as well as analysis of strategic policy documents. Moreover, we provide a brief explanation of these methods and data sources.

Analyses of quantitative data

The KIF Committee's project description emphasizes that the remit of the study does *not* include obtaining comprehensive statistics:

The figures on ethnic minorities in academic positions in the higher education sector and at research institutes are incomplete and fragmentary. Some statistics are available on foreign nationals working in Norwegian research, but there are no statistics on the share of people with an immigrant background (non-Western/Western) in leading academic positions in Norway. It is assumed that the share of people from ethnic minorities in the population is unlikely to be reflected in the share in leading academic positions. The KIF Committee is currently in discussions with the Ministry of Education and Research concerning the need for national statistics that make it possible to compare different groupings by position across institutions. The remit of the project does not extend to creating such statistics, and project participants must be aware that the figures are fragmentary.

On this basis, we identified four data sources that can provide interesting figures for the analyses of *conditions for career paths* in Norwegian higher education and research for persons with an immigrant background: a) NIFU's Candidate Surveys, b) NIFU's Doctoral Degree Register, c) NIFU's Research Personnel Register and d) register data on education and employment.

a) NIFU's Candidate Surveys

Every two years, surveys are conducted six months after master's candidates (or the equivalent) sit their final examination. These surveys gather information about the candidates' country of birth and their parents' country of birth. Each survey maps whether candidates are taking further education, such as a PhD, as well as the highest education that the candidates plan to take (e.g. a PhD). The Candidate Survey in 2013 also included (commissioned by the National Association of Researchers (NAR)) a number of other questions concerning the candidates' preferences in terms of research career (see Chapter 6 in Wiers-Jensen, Støren and Arnesen, 2014). All of the survey respondents live in Norway and have a Norwegian higher education. Thus, PhD candidates with an immigrant background belong to a different group to those who came to Norway (after attaining a master's degree in their native country) for the sole purpose of taking a PhD.

The extra questions in the Candidate Survey make for new and interesting analyses, which have never been used before in the study of research recruitment by immigrant background and gender.

As will be seen later in this report, the results indicate that there is a large potential for future researchers among master's candidates with an immigrant background.

b) Doctoral Degree Register

NIFU's Doctoral Degree Register includes all doctoral and licentiate awards from all Norwegian institutions through the ages. The register includes data on degree title, the name of the institution and the year of the disputation for doctoral degrees, the subject area of the thesis, and the educational background of the candidate. The register is an individual register that also contains data on gender, age and nationality at the time of the defence of the thesis. The register is updated twice a year based on data supplied by the awarding institutions.

c) Research Personnel Register

As part of the national R&D statistics, NIFU collects personnel data every year from institutions that perform research and development (R&D). Data is obtained for academic, scientific staff, senior technical/administrative staff and management in the higher education sector, research sector and the health authorities. Names, personal identification numbers, positions, places of work (institute/department) are all recorded, as well as data on higher education and doctoral degrees and the country where the degree was awarded.

NIFU has also published several relevant analyses of the Research Personnel Register and the Doctoral Degree Register, which we have also used in this report.

d) Other register data

The analyses presented in Chapter X are based on register data on job type from the Employer and Employee Register for the years 2003 to 2008, and information on degree and subject area from the Norwegian National Education Database (NUDB), as well as information on gender, immigrant background and length of residence from the National Population Register. The registers contain data on the Norwegian population born after 1955 and people born before 1955 who have completed a higher education.

The quantitative data sources from AFI and NIFU that were used in the report can thus be summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. AFI and NIFU's quantitative data sources

Source	Variables
Candidate Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ candidates' country of birth▪ parents' country of birth▪ candidates studying for a PhD▪ research career aspirations
Doctoral Degree Register	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ gender, age, nationality at time of disputation▪ degree title, institution/year, subject area/educational background of candidate
Research Personnel Register	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ name, personal identification number, job title, place of work (institute/department), higher education, country and doctoral degree if relevant
Education and labour market data	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ candidates and parents' country of birth▪ subject area▪ year of final examination▪ type/level of position

The limitations of this data material are discussed in more detail in connection with the actual analyses presented later in this report.

Case studies

We have chosen to include a qualitative component in the project. The component has been carried out as three defined case studies with interviews (focus group interviews and individual interviews) at three case institutions: **Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, University of Bergen** and the **Foundation for Scientific and Industrial Research (SINTEF) in Trondheim**. A detailed presentation of the three institutions is attached as an appendix to this report.

The justification for our choice of case methodology is that it is a method that is particularly well suited when the research questions are *how and why*, and when the focus of the research is a contemporary phenomenon in the real world. Thus, the purpose was not to obtain representative data, but to gather data that may go some way to illustrating the challenges and barriers to diversity and career paths that immigrants might encounter in Norwegian academia, and also to give an indication of the direction of new and other research questions that the research in this field has not yet touched on or discussed in any kind of depth.

The sample of case institutions has ensured that we collected and analysed data from the area with the greatest prevalence and growth in the immigrant population (Oslo), whilst also ensuring a geographic, institutional/sectoral (both the higher education and research sectors) and academic/discipline-based distribution.

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences (HiOA)

HiOA's student population is characterized by ethnic diversity, and diversity is one of the institution's core values. While HiOA is one of the leaders in Norway in terms of gender balance among academic staff, the situation is not quite as balanced when it comes to ethnic diversity. There are few immigrants among the academic staff at HiOA. HiOA wants to increase the diversity of its academic staff, and was quick to express an interest in a study on diversity in academia. They have helped to facilitate data collection (recruitment of individual interviewers, focus group interviews and strategic documents) in connection with this project.

University of Bergen (UiB)

Approximately 20 per cent of UiB's employees are foreign nationals. In 2009, UiB was one of the first in the higher education sector to actively thematize and address diversity issues among employees in academic positions. UiB is now working to evaluate and develop its own equality and diversity efforts, and their reflections on the work have been of great value to this study.

Research sector/SINTEF

The KIF Committee's mandate also includes the research sector. In a Norwegian context, the institutes in this sector are a particularly important part of the research sector, both scientifically and in relation to scope. They also play a crucial role in the academic career system. Academics often work in both sectors over the span of their career, and taking up additional positions in order to bridge the gap between the higher education sector and the research sector is commonplace. The research sector

also encompasses a significant part of the *technological* research in Norway, a subject area with a relatively large number of foreign researchers (Børing and Gunnes, 2012). Thus, in the interests of both sectoral and academic representation, including a technological research institute such as SINTEF has been beneficial.

The three case institutions are relatively different in terms of social mission, financial frameworks, size, organizational structure and professional profile, and we have given a short presentation of each institution. In order to protect participants' anonymity and to identify interesting similarities and differences, a comparative analysis of the three institutions was also carried out.

We conducted a focus group interview as well as individual interviews with foreign-born academic staff and diversity advisers or representatives of management and HR at the three case institutions. A total of 26 people were interviewed.

Thematically, the interviews with the foreign-born academic staff centred around the informants' own career paths, experiences with discrimination and diversity at their own institutions, formal and informal selection processes, as well as academic and workplace cultures. The interview guide ([Appendix 1](#)) and an anonymized schematic overview of informants ([Appendix 2](#)) are attached to this report.

In addition, we interviewed diversity advisers or representatives of management and HR from the three institutions. The purpose of the interviews was to learn about how the institution works specifically and strategically to promote diversity among employees in academic positions, and how the strategies in this area are bound up with the institution's other goals and strategies.

Contact persons at the case institutions helped us find informants for the interviews, which saved both time and resources. The informants were sent an information letter prior to the interviews. Some of the contact persons had problems recruiting informants for focus group interviews. We assume this was partly due to the fact that the population in question has a busy workday, and partly because the topic of the interview (including experiences of discrimination and career barriers) can be difficult to talk about in an interview situation – particularly in a focus group. Despite these problems, we managed to recruit sufficient numbers to obtain a rich and complete selection of data.

Input to policy proposals and further research

The KIF Committee will support and make recommendations on measures that can help integrate the work on gender balance and diversity at universities, university colleges and research institutes, thereby facilitating greater diversity among personnel and in research. The committee will also help to raise awareness of research questions related to diversity and inclusion in the research system. In this report, we provide input to policy proposals, initiatives and research questions for further research based on:

- our own research into and knowledge of higher education and research,
- the literature review carried out for this project, in which Norwegian, Nordic and international experiences are drawn on and considered, and
- the analyses of the quantitative and the qualitative data material, including the interviews with the academic staff, diversity advisers and management representatives at the case institutions.

3. What does Nordic research say about ethnic diversity among academic staff?

This chapter provides a review of research on ethnic diversity among academic staff in higher education and research institutions in the Nordic countries. Our literature search identified about 20 relevant studies for the review. These are research reports, theses and book chapters, and to a lesser extent articles published in peer-reviewed journals. Almost half of the studies discussed in this review are from Sweden. Studies from Finland and Denmark are also included in the review. Norwegian studies have so far been purely descriptive. These are highlighted in the introductory chapter to create a backdrop to the research questions covered in this report.

In the search strategy for this review we chose to define the population fairly broadly as “ethnic diversity among academic staff” in order to get an idea of how ethnic diversity is defined and understood in the existing research. The review starts with addressing this issue.

The studies reviewed here have rather varied areas of focus. The literature review therefore gives an indication of what kind of research questions in terms of ethnic diversity among academic staff are of current interest for scholars in the Nordic region. With this review we intend to show breadth in the research without favouring one perspective or another. The chapter is structured according to the following topics, which characterize the research-based discussion in the Nordic region:

- Types of academic mobility
- Disciplinary affiliation
- Getting employment in a higher education and research sector and further career paths

- Relationship between gender and ethnic diversity
- Uncovering organizational meaning of ethnic diversity
- Shared language and the working environment
- Inclusion at the workplace
- Diversity as (political) discourse

Foreigners among academic staff – who do we mean?

What do we mean when we talk about foreigners and immigrants among academic staff? This is an important question. Several Nordic studies elaborate on this issue (Hoffman, 2007; Sandell, 2014a). Meanwhile, other studies have chosen to use a variety of terms without expanding on them. This can lead to a degree of confusion and may even be considered provocative since some studies discuss ethnicity in a very broad sense, while others choose to focus on relatively small groups within ethnic diversity. For example, some Swedish studies use the term ‘invandrade akademiker’ which in English means ‘immigrated academics’ (see for example Hörnqvist and Elinder, 2015). The term can be interpreted as foreign-born persons who either have been employed in the higher education and research sector before immigrating, or who have taken up their post after they immigrated. However, in these studies, the term is used to denote a group of highly educated (with at least two to three years of completed higher education) immigrants and their integration through employment in a new country. Several studies use the term ‘ethnicity’ when what they are actually referring to is a group of academic staff that have immigrated, often in adulthood. None of the studies included in the review have focused on second-generation immigrants, i.e. descendants of immigrants.

The ambiguity in terminology may be due to ethnicity only recently being referred to as a dimension of diversity in discussions on the composition of academic staff in the Nordic region. For example, Hoffman (2007) observes that categorization by ethnicity, skin colour and immigrant background has not previously been relevant in discussions about diversity in higher education and research institutions in Finland. Traditionally, the discourse on diversity in the higher education and research sector has related to gender and age. The immigrant background of academics has largely been ignored. A recently published Swedish anthology *Att bryta innanförskapet (Breaking into the circle of inclusion)* notes that there is a need to consider other perspectives on diversity in higher education and research sector than gender equality (Sandell, 2014a). Within today's higher education and research sectors there are several minority groups that have previously experienced exclusion but are now included to some extent, thereby helping to create more diversity in these sectors. There are several foreign-born academics who now have successful careers in higher education and research, and we can learn about the sector as an inclusive workplace based on their experiences. Hoffman (2007) believes that an absent or inadequate focus on ethnic diversity in higher education and research hinders opportunities to evaluate and understand methodical career paths and the challenges faced by academics with an immigrant background.

Who do Nordic researchers write about in their studies on ethnic diversity among academic staff? In Norwegian quantitative studies, the term 'utledninger' ('foreigners') is used. These are people who do not have Norwegian citizenship (Olsen, 2013; Olsen and Sarpebakken, 2011). This term also refers to those who were not born in Norway (Børing and Gunnes, 2012).

With regard to ethnic diversity among academic staff in Finland, Hoffman (2007) argues that talking about 'local/indigenous' and 'foreigners' or 'local' and 'international employees' has become outdated.

If you're Ethnically Finnish or 'international' on campus, there are clear opportunities and infrastructure. If you are something other than those two things [...] you are in an interesting situation in which very little knowledge exists and even less professional capacity (Hoffman, 2007: 129).

Hoffman (2007) believes that with the changing demographic context in Finland – which also applies to the rest of Scandinavia – there is a need to expand the conceptual understanding of foreigners among academic staff. How 'foreign' are foreigners among academic staff in Norway when some of them have local citizenship or a permanent residence permit? Or are there differences in the push-and-pull factors in academic mobility among internationally recruited PhD candidates and internationally recruited professors? In order to understand the mechanisms behind academic mobility, recruitment and retention of academic staff with immigrant background in Scandinavia, we need to understand difference in nuances the term 'foreigner' brings to academia. This will have implications for the administration in higher education sector, policymakers and further research in this field.

Lauring and Selmer (2013) use the terms 'cultural diversity', 'linguistic diversity' and 'racial diversity' in their study on foreign-born academic staff in Denmark. The authors believe that these three types of diversity are related to the internationalization of higher education and research institutions. Cultural diversity entails the existence of different nationalities among employees in an organization. Linguistic diversity is conceptualized as "the presence of a multitude of speakers of different national languages in the same work group" Racial diversity refers to racial background of employees. In their

study, Luring and Selmer (2013) also use demographic dimensions of diversity, such as age diversity and gender diversity. Ethnic diversity can potentially include cultural diversity, linguistic diversity, racial diversity, as well as gender diversity and age diversity. The researchers believe that the distinction between different types of diversity is crucial to understanding the significance and effects of various types of diversity, and in terms of this particular study, openness to diversity among employees in higher education and research institutions.

In several Swedish studies on ethnic diversity among academic staff (e.g. Mählck and Thaver, 2010; Mählck, 2012; Mählck, 2013; Mählck and Fellesson, 2014; Andersson, 2014), researchers operate with the concepts of race and racialization. Racialization is defined as context-dependent practices that create differences between people and categorize them based on specific, essentializing assumptions about race, or ethnic or cultural inequality (Andersson, 2014: 196). Although the term 'racialization' paves the way for a broader understanding of the phenomenon, for example 'black' as equal to 'immigrant' (Mählck and Thaver, 2010), the researchers opt to focus on 'non-white' academic staff. 'Non-white' is used as an umbrella term for people with a darker skin than 'the white norm'. Andersson (2014) believes that this particularly area is undertheorized in the context of Swedish higher education and research institutions. Mählck (2013) describes the Swedish higher education sector as 'colour blind'. Her study finds that 'racialized' researchers, and particularly those who are 'non-white', are rather invisible in the discourse on research excellence. 'Whiteness' appears to be regarded as a necessary feature for quality and success in higher education and research. This conclusion is based on interviews where the informants were asked to visualize social characteristics and physical features of 'an imaginary typical researcher'.

Meanwhile, Andersson (2014) notes that there may be a correlation between academics' appearance (skin colour in this context) and other people's perceptions of their place in and affiliation with higher education and research. Her data shows that academics with a non-white appearance can become a symbol of belonging 'outside the centre of academia'. In their encounters with new environments and new people, non-white academics are often attributed a 'visitor status', for example as a 'visiting researcher' or 'PhD candidate', as opposed to a permanent affiliation. Despite their senior positions in higher education and research, these 'representatives of diversity' feel that they constantly have to prove their competence and academic credibility in order to gain recognition for their work in academic circles. Both Mählck (2013) and Andersson (2014) highlight the importance of addressing visible ethnic diversity in order to understand how inequalities in higher education and research institutions are created and maintained.

Types of academic mobility

Hoffman (2009) argues for new thinking in terms of academic mobility. Hoffman's point is that in the 21st century it is essential to make a connection between academic mobility and international migration. Limiting academic mobility to domestic mobility or a traditional understanding of internationalization, such as exchange programmes and international research collaborations, is both outdated and misleading. In his work, Hoffman (2007; 2009) highlights three new types of academic mobility that are complicating the understanding of the academic mobility phenomenon; 'lateral', 'vertical' and 'generational'. The 'lateral' mobility pattern entails academics moving abroad to take up a better or more advanced academic position. One such example is academics who take their master's degrees, PhDs and then have postdoctoral periods of study all in different countries. 'Vertical' mobility refers to building up an academic carrier in a country that is not a country of birth. In this case foreign-born

academics normally take a master's degree and then pursue an academic career within the parameters of the same national academic system. 'Generational' mobility refers to social mobility of immigrant groups through higher education. Hoffman (2007) believes that developing an effective policy is dependent on recognizing both old and new types of academic mobility. Meanwhile, more knowledge is needed on the new types of mobility and the implications these have for society and the education and research sectors.

Disciplinary affiliation

The research points to a clear imbalance in the degree of ethnic diversity in the different disciplinary fields in academia. In Norway, the research shows that the majority of foreign-born academic staff work within the subject areas of mathematics, natural sciences and technology. The lowest share of foreign-born academic staff appears to be in the social sciences (Børing and Gunnes, 2012).

Hoffman (2007) confirms the same picture in the Finnish higher education and research sectors, and systematizes it using two dimensions in subject affiliation: 'hard'–'soft' and 'pure'–'applied'. The researcher concludes that it is easier to find foreign-born academics in 'hard-applied' disciplinary fields such as clinical medicine, engineering, IT, biotechnology, etc., as well as 'soft-applied' disciplinary fields such as business, language, art, etc. In the 'pure' disciplines, such as physics, mathematics and anthropology, the prevalence of foreign-born academic staff is very low. Any foreign-born academic staff found within these disciplines are the exception rather than the rule.

Some Swedish studies (e.g. Göransson and Lidegran, 2005; Saxonberg and Sawyer, 2006) confirm a similar pattern in disciplinary profile of foreign-academic staff in Sweden. The chances for a successful academic career for foreign-born academics are bigger in medicine, technology and natural sciences, and lowest in the social sciences and humanities.

An important question in the discourse on career paths for foreign-born academics relates as well to the prerequisites for successfully establishing themselves in their field and reaching the top in Nordic higher education and research sectors. Göransson and Lidegran (2005) have examined this question in the case of higher education and research sectors in Sweden. According to their study, there are several aspects that can determine whether a foreign-born academic has a successful career path. These are social background, gender, current family situation, disciplinary field and topic, how much 'teaching capital' they have, the status of their native country in Sweden, and which life phase they were in when they immigrated. For example, the study shows that the prerequisites for succeeding are better for those from a North American or Nordic country. Academics who immigrated at a young age and have completed their compulsory education, upper secondary education and higher education in Sweden are more likely to compete on an equal footing with Swedes due to proficiency in the local language, established networks and knowledge of the rules. This places them in a stronger position in terms of institutional discrimination, which is the topic of the following section.

Institutional discrimination

A Swedish study has examined the possible exclusion mechanisms at the system level that make it more difficult for foreign-born academics to secure permanent positions in higher education and research institutions. The focus of the study was on the recruitment for academic positions within the social science disciplines of economic history, psychology, sociology and political science. As mentioned earlier, the social science disciplines have the lowest shares of employees with an immigrant

background (e.g. Børing and Gunnes, 2012; Hoffman, 2007). It is therefore natural to look at the recruitment of academics to this disciplinary field. Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006) conclude that although there is no expressed intention to discriminate against foreign-born academics when recruiting for permanent positions in higher education and research institutions in Sweden, there is evidence of institutional mechanisms that have a negative impact on this group. This is due to the tendency for internal recruitment, the importance of belonging to the 'right' network, knowledge of unwritten rules in particular universities and university colleges, knowledge of the mechanisms for academic career development in Sweden, belonging to particular theoretical traditions, and recruitment procedures that are easy to manipulate. The latter includes inter alia customization of job advertisements, the choice of committee members for expert assessments of candidates, and the large degree of discretion afforded in assessing pedagogical merits. Internal recruitment to higher education and research institutions is widespread and it is especially difficult for external foreign-born candidates to get an academic position. The study shows however that it is also more difficult for internal, foreign-born candidates, such as PhD candidates, to secure a permanent position in the university and university college where they received their doctoral degree than it is for those born in Sweden. The study also gives examples of how during the recruitment process the assessment of pedagogical merits is used, or to put it more accurately misused, to exclude highly qualified foreign candidates in favour of internal applicants. Another arena where Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006) demonstrate discrimination of foreign-born academics is at the Research Council, and in their decisions on applications for research funding. Foreign-born academics are in a much weaker position here. Overall, Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006) believe there is a form of 'cultural cloning' in higher education and research institutions in Sweden – a process in which an organization replicates itself by employing recognizable candidates. According to Andersson (2014), these invisible institutional mechanisms of recruitment create much uncertainty among foreign-born academics in the competition for jobs.

Gender + ethnic diversity =?

Norwegian research demonstrates a systematic gender differences in the career paths of foreign-born post-doctoral fellows. After completing the postdoctoral period, a larger share of foreign-born women than men are to be found in full professor positions, but also in temporary positions. Male foreign-born postdoctoral fellows leave higher education and research in favour of other sectors to a greater extent than their female counterparts. Furthermore, a higher share of foreign-born men compared to foreign-born women leave Norway after their research fellowships end. At the same time, the research shows that the percentage of women among academic staff in Norway has generally increased. It is more remarkable for the Norwegian-born female academic staff compared with the foreign-born one (Børing and Gunnes, 2012). This may be a result of long-term gender equality efforts in the Norwegian higher education and research.

Mählck and Thaver (2010) argue that the debates on gender and ethnicity among academic staff seem to counteract each other, with the discourse on ethnicity having a tendency to replace the discourse on gender. Researchers believe that these discourses should instead be viewed in conjunction with each other. In her studies on recruitment of academic staff in Sweden, Mählck (2012; 2015) observes that non-white women who immigrated from Western countries will be more exposed to discrimination than white, Western women. Being white and Swedish represents the 'norm'. According to Mählck (2013), 'colour blindness' in higher education and research institutions represents a problem because the normalization and privilegization of masculinity and whiteness is kept obscure. The interplay of

colour blindness with gender blindness necessitates an intersectional perspective on the absence of diversity among employees that clarifies how gender and ethnicity interact in the selection process. Schmitt (2014) and Schömer (2014) level criticism at universities' diversity documents for primarily focussing on various minority categories without taking an intersectional perspective.

Another Swedish study (Göransson and Lidegran, 2005) argues that it can be easier for foreign-born female academics to reach the top than for their Swedish-born female counterparts. The claim is based on a small collection of data and should therefore be interpreted as a hypothesis rather than an absolute finding. The point made is that foreign-born female academics are less sensitive to the cultural codes that applies to gender in higher education and research institutions in Sweden. Therefore they have a better starting point for breaking the glass ceiling of perceptions of and prejudices against women in academia.

Uncovering organizational meaning of ethnic diversity Several studies raise the question of the impact of diversity among academic staff on productivity and efficiency. Danish researchers Luring and Selmer (2013) formulate the question more specifically: Does diversity in the workplace mean that employees are more open to diversity? The researchers examine how different types of diversity impact on openness among faculty staff in reference to various types of differences – differences in language (linguistic diversity), values (value diversity), appearance (visible diversity) and information (informational diversity). When people are open to linguistic diversity, they accept the varying degrees of language proficiency, vocabulary and accents. When people are open to visible diversity, they do not show discriminatory attitudes towards people who look different in terms of race, age, gender, etc. Openness to other people's values means tolerance for differences in opinions, in understandings of the worldview and in cultural behaviour. When people show openness to informational diversity, it means that they are inclusive with regard to the different types of information and knowledge sources that are available collectively. In higher education and research institutions in Denmark, Luring and Selmer (2013) found that diversity characteristics that stem from internationalization – in this study, cultural and linguistic diversity – have a positive correlation to openness to diversity, while diversity characteristics stemming from demographic indicators such as gender and age have a negative correlation or no correlation to openness to diversity. Researchers found a particularly significant correlation between cultural diversity and openness to visible diversity and informational diversity. Researchers conclude that different types of diversity in an organization – the higher education sector in this study – may impact differently on group processes with regard to solving tasks, group dynamics and group productivity. This is because some types of diversity stimulate positive attitudes towards diversity more than others. Researchers' findings have direct implications for management in the higher education sector in relation to establishing and managing heterogeneous groups. More specifically, the research results show that management in the higher education sector and the research sectors should make it possible to 'create task-relevant compositions of staff diversity'.

