Thais França and Beatriz Padilla
(editors)

TRANSNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MOBILITY

Perspectives from the North and the South

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Thais França e Beatriz Padilla (eds.)

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PERSPECTIVES FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

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Transnational Scientific Mobility. Perspectives from the North and the South

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Presentación

Sylvie Didou Aupetit

El libro *Transnational Scientific Mobility: Perspectives from the North and the South* expresa el renovado interés que los intercambios de científicos y sus rutas multipolares de migración generan hoy día. En efecto