In another study, Luring and Selmer (2011) found that in higher education and research institutions cultural diversity rather than gender diversity is positively correlated with implementation of and satisfaction with the group's efforts. This is because cultural diversity adds more beneficial differences in perspectives and abilities to a work setting. This study rejects the notion theorized in earlier qualitative studies that internationalization could have a negative effect on coherence and cooperation in multicultural academic departments. Luring and Selmer (2011) believe that these concerns have been given too much weight, and that gender diversity can also entail barriers to success and satisfaction in

academic organizations. Researchers believe that these findings can help HR departments in the higher education sector to both focus on diversity and to consider how much needs to be invested in different types of diversity in order to achieve various goals.

Shared language and the working environment Several studies have examined the impact of language on inclusion and the working environment for academic staff. According to Andersson (2014), language is an important key to accessing a cultural community, which in the context of higher education and research institutions has a special significance. Andersson's study of foreign-born academic staff in Sweden highlights the importance of language for foreign-born academics' working day. Even when foreign-born academics master Swedish, the language is often cited as a factor that creates extra challenges in their work. Firstly, these challenges appear in the interaction with students who may have a discriminatory or stigmatizing attitude towards a foreign-born lecturer who does not speak their native language, or who speaks Swedish with an accent. Students may then draw parallels between lecturer's proficiency in the local language and his/her disciplinary competence. Secondly, one may observe challenges in connection with written work and text correction, which takes longer for non-native speakers of Swedish. Finally, the impact of language can be seen in daily work situations with management and colleagues, where academics who use their native language are better equipped to stand up for themselves if they end up in unfavourable or uncomfortable situations. The conclusion is that foreign-born academics who do not use their own native language in work situations where the majority are using their native language have to use extra energy to prove their competence and intellectual capacity, and to fight their corner in challenging situations.

Mählck and Thaver (2010) demonstrate that language in the case of higher education and research institutions in Sweden serves to create inclusion and exclusion cultures in faculties. This is expressed through the culture of e-mail exchanges, the language that academic communities choose to use in group meetings, and through informal decisions taken during lunch and coffee breaks. On the one hand, Swedish is the language that the majority masters. On the other hand, Swedish higher education and research institutions in response with their internationalization ambitions have foreign-born teaching and research staff who do not necessarily speak Swedish. English is therefore used to some extent. Mählck and Thaver (2010) equate proficiency in Swedish with the possibility for foreign-born academics to be included in 'the inner power circles' in the faculties.

One study has considered whether better 'involvement' of academic staff and use of a shared language in a multicultural higher education sector foster openness to diversity and improve productivity. 'Involvement' is defined by Selmer et al. (2013) as employees' participation in task-oriented group processes such as communication and cooperation, as well as a self-perceived level of involvement in work processes in universities. Their quantitative study, conducted at three universities in Denmark, shows that using a shared language is positively correlated with employees' openness to diversity at 'surface level', i.e. linguistic and visual diversity. Using a shared language makes it easier for employees to accept differences which are easy to spot as for instance accent, skin colour, etc. The study also shows that using a shared language is not in itself sufficient to promote positive attitudes towards 'deep level' diversity, such as informational and value diversity. In other words, the study shows that the use of a shared language, despite improving communication, will not have a direct effect on work processes when differences between employees are deeply rooted. Thus, the study confirms the hypothesis that 'deep' and 'surface-level' types of diversity should be considered separately and addressed differently.

Notwithstanding, researchers recommend that academic managers facilitate the use of a shared language and involvement which, at least to some extent, can improve attitudes to diversity in the workplace. The social climate in the workplace can be improved with measures such as regular meetings and seminars that require communication between and involvement by academic staff. According to the researchers, organizing teaching and research activities in groups of employees with different backgrounds, as well as rewarding good results from group activities, will also promote a shared language.

Even when workplaces promote English as a shared language, this measure puts some foreign-born academics in a more fortunate position than others. For example, academics from English-speaking countries are placed higher in the 'immigrant hierarchy' because they are often encouraged to use their native language at work. Although communication in English is facilitated, the foreign-born academics from non-English speaking countries will nevertheless speak a foreign language. Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006) believe it is important to recognize that language creates inequalities for groups of foreign-born academics in their daily work.

Inclusion at the workplace

Several researchers examine the challenges related to experiences foreign-born academic staff has of being included at a workplace. Andersson (2014) emphasizes that being a foreign-born teaching and research employee can represent a huge emotional strain – a phenomenon that is referred to as 'emotional work' or 'racialization's emotional dimensions' (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001). The point is that personal experiences of being treated differently due to for instance a visible difference, may make a person feel anger, fear and shame. Employees with an immigrant background often have to deal with such feelings in their everyday work – in addition to their normal work duties. This may be perceived as an additional strain. The term 'emotional work' denotes this extra load of work that those with a minority background, including an ethnic minority background, have to deal with in their professional lives. This is reflected in the employee having to work harder than their colleagues by constantly having to prove their competence and intellectuality, by being exposed to other people's 'suspicions', and by having to deal with 'extreme feelings of uncertainty' and insecurity in their encounters with colleagues and students (Andersson, 2014).

De los Reyes (2010) discusses another aspect that complicates the workplace inclusion of foreign-born academic staff: silence and invisibility. Silence does not refer to ethnicity being taboo or the obvious reluctance to discuss the subject; silence is something that creates a void in people's experiences of oppression, everyday racism and discrimination. By closing our eyes and choosing to ignore these experiences a balance is maintained between normality and deviation and placement in hierarchies based on gender, ethnicity, class, etc. De los Reyes (2010) particularly reflects on the silence surrounding invisibility. Her study shows that foreign-born academic staff in Sweden have experienced everyday discrimination in that they have felt invisible and ignored. This is especially true in connection with the recognition of their academic competence, which they felt was often perceived by others as less valuable in an academic sense than their Swedish colleagues' competence. Their competence was overlooked when establishing project groups, allocating research funding, assigning supervisors for PhD candidates or opponents at disputations, and in the selection of representatives for examination committees. This exemplifies how invisibility is connected with a practice that excludes and marginalizes foreign-born academic staff. De los Reyes (2010) believes that both silence and invisibility are used to maintain and legitimize boundaries between belonging and exclusion, between 'them' and 'us', and

between the norm and deviations that are constructed through the minority dimensions that ethnicity constitutes.

Diversity as political discourse

Diversity in higher education and research institutions is being portrayed as a new ambitious political project in the same way that gender equality has been for many years (Sandell, 2014b). Universities and university colleges issue policy documents aimed at promoting diversity and equality. Sandell (2014a) reflects critically on this by appealing for a closer examination of what these policy documents actually mean, what kind of diversity problem these documents confront, whom this problem affects, and who is meant to solve it. Several researchers have addressed challenges with diversity as a political discourse in the anthology *Att bryta innanförskapet (Breaking into the circle of inclusion)* edited by Sandell (2014a).

Swedish researchers point out that focussing on different grounds of discrimination or different minority groups may be wrong (de los Reyes, 2010; Schömer, 2014; Schmidt, 2014). De los Reyes (2010) believes that from an intersectional perspective it is necessary to shift the focus from individual minority groups to norms, practices and assessments that can cause people or groups to be treated differently. The focus on minority groups is used in policy documents as an instrument of power that sets the terms for distinguishing between the groups rather than taking the distinctions for granted. This creates normative notions of deviations due to gender, sexuality, ethnicity and disability for the groups of employees that do not fit the 'norm'. This instrument gives reason to centre a political agenda, institutional platforms and discourses on some minority groups over others as it is often in the case of gender. The spotlight is thus placed on how different minority groups relate to each other rather than how differences between groups of academic staff are created, legitimated and manifested.

Schömer (2014) is critical of the way equality and diversity efforts in higher education and research institutions focus on eliminating discrimination. The researcher considers this to be a passive approach based on legislation. This focus steals the spotlight from possible active and preventive measures that have in themselves the potential to initiate a shift towards a more inclusive working environment. Schömer (2014) believes it is not possible to change the current discrimination structures within the existing legal framework, precisely because the legislation is based on the principle of equal treatment. This principle does not take into account the different equality structures in which people live, giving more privileges to already privileged groups. Espersson (2014) supports this conclusion by making a link between equality efforts and meritocracy. According to the ideals of meritocracy, gender and ethnicity should not play any role in recruitment and career development in higher education and research institutions. Everyone should be treated equally regardless of their background and appearance. Meanwhile, research shows that there are real disparities in career opportunities between women and men and between foreign-born and local academics. The higher education sector appears to be more concerned with being portrayed as legitimate in relation to how it treats various minority groups. The formal aspects of the diversity work seem to be most important, while proactive measures are less in evidence. Practical diversity measures seem to mostly concern gender equality (Espersson, 2014).

Multiculturalism and ethnicity are often incorporated into the term 'diversity'. In policy documents, including those of universities, diversity is often highlighted as a characteristic of the organization. Andersson (2014) indicates that portraying universities as diverse can be presented as if it means some-

thing good in her study, she asked Swedish academics with visible immigrant traits to share their experiences of diversity policy in higher education and research. On the one hand, the informants recognize that the diversity discourse opens up more opportunities for immigrants to gain a foothold in higher education and research institutions. On the other hand, the discourse has a side effect that is often overlooked: it creates a distinction between ‘them’ and ‘us’. This is because the presence of ‘representatives of diversity’ as employees in higher education and research institutions is linked to background rather than competence, as if foreign-born academic staff are recruited due to their minority background rather than their qualifications and academic merits. Analysis of policy documents on diversity at Lund University led Schmidt (2014) to a similar conclusion. The researcher points out that the focus in the diversity efforts has shifted *from fairness to questions about the university’s image and from representation to internationalization*.

Summary of literature review

The literature review shows that Nordic research on ethnic diversity among academic staff is limited. This observation is also made in several of the studies included in the review (Kerstin, 2014; Lauring & Selmer, 2013; Hoffman, 2007). As is the case for much of the research on diversity and diversity management in general, most of the studies on ethnic diversity in academia stem from the USA. Mamiseishvili and Roses (2010) emphasize that this particular group - academic staff with an immigrant background - has been ‘ignored’ in higher education research.

The fact that ‘ethnic diversity among academic staff’ in Scandinavia is a relatively new field of research that has only begun to emerge in the last decade may be explained by the following:

- the growing share of immigrants in society is reflected in academia
- greater focus on internationalization and researchers’ mobility
- greater political focus on integration and inclusion
- greater share of foreign-born academic staff
- limited exploration of diversity management as a field of research in Scandinavia
- the ageing academic staff and the need to renew senior positions in academia – ‘generational shift’
- growing international academic mobility and evolution of an international labour market for academics.

Almost half of the studies included in the literature review are conducted in Sweden. The political focus on ethnic diversity has a somewhat longer history in Sweden than in the other Nordic countries. In 2000, a Swedish Official Report on diversity in academia was published (Flodgren et al., 2000). In the same year, the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (*Högskoleverket*) published an anthology citing good examples of equality and diversity efforts at universities and university colleges (Knutas, 2000). A significant part of the anthology is dedicated to the sector’s work on social and ethnic diversity in which various universities and university colleges present their initiatives and practical efforts to promote ethnic diversity, including among academic staff. Despite the political focus and the practical efforts in the field of ethnic diversity, the research has not kept pace with the recent focus and field of practice. Several studies within the subject area have been published in the last five years.

It is important to note that several of the studies included in the review are founded on a modest empirical basis. Some publications base their argument purely on literature review and document analysis, while others build their reasoning on a few interviews with foreign-born academic staff. This reflects the exploratory nature of the current research in this field. We can also assume that this field of research has not been well enough funded to enable more complex studies.

The studies included in the review of Nordic research on ethnic diversity among academic staff have rather different focus areas and address different issues. The main findings of this review indicate:

- the need to point to differences in nuances of the concept 'ethnic diversity' has in the discourse on foreign-born academic staff in the Nordic region
- the imbalance in the degree of ethnic diversity in the different disciplinary fields in higher education and research institutions. Social sciences have the lowest share of foreign-born academic staff.
- development of new types of academic mobility that complicate the current understanding of ethnic diversity in academia. These are particularly related to international migration.
- that foreign-born academics find it more difficult to secure a job in the higher education sector in the Nordic countries
- possible institutional mechanisms that negatively affect this group. In the context of higher education and research institutions in Sweden. This is due to the tendency for internal recruitment, the importance of belonging to the 'right' network, knowledge of unwritten rules in particular universities and university colleges, knowledge of the mechanisms for academic career development in Sweden, belonging to particular theoretical traditions, and recruitment procedures that are easy to manipulate.
- that being a woman with immigrant background in the Nordic higher education and research institutions can be a challenge. The interplay of colour blindness with gender blindness necessitates an intersectional perspective on the absence of diversity in academia that may clarify how gender and ethnicity interact in the selection process.
- that different types of diversity among academic staff have varying effects on attitudes to diversity in the workplace. Cultural and linguistic diversity are positively correlated with openness to diversity, while the diversity characteristics stemming from demographic indicators such as gender and age are negative or have no correlation to openness to diversity. In other words, departments, faculties, and work groups wish to foster positive attitudes to ethnic diversity they should recruit foreign-born academic staff
- that shared language is an important key to accessing an academic community and can be used to form inclusion and exclusion cultures at faculties
- that using a shared language is positively correlated to employees' openness to diversity at 'surface level', i.e. linguistic and visual diversity, and therefore helps to improve attitudes to ethnic diversity in the workplace
- the need to reconsider the political discourse on diversity in higher education and research institutions by taking a closer look at what policy documents on diversity, equality and equal treatment actually mean, what kind of diversity problem these documents confront and why, whom this problem affects, and who is meant to solve it.

4. Plans and aspirations to work in research – are there disparities between master’s graduates with and without an immigrant background?

The recruitment phase – the transition from being a student and graduate to being appointed to a research position – is just one of several stages in a more comprehensive social selection process. In a lifetime perspective, a variety of factors will have a bearing on how personal career goals and aspirations are formed. Social background, as well as parents’ education and occupation have a strong impact, as does the influence of friends, the labour market situation and other social conditions and life-related parameters. Aspirations are formed in a complex interplay between a multitude of factors which, also in a research context, can vary substantially between different types of institutions, disciplines and career-related parameters. Aspiring to a research career is not in itself a guarantee that the cultural and material conditions needed to succeed will be present. Applying self-reported aspirations in an effort to explain the recruitment patterns and diversity in academia is also complicated because aspirations are formed at the interface with the expectations graduates encounter during their course of study and, where relevant, in the recruitment process. Such expectations are particularly applicable in academic contexts, where ties between academic staff and students who are potential research recruits are developed during the course of study, and where informal invitations, information and other support can have a strong influence. This is particularly relevant in Norway, where local and internal recruitment is generally widespread, and in technology subjects and natural sciences in particular, where group collaboration and hierarchical working methods with the use of assistants is a more common way of working.

In this chapter, we therefore take a different approach to that of other parts of the report. While other parts of the report consider *experiences* in academia among academics with an immigrant background, this chapter will examine recent master’s graduates’ *plans*. Another difference is that we use survey data and quantitative methods as opposed to interview data.

Plans and aspirations to work in research among recent master’s graduates are examined in two of NIFU’s Graduate Surveys. The first study was conducted in late autumn 2013 (Wiers-Jenssen, Støren and Arnesen, 2014). The second study is ongoing at the time of writing, and the results from this will not be available until June 2016. The graduate surveys are conducted six months after the graduate’s final examination. The survey is sent out in November to graduates who finished their studies in the spring semester roughly six months before. Data is collected in the period from November to March.

Wiers-Jenssen et al. (2014)⁴ examined whether there were any gender disparities in career preferences with regard to research. The gender gap was found to be very small. In their report, no analysis was made, however, of whether there were disparities relating to *immigrant background*. We have now explored this in connection with the project *Diversity in academia*. In the presentation below, the em-

⁴ The report by Wiers-Jenssen et al. (2014) includes a chapter dedicated to career preferences – aspirations and plans to work in research. Only graduates with a master’s degree (plus a small group with a higher degree/professional degree, such as cand.psychol.) were included in the survey. In the following, everyone is referred to as a master’s graduate.

phasis is therefore on examining differences in career preferences with regard to research among graduates with and without an immigrant background.

Definition of immigrant background

Before considering the disparities in plans to work in research by immigrant background, we should clarify how people with an immigrant background are defined in the analyses below. Master’s graduates who participated in the survey were asked to fill out pre coded alternatives for their own and their parents’ country of birth, where different countries in the same world region are grouped together. *Immigrants* are those who are born abroad and whose parents are both born abroad. *Norwegian-born to immigrant parents* are born in Norway, but both of their parents were born abroad. Together these groups constitute persons *with an immigrant background*, as defined by Statistics Norway.

We have divided graduates with an immigrant background into a group with a *Western* background and a group with a *non-Western* background (Table 2). In recent years, Statistics Norway has categorized immigrants from European countries according to whether the country is a member of the EU/EEA or not. We have followed this division. We put all EU/EEA member states in a category we call ‘Western’, which means that in our definition everyone from Eastern European countries that joined the EU after its expansion in 2002 (or later) is classed as a Westerner. More specifically, *Western background* encompasses those with a background from North America, Western Europe and all EU countries. We also include Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) in this grouping. *Non-Western background* refers to persons with a background from the remaining Eastern European countries, Asia, Africa and South and Central America. In some analyses, we also break down this group by world region.

Table 2. Master’s graduates spring 2013, by immigrant background

	Per cent	Absolute numbers
Without an immigrant background	88.8	2840
Western immigrant background		
Norwegian-born to immigrant parents	0.5	15
Immigrant	3.1	98
Non-Western immigrant background		
Norwegian-born to immigrant parents	0.9	30
Immigrant	6.8	217
Total	100	3200 ⁵

There are very few people in the category ‘Norwegian-born to immigrant parents’ (formerly called ‘second-generation immigrants’). Many researchers are interested in this group because a particularly high share of them take a higher education. The probability of taking a higher education is greater among Norwegian-born to immigrant parents than among young persons without an immigrant background, as shown in recent figures from Statistics Norway (Statistics Norway, 2015) as well as earlier studies (Støren, 2009; 2010). Notwithstanding, this group only accounted for around three per cent of

⁵ We have excluded respondents (a total of 54) who did not answer any of the questions on country of birth.

the student population in 2014 (Statistics Norway, 2015), while the immigrants made up nine per cent. The corresponding shares among master's graduates who participated in the Graduate Survey were somewhat lower (Table 2), and there are so few in the group 'Norwegian-born to immigrant parents' that it makes little sense to analyse this group separately. In the following, therefore, the 'Norwegian-born to immigrant parents' group has been merged with immigrants (born abroad), and broken down into the categories 'Western immigrant background' and 'non-Western immigrant background'.

Plans to work as a researcher?

One of the questions in the Graduate Survey was: 'How likely is it that, over the next five years, you will work as a researcher/PhD candidate/research assistant?'⁶

Another question in the survey dealt with further education, and established how many were on a PhD programme at the time of the survey. The responses showed that most of the new graduates who said they were working as a researcher did not hold a formal training position. The following definitions were given for those working in research (about six months after their final examination): a) responded 'I am already working as a researcher/PhD candidate/research assistant', or b) is on a PhD programme *and* has responded that it is very likely they will be working as a researcher within the next five years. These groups constituted 5.5 per cent of the graduates.

A further (almost) 12 per cent responded that they considered it very likely they would be working in research within the next five years. When we put these groups together, around *17 per cent of the graduates are either already working as a researcher or consider it very likely that they will be working in research within the next five years*. Table 3 shows how much this average share varies according to fields of study and by immigrant background.

The field of study (subject area) with the highest share with an interest in working in research, is health and social studies. The share of graduates in this field who expect to work in research is particularly high among the graduates with a non-Western background. Newly qualified *medical doctors* are not included in the Graduate Surveys because they are undertaking their internship (practical service) during the relevant period. The graduates in this field health and social studies who are included in the survey are qualified in the health sciences, medical studies such as neuroscience and molecular medicine, nursing and care services, pharmacy, therapeutic studies and dentistry etc.

Health and social studies are not, however, the only field where more people with an immigrant background consider it very likely that they will work in research than those without an immigrant background. For some of the fields, the numbers are too low to break down the graduates by immigrant background. Where this is possible, however, we consistently see that the share who believe it is likely they will work in research is highest among graduates with an immigrant background, and particularly those with a non-Western background. The share is also higher among graduates with a Western background than those without an immigrant background. Natural sciences and technology have particularly high shares.

⁶ The alternatives were: I am already working as a researcher/PhD candidate/research assistant; Very likely; Neither/nor (don't know); Unlikely, and Totally unlikely.

Table 3. Share who believe it is very likely they will be working in research within the next five years, or who are already working in research. Per cent⁷

	Without an immigrant background	Western immigrant background	Non-Western immigrant background	% (all)	N (all)
Arts and humanities	18.0	29.6	33.3	19.7	417
Teacher education and pedagogy	11.6			12.1	365
Social sciences	17.9		34.4	19.1	502
Law	3.8			4.0	226
Business and administration	3.4		17.9	4.7	423
Natural sciences and technology	18.7	33.3	39.4	21.9	757
Health and social studies	27.5	27.3	37.8	28.5	379
Primary industries	9.5			25.8	31
Transport and communication, safety and security, and other services	8.3			7.4	27
Physical education	23.3			22.2	63
Total	15.3	25.7	35.0	17.2	3190

We also performed multivariate analyses to examine whether the disparity between the master’s graduates with and without an immigrant background in terms of plans to work in research is significant when we take into account grades and various other factors. The results are presented in the tables in **Error! Reference source not found.** and Appendix 3 Table 2. The results show that although there is no gender gap, large disparities are seen by immigration background. Master’s graduates with a non-Western background are significantly more likely to have plans to work in research, ‘all else being equal’, than those without an immigrant background.

In **Error! Reference source not found.**, results are shown where everyone with a non-Western immigrant background is merged into one group. These results are also illustrated in Figure 5. In supplementary analyses (**Appendix 3 Table 2**), we have also examined whether there are disparities between different groups with a non-Western immigrant background according to their region of origin (continent). We found that the increased propensity to have plans to work in research applies to those with an Asian background as well as those with an African background.⁸ Having an Eastern European background also has a positive effect, but this effect is not statistically significant.

Highest educational goal – how many plan to take a PhD?

The Graduate Survey also includes questions about the graduates’ highest educational goals. The results below show the share of graduates planning to take a PhD.

⁷ Empty cells indicate that the number for the relevant sub-group is too low (less than 20) to be reported.

⁸ In the analysis in **Appendix 3 Table 2**, graduates with a background from South and Central America are merged with the group with an African background since the number of persons with a background from South and Central America was very low, and the effect for this group was not statistically significant. The positive coefficient we see for the total group in **Appendix 3 Table 2** applies to persons with an African background.

Table 4. Share of graduates planning to take a PhD. Per cent⁹

	Without an immigrant background	Western immigrant background	Non-Western immigrant background	% (all)	N (all)
Arts and humanities	27.2	37.5	37.5	28.4	394
Teacher training and pedagogy	19.1			20.2	341
Social sciences	25.9		50.0	27.7	484
Law	10.6			10.5	210
Business and administration	7.0		33.3	9.1	408
Natural sciences and technology	19.1	33.3	51.0	23.9	731
Health and social studies	31.5	23.8	37.5	31.5	355
Primary industries	5.9			30.8	26
Transport and communication, safety and security, and other services	13.6			12.5	24
Physical education	24.1			23.0	61
Total	20.3	32.7	44.4	22.6	3034

The number of graduates who are planning to take a PhD (see Table 4) is higher than the number of graduates who think it is likely they will be working in research within the next five years. This is assumed to be because many would prefer a different line of work as opposed to using their PhD to pursue a career in research.¹⁰

Table 4 shows the same pattern of disparities between the fields of study and by immigrant background that we saw in Table 3. More of the master's graduates with an immigrant background – particularly with a non-Western immigrant background – plan to take a PhD than those without an immigrant background. The disparity is especially marked in natural sciences and technology.¹¹

We have also performed corresponding regression analyses for PhD aspirations in the same way as for plans to work as a researcher. The results are shown in Appendix 3 Table 3 and Appendix 3 Table 4, and the same pattern can be seen. Master's graduates with a non-Western background are much more likely to have plans to take a PhD, 'all things being equal'. We also did supplementary analyses for PhD aspirations in order to examine whether there are disparities between graduates with a non-Western background according to region of origin (continent), see Appendix 3 Table 4. An increased likelihood of PhD aspirations was found among all groups with a non-Western immigrant background, and particularly those with an African background.

⁹ Empty cells indicate that the number for the relevant sub-group is too low (less than 20) to be reported.

¹⁰ Not all doctoral candidates work in research. A survey conducted in 2007 of doctoral candidates who graduated in 2002 and 2005 showed that 54 per cent worked in the higher education sector and a further 15 per cent worked at a research institute (Kyvik and Olsen, 2007). The remainder worked in other sectors.

¹¹ The supporting material also suggests that the interest in research among master's graduates in primary industry studies is particularly high for those with an immigrant background, but the data here is sparse, and the figures are not therefore reported.

Figure 5 illustrates the calculated disparities by immigrant background. The basis for this estimation was the analyses in which all non-Western immigrants are merged (**Error! Reference source not found.** and Appendix 3 Table 3), and the graph shows estimations based on these tables.

We have calculated the likelihood of working in research (in the master's graduates' own assessment) within the next five years – for average graduates without an immigrant background, with a Western immigrant background and with a non-Western immigrant background. The grouping 'work in research' encompasses both those working in research at the time of the survey and those who consider it very likely they will be doing so within the next five years. In Figure 5 we have also made corresponding calculations for the graduates' PhD aspirations. We found that master's graduates with a non-Western immigrant background have a substantially higher likelihood of aspiring to work in research than master's graduates without an immigration background, assuming equal values in the variables for grades, age etc.

The average graduates that the calculations in Figure 5 refer to are theoretical average persons who *have been assigned average values* for variables such as age, grades, gender and fields of study – the only thing that separates them is immigrant background.¹² The calculations refer to graduates who have answered all the relevant questions in the regression analyses (grades, gender, age, etc.).

¹² Since those with a non-Western background have lower grades than average for master's graduates, and the grades of graduates *without* an immigrant background or with a Western immigrant background are somewhat higher than average, the fact that everyone is assigned an average grade means that those with a non-Western immigrant background are assigned grades that are somewhat higher than average for this group, and the remainder are assigned grades that are slightly lower than average in their group. Supplementary analyses further show that if we break down the groups by grades (A + B or C and lower), we find the same trend in both groups, i.e. that master's graduates with a non-Western background have by far the strongest aspirations to work in research.

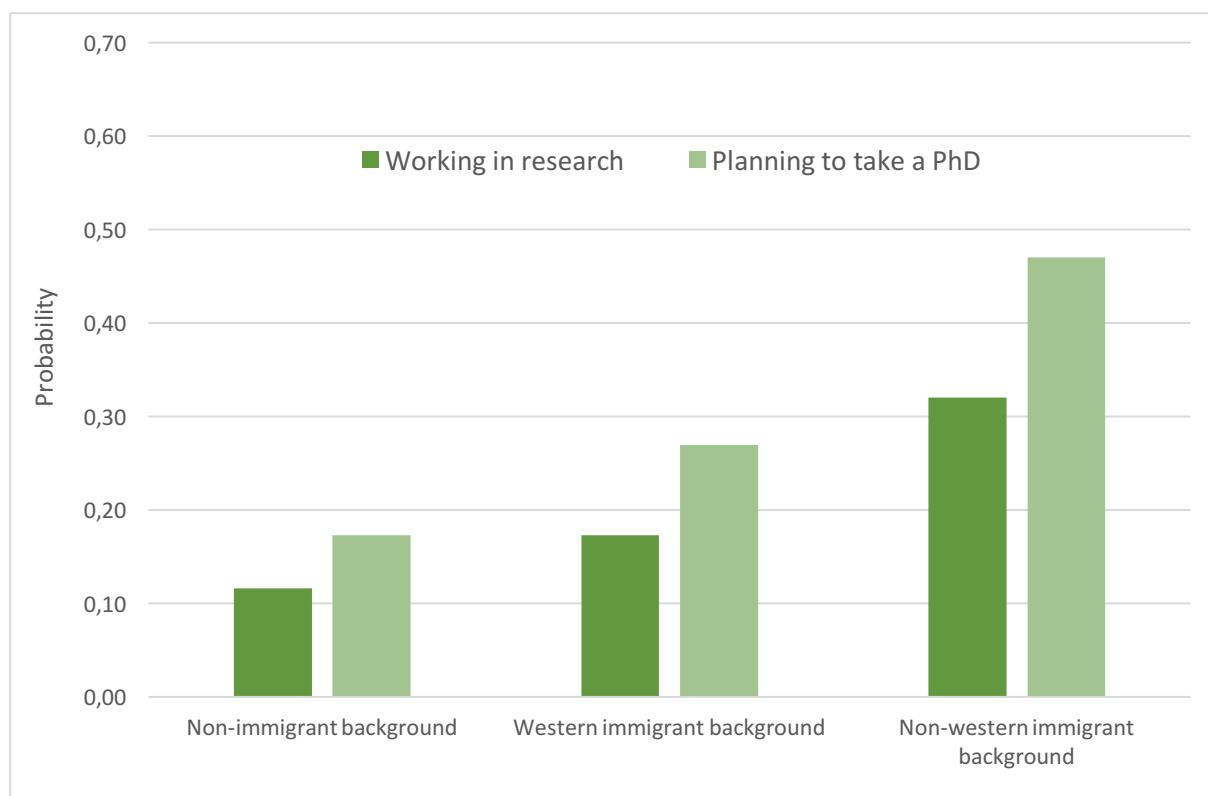


Figure 5. Likelihood of working in research/PhD aspirations, by immigrant background

Summary and discussion

Master's graduates with an immigrant background are much more likely to aspire to working in research and to have plans to take a PhD than their counterparts without an immigrant background. The disparity in research aspirations applies independent of grades. Master's graduates with an immigrant background and poor grades are more likely to have such aspirations than those without an immigrant background, but it also means that master's graduates with an immigrant background and *good* grades are much more likely to have such aspirations than their counterparts without an immigrant background and the same grades.

A natural question is why this group seems to have stronger aspirations of working in research than others, and why this particularly applies to those with a non-Western immigrant background, and especially with an Asian and African background. The reasons are no doubt complex, and can also vary at the individual level. It is a known fact that people with an Asian immigrant background often have strong educational aspirations (Støren, 2010; 2011). Many of them also have a particularly high transition rate to higher education (Støren, 2010).

As already discussed, the desire to get an education is particularly high among those born in Norway with an immigrant background. The share of immigrants (born outside Norway) – who in absolute numbers make up a larger group – in higher education is much lower (Statistics Norway, 2015). Nevertheless, young immigrants *who have completed upper secondary school* are more likely to directly transition to higher education than the population at large (Støren, 2010; 2011). A number of Asian groups in particular stand out here (Støren, 2010). The educational aspirations of those who have the

opportunity to directly transition to higher education after completing upper secondary school are strong (Støren, 2011). It is likely that these aspirations are also reflected in a desire to take a PhD. Another reason may be that immigrants who have advanced to such a stage in the education system represent a select group.

Earlier studies suggest that master's graduates with an African background represent an even more selected group than other immigrant groups. Fewer pupils with an African background complete upper secondary school than those with an Asian background (Støren, 2010). The Graduate Survey contains no information about the reasons for immigration, and therefore no information on whether any of the graduates had come to Norway exactly for the purpose of studying. The background material in the Graduate Survey does, however, include data on where the graduates were living when they were 17. This data shows that a particularly high share of master's graduates with an African background were *not* living in Norway at this age.¹³ The fact that many have immigrated after the age of 17 clearly indicates that the majority of the master's graduates with an African background did not take their upper secondary education in Norway. This could also mean that, especially among master's graduates with an African background, many came to Norway for the purpose of studying. This may also partly explain their particularly strong aspirations to attain a PhD.

Real or anticipated problems in the labour market can also play a role. Many studies from the 2000s have shown that academics with a non-Western immigrant background face greater challenges in the labour market than those without an immigrant background (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008; Støren, 2002; 2004; 2005; 2008; 2010; Villund, 2008; 2010; Wiborg, 2006), and this has also been shown in NIFU's recent graduate surveys (Arnesen, Støren and Wiers-Jenssen, 2012; Wiers-Jenssen et al., 2014). Students with a non-Western immigrant background are no doubt very aware that they will face more problems in the labour market than their peers without an immigrant background. Attaining a PhD may, for some, be an attempt to strengthen their competitiveness in the labour market.

Our results apply to recent graduates who have little experience of working in academia beyond being a student. We do not know if their aspirations will be realized. What can be said with some certainty, however, is that there is a great untapped potential for recruiting researchers among master's graduates with a non-Western immigrant background.

¹³ Seventy-seven per cent of master's graduates with an African background were living outside Norway when they were 17, while the corresponding shares for those with Asian and Eastern European backgrounds (outside the EU) were 49 and 54 per cent respectively. The share was also high for those with a Western background, at 75 per cent.

5. Statistics on labour market participation for doctoral graduates in Norway

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the likelihood of employees with a doctoral degree attaining an academic position. As shown in the previous chapter, many students with an immigrant background have aspirations of a career in academia. This chapter demonstrates whether having an immigrant background has a bearing on the likelihood of attaining a relevant position in academia.

The analyses in this chapter are mainly for descriptive purposes, and cannot provide answers to whether the observed pattern is a result of selection processes on the supply side or the employer's side. However, it is reasonable to assume that doctoral graduates want a career in academia, and that the disparities are mainly due to factors on the employer's side. In theory, academia should be a shining example of meritocracy, where performance determines a person's opportunities, and where gender and ethnicity have no direct impact on the likelihood of securing a job at a university or university college. As discussed earlier in this report, certain processes during a person's education and early research career can play a part in whether a doctoral graduate forms aspirations of pursuing a career in research, and whether they are included in the academic community. These processes are, necessarily, not gender-neutral or 'colour blind'. This chapter presents descriptive statistics on the probability of holding a relevant position in academia, broken down into Western and non-Western immigrant background, disciplines and gender. The analyses included in this report are drawn from a paper by a PhD candidate, Tanja Askvik, at the Centre for the Study of Professions (Askvik, 2016). The analyses provide a snapshot of the situation in 2008, as this is the most recent cohort available in the study by Askvik (2008). There is reason to assume that the situation for those with an immigrant background in Norwegian academia has changed somewhat since 2008, for example, by the institutions strengthening their efforts in diversity. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the main features are the same today. If we take the research on labour market adaptation for persons with a higher education and an immigrant background for instance, the results show that even in recent years the risk of over-qualification is higher for this group than others (Villund, 2014). The most significant difference between the situation in 2008 and the situation today is that more descendants of immigrants have attained a postgraduate degree. Conducting separate analyses for descendants is therefore an area that can be explored in future research.

Data

The data material contains information on jobs from the Employer and Employee Register for the years 2003 to 2008, information on degree education and discipline from the Norwegian National Education Database (NUDB), and details of gender, immigrant background and length of residence from the National Population Register. The registers contain data on the Norwegian population born after 1955 and persons born before 1955 who have completed a higher degree education.

Sample

The analyses presented in this chapter examine persons who have completed level 8 in the Norwegian education system, which corresponds to a doctoral degree. This means that the analyses only include persons employed in and outside of academia with a doctoral degree. Academic staff that do not have a doctoral degree registered in Norway are not, therefore, included in the analysis.

The analysis was initially performed for the year 2008, but data from previous years was added where no employment data was available for 2008. The analysis includes everyone who completed a doctoral degree up to the end of 2007. The sample consists of 15 897 individuals, 898 of whom have a background from Asia, Africa and South and Central America. A total of 3 130 have a background from Europe, USA or Australia.

Operationalization of the variables

Dependent variables

The dependent variables in the analysis are a) whether the doctoral graduate holds a relevant position in academia or not and b) the type of position that he/she holds in academia. The job category definitions are based on data on job titles from the Standard Classification of Occupations (*Styrk-98*) and the Basic agreement for the civil service (*Hovedavtalen i staten*). Relevant academic positions include all research positions and positions at independent research institutes, universities and university colleges related to research, teaching and research management. In the analysis showing the shares in a relevant position in academia, a distinction is made between academic positions and other positions. The second analysis examines the types of positions held by people in academia. This variable distinguishes between: i) research positions, ii) teaching positions (including assistant professor, associate professor, docent and lecturer positions), iii) professorships, iv) PhD candidatures and assistant positions, including technicians, v) postdoctoral positions and vi) management positions.

Independent variables

The analyses are controlled for three independent variables, namely region, gender and discipline. The region variable distinguishes between those with and without an immigrant background, and which region persons with an immigrant background are from. Persons with an immigrant background are defined as foreign-born with foreign-born parents and Norwegian-born with two foreign-born parents. Because so few of the descendants of immigrants had completed a doctoral education at the time of the study, no separate analyses have been performed for this group. Descendants and immigrants are therefore categorized together by regional affiliation (see also previous chapter). The regional division distinguishes between i) Norway, ii) Europe and other Western countries, and iii) Asia, Africa and South and Central America. The variable for discipline is broken down based on a 2-digit code in the Norwegian Standard Classification of Education (*NUS2000*). The standard distinguishes between nine disciplines, but because there are so few with qualifications in primary industry studies, transport and communication studies and unspecified subjects, these are categorized together. Thus, the variable is made up of seven different groups: i) arts and humanities, ii) teacher education and pedagogy, iii) social sciences and law, iv) business and administration, v) natural sciences, vocational and technical, vi) health, welfare and sport and vii) primary industries, transport and unspecified, known as 'other'. The variable for gender distinguishes between men and women.

Descriptive statistics on background information

The reasons for immigration among the sample are unknown, but we know when they first immigrated to Norway. The table below shows the distribution of the length of residence. The nominal time to complete a doctoral degree is three to four years. Three and four per cent of the sample from Western and non-Western countries respectively had lived in Norway for 5 years or less. The length of residence is measured in 2008, and the data is drawn from the aforementioned registers on the initial date of immigration. Fifteen per cent of those with a Western background and 20 per cent of those with a non-Western background had lived in Norway for six to ten years. The majority of the candidates had what

we define as a long period of residence, i.e. over ten years, at the time of the study. Fifty-two per cent of those with a Western background and 60 per cent of those with a non-Western background had lived in Norway for at least ten years. No data is available on residence status for just under a third of those with a Western background and 15 per cent of those with a non-Western background.

Table 5. Length of residence, by region. Percentage.

Length of residence	0-5 years	6-10 years	> 10 years	Unknown	Total
Europe and the West	3	15	52	30	100
Asia, Africa and South and Central America	4	20	60	15	100

Table 6 shows that the gender distribution among doctoral graduates is very similar across the regions. Norway has the fewest women with a doctoral degree, with 29 per cent, followed by those with a non-Western immigrant background, where 30 per cent are women. The corresponding share for those with a Western immigrant background is 36 per cent.

Table 6. Gender distribution, by region. Percentage.

Gender distribution	Men	Women
Norway	71	29
Europe and the West	64	36
Asia, Africa and South and Central America	70	30

Table 7 shows the distribution of disciplines by immigrant background. There is virtually an equal split, with some exceptions. A higher share of people with a European and Western immigrant background have taken a doctoral degree in the arts and humanities compared with those from Norway or a non-Western country, where the share is eight and seven per cent respectively. The table also shows that the share with a doctoral degree in social sciences or law is five per cent among those with a non-Western background, compared to seven and ten per cent respectively among those with a Western immigrant background and those without an immigrant background. The share with a doctoral degree in business and administration is relatively small in all country groupings, but is highest among those with an immigrant background from non-Western countries. This is also the case for natural sciences and technical subjects.

Table 7. Discipline by region. Percentage. The disparities are statistically significant.

Discipline	Norway	Europe and the West	Asia, Africa, South and Central America
Arts and humanities	8	12	7
Teaching education and pedagogy	1	2	2
Social sciences and law	10	7	5
Business and administration	2	3	4
Natural sciences, vocational and technical	44	43	48
Health, welfare and sport	24	24	25
Primary industries, transport and unspecified	11	10	9

Table 8 shows the average age and number of years for potential tenure, measured as the period since graduation in the three regions.

Table 8. Age and tenure, by region.

	Age		Period since graduation	
	Average	SD	Average	SD
Norway	49.4	10.7	12.8	9.2
Europe and the West	48.9	9.9	15.1	9.7
Asia, Africa and South and Central America	46.4	9.4	11.9	9.7

The averages show that Norwegians are slightly older than those with an immigrant background from Western countries, and three years older than those from a non-Western country. This is likely a reflection of the fact that Norway has a shorter history of immigration from non-Western countries, and this population is slightly younger than the population at large. The spread in the age composition, measured using the standard deviation, is greatest among the Norwegian doctoral candidates and smallest among those with a non-Western background.

The distribution of the period since graduation shows that the years of potential tenure are highest among those with a Western background. The average is 15.1 years from when they graduated from a university or university college with a doctoral degree, while the corresponding figures for those with a Norwegian and non-Western background were 12.8 and 11.9 years respectively. Persons with a background from a non-Western country are thus both the youngest and have the shortest tenure, while those with a Western background have the longest tenure, but are not the oldest.

Method

Binary and multinomial logistic regression was used to analyse the likelihood of candidates holding a relevant position in academia and their position category respectively. Logistic regression analysis is a technique often used when the dependent variable has two or more outcomes that cannot be ranked in order. The binary logistic regression analysis examines the probability of having an academic position versus the probability of not having one. The analysis shows how the predicted probabilities of one outcome, which in this case is having a position in academia, vary with the group-level attributes,

controlled for the other independent variables in the analysis. The multinomial logistic regression analysis is an extension of the technique for logistic regression analysis used to analyse variables with three or more outcomes. Because logistic regression tables are difficult to read and interpret, the predicted probabilities of the various groups are presented in figures. For some groups, the number is very low when broken down by gender, region and discipline. Statistics are not reported for the group where the number is lower than 20.

Relevant or not?

The first analysis shows whether doctoral graduates hold positions in academia or not, and whether this varies by region, gender and discipline. The relevant position is measured between 2003 and 2007, and the most recent information on positions is used in the subsequent analyses. The disparities in the first analysis are small, since it only covers a five-year span. The graduates completed their doctoral degrees at various times between 1970 and 2007, and everyone who completed before 1970 is shown as having completed that year. Because we only have data on job titles between 2003 and 2007, it is not possible and specific to measure advancement at the start of the career of the majority of the sample. Fifty-two per cent of all doctoral graduates work at a university or university college in positions related to research and teaching, or in equivalent positions at research institutes and in other research-related activities. The remaining 48 per cent therefore hold positions outside academia.

The first analysis presented in Figure 1 illustrates the likelihood of attaining a relevant position in academia after graduating at doctoral level or the equivalent by region, gender and discipline.

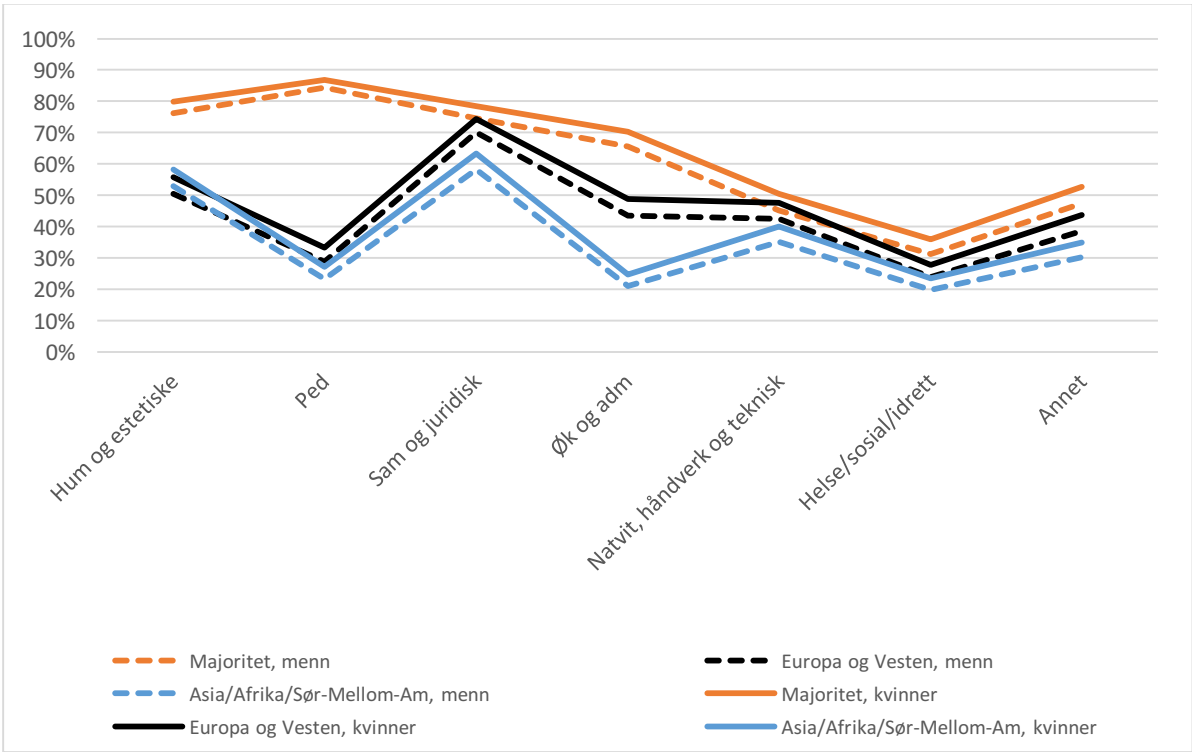


Figure 6 Probability of attaining a relevant position in academia, by discipline for three regions, men and women. N = 15 897

The table translates the text from figure 6. The information from the x-axis, reading from left to right, is in the left column. The information from the legend, reading top-down from the left, is in the right column.

Arts and hum	Majority, men
Ped	Asia/Africa/South and Central America, men
Soc and law	Europe and the West, women
Bus and admin	Europe and the West, men
Nat science, voc and tech	Majority, women
Health/welfare/sport	Asia/Africa/South and Central America, women
Other	

The figure shows that the probability of holding a relevant position varies considerably between the different regions, and that the discipline has a large bearing on whether such a position is held in academia. The clearest trend is that the majority population has the highest probability of attaining a relevant position in academia, regardless of discipline. This is followed by immigrants from Europe and the West, and the lowest probability is seen for immigrants from Asia, Africa, South and Central America.

The disparities between the majority and persons with an immigrant background are greatest in the field of pedagogy. The Western immigrants have similar tendencies to the majority population in social sciences and law, as well as in natural sciences, vocational and technical. The trend for Western immigrants is similar to that of the non-Westerners in arts and humanities, pedagogy and health, welfare and sport. In social sciences and law, as well as natural sciences, vocational and technical, plus health, welfare and sport, the disparities between the regions are smaller.

Comparisons within the regions show that men and women follow the same trends, but women generally have a marginally higher probability than men of attaining a relevant position in academia. It is important to view these gender disparities in the light of the type of academic position held (see Figure 3 and previous research).

The reason that there are large deviations in the overall probability of holding a relevant position in academia between the disciplines, regardless of whether individuals have an immigrant background or not, is that within certain disciplines, such as business and administration and health studies, there are more relevant positions outside academia that are attractive to holders of doctoral degrees and which may also offer a higher salary. Within the typical professional studies, technical subjects and health studies, the share working in academia is particularly low. This may be partly because there is a professional labour market outside academia where engineers, doctors, dentists and other health personnel are in demand. For example, many with PhDs in medicine will be employed in hospitals in consultant posts and the like. These are not considered to be relevant positions in academia, despite the fact that a university hospital may be a borderline case. Within the humanities and social sciences, the chance of finding a job outside academia will be less.

What academic positions are held by persons with an immigrant background?

As we have seen, there are disparities in the probability of attaining a relevant position in academia by region, gender and discipline. However, the category 'relevant position' covers many different types of positions within academia, and also spans job categories at different levels. The following figures show the disparities by region, gender and discipline for various types of positions.

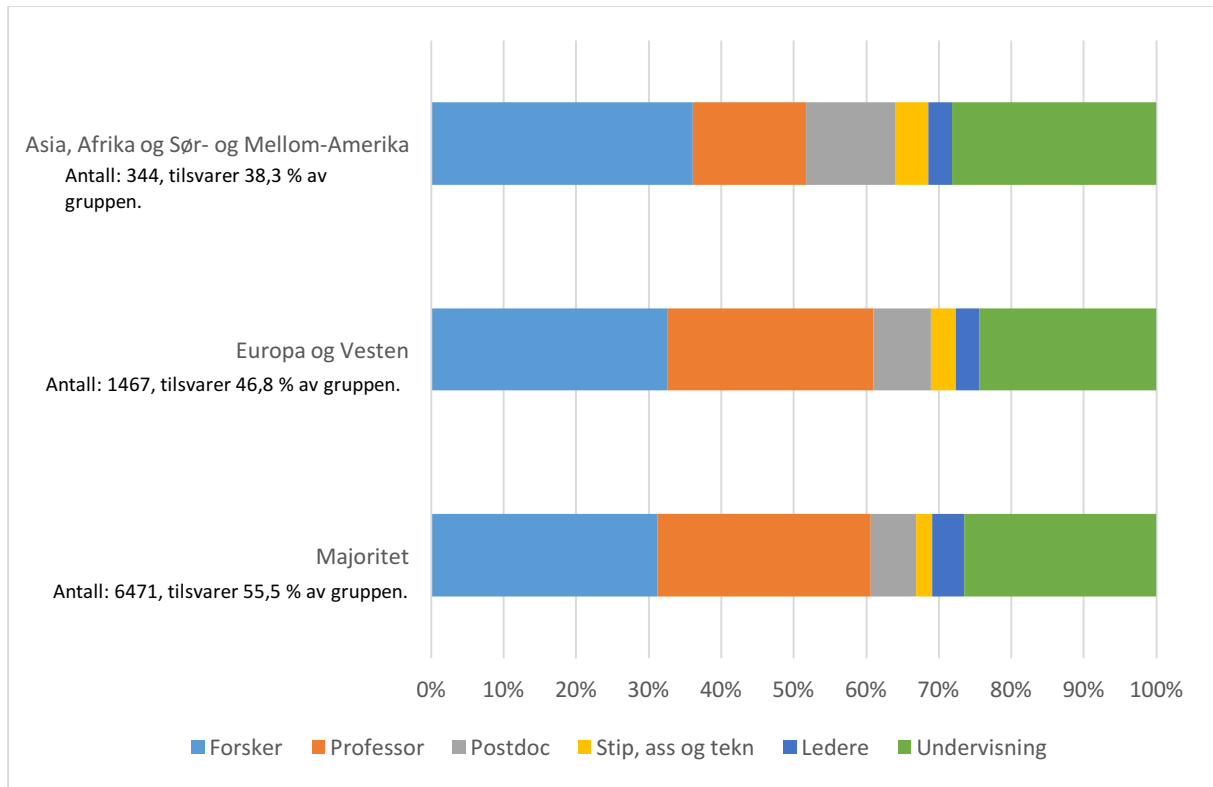


Figure 7. Probability of attaining a relevant type of position by region. N = 8282

The table translates the text from figure 7. The information on the y-axis, reading from top to bottom, is in the left column and the information from the x-axis, reading from left to right, is in the right column.

Asia, Africa and South and Central America. Number: 344, corresponds to 38.3% of the group	Researcher
Europe and the West. Number: 1467, corresponds to 46.8% of the group	Professor
Majority. Number: 6471, corresponds to 55.5% of the group	Postdoc
	PhD candidates, assistants and technicians.
	Manager
	Teaching

The light blue fields in the figure show the probability of attaining a research position by immigrant category. Research positions include both researcher 2 and researcher 1. The disparities between the majority and those with a Western and non-Western immigrant background are small, but those with a majority background are somewhat less likely to hold research positions relative to other positions

in academia, while the group from Asia, Africa, South and Central America has the highest probability of holding a research position relative to other positions in academia.

The orange fields illustrate the probability of holding a professor position among those working in academia. This category has the most marked differences. Those with a majority background are most likely to hold a professor position, followed by Europeans and Western immigrants, with those from Asia, Africa, South and Central America having the lowest probability.

The grey fields illustrate the distribution of postdoctoral fellow positions, and here the pattern is reversed. Persons with a non-Western immigrant background have the highest probability of holding a postdoctoral fellow position relative to other academic positions, followed by those with a Western immigrant background and finally the majority.

The yellow fields illustrate the probability of holding a PhD position and other technical positions and assistant positions. This category is naturally the lowest since doctoral graduates are generally over-qualified to take assistant positions. PhD candidates continue to be registered in this category after taking their doctoral degree because final disputations are often held before the end of the doctoral period. The doctoral graduates continue in their position for some months after the degree has been completed. We do not place any kind of emphasis on this category in our recommendations for further research.

The dark blue fields indicate staff in managerial positions, such as heads of research, heads of department and deans. Once again, the figure shows that the majority has the highest probability of holding a managerial position, followed by those with a Western immigrant background.

The green fields encompass teaching positions at universities and university colleges, including docents and associate professors. This is the third largest position category within academia, according to the category definition. Those with a majority background and non-Western immigrant background have about the same probability of holding a teaching position relative to the other position types, while the lowest probability lies with those with a Western background.

Type of academic position by region and gender

Figure 8 shows the distribution of position types by region and gender. The first thing to notice is that the gender gap is the same across the groups with a majority background, a Western background and a non-Western background. In all groups, women are more likely to hold a position in academia, with the exception of professorships.

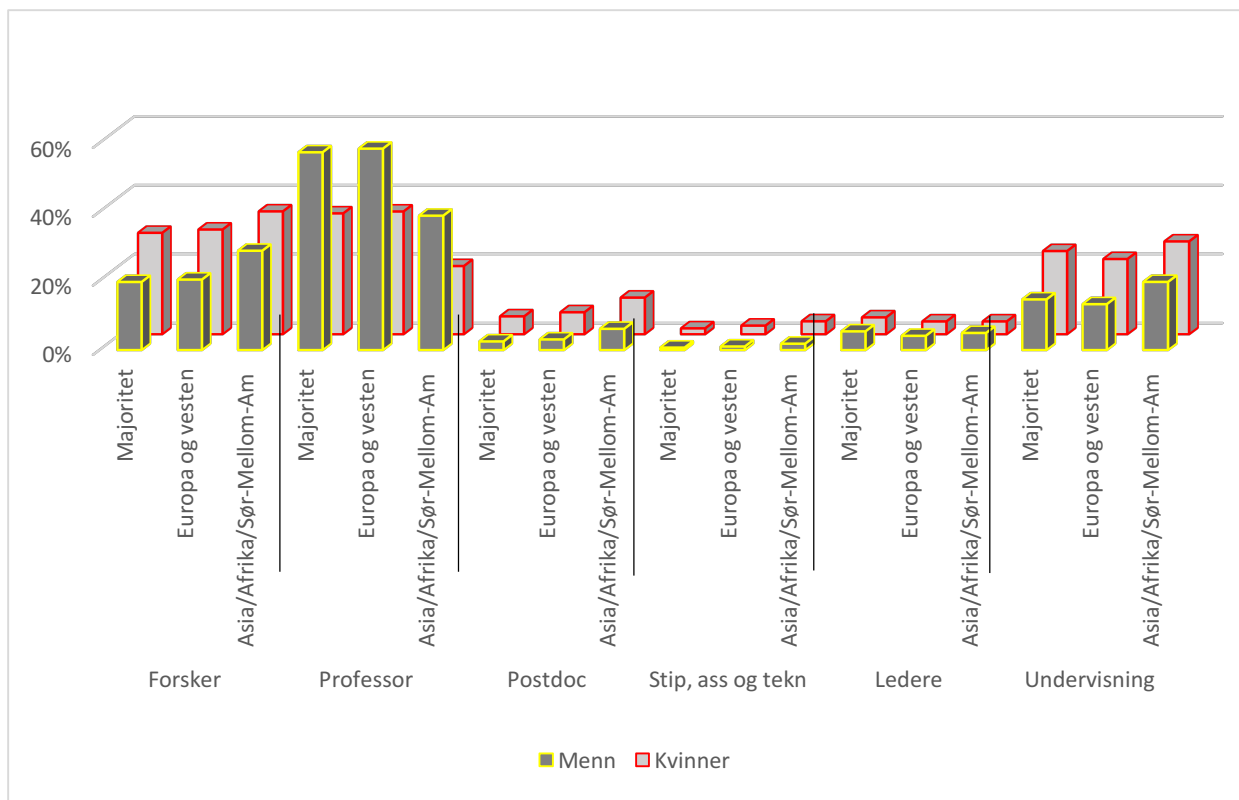


Figure 8. Probability of attaining a relevant type of position, by region and gender. N = 8282

The table translates the text from figure 8. The information in the first layer on the x-axis defines the regions of origin, reading from left to right: majority, Europe and the West and Asia/Africa/South and Central America. The information in the second layer of the x-axis defines the positions. Again, reading from left to right, the positions are researcher, professor postdoc, PhD candidates, assistants and technicians, Managers and teaching.

Majority	Researcher
Europe and the West	Professor
Asia/Africa/South and Central America	Postdoc
	PhD candidates, assistants and technicians
	Manager
	Teaching

As shown in Figure 2, the disparities related to research positions are relatively small. The gender disparities are more pronounced, and women are over-represented from all regions. The highest probability of holding a research position is among women with a non-Western immigrant background, where 36 per cent are in such a position. The probability of attaining a research position is 30 per cent for women with a majority background, women with a Western immigrant background and men with a non-Western immigrant background.

We also see that there are major disparities in the probability of holding a professor position, and that this probability is highest for men, regardless of whether they have a majority or immigrant background. Among men with a majority background or a Western background, the probability of holding

a professorship among those working in academia is 57 and 58 per cent respectively. For men with a non-Western immigrant background, the probability is 39 per cent. This is on a par with the probability of women with a Western immigrant background or a majority background.

The third column shows the distribution of postdoctoral fellow positions. The share here is very small, varying between two and eleven per cent. The gender distribution is reversed, with women having a marginally higher probability than men of holding such a position. The probability is highest for men with a non-Western immigrant background, while persons with a Western immigrant background are the least likely. It is important to remember that the figures refer to relative distributions. Despite the fact that a lower share of men hold postdoctoral fellow positions than women, and that the share is higher for those with a non-Western immigrant background than other backgrounds, the actual number holding such positions is much higher for men (309 men compared to 253 women), and is highest for those with a majority background (403 with a majority background compared to 42 with a non-Western immigrant background and 117 with a Western immigrant background).

Research directors make up a very small group, but this group has both gender and regional disparities. Men with a majority background are more likely to hold such a position.

As discussed already, PhD candidates, assistants and technicians are part of a very small group. Holders of a doctoral degree are generally overqualified for technical positions. PhD candidates often remain in their positions after taking a doctoral degree because final disputations are sometimes held before the end of the doctoral period. In rare cases, it is because they are taking a new doctoral degree in a different field.

Summary and questions for further research

The analyses show that holders of a doctoral degree with an immigrant background are less likely to hold a position in academia compared with persons with a majority background. The analyses also show that the trend is similar in all disciplines, but the disparities vary slightly. The disparities in technical subjects, health studies and social sciences and law are the smallest. The disparities are greater in the arts and humanities, pedagogy and business and administration. Further research should examine the reasons behind these disparities between the different lines of study. Possible explanations could be whether the subject primarily requires technical/medical knowledge or linguistic/cultural knowledge, or that the discipline has a history of recruiting internationally and has a large number of international students and different institutional practices.

The analyses show that the gender disparities are the same across the regions and are generally more marked than the disparities related to immigrant background. Further research should, nevertheless, perform intersectional analyses on the importance of gender and immigrant background in order to examine whether the barriers to securing a position in academia are the same for women with a minority and majority background.

The analyses show the probability of attaining an academic position in a cross section. The average tenure was about the same for persons with a non-Western immigrant background and a majority background, however those with an immigrant background are under-represented in professorships and over-represented in research positions and in lower-level teaching positions at universities and university colleges. Further research should examine the career path for doctoral graduates with an immigrant background, particularly exploring how long they remain at different levels of the position

hierarchy before being promoted. There is also a need for knowledge about dropout rates in the transition to the different levels, as the barriers can arise at various career stages among men and women with an immigrant background.

6. Foreign-born academic staff in Norway – challenges related to career path and HR responses

Researcher: *'In the forums you participate in – you participate in a lot of different forums, don't you – is there any discussion of why ethnic diversity is important?'*

Management representative: *'We probably haven't discussed it directly because I don't think it's considered to be something you're allowed to think of as unimportant. It goes without saying, it's a basic premise. It's kind of part and parcel of the mindset on gender equality and parity.'*

Researcher: *'That everyone is welcome regardless of their background ...?'*

Management representative: *'Yes.'*

The aim of this report is to provide fresh knowledge about the challenges and opportunities people with an immigrant background meet with regard to career development in academia. In this chapter we will conduct an in-depth investigation of this issue by presenting the perceptions and experiences of foreign-born teaching and research staff while pursuing their career path in the Norwegian higher education and research sectors. We also outline how these sectors have responded to the increase in ethnic diversity among staff and what efforts to achieve diversity in the sectors entail. What can be done to encourage foreign-born academics to establish a foothold in Norwegian higher education and research? What barriers have foreign-born teaching and research staff encountered in the lead-up to their current academic position? What do they perceive as obstacles in the workplace to pursuing a career in Norwegian academia? What efforts have senior management in the education and research sector made to welcome foreign-born academics? These are key questions in the analyses we present in this chapter.

The chapter is based on a case study in three higher education and research institutions: a traditional university, a university college and a research institute. The database consists of qualitative interviews of approximately 20 foreign-born academics and nearly ten representatives of HR and management. A fuller description of the informants is given in the chapter on methods. When we refer exclusively to internationally recruited academics, we make this clear. The same applies to the distinction between the higher education sector and the research sector. In this chapter we wish primarily to give foreign-born academics a voice and to present the reality as it appears from their perspective. We therefore include a considerable number of quotes.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, we consider barriers encountered by foreign-born academics in establishing a foothold in Norwegian higher education and research. This incorporates experiences of recruitment processes, reflections on perceived discrimination as well as prerequisites for career development in academia. Secondly, we discuss the importance of the working environment and inclusion for the career progression of foreign-born academics in academia. Why inclusion and the lack of inclusion are perceived to be a stumbling block in career development is an important focus of discussion. Finally, we examine diversity work at the case institutions. The discussion includes the experience of being a representative of diversity among immigrant academics and how diversity is portrayed in diversity strategies and discourse in the higher education sector. We also discuss the importance of the institutions' diversity declarations,¹⁴ diversity plans and the management responsible

¹⁴ A diversity declaration describes an organization's will to reflect the diversity of society in general and encourages candidates with an immigrant background or disability to apply for advertised positions.

for the operation of multicultural universities and university colleges.

Experience of barriers to establishing a foothold in higher education and research in Norway among foreign-born academics

In this section, we examine the barriers foreign-born academics have encountered in Norway on their path to securing their current positions in higher education and research. One of our informants summed up the essence of our analysis in these words:

'[...] I believe if you work hard, you can make a name for yourself. As soon as you're on the inside, you can prove that you're competent. But if you're on the outside and want to be on the inside, it's not so easy; you have to be a bit special, have special expertise or...' (Teaching and research employee 5)

Several informants were of the opinion that immigrant academics have to work harder than Norwegian-born candidates to gain entry to academia, and could prove that their competence is more relevant compared with that of Norwegian-born candidates. In the following, we present the informants' reflections on establishing oneself as an academic employee in higher education and research in Norway, their experiences of recruitment processes and views on their future career development in the higher education and research sectors in Norway.

More challenging for immigrants to establish themselves in Norwegian higher education and research

Many informants believe that it is generally challenging to gain a permanent foothold in Norwegian higher education and research, irrespective of ethnic background. The accessibility of academia in Norway varies in different academic communities. Some communities, particularly the humanities, are characterized by little mobility with many employees who remain in their positions for 20–25 years. At management meetings at one of the case institutions, there is positive discussion of employing more immigrants, but there are few opportunities because of the low staff turnover rate, few positions advertised and limited international profiling. Often temporary posts are advertised. Temporary contracts are then utilized due to uncertainty about student numbers and the results of competitive tendering for further education. For this reason, the competition for positions is harder in these communities.

It can be even more challenging for immigrants than for Norwegians to establish a foothold in higher education and research in Norway. Based on the informants' own experiences, observations of recruitment processes where they themselves acted as staff representatives, and their knowledge of recruitment stories among acquaintances, they believe that the reason for this is a lack of or unsatisfactory proficiency in Norwegian and insufficient cultural and contextual understanding, which is particularly required in teaching positions. But above all, it is due to the 'Norwegianness' that generally characterizes the higher education sector in Norway.

'[The higher education sector] is a closed community ... if you want to get inside, it's certainly difficult, even for Norwegians on the outside, to penetrate the circle, so it's even more difficult or sometimes impossible for others to gain entry. We believe that having a diversity of people here in our department ... that will lead to a rich education with so much different varied experience to draw on. But in practice as well, there's kind of no room for it. And I think ... it's not just about us, it's maybe also about the entire

university college sector that's too Norwegian. I'm in touch with other university colleges and faculties ... I don't think there's a lot of room for many [immigrants]. Not just because of artificial lines, but because the structure of the university college is very Norwegian. It's very much organized in terms of language [...] You almost have to be Norwegian to come here. So there are minimum requirements, and those are high for many people [...] So this means that in a way ... you set requirements that make it impossible for others to gain admission.' (Teaching and research employee 2)

'Norwegianness' can be perceived as less of a barrier in the research sector if a research institute is internationally oriented, as in one of our case institutions.

Another reason why immigrants find it harder to establish a foothold in Norwegian academia is that they may possess competence that is not in demand in Norway, or they have a competency profile that lacks the expertise that would gain them entry. The competency profile of Norwegian-born candidates may be assessed less harshly. Their 'Norwegianness' may then compensate for any deficiency in qualifications. An informant elaborates on this as follows:

'[...] Foreigners must have a competency profile that fits the position very well, while Norwegians can have a somewhat broader profile [...] I have also taken part in recruitment processes and have seen that ... Because if they do find a Norwegian, they are delighted and don't consider so many things, they just want the Norwegian because he is Norwegian, Norwegian is his mother tongue, and maybe he's more stable. If they're going to recruit a Norwegian, they only register PhD in [subject] – that's enough. But if they're going to recruit a foreigner, they register PhD in [subject], ok – what kind of specialization? Does it suit our research programme, our programmes of study? So there are some differences. Usually we think about whether the person in question would fit into the research group, and if he's a foreigner, it's often "No, he doesn't fit in", but for Norwegians it's ok even if he doesn't fit in, he's doing research that is relative to [a completely different subject].' (Teaching and research employee 5)

If the applicant is an immigrant, there is a greater risk that competencies will be overlooked or deemed irrelevant. Informants who themselves now participate in recruitment processes at the case institutions say that this may be due to poor CVs or applications. According to the informant, the reason may also be that competencies are overlooked because of an immigrant background. Therefore, it is vital in recruitment processes to be able to deal with a diversity of approaches to written CVs and applications, and to have the ability to assess applications from foreign-born academics. A story that illustrates this is as follows:

'But they didn't find anyone. They needed someone with some statistical background. And they advertised the post twice, but couldn't find anyone, at least the secretary said there were no relevant applications. Until I said I could have a look through the pile of applications – there had to be someone who had applied. So I took the pile and discovered that there was a fully qualified woman [from Asia] who hadn't even been proposed as a candidate for interview. [The chair] was so surprised about this: "But they said there were no suitable candidates!?! I didn't check". And that's it in a nutshell, isn't it – applications have come in from qualified people and management didn't even know about it. So there are new versions of not being able to gain entry. If you have the wrong name, a foreign-sounding name, it's very difficult to cross the threshold. (Teaching and research employee 1)

Several informants have gained entry to Norwegian academia via appointments to administrative positions. Even with a doctorate, only administrative positions are within reach of some immigrant academics. This gave rise to reflections on mobility between and transitions from administrative to academic positions in higher education and research among the informants. Some informants held the view that administrative employees ought to have career opportunities and opportunities for promotion to academic positions. To achieve this, however, support is needed to enable administrative employees to complete their doctoral degree, for example, or to set aside time for publishing material so that it is easier to apply for associate professor positions. The failure to provide support or incentives to academics employed in administrative positions is therefore perceived as an obstacle preventing employees in academia from realizing their career ambitions.

Another challenge is a lack of networks and references – someone must be able to confirm that this immigrant academic is ‘all right’. The importance of a network in gaining entry to the research sector may be even greater than in the higher education sector. Recruitment is carried out in line with business sector rules that are more concerned with resources and the right competence. Management in the research sector case mentioned that recruitment can take place via networks. Several informants in this institution also reported that networks have had some influence in the recruitment process, even though they had applied for genuine positions at the research institute. It was also revealed that when they applied, they only applied for the position in question at this research institute, and they had not applied to other organizations in Norway.

In the case of international employees, and often when trying to attract particularly reputable researchers, salary may constitute a barrier to appointment:

[...] it's the salary. Not being able to offer the salary you would get in the USA, when you're a world-leading expert. The salary for professors here isn't very high. And then... in the USA taxes aren't as high, living costs are lower than they are in Norway. So all in all, it isn't easy to attract people here. And then there was someone else from the USA who wasn't a top expert, but very, very good, and he said to me during the interview "Are you aware that you're offering me a job paying a third of what I earn?" (Management 1)

Discrimination

Most informants have never experienced that country background, ethnicity or religion were separate issues during the recruitment processes. The interviews primarily focused on professional qualities. Even though most informants had experienced a number of recruitment processes at various university colleges, universities and research institutes throughout Norway, only one of the informants had experienced discrimination with regard to recruitment at the case institute. The informant ascribes this to the hostile attitudes to immigrants by management in a specific research community. The informant also says that he/she was not called in for an interview even though he/she had been ‘the candidate recommended by the academic committee’ in several recruitment processes at the same faculty. This also applied to other candidates with an immigrant background in similar recruitment processes. The informant describes this as follows:

'Towards the end [of the PhD period] I really wanted to gain entry to academia, but couldn't get in. And we were six immigrants ... We all had higher education plus a Norwegian master's degree – none of us managed to get into a university college or a university. No one ... I experienced this too – after my PhD, there were 24 applicants, I was

nominated 13 times as the recommended candidate by the academic committee but was never asked to attend an interview at [case institution]. [...] And I believed this was something personal until I talked to my colleagues. We know each other, we see each other's names on lists of applicants – none of us made it to an interview. [...] So several of my colleagues are now working at [another faculty] because [management here] has a different view. And I believe the senior manager is very important, what views you have on diversity – in relation to being disabled, homosexual, or very religious, or like me [...] and an immigrant. I have experienced this place [faculty where the informant is presently employed] as a sanctuary, but it has nothing to do with my education.' (Teaching and research employee 1)

Another informant attended an uncomfortable interview at a regional university college that is not included in this project. In this case, the interview began with the question: 'Are you familiar with Norwegian culture?' The academic position was for teaching in programming languages and was not contextually or culturally dependent.

We do not rule out that implicit or explicit prejudices among managers in the higher education sector can affect recruitment processes, and may prevent immigrants from gaining access to Norwegian academia. Nevertheless, our general impression is that such prejudices have not been determining factors in recruitment processes in the cases we have studied, nor for the informants we have talked to. An informant who has applied for several different positions has reflected critically on why he/she has not been successful. According to the informant, there is a variety of reasons: irrelevant competence, keen competition with better-qualified competitors and over-qualification in relation to the job description. If he/she had occasionally been discriminated against on the basis of immigrant background or a foreign-sounding name, this was of minor significance according to the informant, who did not feel that he/she had been discriminated against in appointment processes.

The informants have put more emphasis on the institutional discrimination that happens in connection with appointments. In discussions, they have challenged the accepted portrayal of the Norwegian equality ideal that stresses openness, participation and a flat structure. No one felt there was anything unrecognizable, strange or problematic about this ideal. What they reacted to rather was the relationship between the ideal and reality. Rather than being characterized by openness, participation and a flat structure, the informants described a culture characterized by veiled but effectual power relations and prejudices against other countries' practices and cultures.

This was expressed partly in references to the countries the informants came from, which they found offensive, and partly in their surprise that hidden power struggles and internal recruitment could be found in a country such as Norway. In addition, according to the informants, this resulted in foreign researchers having to work two or three times harder than Norwegians to achieve the same recognition. Norwegians are 'good', while foreigners are 'lucky' that they are allowed to work at a Norwegian university.

'What I have experienced is that if they're Norwegians, women as well as men, they're good, but you are lucky. That's what I'm hearing at present, and it makes me so frustrated – "You are really lucky with your specialization." [...] If it was a Norwegian, they would say: "He/she is really smart and intelligent." I am lucky. That's just how it is. In my ... I haven't experienced discrimination because I'm a foreigner, for example. But regarding academic positions, I have experienced it. But I know, and I've experienced

this, that the situation and the conditions are different for Norwegians. They [management] make an extra effort to create a position, adapt things for them, but they don't make the same effort for a foreigner with a similar degree. It may be ... I don't know ... I've also experienced that family ..., the daughter of a professor who got a better placement through something Norwegians talk an awful lot about in the South – you know "That kind of thing happens in Greece and Italy and Turkey" – but it's happening in Norway. So things like this, they do actually happen. It's just a bit more ... disguised ... polished and well presented.

So I experience that now – because of the new situation with immigrants at present, it's a new era in Europe, so there are a lot of things ... But then there are these Norwegians who say: "We work so hard, we're so good at what we do, we want people from other countries to do the things we don't want to do." And they say this to me, and I think it's direct discrimination. I'm experiencing this more and more now.' (Teaching and research employee 8)

When it came to internal recruitment, the informants said they reacted to this quite strongly and were surprised about it since Norwegian openness and the equality ideal have been fostered to such an extent:

'I believe it's true that many positions are advertised with a particular person in mind. They've already decided on the person before the post is advertised. This happens a lot, I believe more than 50 per cent of the time. And that person is usually Norwegian, maybe someone who was educated at the same department or something like that. There's actually an expression for this: only the shoe size is missing. In a way it's a kind of corruption, if you like, but I really don't know how it can be combatted.' (Teaching and research employee 10)

It was emphasized that internal recruitment also affects Norwegian applicants who do not come from the research community. In addition, one of the informants reflected that after having been employed in the case institution for many years, he/she really preferred that it was 'our own' candidates who moved on to the permanent posts. With candidates from outside, you do not know what you are getting:

'I'm afraid that's the case, because I've become more and more part of the system myself, because it's like you said. But now I have people who've been PhD students there, and postdocs there, and they're so good, and I want them to stay, so if I can do something to create some positions for them, then maybe I will. Because, now I know how everyone else thinks, because you've got someone you're really satisfied with but there are no positions. But if there was a position, maybe I would write the text of the advertisement so that at least that person ... I don't know, I used to get angry about these things, but now...' (Teaching and research employee 10)

Our exploratory interviews reveal both the perception of subjectivity and the existence of structural discrimination, making it more challenging for immigrant academics to gain a foothold in the Norwegian higher education sector. 'You have to be lucky to succeed,' they say.

When you are on the inside, it is easier, but not easy ...

Most of the foreign-born teaching and research employees interviewed felt that there are no special barriers for immigrants regarding career development once they have become part of the system, i.e. a permanent employee in higher education or research. You have to 'be clever', work hard, publish and follow the rules of logical progression in an academic career.

Nevertheless, this requires a degree of effort and a desire to tackle general integration challenges, as the following statement demonstrates:

'[...] immigrants themselves, how he or she is integrated and wants to be integrated. It's understandable that some people have problems with the language, but either you're motivated and active, or you're sitting thinking "No, I don't know the language and Norwegians don't like me and everything's hopeless" ... So it's a question of how immigrants themselves think. Likewise, it's also a question of how the ethnic majority think. "OK, an immigrant who doesn't speak the language ..." There can be different obstacles, both practical and personal, "don't want to talk to her..." But when very good written Norwegian is required, we can't employ or train an employee who doesn't speak Norwegian.' (Management 6)

Knowing the system and mechanisms that apply, for example, to the transition from a temporary post to a permanent post is also highlighted as essential for a career in academia. Some informants have experienced that 'the system' will foster or guide foreign-born academics to a lesser degree. They stand more often alone in the job competition. One informant comments:

'However, people they intend to keep, people who receive guidance, they're mostly Norwegian. I haven't experienced that people who receive guidance have been non-Norwegian, whether we're talking about men or women. And, by applying that rule, I know of at least two people who got their positions without them being advertised. And I realized that I was... I felt I was ... my production was much higher and I brought in a lot more funding, but I was not given any kind of information or any kind of support by the system. It may have been my own fault, not knowing the system, but how could I know the rules?' (Teaching and research employee 9)

Nor do all teaching and research staff with an immigrant background know about the career path to professorships in Norwegian academia. This indicates a need for both information and career guidance:

'I think it's the same for everyone, but just inform people that it's possible to become a professor here. Many people from other countries don't think they can become a professor early on, because there are so many others ... or they start as an assistant professor and then become an associate professor and then become a professor. I have friends [abroad] who did their PhD with me who are still assistant professors. And they have published in the most prestigious journals. So there's a big difference [in the different countries] regarding the route to a professorship.' (Management 1)

Several informants claimed that being a woman is a greater barrier to career development in academia than being a foreigner. The diversity adviser at one of the case institutions singled out the challenges linked to gender and diversity by referring to incidents in which women (PhD candidates and permanent employees) had experienced that boundaries were set in respect of gender and culture/religion.

This concerned female immigrant PhD candidates who experienced exclusion or sanctions imposed by people affiliated to the same immigrant community as themselves. It also applied to foreign-born male employees who expressed dislike of or problems in accepting female superiors. However, gender did not seem to be a problem in this context for the immigrant employees we interviewed. Naturally, this may be due to the informants' cultural and socio-economic background, as well as the duration of their residence in Norway and status at the workplace (permanent employee, some of them professors). Nevertheless, it was stressed that being a woman was more challenging than being a foreigner in Norwegian academic life. Female informants perceived being a woman as burdensome in itself, even without their foreign background adding to the problem. Academia in general was perceived as being homosocial, and as one informant said:

'Men like men! Harald Eia hit the nail on the head when he says ... [See article "Men who love men" NRK Ytring web pages (Norwegian only) 1 November 2015, about men being more interested in what other men think than what women think] In my department most of my colleagues at that time were men – it's changed a lot now – but they didn't think it was a problem that there were only men. They had to be pressurized by rules and regulations, and others were complaining about why there were no women in their – and then, in the end, they felt that ... Not because they wanted to but because they were forced to.' (Teaching and research employee 10)

The career path of a researcher in the research sector will differ somewhat from a career in academia. The professional career path in the research sector mostly leads from researcher to senior researcher, from researcher 3 to 2 to 1. Furthermore, employees in the case from the research sector may choose to develop their expertise towards project management or business development as well as line management. None of our informants in the research sector have experienced negative challenges or barriers to career development because of their foreign background. Management point out that there are no foreigners in group leadership, for example, and they recognize themselves that there is still some way to go. At the same time, the flat organizational structure is emphasized as a kind of obstacle to a 'visible' career development in the research sector. If there were a more hierarchical structure, researchers would probably take a small step up the career ladder at least once a year, because then there would be a more defined goal to work towards. In the flat structure of the case institution in the research sector, we find these small career steps at long intervals. Different factors must then provide motivation:

'[...] it's different from [other Western European country or in industry] – there the career ladder is much more detailed. In two years I want to have my boss's job. Two years after that my next boss's job etc. And there is a difference. Here I will probably not get my boss's job for another 20 years. But it doesn't really matter. In the event, it would only be a new job title of no special value, at least not for me ...' (Teaching and research employee 3)

A number of informants also pointed out that both the working environment and management are important for career development in academia. The barriers foreign-born academic employees encounter in the working environment and management are discussed below.

Working environment and inclusion

The importance of the working environment and the ability of the organizations to include employees with different backgrounds and to pave the way for exploiting their competence and development

cannot be underestimated. This hypothesis was confirmed in our exploratory interviews. This section presents various aspects of inclusion that the foreign-born informants believe to be significant for their career progression in Norwegian academia.

Ethnic diversity and ambitions for excellence – how are they connected?

Most informants are in Norway by chance, i.e. none of them have intentionally chosen Norway because of their academic career. Answers to the question of whether it is attractive to be a teaching and research employee in Norway give us the impression that this is not necessarily the case. Both foreign-born heads of department and academic employees say that it can be difficult to keep good colleagues of foreign origin.

Informants belonging to the teaching and research staff provided a surprising interpretation of the case institutions' investment in both diversity and excellence when they concluded that in the real world, it was not possible to combine excellence and the work/family balance, and that the main reason for investing in foreign PhD candidates and recruiting pre-eminent international scholars is to recruit researchers with no interest in or ties to a life outside work. The dilemma for employees is thus whether the case institution will be an ordinary workplace or something different/more:

'I think academic life here is a bit more straightforward than many other places out there. That's good in a way as far as being able to lead a different kind of life is concerned, but it's bad in that no pressure is put on me to excel academically as I could have. So there's a balance. I believe that if you really are ... if you want to be an academic who publishes an enormous number of papers and if you're really outstanding in your field, then Norway is probably not the best place to consider.' (Teaching and research employee 7)

The allocation of time to research is a challenge in retaining good teaching and research staff with an immigrant background in the higher education sector. Several informants in associate lecturer positions devote less than 30 per cent of their working time to R&D work. They are also required to develop new courses or prepare teaching for courses they have not taught before, so the time set aside for R&D is eroded, and much of the work has to be done in their leisure time in order to achieve results. If more favourable conditions and more time for research are offered elsewhere, it is tempting to change jobs and find a position in academia abroad. The importance of salary has also been raised a number of times. Both the business sector and academia in other countries are alternatives that pay outstanding academics a higher salary.

A number of employees have experienced stagnation in their professional development during their employment in the Norwegian higher education sector. They have no opportunity to launch and realize their ideas. They meet considerable opposition to innovative thinking from both colleagues and institute management. This often applies to the development of new courses or programmes of study, as well as to the opportunity to teach subjects in which they excel.

'Yes, I feel that I am developing, but at the cost of having to work extra hard. You also want to be asked to teach relevant subjects. That's not the case, you don't get what you want. No.

Sometimes it's because everything is needs-driven, e.g. we teach subjects even though they're not part of our academic background. And there's some lack of flexibility towards changing courses. For example, I did my PhD in [subject], with a specialization in

[subject area], so I know a lot about that, I'm fully qualified there. Many universities worldwide teach this subject. I tried to get it introduced as a subject at bachelor and master's level, but there was reluctance. They don't like changing the plan and introducing new subjects. They think that a new subject will be an extra elective course that will require resources, that's what they think ...' (Teaching and research employee 5)

The institute management indicates that this tendency stems from a 'rotten' organizational culture that offers little leeway for development and innovation:

'Yes. It's difficult, and keeping talented colleagues is very problematic. And it's a major challenge for [case institution] ... Outdated culture must be banished, and new ways of thinking and future-oriented culture must take its place. [Now there's] the least possible responsibility, the maximum possible ... or the maximum possible freedom with the least responsibility, the least commitment, little openness, envy, abuse of the system, don't deliver, buy what you don't need etc. It's a bit like that ... And there's supposed to be encouragement and motivation for openness and an open culture, and respect and innovation. I understand that it's difficult for an outward-looking, highly qualified person to envisage a future at [case institution].' (Management 6).

Some of the informants have said directly that they do not have the strength any longer to oppose the system and an established culture. Others have said that through their energy and commitment to implementing what they feel to be important, they have made some progress:

'As far as I'm concerned, I'm lucky and know the system, and I've worked as a manager and have guts – if I didn't, it wouldn't work. Yes, I've experienced a number of obstacles. But when I've been confronted with obstacles, I've found ways, either via the trade union, the dean or other channels, to limit or set them aside. But I have gone [...] through the system.' (Teaching and research employee 1)

In the case of those recruited internationally, several have retained their positions at universities abroad. If they do not thrive, or if they fail to achieve their career goals, they simply return. An informant who had been recruited internationally put it as follows:

'I still have my job in [country of origin], so if I don't like it here, then it's bye bye. Yes, it's a big advantage not to be in a dependent position and to be able to do your own thing.' (Teaching and research employee 4)

Another challenge linked to retaining foreign-born academic employees is related to social inclusion. This is discussed in the next section.

Lack of inclusion at the workplace

Several informants perceive social inclusion at the workplace as a stumbling block for career development. This is due to a number of cultural aspects: Norwegian culture, organizational culture and communications culture. Meanwhile, little is done to ensure good group dynamics and inclusive thinking in a multicultural workplace.

A number of our informants have experienced that employees with an immigrant background have been talked down to and even ignored. There are some phrases or expressions that are used to put people in their place; a kind of power demonstration to show who is 'boss' in the department. This kind of talk can be experienced as disparaging, that people do not live up to their qualifications solely

because they are immigrants. Informants have provided some examples of such language from colleagues or immediate managers:

- *'You're pitiful, but you probably don't understand what that means.'*
- *'You must learn something before you can earn any money.'*
- *'Are you familiar with Norwegian culture?' (Recruitment question)*
- *'You're at a university college now, you're in Norway, you can't go around saying that you can't stand ...'*
- *'You don't know so much, you have to understand ... there's something you need to learn here.'*

In regards to being ignored, this amounts to not being listened to at collegial meetings. The group pays no attention to an individual's opinions or suggestions. This makes them feel that their own contributions and initiatives are worthless; they feel misunderstood and isolated. The group puts the individual in his/her place with the result that it is wiser to 'shut up' than to contribute in plenum. In such situations, leaving is often the only way to solve or improve the situation.

At one point, an informant had taken up what was characterized as bullying – a situation where someone, a good middle manager in the informant's opinion, was bullied to the extent that the person had to resign, because a small group of colleagues were dissatisfied with the manager's style:

'We had a boss who was bullied out of the job, in fact. The boss had an [immigrant] background and was very capable, but there were some people in the group who didn't like him/her. And they bullied the boss, who was in a temporary post, as [a manager]. Intelligent and smart and visionary and proactive. But these people [...] wouldn't give the boss any room, they just couldn't stand him/her. When he/she was trying to say something, they protested and tried to provoke a reaction [...], so they showed no respect. And they talked a load of crap behind the person's back. When it was time to renew the contract, they went to HR and talked rubbish about the boss, so the contract wasn't renewed, so he/she is now unemployed.' (Teaching and research employee 4)

Other informants did not describe their workplace as an exclusionary environment exactly, rather as less inclusive than they would wish. This particularly related to what they saw as typically Norwegian and which characterized conversations at lunch: the weekend at the cabin, and the preoccupation with walking in the forest and natural surroundings in combination with a well-developed pleasure in one's own dialect. It was obvious that the informants felt that Norwegians did not stop to consider whether others might not be quite as interested in these topics.

Several informants pointed out that it is more challenging to have successful social relations with Norwegian colleagues:

'Scandinavia has ... a lower emotional level than other places in Europe. If you come from countries in the South or maybe the East in particular, you expect that it won't be all that difficult to establish contacts. But there's a kind of crash when you come to Scandinavia, it takes longer to get to know people, to become friends and to start talking. But this is a challenge for everyone. But I think if you got some instruction in Norwegian culture before you arrive, that would help. When people become aware that it takes a bit longer in Norway, just be patient. It will be fine, maybe not straightaway ...'

I have good Norwegian friends, but I know that it takes longer than it does other places in Europe.’ (Management 6)

A number of informants indicated that internal communication and group dynamics at the institutions do not always function well:

[...] we collaborate with each other and so on ... You know, hi there, work in silence, and don’t have anything to do with them ... and it’s not good, really.’ (Teaching and research employee 4)

One aspect that can also be challenging for researchers with an immigrant background to get accustomed to is the feeling of a lack of openness towards innovation, a lack of support for new initiatives and the absence of a research culture in established, higher education institutions:

‘Yes, there’s still this ... research that it’s not acceptable to talk about in some contexts, and research results or the fact that you’ve had articles or important papers accepted, that’s still a bit ... in some quarters, I would say ... there are still isolated areas or groups where research isn’t especially interesting.’ (Management 1)

Inclusion and religiousness

Several informants with a different religious background to the majority point out that it can be more challenging to gain a foothold at the workplace. This is not due to the lack of physical adaptation such as a quiet room or food. Religion can create unrest or uncertainty at a workplace where the majority do not explicitly express a religious mindset, and may thus constitute an obstacle to social inclusion. The informants felt that as soon as the subject of religion was broached, it created more distance to their colleagues. The experience of appearing different as regards religion results in some people choosing to conceal their religiousness:

‘Immigrants, they face challenges. It’s not a resource, it’s a challenge. Or problems, to put it in a nicer way. So that’s where you begin ... And it’s a very sensitive issue to deal with. We have almost no foreign lecturers ... And we’re a big institute. It’s not obvious that I’m an immigrant, I’m just an immigrant when I open my mouth. And then I’m European and really quite nice. When it emerges that I am [have a different religion], that’s a different matter. Then it comes up. [...] And most of ... we are ... as far as I know, we’re about 15 [of the same religion] here in-house, only three let it be known, because the rest don’t want the hassle. And that’s a problem. Because they’re immigrants, they’re not Norwegians. They’re immigrants with a different religious background.’ (Teaching and research employee 1)

‘I am [have a different religion]. When there are religious holidays, usually you’re away from work for a few days to celebrate, but I don’t want to mention this, because I never talk about religion. Sometimes there are days off, days for celebration, but I don’t want to draw attention to myself ... I don’t take these days off. I go to work but most people take some time off. But I don’t want to say that I want time off to celebrate religious holidays.’ (Teaching and research employee 5).

Adaptation at the workplace when it comes to religion has been important for multicultural Norwegian organizations. Integration at the workplace is often associated with arrangements for a prayer room, alternative food, alcohol policy and the like. However, the informants are of the opinion that such

measures can defeat their own purpose and create barriers between employees – between ‘them’ and ‘us’ – rather than leading to better integration and social inclusion.

All in all, social inclusion appears to be challenging for some of the foreign-born academic staff at institutes with little ethnic diversity. In more multicultural working environments there is talk of better collegial relationships. This applies, for example, to our case from the research sector, which the employees perceive as an international workplace.

Language is important for inclusion

There was complete agreement that learning Norwegian was the key to inclusion in the workplace in the higher education sector. If an employee does not understand what their colleagues are talking about they do not get an insight into power relations at the workplace (through gossip and corridor talk), and cannot play an active part in institutional policies, for example, by sitting on boards and committees. In the research sector, learning Norwegian may also be vital for communicating with clients, which is a ‘must’. In addition, not speaking the language prevents employees from understanding the formal rules of the game in connection with positions, promotion, rules on temporary and permanent employment etc.:

‘So, since you don’t know the language, nor are you particularly familiar with the system, with rules and regulations, and you ... You miss out on a lot here, because, as I said, I realized that the rules that I’ve only just found out about after having spent many years in Norway – I only found out a few months ago, that there’s a rule at [case institution] that if you’ve been affiliated to [institution] for four years, you are entitled to a permanent position. And I didn’t know. ... Have I ever known? Something like that. And then, they’ve always tried to give people new positions every so often, so as to avoid a ten-year period that would give them the right to a permanent position. So that it doesn’t cause them problems. So the situation is that you keep getting these temporary positions, and they terminate them and you have a period without work, and then you get a temporary contract and then another one ...’ (Teaching and research employee 9)

The importance of Norwegian language skills was thus recognized, but there was also dissatisfaction with how the need to learn Norwegian was accommodated. To learn Norwegian, you have to attend a course, but the course offering tuition in Norwegian comes in addition to the job; it is not something you can do during working hours if you are a recent arrival.

‘I have had Norwegian classes in my free time in the evening, and if you don’t have a family, then maybe it’s OK. But always arriving home after the children have gone to bed ... it was mainly because of that I quit ...’ (Teaching and research employee 3)

Nor is it a given that staff with deficient or inadequate Norwegian skills are offered Norwegian courses. In cases where the institute management facilitates participation in Norwegian tuition that is both paid by the employer and can be carried out during ordinary working hours, it is not necessarily suited to the employee’s needs or level. Norwegian tuition and in particular further development of language proficiency should be adapted to the qualifications and needs of the person in question so that it is effective:

‘[My manager] said that maybe I had to take a Norwegian course, because they have Norwegian courses here. I feel that it’s maybe not for me, because I’ve taken so many Norwegian courses in my life. So the Norwegian course they offer at [case institution],

I've maybe taken three times ... I'm not motivated. It's eight hours a week, so it takes a lot of energy. [Researcher: What do you think would help you to develop your language skills?] I think the only way is to use it more and more, speak more Norwegian. And read more books, something I don't do. Courses, I've taken them so many times. I have to read and work myself. But I thought I'd better attend and take the exam, so that I get a diploma. Then next time someone complains, my manager can say that he's done the Bergens test or something similar from [case institution].' (Teaching and research employee 5)

Language support for immigrants is not limited to Norwegian tuition. There may be a need for language editing or proofreading of written work. These services are not usually available, and are something employees themselves must fight for, as in the following example:

'I have discussed this with the office of the dean ... that academic staff who are going to publish, they need language editing. This is only provided in the case of English. And I said "I'd also like this when I write something in Norwegian." There was some discussion first, and then I got it. And then I had the effrontery to say that in my opinion this should also apply to people with dyslexia, because they have the same problem. So you can't base this on mother tongue/non-mother tongue but on whether you actually have a handicap. Mine is that I came to Norway when I was [over 20] years old, and as a result I don't master the syntax. While other people are born with dyslexia. And we've managed to put this in place.' (Teaching and research employee 1)

In connection with the discourse on language, the practice of speaking English in academia was thoroughly discussed. On the one hand it was clear that Norwegian colleagues, even though they were all aware of the university's ambitions when it came to internationalization and excellence, could not face speaking English all the time. It was also stressed that Norwegians should not be expected to stop speaking Norwegian in their own country. Meanwhile informants saw their Norwegian colleagues as somewhat lax and inconsiderate since they often failed to speak English even when someone in their proximity clearly did not understand Norwegian, and it was pointed out that Norwegians' persistent use of dialect could create problems even for researchers who had learned Norwegian.

Several informants, both teaching and research staff and management representatives, felt that their institution was poorly equipped for internationalization, despite having ambitions in this direction. Most vacancies were only advertised in Norwegian. There is little internal communication in English. No English version of the intranet has been available, and the intention now is to implement it simply as a pilot project, and as a copy of the Norwegian intranet, which means double work. A number of people believe that the intranet should only be in English, which is an international language. The 'Norwegianness' of academia in Norway can be challenging for the inclusion of teaching and research staff with an immigrant background in the workplace. One informant said that a foreign colleague had to resign after a short time because he did not feel he was socially included – 'felt left out at meetings'. In other words – the culture for communication in English is lacking, and this is the main challenge for foreign employees. A professor describes this as follows:

'And the fact that I didn't speak Norwegian. This was not a problem when it came to getting the job, and in fact when I applied to [case institution] – I survived an entire interview in Norwegian, even though my Norwegian wasn't particularly good, but I got the job anyway. But I believed there would be very much more English at the workplace. I was prepared for the administrative side being in Norwegian, but I wasn't prepared

for all the academic part being in Norwegian as well. That all the subject-related reports should be written in Norwegian and that you were expected to write specialist articles in Norwegian. I attended a course on pedagogy, and all the articles were in Norwegian, some of them even in the lesser used Norwegian language nynorsk. And it was pretty strange for me to think that here I am in academia in Norway where everything takes place in Norwegian while I thought that academia was so international that everything would take place in English. It was a big ... It was very different from what I had anticipated.’ (Teaching and research employee 6)

Students also expect the teaching and the syllabus to be in Norwegian. This is also challenging for immigrants who are not fluent in Norwegian. It can be difficult to introduce reading material in English even though it is published more recently and of a higher quality.

Some managers recognize this challenge and try to introduce a culture of communication in English in communities with a number of English-speaking staff. Such attempts can meet resistance from Norwegian colleagues:

‘What’s been interesting is that recently I’ve started to send my emails to colleagues in English, because there were so many who didn’t understand the Norwegian. Then I got feedback such as “We want you to send the emails in Norwegian.” But it was almost a political issue – that people felt that at [case institution], paid for by the Norwegian government, then managers should address the staff in Norwegian.’ (Management 1)

Adaptation needs for English-speaking employees are not restricted to daily communication in English, but also cover the introduction of tools in English in the shape of a range of forms, HR forms, work process forms and the like. Both English-speaking employees and their managers spend quite a lot of their working day filling out different forms in Norwegian:

‘And then all these forms – forms for appointing a guest lecturer, forms for employing a student assistant – all this should be in English ... these forms for teaching assessment ... There are so many things I have to translate into English so that my staff can use them. It’s hopeless. Just do it in English!’ (Management 1)

When giving a talk or chairing a meeting in English, as a manager with an immigrant background you can appear inferior. The fact that you do not master Norwegian is followed by other speculations such as ‘Why was he appointed’, and doubt about your academic qualifications.

‘So it’s a challenge for a manager, for example ... In the context of a personnel meeting with 180 staff, I can’t just stand and speak English. Then it becomes kind of weird. Do you understand what I mean? If I did that, there would be a lot of mudslinging. Why he/she maybe can’t speak Norwegian, and then it’s a question of legitimacy. So, it can be ... We haven’t really established English in that way, and by English I mean that it’s about an international language, it’s not English as a language, but as an international language, that’s just how it is.’ (Teaching and research employee 2)

This need for adaptation also refers to covering the different training needs of new employees. This applies, for example, to an introduction to the use of different communication tools, such as Fronter, or the completion of a compulsory two-year programme in pedagogy. At the moment, these are only offered in Norwegian.

Needs for adaptation after being appointed are inadequately mapped

We do not get clear answers to direct questions on whether teaching and research staff with an immigrant background have had or have expressed any kind of need for adaptation (for example for religion, trips to their home country, introductory programmes etc.). This does not mean that these needs do not exist. On the contrary, exploratory interviews demonstrate a comprehensive need for adaptation so that establishment and inclusion at the workplace proceed smoothly, and that appointees stay in the job. This applies primarily to the language but also to other aspects.

Preliminary conversations between the manager and the new employee are important. It is vital that managers ask the right questions in order to simplify the initial phase for the new member of staff. In one of our case institutions, even managers who try to put focus on needs for adaptation seem to lack the ability to identify what needs employees with an immigrant background may have. Below is an example showing how taking the initiative and expressing needs for adaptation are expected to stem from the new employee:

'The new [teaching and research staff with an immigrant background] haven't said much about this. I always let them know I have time to discuss what they need, and it's often "I need a whiteboard" or "I need an adjustable desk" ... and then some people have asked for courses, naturally. So it hasn't been particularly ... I hope they don't feel that, and I think I've been very clear that if there's anything at all, they can come to me, and my door is always open ... and I hope there's nothing that they can't talk to me about ...' (Management 1)

The most common way of thinking is that everyone has the same conditions – everyone is equal. This makes it almost impossible to map any needs for adaptation among staff with an immigrant background:

No, not that I know of. With us, everyone has the same conditions, the same rights and respect regardless of immigrant background, gender etc. There's always an open dialogue, not just in appraisal interviews, but on an ordinary day anyone can talk about their needs. But I don't know of any special needs for adaptation. Not as of today.' (Management 6)

The HR informants clearly see that international employees and teaching and research staff with an immigrant background may have differing needs for introduction programmes and relevant adaptation. It is considered to be easier for HR to both map the needs and offer support to international staff in this respect.

Immigrants often lack knowledge of both written and unwritten rules in Norwegian work culture as well as at the workplace. This also applies to academia and concerns medical certificates and leave of absence routines, the communication culture, the use of various forms and application procedures, the use of flexitime for doctor's appointments, and rules for examiners. Several informants have mentioned that even though a range of HR documents are available on the intranet, and there are HR advisers at the institutes, it is challenging to find this information. Finding information is the responsibility of the member of staff. This assumes that staff know what they are looking for, and that they have a frame of reference that enables them to formulate the question. This also requires systems that make it easy to obtain information.

We have collected several examples showing that foreign-born teaching and research staff feel mis-used by the system because of their lack of knowledge of the applicable regulations. In one case, not knowing the routines for sickness absence cost the person in question the completion of his/her PhD thesis and disputation. The informant was on sick leave for just over five months and then returned to work. If the informant had had a medical certificate for a few more days – a total of six months – then he/she could have extended the research fellowship period. The person in question took the possibility of an extension up with the institute several times during the medically certified sick leave and was promised that everything would be in order. In practice, this was not the case.

In another case, the informant had not been told about the option of using welfare schemes such as partial sick leave or compassionate leave for doctor's appointments. As a result, he/she ended up trying to do a balancing act between work and home.

'And instead of going to my manager and telling him that I had to have compassionate leave to take care of my child in the middle of the day and so on ... Instead of doing that, I planned the day so I could dash off at 11 o'clock, and take the child to the kindergarten etc. and have meetings at different times and so on. But I never formalized this, so in my own and my manager's view I had the same performance goals as someone who didn't have these challenges and it took me a long, long time to understand ... and I don't think I'm quite there yet ... that I can allow myself to utilize the benefits we have in Norway. [...] And there are not many of my colleagues who have said they don't want me here, "You work too much". It suited them very well that I worked too much, then they could do the things they wanted to, they travelled a lot. It was a small unit and if I had taken time off, there would have been a minor crisis.' (Teaching and research employee 6)

In addition to the need for information about the regulations, there is a need for insight into the unwritten rules. Something that is normal for Norwegians may be less obvious or unnatural to foreigners, and vice versa.

'Yes, of course. I think that most people I know have more problems with the unwritten rules – i.e. what you should do and not do, and how you should do it, and who you're allowed to say something [to], and how things function in a community. I experience this. I've recently married a Norwegian that I can discuss things with and who can tell me things, and I've become more aware of these processes. But what I experience, why sometimes things have been tougher than at other times, it's because ...' (Teaching and research employee 1)

Informants' recommendations

What will it take for foreign-born teaching and research staff to perceive their working environment as more inclusive and supportive with regard to career development? Our informants took the opportunity to suggest some simple steps that could lead to the growth of more inclusive workplaces in academia.

Firstly, teaching and research staff with an immigrant background have a great need for information when they are appointed. To achieve this, informants feel it would be sensible to compile a booklet for immigrant academics that briefly presents the various written and unwritten rules and helps them to navigate a bureaucratic system such as that in universities and university colleges. It is important

for employees to know when they can approach administration with any questions, and who and how to ask. They also need to know what to do when something happens, for example sickness absence or a death in the family.

Several informants have stated that it was helpful to have a sponsor at the workplace, but not everyone had been offered this. Some experience that their colleagues give them solid support in the daily work, while others feel that colleagues are preoccupied. Having a sponsor to explain both the written and unwritten rules and who can act as a support person and in a manner of speaking be a 'cultural interpreter' and a bridge builder can be a valuable contribution to better inclusion.

'I had a sponsor at the start. That was useful. He could show me, for example, how to use Fronter. I had some questions about the subject, exams, practical questions. Mostly it went smoothly. There are some things you don't think of, e.g. auditorium equipment, I had to learn that myself. I think it lasted three months. I was good at asking, I ask the others all the time if I wonder about something. You learn, but there are small details all the time. There are rules. You learn when you're in the situation.' (Teaching and research employee 5)

Career development measures for teaching and research staff are non-existent at present, but they seem to be in demand:

[Are career development options important?] 'Yes. Very. A system for developing employees. Not just career-wise but also subject-wise and personally. You also have questions as a new employee: What is the five-year perspective? Will I become a professor, a vice-dean, will I still be the same engineer? What is my future path? There are probably some people who think it's absolutely fine that "I will be working for the next 40 years in the same place and the same job." But it's not always like that. (Management 6).

Several informants have identified this need and have taken the initiative in their communities to develop local mentoring schemes that can be institutionalized:

'So there are very good colleagues everywhere, but who've come here, have a master's degree and that's it, and suddenly we're supposed to have a doctoral degree or the equivalent. So I've developed ... a qualifying project for anyone who wants to take part. Irrespective of whether it's a docent, or having senior lecturer competence ... for me it's also irrelevant whether you're an administrative or an academic employee, you're welcome. And help is given in relation to individual needs. Because I believe that the individual has to be seen. You want to achieve something, so we'll find out how to get the funding and secure advancement for you. It was so successful ... So we produce senior lecturer competence, and I teach them how to write an article, what to do to be accepted, all the things you have to look out for to get promotion to ensure that you actually get promotion.

So I'm a personal supervisor for you if you want to advance. And that's everything from sitting down and looking at your qualifications, and I know what the commission wants, I see how we can ensure that you get all the things you need. In a way being a kind of scout, so that when people come with their applications I look at them with a fresh pair of eyes and maybe see that they should be a bit more this and that, or maybe a bit more

structured here, or more detailed here... anything, until the application has been completed. Be kind of a moral support. Now I've found the person who can act as a trial commission, professors ...' (Teaching and research employee 1)

Several informants have singled out the need for efforts to create a more inclusive social environment, a working environment where the community and collaboration are important. And this requires some simple steps. Some informal social measures that make it easier to get to know colleagues better:

'And the social activities where we get to know each other are incredibly important. I've missed this. But we did in fact – there was a colleague who invited everyone to the cabin he/she owned – and during that time we achieved a better working environment than if we had worked in these offices every single day for a whole year.' (Teaching and research employee 4)

'We have to focus not only on the subject content or professional expertise, but also on social competence when we hire people. [Case institution] must think more about how to motivate employees – programmes, skills development, study trips – for all employees, or offering every employee some kind of programme. I know there are some, but everything is passive, it's on [case institution's website] anyway, go to [...].no, here's the link, read it, that's us done. There's no programme, it's information – you need a programme, you have to work actively with culture, colleagues, courses, training, enjoyment, Christmas activities – I don't know – quizzes, competitions, fellowship, competitions between faculties ... The aim is that employees become ... or are less egoistic, and become more open and gain more respect, more collaboration, in other words become ordinary human beings ... You can have a few social get-togethers, travel somewhere where people do something together and get to know each other. So simple, such simple steps. You don't need to press or force them together, just a little bit of integration, Norwegian and non-Norwegian. A trip somewhere, make food together, party together – very simple.' (Management 6)

Making workplaces in the higher education sector more inclusive is largely the responsibility of managers. We present some reflections on diversity management in the following section.

Diversity work and diversity management

Several informants stressed the significance of good management in multicultural workplaces, both to ensure objective recruitment processes but more importantly to create inclusive working environments and opportunities for further development. In this section, we discuss questions that emerged as important in the exploratory interviews at the higher education case institutions. These concern how employees feel about being a 'representative of diversity' and being regarded as such, the importance of diversity plans and declarations as well as the significance of supportive management.

Being a representative of diversity – the views of immigrant academics and management
Ethnic diversity in academia can be a sensitive topic for both immigrant teaching and research staff, and for management. There were clear disparities between views on ethnic diversity in academia among foreign-born academics and management in the higher education sector. There should be coherence between how foreign-born academics identify as employees and the approach to ethnic diversity work that universities and university colleges choose. In this section, we present a dilemma identified in higher education and research as regards those who are representatives of diversity and

how people behave towards them.

The interviews with foreign-born teaching and research staff revealed that many of them did not regard themselves as 'immigrants', and chose to disregard or conceal their immigrant background. They reacted against being referred to as 'immigrants'. This is not just because a number of them have been in Norway for so long that it feels meaningless to still be termed 'immigrant' – they speak Norwegian and feel well integrated; they do not want to be stigmatized and labelled in the work situation. The public discourse on immigration in Norway is characterized by associations between 'immigrant' and 'intellectually and socially deprived', 'victim' and being an outsider. It is clear that the word 'immigrant' is perceived to be negatively charged, something meaning you are 'strange' or 'different'. The following statement illustrates this view:

[...] for me an immigrant is a person who is viewed by the others as an immigrant. Skin colour plays an important role. And someone who regards themselves as an immigrant. Not like Statistics Norway says ... when you go into a classroom and ask "Who's an immigrant", they don't say King Olav, they say "the hijab lady". Yes. Both are immigrants in the same way.' (Teaching and research employee 1)

It seemed almost imperative for the informants to convey that it is their academic achievements and experience, not ethnicity and country background that should and must determine whether they attain a job and career in the higher education and research sectors. Several informants avoided talking about their ethnic background, but nevertheless, they perceive themselves as representatives of diversity – which means that they have different but valuable experience. Immigrant background in itself does not play a role; it is professional qualifications that count:

'You want diversity because you want to learn from ... You ... because you've been there, not because you're from Turkey or I'm from [country]. We want to see what the person knows, what the person has experienced that he/she can offer... [...] I want to deal with people and it's great that they come from different places all over the world, and have experienced different things and worked with different economies, met other people, other ideas and so on. But not because you are Norwegian and I am [nationality]. Not by labelling people.' (Teaching and research employee 8)

Some of the informants emphasized the difference between being an immigrant, like themselves, and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents. They maintained that compared with immigrants, the descendants of immigrants can represent diversity to a much lesser degree, since they have not grown up in or had any kind of experience from another country. Descendants were perceived as not being very different from the majority:

'They've been here since childhood, they have Norwegian citizenship and were born here, and they've grown up in Norwegian kindergartens and schools, so they are Norwegian. They maybe have a different skin colour, but they've been converted to the Norwegian mentality. So please, don't talk about diversity here, because it's ... just nonsense. Because diversity is about being different. It means bringing in different experience. But if you have the same experience, the same kind of thinking, although your skin colour may be different, it's no longer about diversity.' (Teaching and research employee 2)

The informants appeal for the focus on ethnicity to be dropped, and instead to be put on competence. This can be viewed in the context of other diversity work in the higher education sector. For several

years, efforts have been made to promote gender equality, and now the focus has shifted to diversity. This can be linked to the international, political and policy-related change of course that also led to the establishment of the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud in 2006. This change heralded a toning down of the focus on gender equality in favour of greater attention to the interplay between several forms of discrimination, including ethnicity. Diversity and gender equality plans now include this. It is this focus on ethnicity and how it is depicted that is perceived as alien by the foreign-born teaching and research staff we interviewed.

This was also confirmed by a diversity adviser at one of the case institutions who brought up the challenges of developing language usage that is suited to immigrant teaching and research employees' everyday experiences. The adviser's experience was that immigrant employees, like everyone else, wanted to be referred to and treated as individuals, valued for their competence and achievements, not for their background or ethnicity. Meanwhile, both initiatives and actions plans are based on different groups and 'their' needs.

Negligible impact of the diversity declaration

We explicitly asked informants how they view some of the recruitment tools that universities and university colleges utilize in order to promote diversity in the organizations. This applies specifically to the texts of job advertisements encouraging immigrants to apply as well as to electronic application forms requesting applicants to tick the appropriate box if they have an immigrant background. A diversity declaration can, for example, be formulated as follows: 'X wishes our staff to reflect the diversity in the population as far as possible. We therefore encourage qualified applicants with an immigrant background or a disability to apply.' The question did not relate to recruitment at the case institutions in particular, but concerned more general use of such tools in recruitment.

None of the informants felt that these tools had any effect, and a few informants referred to them as 'worthless'. Some informants are aware that such tools are mandatory, and have little faith in them having any practical significance in recruitment processes. Some tick the box for immigrant background because this is obvious from their name in any case, while others ignore it. Some do not tick the box because from experience they know that 'an immigrant background is no advantage'. Some illustrations are given in the following:

'Not at all. No, it is required by law, they have to write it, they're not allowed to omit it. But it has nothing to do with the selection process, or what views one has. Personally, I don't believe that ... if you get feedback from a higher-level institution that there's too little diversity, you will make sure that there's at least one of them at the interview.'
(Teaching and research employee 1)

'I thought it was an advantage but I found out that there's no advantage to being a foreigner. You are treated the same way. On the contrary, it's a disadvantage if you don't speak good Norwegian. I don't think anyone thinks about it [the formulation in the text of the advertisement] I don't think they take it seriously. [...] What is important is the report from the expert committee. They don't take it into consideration in the interview at all...' (Teaching and research employee 5)

At the same time, this symbolic openness to diversity is perceived as very important for HR work. One of the case institutions has recently conducted an internal evaluation of its recruitment practice and routines with a view to recruiting a greater diversity of people. As part of this evaluation, advice was sought on the diversity declaration, the use of imagery in recruitment etc.:

'The thing is, it says we're an organization with people as a core value, and we want to attract people regardless of gender, ethnicity etc. [...] And also there's the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud, which has checked both the plan and the recruitment routines – we've actually received a lot of tips about the use of imagery, the diversity declaration, formulations and a lot of other specific advice in the process.' (Management 5)

As a result, a proposal to improve the diversity declaration was submitted so as to 'invite a greater diversity of candidates to apply'.

Diversity plans have currently little significance

Both case institutions in the higher education sector have compiled diversity plans.¹⁵ Why was developing a plan important? A diversity adviser argued in favour of developing a diversity plan by saying that 'The ministry had a kind of requirement that state-run enterprises should have an equality plan'. So this measure is seen as important but is imposed by a higher authority. Both case institutions have gone a step further and developed a diversity plan, not an equality plan. A diversity plan deals with a greater number of forms of discrimination than a traditional equality plan, which mainly deals with gender equality.

Diversity plans are easily accessible and have recently been introduced in various management forums and committees. Nevertheless, diversity plans are perceived as being relatively unknown in-house and of little importance for the daily work of middle managers (heads of department/heads of studies) and immigrant teaching and research staff. One explanation put forward by one of the case institutions is that other work tasks are more important on a daily basis than diversity efforts:

'I have a very busy working day, so it's difficult to prioritize it [diversity work]. Unfortunately, there's not much time for it during an ordinary day. The [case institution] must make an effort in so many other areas before prioritizing such wide-ranging initiatives or changing things. There's a long way to go before the [case institution] achieves its general strategy. First we have to deal with everyday problems. Overworked staff, no premises available, people working from eight in the morning until eight at night. Other things must be given priority. [...] It's a kind of Maslow pyramid. The most basic needs must be satisfied before you can talk about more advanced needs. So in general the [case institution] must maybe first of all focus on the basic needs, but keep the goal in mind. But it's too early to talk about the top of the pyramid if the foundation isn't in place.' (Management 6, case 1)

It is clearly challenging to align or fully underpin the diversity strategy in the institutions' other ambitions (subject-wise, research-wise and internationally). On the one hand, emphasis is put on internationalization and for example, the extensive use of English as a working language in order to attract and retain proficient and outstanding researchers in the subject areas where the university wishes to excel internationally. On the other hand, both the immigrant employees and diversity advisers express a need for and the lack of a real campus, a meeting place for employees where a sense of belonging can arise across cultural differences and different country backgrounds, as well as a community feeling

¹⁵ A generic term that denotes a type of strategic document describing diversity work at the case institutions. The actual titles of the institutions' diversity plans vary.

beyond disciplines and work.

In the research sector case the reality is somewhat different. They are not ruled by guidelines on diversity work in the same way as state-run enterprises. Basically, the institute concerned did not do anything special to attract foreign competence. Nor does it have a diversity plan or proactive measures to recruit and include immigrants who live in Norway.

'We probably have good attitudes and values when it comes to culture ..., but we don't have very good documentation of, for example, how we intend to increase the number of immigrants. We have no written plans for that. We have a plan for international recruitment. It's a plan for how we can find the people we need, internationally. We have no plans for how we are to increase ethnic diversity per se.' (Management 2)

However, it was indicated that these efforts could be extended by focusing to a greater degree on cultural diversity at the workplace, for example. The informants expressed the view that most foreigners come from countries whose cultures are fairly similar to that of Norway. Recruitment is carried out by individual heads of research, and there are no formal strategies or rules that a recruitment process must abide by. Usually it is the 'gut feeling' of the individual manager that is the deciding factor, and people probably have a tendency to select someone similar to themselves. The management we talked to felt that there is room for improvement at the institute. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the institute has perhaps not performed well when it comes to recruiting from the diversity of potential candidates in Norway, and that there is a need for both rules and procedures and awareness-raising among managers at the institute in relation to recruitment processes.

Several immigrant teaching and research employees at the case institutions in the higher education sector have indicated that the diversity plan will be of little importance as long as management does not represent diversity, or unless it is much more open to diversity:

'A strategy is a nice thought. It's important what we put into effect. But how many people do you think have read the diversity strategy? Do you think anyone knows about it? I don't think so. So if you ask me about what is effective when it comes to promoting diversity and awareness – that we actually need diversity to solve problems – we need to employ managers with that mindset. Because you need to have people with the authority to include others. You have to have a certain position. Even if you employ a hundred immigrants, it won't mean more immigrants in academia.' (Teaching and research employee 1)

The importance of the role of managers in developing good multicultural workplaces is discussed in more detail in the following section.

Need for supportive diversity management

Managerial anchoring is an important aspect of equality and diversity work at the case institutions in the higher education sector. Without this, strategies and measures linked to diversity will have little significance and little impact. Equality and diversity are highlighted as core values at both case institutions and are thematized in many different contexts. Whether diversity work is equally well anchored at management levels other than senior management is, on the other hand, an open question. The need to introduce a culture of diversity management was broached in several interviews.

Firstly, this applies to the establishment of an organizational culture that fosters respect for individuals and differences:

'It's part of the culture and culture building. Respect not only for diversity, but for the person. We all have different levels of culture and understanding. So there must be some scheme in [case institution] that encourages communication, openness, respect for all employees, respect for a different kind of life. But I don't know if this is possible, because as they say, it's difficult to teach an old dog new tricks. So if people have grown up and have worked all their lives with one attitude, it's difficult to change it, and it's not considered an important issue.' (Management 6)

Secondly, it concerns the ability of managers to see their co-workers and ensure that everyone is included:

'You're an immigrant, you have a manager who doesn't include people, so you have a hard time. These are little things but they're always there. When you're not included, when people forget to send information to you or ... yes.' (Teaching and research employee 1).

Several informants said that it is very challenging to function in a working environment with absent or weak management. Unclear managerial roles and management can be taxing and create greater frustration among staff with an immigrant background who may be more familiar with and accustomed to management cultures that are clearer or more authoritarian. This may result in employees being uncertain about what is included in their portfolio of work tasks, and what provisions the employer should make to ensure that the tasks are performed as expected:

'It's the person concerned that must be involved and must carry out his/her work tasks correctly. The right managers should be recruited and there should be a clear job description covering their tasks and duties. Managers should see how much they can actually delegate so that they don't have to do everything themselves. This must be described in instructions and documentation, there must be formal decisions. The entire [case institution] as an employer must have similar documentation so that everyone has the same starting point, and it must be easy to find this. When as a new employee I am told that I will have course responsibility, it should be easy for me to go and find the appropriate document describing what this entails. We have some people here who have only been researchers, and have no pedagogical experience, so it's difficult for them. There must be transparency and clarity, and regular updating of the information that's available to us.' (Teaching and research employee 4)

Several informants pointed out that the higher education sector should recruit managers with diversity competence in order to create an inclusive working environment. These may be managers with an immigrant background or managers who have lived in other countries for a period of time and therefore have knowledge of what being an immigrant entails. It might also apply to managers with a different kind of diversity competence.

'I would like to see the university college employing more immigrants as managers because the more 'diverse' the mindset, the better solutions you find. Especially if you can adopt a new mindset when it comes to equality, and you don't look at your colleagues negatively but are open. I believe in that. And I also believe that when you bring diversity

into senior management positions, more immigrants will come in because that's now accepted. Because the setting has been changed. By that I mean that the setting has been changed from purely Norwegian to "it doesn't matter where you come from as long as you know what you're doing, right?" So you manage to get a different setting.'
(Teaching and research employee 1)

Summary

This chapter presents the findings of a case study in three organizations in higher education and research. The main focus has been on identifying challenges foreign-born academics face in connection with career development in higher education and research in Norway.

The sample of informants and our work to recruit them to the case study also provide a basis for drawing some conclusions. It is interesting that most informants from the higher education sector have a Norwegian educational background, often at both master's degree and PhD level. The sample contains relatively few informants with a background from Asia, Africa or South America, which confirms the image of Norwegian academia as 'white'. In general, our foreign-born teaching and research informants share common features related to one or more of the following elements: 'clever' and hard-working; education from Norway or headhunted from abroad; a long list of publications; willing to take jobs that Norwegians do not want or have no specialist expertise in. The informants mainly belong to a group of immigrants with a vertical academic mobility pattern.

The informants have different perceptions and experiences of working as teaching and research staff and trying to build a career in Norwegian academia. While some of them encounter adversity that in some cases can be interpreted as the outcome of discrimination, others have been successful while remaining critical of the institutions' handling of immigrants' employment conditions and development opportunities. The interviews touch on barriers and opportunities linked to both the formal aspects of pursuing a career in Norwegian academia and the informal aspects such as workplace culture, language problems and encountering prejudice among employees with a majority background and in their surroundings both inside and outside academia. The informants themselves put forward suggestions for possible measures that can be taken.

The informants confirm that it may be more challenging for immigrants to gain a permanent foothold and pursue a career in higher education and research in Norway. This is due to deficient or unsatisfactory proficiency in Norwegian, a lack of networks and references, as well as a lack of the cultural and contextual understanding that is particularly required in teaching positions and generally in academia, which the informants perceive as 'too Norwegian'. This is also the result of unconscious bias in connection with recruitment, or a lack of ability or willingness to assess applications from foreign-born academics. These may be written in a different style and have a different competence profile that is less recognizable and therefore more difficult to assess in accordance with standard criteria. The informants also claimed to have experienced structural discrimination in recruitment to academia. This was illustrated by their experiences of internal recruitment, cultural cloning and closed recruitment processes.

Even though gender, class and country background probably interact in different ways in relation to different groups and individuals' perceptions and experiences of opportunities and barriers in academia, such topics were almost never brought up by the informants – even in answer to direct questions. To the extent that the topic of gender evoked recognition and engagement at all, it was among

informants who alleged that it is 'harder to be a woman than to be an immigrant' in Norwegian academia.

A lot of effort is invested in the higher education sector to promote diversity among employees. Both HR and management work in a purposeful manner to ensure the acquisition of sought-after competence, regardless of background. Meanwhile the case study can document that while recruitment is perceived as well-functioning, inclusion at the workplace is stressful for new foreign-born employees. Several informants have indicated that working in Norwegian academia is not necessarily attractive. The reasons given for this are lower pay in comparison with other lines of work and little time for research in the higher education sector. Experiencing stagnation in professional development as a result of limited opportunities for realizing ideas was also stressed as being a barrier. A number of informants have experienced discrimination and being talked down to at the workplace: several felt that they had to work harder than Norwegians to achieve recognition in their communities. Internal communication and group dynamics in the organizations do not always appear to function well. The informants from the higher education sector also describe a lack of openness to innovation and little support for new initiatives in combination with a weak research culture. They also felt that being religious can be a challenge in Norwegian academia. All this leads to a difficult emotional situation for immigrant academics, which entails an extra burden in daily life. The informants also feel that little is done in their communities to create inclusive workplaces.

The study shows that foreign-born employees' needs for adaptation are not mapped, and that there is clearly a lack of tools to help HR staff and managers with personnel responsibilities to identify these needs. The HR informants openly admit that they struggle with this. They have no firm knowledge of the particular needs immigrant teaching and research staff may have. It is often easier for international staff, because some of the needs are obvious and it is easier to talk about them – it often concerns information about gaining a foothold in Norwegian society. However, the needs of teaching and research staff with an immigrant background who have lived in Norway for some time are less visible and therefore more challenging to identify. The informants do not wish to appear demanding, and often lack knowledge of what rights they have or what they can request. It is clear that this type of competence in diversity management should be strengthened. When it comes to adaptation, several discussed the importance of language and good information about written and unwritten rules. Mastering Norwegian is considered to be a key to inclusion. Meanwhile there is an area of tension between diversity ambitions (where Norwegian proficiency is important) and excellence/competitiveness (where English is the working language).

The informants feel that the lack of inclusion at the workplace is a stumbling block in terms of their career development in academia, and in this connection they underline the need for supportive diversity management. It is clear that senior management must be able to send the right signals but many people believe that this is of little benefit if managers with personnel responsibilities do not start to put diversity management in their own communities into practice. By this the informants mean developing leaders' ability to see their colleagues and ensure that everyone is included, as well as introducing a new organizational culture that through managers fosters respect for individuals and differences. The informants also highlighted the importance of clear leadership at multicultural workplaces. Several pointed out that the higher education sector should recruit managers with diversity competence in order to create an inclusive working environment.

Finally, the importance of diversity policy and overarching diversity work was discussed. The case study suggests that it is necessary to clarify and explore ambitions as regards diversity in higher education

and research in relation to other ambitions that are high on the research sector's agenda – including the language issue, and the relationship between diversity, non-discrimination and inclusion. Our case institutions in the higher education sector have both chosen to employ 'a broadened concept of equality' in their work to promote diversity. This may be problematic in view of the special barriers that foreign-born academics can face in their career path. The shift towards diversity in equality work is not only more complex, it is also challenging since it is linked to a shift towards more focus on the individual career.

Universities have been transformed from elite institutions for the upper classes, officials and gifted students from rural areas into modern universities for the masses, with a strong focus on their social mission and their responsibilities as agents of change. Attention in recent years, however, has focused more strongly on higher education institutions gaining a reputation as being outstanding to a greater or lesser degree, and on individuals and their career opportunities and conditions. The diversity adviser at one of the case institutions linked diversity work to this development and saw it as a challenge for the development of both a diversity strategy and diversity work at the university. How do we develop strategies in an ever more individualized landscape? We see this as a paradox and as both a theoretical and policy-related problem: How can we develop diversity measures and policy on behalf of individuals who only wish to appear as representatives of diversity to a limited degree, while there is also a need to adapt the organization so that it functions optimally as a multicultural workplace? We will consider this further in the following chapter.

7. Reflections and discussions on the findings of the study

The analyses of the quantitative data material and the case studies have concluded with a number of findings that shed light on the barriers faced by immigrants in their career paths and the increasing diversity in academia. These findings partly confirm insights from the literature review, and partly challenge them. The findings also give us an idea of where knowledge is lacking. This not only includes further research that is needed, but also what reflections and discussions need to take place before proposing recommendations for further research and initiatives.

To this end, the following is a detailed look at some of the findings.

Academic mobility

The literature review has shown that career paths and mobility among immigrants in academia are topics that need a conceptual discussion and clarification. Norwegian research and other Nordic research into immigrants' career paths in academia examines *various forms of mobility in academia for persons who have immigrated*, and does not include descendants or second-generation immigrants in teaching and research positions.

As shown in the literature review, David Hoffman (2009) argues for the necessity of linking studies of academic mobility more closely to international migration. His proposal for a closer linkage involves a differentiation between three new forms of academic mobility – 'lateral', 'vertical' and 'generational' mobility (Hoffman 2007; 2009), which were described in the literature review.

The informants in our case studies from the higher education sector have largely followed a vertical mobility pattern in that many of them came to Norway during their education and *before* attaining the doctoral degree that qualified them for an academic career path. A few of the informants from the higher education sector have had a lateral mobility pattern, but this is more common among the informants from the research sector. None of the informants have had a generational mobility pattern in Norway.

We agree with Hoffman (2007) that it is essential to recognize both old and new types of academic mobility in order to develop a strong and effective policy for diversity in academia. An understanding of academic mobility that either focuses solely on generational mobility – which in reality is social mobility in a national context – or simply links mobility to internationalization ambitions, i.e. lateral mobility, is hardly likely to identify the challenges that many of the informants in the case studies describe. For the informants, their own academic mobility is interwoven with migration experiences that are not easy to categorize as either a question of social mobility or of prestige through being recruited internationally. The question is how academic mobility and ethnic diversity are correlated in academia – partly institutionally, partly strategically and partly individually, i.e. for those selected as 'representatives of diversity' in strategies, proposals for initiatives and studies.

Diversity and representatives of diversity

The case studies show that most of the informants have experienced the feeling of being treated differently to employees with a majority background – 'the Norwegians', which was the term consistently used by the informants. For example, they described how they felt they had to work harder than the Norwegians in order to achieve the same professional recognition. In addition, the informants had

sometimes been met with surprise outside the university when they said they worked at the university or as a researcher. They interpreted this as a reflection of how immigrants are not normally associated with, or expected to be qualified for, jobs in academia. Several informants reacted against being referred to as 'immigrants', not just because many of them have been in Norway for so long that they consider continued use of the term to be meaningless, but also because of the public discourse about immigrants that has unfolded in Norway. Instead, the informants wanted to be referred to and treated as individuals, valued for their competence and their performance, not as representatives of a group of people with a particular country background; a background many of them did not think should be given any significance since they were appointed on the basis of their academic merits, not by virtue of their country background. Meanwhile, initiatives and diversity plans are in many cases based on different groups and 'their needs' for different forms of adaptation or follow-up.

This appears to be a dilemma. The immigrants we interviewed want *recognition for their academic achievements, not attention based on their immigrant background*. Meanwhile, they are considered as representatives of diversity, or 'diversity representatives', by virtue of being 'non-Norwegian' – i.e. not belonging to the majority, because the employer, management, trade union and HR department at the workplace need to identify them in order to accommodate and follow up different groups and to develop a well-functioning, diverse working environment devoid of discrimination against groups or individuals who do not belong to the majority.

We have also considered this dilemma in the literature review, where a Swedish study (Andersson 2014) shows how the diversity discourse on the one hand can be seen as an opportunity for immigrants to gain a foothold in higher education and research. On the other hand, the diversity discourse also has a problematic side effect; it creates a distinction between 'them' and 'us' where the 'diversity representative's' presence as an employee in higher education and research is associated with country background rather than competence. 'They' are thought of as guests in 'our' academia; they must be treated well, but no one has considered that they have actually come to stay.

In the literature review, we also saw that de los Reyes (2010) believes it is necessary from an *intersectional* perspective to shift the focus from individual minority groups to norms, procedures and assessments that lead to individuals or groups being treated differently. Placing the focus on different groups brings with it a risk of developing policies and initiatives for diversity that are based on how different minority groups relate to the majority or to each other as opposed to how inequalities are created, legitimized and manifested in higher education and research. The question then becomes how best to facilitate diversity in academia without the focus on specific groups and 'their' interests and needs being at the expense of a focus on systems and organizations that create inequalities.

Diversity and/or a right to equal opportunities?

In this context, it may be questioned whether it is a *right to equal opportunities* rather than diversity that employees in the case studies seek. The informants' emphasis on competence rather than country background, and their experiences of internal recruitment, discrimination, cultural barriers and lack of inclusion, may indicate that they have a need for strategies and initiatives aimed at combatting discrimination based on suppositions about 'group identity', ethnicity and country background, and for the provision of equal opportunities regardless of background, as opposed to strategies and initiatives that highlight and foster diversity to the extent that this is associated with country background or ethnicity.

Our case study has shown that the institutions' diversity plans are based on anti-discrimination legislation. Meanwhile, we have seen criticism to this approach in the literature review in a study by Schömer (2014), which describes the focus on eliminating discrimination as a *passive* approach based on legislation. A focus on anti-discrimination alone risks complicating initiatives that are intended to promote equal opportunities and acceptance of differences. Anti-discrimination requires everyone to be treated equally regardless of their background or appearance, but equal treatment is not the same as being able to exercise the right to equal opportunities (Espersson, 2014). However, men and women, and foreign-born academics and academics from the majority have different premises and conditions for their career paths in academia that do not disappear but are instead amplified when everyone is treated equally.

In their study on ethnic diversity at a Norwegian hospital, Rogstad and Solbrække (2012) discuss the same diversity dilemma. Researchers refer to the definition of diversity given in the Norwegian Official Report 2011: 14 on Integration. According to this definition, diversity can be understood as either the right to equality or an equal right to difference. Rogstad and Solbrække (2012) point out that many multicultural organizations find it a challenge to safeguard their employees' right to equal opportunities whilst also recognizing differences. In their case study of a Norwegian hospital, the researchers conclude that the organization has made good progress in allowing its employees to exercise the right to be different, while the exercising of the right to equality is less well developed. For foreign-born employees, this means striving to be recognized as an equally valuable professional and restricted opportunities for career advancement within the organization. The same trend is also found in our study in the higher education sector.

Highlighting differences and fostering the right to equality can, in many cases, be just as important to the career realization of women and men without a majority background. While this is an obvious task for the institutions' management and HR departments, it is far less apparent how to get, for example, the foreign-born academics to agree to being actively included on the basis of their country background rather than their academic merits, which they themselves place the emphasis on. This is a real dilemma for the institutions' efforts in diversity.

Diversity plans and diversity management

In our case institutions in the higher education sector, we have seen a great deal of emphasis placed on efforts to develop diversity or equality plans that cover, inter alia, ethnic diversity. Diversity or equality plans are proof that the institutions follow government guidelines on diversity work and exclude discrimination. Diversity or equality plans are also evidence that the efforts in diversity are deeply rooted in university and university college management. To what extent diversity or equality plans serve as key strategic documents, how they are aligned with other strategies, and not least how they are used by higher education managers with personnel responsibilities, is more uncertain.

In a literature review of studies dealing with diversity management, Drange (2014) confirms the importance and significance of strategic documents for efforts in diversity. The researcher also observes that it is necessary to work actively to garner support for diversity management from managers and employees in order to realize diversity management in practice.

Our case study shows that this work is not currently widespread. An important contribution from our informants relates to the need for supporting diversity management at the faculties, departments and

in working/research groups. There are calls to develop an organizational culture with respect for people and their differences, and for a focus on a more inclusive working environment. Non-existent and unclear management is also considered a challenge in multicultural workplaces such as universities and university colleges.

Nordic studies point to several challenges for foreign-born academics that can and should be resolved through diversity management. These include everyday discrimination through silence and invisibility (de los Reyes 2007); severe emotional stress as a result of the need to constantly prove competence and intellectuality, and 'extreme feelings' of uncertainty and insecurity in interactions with colleagues and students (Andersson, 2014); exclusion from 'inner circles of power' at faculties (Mählck and Thaver, 2010) and a lack of openness to diversity in group processes (Lauring and Selmer, 2013). All in all, this is about the need for conscious management efforts to foster diversity and greater focus on inclusion in the higher education sector. The importance of this is discussed in the next section.

From a focus on recruitment to a focus on inclusion

Our case study demonstrates that the higher education institutions' focus on ethnic diversity is largely limited to recruitment. Recruitment is an important focus area. The literature review, the quantitative study and the case study all show biases in the recruitment of ethnic diversity to various academic communities. We also find that foreign-born academics are normally recruited in cases where Norwegian applicants and Norwegian competence are scarce. Additionally, we documented that our informants are experiencing ongoing institutional discrimination in recruitment processes – a phenomenon discussed in a Nordic study by Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006).

We also see that solely focusing on recruitment is not enough to attract and retain good foreign-born academics. Nor is it enough to develop and benefit from the potential and resource that foreign-born academics often represent. Our study identifies a need for more comprehensive efforts in diversity in the higher education sector.

Research shows that effective diversity efforts entail much more than recruitment practice. Based on a review of articles published in the *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, the journal's editor has identified ten key areas for efforts in diversity in the higher education sector (Worthington, 2012):

- Recruit and retain competence
- Focus on the working environment/staff relations
- Give attention to teaching plans and the teaching activity
- Give attention to research and development activities at the institution
- Relations between research groups
- Development and success of teaching and research staff/students/management
- Non-discrimination
- Institutional reputation
- External relations
- Strategic planning and accountability

Foreign-born academics must be included to a greater extent in the work processes, group processes and management processes in order to develop several of these areas. Our case study indicates that it is inclusion rather than recruitment that is the stumbling block in today's diversity efforts in the higher education sector. The informants have experienced patronizing behaviour in the workplace and

colleagues freezing them out, difficulties in developing social relations with Norwegian colleagues, poor group dynamics, a lack of acceptance for new ideas and initiatives, and no provision for good communication in the workplace. Focussing on inclusion and several other areas in addition to recruitment may be the way forward for diversity work in the higher education sector.

Incompatible ambitions?

Another dilemma described by the informants in the case studies relates to language, but goes far beyond this. Most of the informants speak Norwegian and gave the impression that being able to speak the Norwegian language was in itself the key to a career in Norwegian academia. This is not just about employees who speak the same language being able to communicate better in a trivial sense (by not having to waste time translating run of the mill questions and answers, and avoiding misunderstandings); it is as much about culture and power, as borne out by Mählck and Thaver (2010), who show that language helps create inclusion and exclusion cultures at faculties within Swedish higher education and research. This is expressed through the local communication culture, what language research communities choose as their main language for group meetings, and through informal decisions that are taken during lunch and coffee breaks. Swedish is the language spoken by the majority. Mählck and Thaver (2010) link proficiency in Swedish to the opportunity for foreign-born academics to be included in 'the inner circles of power' at the faculties.

Language barriers can often prevent foreign-born academics from engaging with colleagues or discourage them from putting themselves forward for election to committees or boards that could give them more leverage and insight into the different processes and relations at the institution where they work. Several of the informants in the higher education cases described experiences where decisions that were also of significance to their working day were taken in situations (which could include anything from committee meetings to corridor talk) where they felt insecure because of the language. Such language barriers and exclusionary communication cultures at the workplace and at institutional level can only serve to strengthen existing tendencies for cultivating internal candidates for permanent and/or leading positions, and what Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006) refer to as 'cultural cloning'.

This is in contrast to academia's and the research institutions' ambitions of excellence and internationalization, where using English as a working language is considered an essential ingredient in realizing such aspirations. In the discourse on excellence and internationalization, English is portrayed as a natural working language since the bulk of reputable international academic publications and international research projects are in English. In addition, teaching in English at educational institutions is becoming more widespread.

Whether this is a negative or a positive development for the academic workplace is not in itself a subject of this report. However, the discussion on working languages is important in connection with diversity in academia because it highlights some dilemmas that are not easy to solve. This not only concerns whether and how the foreign-born academic staff can learn Norwegian to enable them to be integrated into the organization and the culture as quickly as possible; if anything, it relates more to exploring and clarifying the institutions' different and possibly incompatible ambitions.

On the one hand, ambitions to make their academic mark internationally are expressed by all three of the case institutions included in this project. This also applies to most other institutions in higher edu-

cation and research in Norway. International publishing, development and exchange of academic resources in the form of increasing academic mobility for both students and employees, and investment in international research projects, are all helping to make English a steadily more prominent working language in Norwegian academia.

The informants at the case institutions also commented on the need to establish English as the working language. They do not relate this to their own situation (that it would be easier for them as foreigners in Norway if those around them spoke English, and that they themselves would be able to speak English instead of Norwegian), instead referring to academic ambitions, international reputation and professional development. However, they find that English is only used as a working language to a limited extent at their institutions, and interpret this as a sign that the institution's level of ambition in terms of research and internationalization is moderate or low.

At the same time, the informants are also aware that higher education and research institutions in Norway do not exist separately from the rest of society, and that the same regulations and perks that other workers in Norway benefit from should also apply to employees in academia. Thus, juxtaposed with its ambitions of excellence and internationalization, academia in Norway should also, in a working environment characterized by regulations and perks, be a place where inclusion and participation are essential ingredients. This helps to make Norwegian academia a more family-friendly workplace than may be the case in other countries where an academic career is less compatible with a family life. Speaking Norwegian at the workplace can be viewed as part of the notion that employees in academia have an opportunity to flourish, like employees in Norway as a whole. Meanwhile, in the same way as for working environments in Norway in general, Norwegian academia is experiencing a shift towards a more diverse composition in terms of culture, ethnicity and language. This complicates the discussion on working languages, ambitions, diversity and inclusion in higher education and research.

The discussion on working language and diversity is not, therefore, solely related to communication, but is also about the higher education and research institutions' ambitions, goals and social mission. Choosing between integrating ambitions, finding a proper balance, or making a clear distinction between the different ambitions may be a future challenge for academia.

8. Recommendations for initiatives

The KIF Committee will support and make recommendations for initiatives that can aid the integration of efforts in gender balance and diversity at universities, university colleges and research institutes, thereby facilitating greater diversity among staff and in research. The committee will also contribute to a general awareness of the issues related to diversity and inclusion in the research system. In this chapter we provide input to policy proposals and initiatives. These are based on:

- a) our own research and knowledge on higher education and research in Norway,
- b) the literature review performed in this project, where Norwegian, other Nordic and international experiences are drawn on and described,
- c) interviews with academic employees, diversity advisers and management representatives at the three case institutions.

The interview data serves as a basis for input on initiatives and policy development based on the informants' experiences with and reflections on recruitment, inclusion, challenges and barriers, as well as specific measures or lack thereof at their own institutions.

A shift in focus from recruitment to inclusion

First and foremost, we recommend that consideration be given to shifting the focus in the discourse on diversity and the efforts in diversity in academia.

HR and management both actively work to facilitate good recruitment practices to ensure that the best qualified applicants are considered, regardless of their background. The case study shows that it is not necessarily the recruitment process, but the subsequent inclusion in the organization and in the workplace that is a challenge. Several of the informants have felt overworked because they did not understand the written and unwritten rules, several have experienced patronizing behaviour in the workplace and colleagues freezing them out, and several have found it difficult to realize their ambitions at the workplace due to resistance to innovative thinking, and so on. This affects not only the employees who are immigrants, but everyone at the workplace. We would therefore recommend that, in addition to continuing the efforts to facilitate good recruitment practices, a systematic focus is implemented with a view to creating an *inclusive workplace for all employees in higher education and research*. In the long term, these efforts may also change attitudes towards foreign-born applicants and employees, as well as recruitment practices, and may foster innovative thinking in relation to diversity in the workplace.

Diversity management

It is often emphasized that diversity is a management responsibility, and many of the informants in the case study call for clear leadership that can facilitate diversity and an inclusive working environment. But what do we mean when we say that diversity is a 'management responsibility'? Diversity is something that has gradually been brought to the forefront by senior management in higher education and research. If diversity is to become a reality in academia, it must also be incorporated into the work of *middle management* at the institutions. Without middle managers' involvement and efforts, the senior managers' diversity declarations have less value. The middle managers should be held accountable and trained in the management and facilitation of diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

A critical look at symbolism and diversity declarations

In the higher education sector, the focus is on conducting recruitment processes in line with guidelines from the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud (LDO). This applies to imagery, language and the use of diversity declarations in job advertisements. Meanwhile, the case study shows that immigrants in academic positions tend not to recognize the symbolism, and choose to ignore it. We must then question whether this type of initiative is effective enough. What would it take for the symbolism to work as intended? Is there a correct focus area, and are better tools available?

Are adaptations needed for immigrants in academia, and are these being ignored?

Several informants in the case study describe problems in their working day which suggest that inclusion and integration of employees with different backgrounds, different expectations and aspirations, as well as varying language skills, is a challenge in higher education and research; a challenge that the employer's side in the sector perhaps underestimates in its desire to be portrayed as focussing on competence and professional qualifications as opposed to disparities and potential problems related to employees' language, culture, appearance and manner.

The need for adaptation among immigrants in academic positions is not well documented. HR departments at the institutions we have been in contact with admit to struggling with this. They do not know enough about the specific needs of foreign-born academics. For international employees, it is somewhat simpler, because some of their needs are obvious, and it is easier to talk about these – this often relates to information about acceptance in Norwegian society. However, for teaching and research staff who are immigrants and have lived in Norway for a number of years, it is less apparent. The employee may not wish to appear demanding or may not know what kind of adaptation they can request and possibly get. Meanwhile, the case study shows that most have needed adaptation for language support in Norwegian, information on written and unwritten rules and communication in English. Management competence to identify these and any other needs is lacking, and there is no toolbox specially prepared for managers with personnel responsibilities to draw on when welcoming new teaching and research staff with an immigrant background.

Mentoring programmes

In order to ensure that foreign-born academic staff do not end up in the margins of academic and social communities at an institution or in a research group, we recommend establishing a mentoring programme for immigrants in academia, where Norwegian-born employees or immigrants who have been working in higher education and research in Norway for some time act as mentors and advisers for a specified period. Such mentoring programmes should focus on improving integration and career guidance.

Raising awareness and motivation

The Ministry of Education and Research must be allowed to demand that the individual institutions clarify to the Ministry and the outside world why ethnic diversity is important, and devise effective initiatives for the institutions to facilitate diversity.

Academic mobility

Based on the literature review, the case studies and the subsequent reflections, we believe there is a need to reconsider the categorization and discourse related to academic mobility. Globalization and knowledge migration have turned academic mobility into something more than internationalization and/or social mobility at the national level, and innovative thinking is needed in relation to the higher education and research sectors' diversity efforts.

9. Need for knowledge and recommendations for further research

As we have discussed, ethnic diversity among employees in academia is a relatively understudied field both in Norway and the rest of the Nordic region. The need and potential for knowledge are therefore vast in terms of further research.

We make proposals and recommendations on issues and further research based on:

- a) our own research and knowledge on higher education and research in Norway,
- b) the literature review performed in this project, where Norwegian, other Nordic and international experiences are drawn on and described,
- c) analyses of research ambitions among master's graduates and labour market participation among holders of doctoral degrees in Norway,
- d) interviews with academic employees, diversity advisers and management representatives in the three case institutions.

A general recommendation is that more systematic and continuous data collection is carried out as a basis for studies of diversity and career pathways for immigrants in higher education and research. The literature review reveals that many publications from the field of research have a very modest empirical basis, which may indicate a degree of underfunding of research on this topic. Researchers in Norway have access to a variety of registers and labour market data, but continuity in the data collection is vital in order to avoid having to analyse data dating back several years. The institutions in both the higher education sector and the research sector also lack internal statistics on their own teaching and research staff's backgrounds, which makes it difficult to conduct quantitative studies in the field.

Overall, it is important that further research in the field takes into account the importance of various national and political contexts of higher education and research. This will enable knowledge to be used appropriately and as a basis for further policy development and better governance in and of the higher education and research sectors.

As the literature review shows, few studies have been conducted that examine the foreign-born employees' perspectives on diversity and career paths in academia in Norway and the other Nordic countries. The findings of our case study highlight the need for such studies. What significance do immigrants in academic positions think their background has? This perspective should be clarified in order to understand the mechanisms behind the career paths, challenges, needs and opportunities that this group have and envisage. Academics from different parts of the world may have different frames of reference in relation to recruitment and inclusion needs in Nordic academia. Academics on shorter stays may have different perspectives to academics with longer-term plans. Academics who leave Norway can also provide critical reflections on the effort to understand the challenges and potential in diversity in academia. More studies from this *participant perspective*, examining its various dimensions, and *transnational* qualitative studies of highly educated individuals' experiences and mastery of the immigrant way of life will enrich our knowledge about the field. A joint Nordic study on the field would no doubt add new knowledge and new perspectives.

Both the literature review and the case study indicate that there is a need to increase the focus and knowledge on good management of ethnic diversity in academia.

The literature review also shows that there is a need for a systematic review of *international* research in the field.

Nordic research shows that the share with a higher education is higher for immigrants than the local population. We also know that immigrants with a higher education are often overqualified for the jobs they do. What prevents highly educated immigrants from attaining leading positions in academia?

There is a need for research on similarities and differences, and the reasons for these, between different disciplines in relation to career development for women as well as for academics with an immigrant background.

There is also a need for intersectional analyses of the interplay between gender and immigrant background in order to determine whether the barriers to attaining a position in academia are the same for women with a minority and majority background.

There is a need for knowledge on immigrants and job applicants with an immigrant background whose applications to higher education and research in Norway are rejected. What barriers do they meet in the recruitment processes? Research into possible institutional mechanisms, such as internal recruitment, the importance of being in the 'right' network and unwritten rules, could help explain the negative impacts on, in this case, immigrants in academia. Further research should also examine the career paths of those with an immigrant background, with a special focus on how long they remain at the various levels of the position hierarchy before being promoted. There is also a need for knowledge on dropout rates in the transition to the different levels, as the barriers can arise at different career stages for men and women with an immigrant background.

The analysis of research ambitions among master's graduates shows that master's graduates with an immigrant background are much more likely to aspire to working in research and to have plans to take a PhD than their counterparts without an immigrant background. There is a need for longitudinal studies of whether and how descendants of immigrants in Norway attain permanent positions in higher education and research in Norway. There is also a need to examine career paths in academia in the light of follow-up studies of descendants of immigrants and their social mobility patterns.

There is a need for more knowledge on the trade unions' role in maintaining or breaking down barriers for immigrants in academia and facilitating inclusion and diversity in academic workplaces.

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Appendix 1.

Interview guide for conversations with foreign-born academic employees

Background information – brief presentation of informants in two rounds

1. Educational background, discipline and current position (and how long they have been in the position), type of position (permanent/temporary/full-time or part-time) and previous posts held at current or other universities, university colleges or research institutes.
2. Country background, how long have they lived in Norway, working language? (Omit if everyone speaks Norwegian.) Did you take any education in Norway?

About the recruitment process

How was the recruitment/selection process in relation to the appointment of the informants? (Were you encouraged to apply or did you do it on your own initiative? Were there many applicants for the position, did the recruitment process take a long time, were you interviewed, were you the recommended candidate for the post, etc.?)

How did you interpret the text in the job advertisement?:

HIOA: 'The university college/university wishes our staff to reflect the diversity in the population as far as possible. We therefore encourage qualified applicants with an immigrant background or a disability to apply.'

UiB: 'The personnel policy therefore aims to ensure a balanced composition in terms of age and gender, and to recruit individuals with an immigrant background. Persons with an immigrant background or a disability are encouraged to apply.'

Sintef: Does not use such text.

Did you tick the box for immigrant background in the electronic application form? Why yes or no? (Sintef does not have this kind of question in the application form. If appropriate, ask whether the informants missed seeing such a question given that it is common in application processes in government agencies.)

Were the topics of country background, ethnicity or religion raised during the recruitment process? If so, how and why? What do you think about these questions and how did you answer them?

Did you receive comments about the level of your Norwegian proficiency during the recruitment process? What were the comments? What did you think of these comments?

Have you ever experienced that your immigrant background was a determining factor in whether you advanced in the recruitment process, at this workplace or in other application processes in academia that you were involved in? In what way (e.g. discrimination, not invited for interview, called for an interview simply to make up a quota (government agencies must invite at least one qualified candidate with an immigrant background to an interview); the workplace wanted to appoint someone with an immigrant background – strength, etc.)?

In their current employment: have you ever experienced that your background (ethnicity, gender, age)

has been raised and emphasized in either a positive or negative sense – by management, colleagues, students?

First year of employment

What kind of introductory offer did you receive at your workplace when you first took up the appointment? Is there anything you missed?

Did you feel that you needed adaptations to be made (language support/proofreading/language courses; or for religious reasons, trips to home country, a better introductory offer in order to understand the workplace/procedures/work culture)? Did you convey this to management? Why not? What was management's response?

Did you experience any challenges when you first started in the position? What were these challenges? Do you think they were because of your immigrant background? (For example, understanding procedures, work culture, in communication with management and colleagues, pressure of work, etc.)

Was there anything you thought was strange to start with? What did you miss?

Career paths in academia

Have there been/are there challenges in attaining a permanent position in teaching and research in academia in Norway?

Do you think it is more challenging for someone with an immigrant background to establish themselves in academia in Norway? In what way?

Are you experiencing barriers to your career advancement at your current workplace? What are these barriers (language, lack of social inclusion, poor communication with management, lack of adaptation for career advancement in the workplace, discrimination)? Do these barriers apply to all employees or is it especially employees with an immigrant background?

Is it more difficult for a woman with an immigrant background to have a career in academia/at your workplace? Why is this?

Do they think it will be easier to build an academic career in Norway or would you consider traveling to other countries?

Is being an academic appealing to you, or are you considering employment opportunities in other sectors, both in Norway and abroad? Why?

Do you know of any plans or initiatives for career advancement at your workplace? Is there a need for such plans? What in your opinion is needed for such plans to help advance the careers of people with an immigrant background?

Ethnic diversity at the workplace

What is the composition of the academic staff at your department with regard to ethnicity, gender and age? Is the department characterized by diversity – how would you describe this (what constitutes diversity?)?

If not, what are the biggest barriers to fostering diversity?

Is there a noticeable difference between the faculties, departments and/or research groups at the institution in relation to ethnic diversity/shares of employees with an immigrant background? What are the reasons behind these differences?

Management

Has management at the faculty or department taken any special steps to foster ethnic diversity at the institution, or is this subordinate to academic priorities and focus areas?

What kind of working environment does your department have? Inclusive, social, competitive, fragmented, exclusionary? Do you feel you are included socially?

Have you been involved in any conflicts? What were they about? How were they resolved?

What kind of initiatives are needed to improve recruitment, inclusion and career advancement for teaching and research staff with an immigrant background?

Appendix

2.

Overview of foreign-born academic informants at three case institutions

Background information on informants, case 1 in the higher education sector (excluding diversity adviser)

Background info	A	B	C	D	E	F
Age	Ca 50	40-50	50	50	50	40-50
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female
Region	Europe	Europe	Europe	Asia	Asia	Europe
Years in Norway	15+	5-10 years	15+	15+	30+	20+
Working language	Norwegian and English	English	Norwegian and English	Norwegian and English	Norwegian and English	Norwegian
Education from Norway?	No	No	PhD	PhD	From upper secondary	BA, MA, PhD
Recruitment method	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement
Position	Professor	Associate professor	Associate professor	Professor	Professor	Associate professor
Type of position	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent
Discipline	Mathematics	Psychology, followed by computer science	Dentistry	Clinical medicine	Computer engineering	Landscape, geology

Background information on informants, case 2 in the higher education sector (excluding diversity adviser)

Back-ground info	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Age	40-50	50-60	30-40	25-35	25-35	30-40	45-55
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female
Region	Europe	Europe	Asia	Africa	Europe	Europe	Europe
Years in Norway	10+	10+	10+	10	10+	3	Arrived recently in Norway
Working language	Norwegian	Norwegian	Norwegian	Norwegian	Norwegian	English, some Norwegian	Norwegian
Education from Norway?	No	BA, MA, PhD	BMA and PhD	MA and PhD	MA and PhD	No	No
Recruitment method	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Headhunted, invited to apply	Headhunted, invited to apply
Position	Professor	Associate professor	Head of studies	Associate professor	Assistant professor	Associate professor	Associate professor
Type of position	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent
Discipline	IT	Medicine and health	Special education	IT	Linguistics	Medicine	Medicine

Background information on informants, case 3 in the research sector (minus two Norwegian representatives for management and HR)

Background info	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Age	Ca. 40	55-60	Ca. 30	35-40	35-40	40-45	26	35
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female
Region	South America	Europe	Africa	Europe	Europe	South America	Asia	Europe
Years in Norway	5	30	3	5	3	5	3	20
Working language	English	Norwegian	English	English and some Norwegian	English	English	Norwegian	Norwegian
Education from Norway?	No	PhD	PhD	No	No	No	No	Yes, all education in Norway
Recruitment method	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement	Advertisement
Position	Researcher	Senior researcher	Postdoctoral fellow	Researcher	Senior researcher	Senior researcher	Researcher	Head of research
Type of position	Permanent	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent	Permanent
Discipline	Technology	Technology	Technology	Natural sciences/mathematics	Natural sciences/technology	Natural sciences/technology	Natural sciences/technology	Natural sciences/technology/chemistry

Appendix 3.

Tables for the candidate survey

Appendix 3 Table 1 Probability of working as a researcher now or within the next five years. Results of binomial logistic regression*

	Regression co-efficient (B)	Std. dev.
Western immigrant background	<i>0.470</i>	0.246
Non-Western immigrant background	1.281	0.165
Arts and humanities	-0.183	0.169
Teacher education and pedagogy	-0.590	0.204
Social sciences	-0.142	0.155
Law	-1.649	0.360
Business and administration	-1.887	0.257
Health and social studies	0.586	0.166
Primary industries	0.501	0.439
Physical education	0.186	0.336
Women (=1)	0.016	0.113
Age in 2013	-0.007	0.006
Grades (1–5, 5, i.e. A, is best)	1.092	0.080
Constant	-5.589	0.387
Pseudo-explained variance (Nagelkerke R Square)	0.202	
Number of observations	3113	

* The reference group in the regression is made up of male candidates in natural sciences and technology, and transport and communication and safety and security. Coefficients in bold are significant at level $p < 0.05$. Coefficients in bold italics are significant at level $p < 0.1$.

Appendix 3 Table 2 Probability of working as a researcher now or within the next five years, by region of origin. Results of binomial logistic regression*

	Regression coefficient (B)	Std. dev.
Western immigrant background	0.473	0.246
Eastern European immigrant background	0.544	0.367
Asian immigrant background	1.350	0.217
Immigrant background from Africa or South and Central America	1.737	0.305
Arts and humanities	-0.182	0.170
Teacher education and pedagogy	-0.601	0.205
Social sciences	-0.148	0.156
Law	-1.649	0.360
Business and administration	-1.868	0.257
Health and social studies	0.563	0.167
Primary industries	0.467	0.441
Physical education	0.181	0.336
Women (=1)	0.041	0.113
Age in 2013	-0.008	0.006
Grades (1–5, 5, i.e. A is best)	1.096	0.081
Constant	-5.588	0.389
Pseudo-explained variances (Nagelkerke R Square)	0.205	
Number of observations	3113	

Appendix 3 Table 3 Probability of having plans to take a PhD. Results of binomial logistic regression*

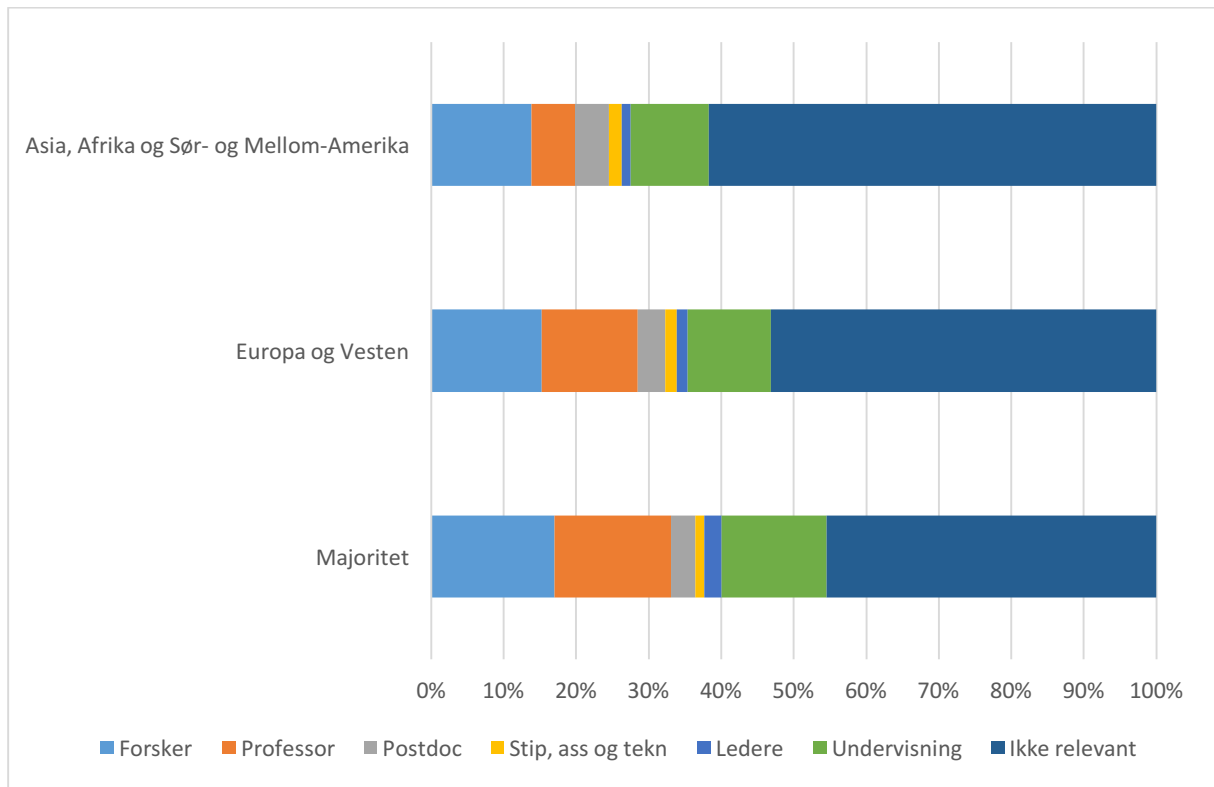
	Regression coefficient (B)	Std. dev.
Western immigrant background	0.571	0.234
Non-Western immigrant background	1.450	0.159
Arts and humanities	0.310	0.158
Teacher education and pedagogy	0.082	0.181
Social sciences	0.318	0.145
Law	-0.638	0.253
Business and administration	-1.222	0.203
Health and social studies	0.752	0.164
Primary industries	0.586	0.459
Physical education	0.160	0.334
Women (=1)	-0.154	0.103
Age in 2013	-0.011	0.006
Grades (1–5, 5, i.e. A is best)	0.992	0.074
Constant	-4.907	0.353
Pseudo-explained variances (Nagelkerke R Square)	0.183	
Number of observations	2961	

* The reference group in the regression is made up of male graduates in the fields natural sciences and technology, and transport, communication, safety and security. Coefficients in bold are significant at level $p < 0.05$. Coefficients in bold italics are significant at level $p < 0.1$.

Appendix 3 Table 4 Probability of having plans to take a PhD, by region of origin. Results of binomial logistic regression*

	Regression coefficient (B)	Std. dev.
Western immigrant background	0.574	0.234
Eastern European immigrant background	0.600	0.341
Asian immigrant background	1.410	0.210
African immigrant background	2.512	0.360
Immigrant background from South and Central America	1.587	0.736
Arts and humanities	0.313	0.159
Teacher education and pedagogy	0.074	0.182
Social sciences	0.306	0.146
Law	-0.655	0.253
Business and administration	-1.211	0.203
Health and social studies	0.732	0.166
Primary industries	0.544	0.464
Physical education	0.153	0.334
Women (=1)	-0.123	0.104
Age in 2013	-0.013	0.006
Grades (1–5, 5, i.e. A is best)	0.995	0.074
Constant	-4.884	0.355
Pseudo-explained variances (Nagelkerke R Square)	0.574	0.234
Number of observations	2961	

Appendix 4. Statistical breakdown



Appendix 4 Figure 1 also includes non-relevant position types. 2008.

The table translates the text from appendix 4 – figure 1. The information on the y-axis, reading from top to bottom, is in the left column and the information from the x-axis, reading from left to right, is in the right column.

Asia, Africa and South and Central America.	Researcher
Europe and the West.	Professor
Majority.	Postdoc
	PhD candidates, assistants and technicians.
	Manager
	Teaching
	Non-relevant

Frequencies

Appendix 4 Table 1 Discipline and region. 2008.

Discipline	Norway	Europe and the West	Asia, Africa, South and Central America	Total
Arts and humanities	987	361	63	1 411
Teacher education and pedagogy	110	66	20	196
Social sciences and law	1 201	217	46	1 464
Business and administration	274	103	38	415
Natural sciences, vocational and technical	5 169	1 344	427	6 940
Health, welfare and sport	2 867	741	227	3 835
Primary industries, Transport and communication, and unspecified	1 262	302	77	1 641
Total	11 870	3 134	898	15 902

Appendix 4 Table 2 Position and region. 2008.

	Norway	Europe and the West	Asia, Africa and South and Central America	Total
Researcher	2 019	478	124	2 621
Professor	1 906	416	54	2 376
Postdoctoral fellow	403	117	42	562
PhD candidate, assistant and technician	142	50	16	208
Manager	287	48	11	346
Teaching	1 714	358	97	2 169
Total	6 471	1 467	344	8 282

Appendix 4 Table 3 Position, gender * region. 2008.

	Norway		Europe and the West		Asia, Africa and South and Central America		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Researcher	1 282	737	289	189	86	38	2 621
Professor	1 573	333	303	113	44	10	2 376
Postdoctoral fellow	219	184	65	52	25	17	562
PhD candidate, assistant and technician	66	76	28	22			208
Manager	222	65	29	19			346
Teaching	1 054	660	205	153	66	31	2 169
Total	4 416	2 055	919	548	238	106	8 282

Appendix 5: The three case institutions¹⁶

SINTEF

SINTEF is the largest independent research organization in Scandinavia, and is a broad-based, multi-disciplinary research institute with leading international expertise in technology, natural sciences, medicine and social sciences.

SINTEF performs commissioned research as an R&D partner for the public and private sectors, and is the fourth largest such institute in Europe.

SINTEF's focus areas are as follows:

- Renewable energy, climate and environmental technology
- Oil and gas
- Ocean space technology
- Health and welfare
- Enabling technologies

SINTEF has 2 100 employees located in around 70 countries. Fifty-three per cent of the researchers have doctorates. In 2014, SINTEF had a turnover of approximately NOK 3 billion. More than 90 per cent of the revenue is derived from open competition. Basic grants from the Research Council of Norway make up about seven per cent of the revenue.

SINTEF also has a relatively large international presence, with customers in all continents. In 2014, 17 per cent of the turnover was derived from international contracts in 63 countries. About 50 per cent of the international turnover is generated through the EU's research programmes, in which SINTEEF is a leading participant. SINTEF maintains an international presence via an office in Brussels, part ownership of a company in Chile and a laboratory in Denmark.

SINTEF is structured as a corporation with eight research institutes. In addition, SINTEF Holding manages SINTEF's ownership of start-up companies and other businesses outside the core activity.

SINTEF has approximately 1 500 employees located in Trondheim and 420 in Oslo. In Norway, SINTEF also has offices and subsidiaries in Bergen, Tromsø, Ålesund, Raufoss, Mo i Rana and Porsgrunn, as well as a research station on Svalbard. The head office is located in Trondheim.

The daily operation is managed by the President (CEO) and Senior Executive Vice President (Deputy CEO), together with the Executive Vice Presidents for the divisions, the Presidents of the limited companies and the Executive Directors.

SINTEF's main strategy states the following about PEOPLE:

'SINTEF's human resource policy reflects its commitment to openness, generosity, unity and courage. These are qualities that are expected of managers as well as other employees. Moreover, we aim to recruit employees with the competence we need, regardless of gender or nationality.' (Translated from Norwegian)

¹⁶ All information on the institutions was taken from their web pages and published action plans and strategies.

In 2012, SINTEF won the *Diversity Award*. On this occasion, the jury chose SINTEF because it has managed to create an international community with highly-competent employees from different cultures, who are represented in most levels of the organization. In his acceptance speech, SINTEF'S Vice President of Human Resources said the following: '*In order to succeed internationally, employing people with language and cultural expertise from around the world is essential. Doing so helps to strengthen networks in other countries, and gives us access to a better knowledge base from which we can benefit.*' (Translated from Norwegian)

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences (HiOA)

HiOA is the largest state university college in Norway, with approximately 17 500 students and 1 900 employees, and teaching in Pilestredet (Oslo), Kjeller (Akershus) and Sandvika (Akershus).

Most of the courses offered at HiOA are programmes of professional study where the teaching of theory and practice is closely linked. This combination of theory and practice is a hallmark of the programmes of professional study. In addition, research is playing an increasingly important role in other study programmes. Most programmes include practical training where students can try out their future occupation. By doing so, students also gain first-hand experience of working before completing their studies.

HiOA has a strong focus on combining a high professional standard with close ties to the field. The teaching is based on leading research, development and empirical knowledge. HiOA works closely with the private and public sectors in relation to professional development, practical training, project work and career opportunities.

Research and development (R&D) is a necessary and important part of the activity at HiOA. R&D helps to develop a dynamic, high-quality education institution. The education programmes are closely linked to the research at HiOA. The aim is to give students a contemporary and relevant education, whilst also providing society with a crucial resource.

HiOA's interaction with society and employers is steadily increasing. Commissioned activity in education has already been established, and commissioned research is now also a focus area at HiOA. Following a merger in January 2014, the Centre for Welfare and Labour Research (SVA) now consists of the two commissioned research institutes Work Research Institute (AFI) and Norwegian Social Research (NOVA). The goal is a strong commissioned research community for social studies, with close ties between the respective fields of practice and key professional programmes.

HiOA is also a host institution for the National Centre for Multicultural Education (NAFO).

A strategy for achieving university status for the merged university college was adopted in September 2010. The strategy states that the university college will aim to have a strong regional presence, national ambitions and an *international orientation*.

The new university will establish itself as a modern, professional and labour-market oriented university with a clear profile aimed at the wider metropolitan area. Interaction with a multicultural and international society is crucial. Both the professional fields and the professional practitioners are being challenged at a time when human resources and ideas are undergoing rapid changes. Students and staff at the new professional university will develop the skills that are applicable to a multicultural and international field of practice.

HiOA has an action plan for diversity (2014–2016), which stipulates the following:

'Diversity is one of HiOA's core values, and Strategy 2020 states that "*HiOA aims to be an innovative*

and learning organization with a positive working environment characterized by diversity.”

Reference is also made to equality and tolerance for diversity, as well as an ‘inclusive working environment’, ‘reaping the benefits of our differences’, ‘effective use of resources’ and ‘collegiality’.

The action plan further stipulates: ‘There is a fundamental difference between tolerance for diversity and inclusion of diversity. The latter entails an active approach with a large potential for development. In order for the action plan to optimally contribute to HiOA’s strategy and achievement of goals for exploiting human and economic resources, proactive initiatives aimed at a more inclusive working environment will be essential. It is also important to emphasize that the action plan will be the first of its kind for the merged university college, and as such the proposals will largely be start-up initiatives aimed at creating a firm basis for future systematic diversity efforts.’ (Translated from Norwegian)

University of Bergen (UiB)

With a total of 14 800 students and more than 3 600 employees, the University of Bergen is the second largest university in Norway. Central parts of the campus are located in Bergen. UiB is both an educational and research institution, and covers most disciplines, arranged across six faculties and around 40 departments and centres of excellence.

UiB has around 200 study programmes in arts and humanities, teacher education and pedagogy, social sciences, law and psychology, natural sciences and technical subjects, medicine, dentistry and health studies.

UiB is a broad-based university with a long-term focus on environments that facilitate academic breadth and internationally distinguished research groups with expertise in relevant research areas. UiB’s three main areas of focus in research are:

- Marine research
- Global social challenges
- Climate and energy changes

The work on equality is founded on UiB’s strategy (2012-2015), which emphasizes that the university will work actively to prevent discrimination and to make the institution a workplace and place of study that is inclusive and builds on diversity and equality.

As with UiB’s strategy, the *plan of action for equality* is based on a broadened concept of equality. The mandate for UiB’s Equality Committee states:

‘The purpose of the committee is to promote real equality at the University of Bergen regardless of gender, ethnicity, national origin, skin colour, language, religion or beliefs, political views, organizational affiliation, sexual orientation, disability, age and other factors.’ (Translated from Norwegian)

The action plan for diversity at UiB stresses that ‘Since equality is the goal, it is necessary to combat discrimination in terms of inadmissible or unlawful discrimination. In some cases, however, positive special treatment or positive discrimination is permissible if it reflects the intention behind the legislation on equality.’ (Translated from Norwegian)

The action plan further stipulates that ‘The concept of multiple discrimination is used to illustrate how a number of forms of discrimination can occur simultaneously. For example, a person may feel discriminated against because of gender, age and ethnicity. Intersectionality and crossroads are analytical terms used to describe intersections where various forms of discrimination meet and interact. The topic of multiple discrimination is highlighted in both EU law and in the Anti-Discrimination Ombud

Act, which stipulates that workplaces should improve their ability to deal with such situations.

Safeguarding against discrimination on the basis of the characteristics stated in the Equality Commission's mandate, is enshrined in the Working Environment Act, the Gender Equality Act, the Anti-Discrimination Act, the Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act and the Act relating to universities and university colleges. These laws also impose an obligation on the university for special activity and reporting in relation to gender, ethnicity and disability. The Equality Commission has a responsibility to ensure that all of the university's activities comply with the laws, and has also been tasked with devising an action plan for equality in line with its mandate.' (Translated from Norwegian)

With regard to discrimination and gender equality, UiB's action plan concludes that: 'Little is known about the proliferation of various forms of discrimination. This is partly because a number of factors cannot be registered at an individual level due to conflicts with privacy protection issues. There is no requirement for the university to report equality issues other than those relating to gender. In order to combat discrimination and to propose initiatives that promote equality with regard to other forms of discrimination, it is important that the university develops competence and continuously updates knowledge in the organization on these areas.' (Translated from Norwegian)

The Work Research Institute (AFI) is a multidisciplinary social science research institute at the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences.

Our main fields of research are:

- ♦ Competence, work and diversity
- ♦ Innovation and enterprise development
- ♦ Organization of the welfare state
- ♦ Work inclusion

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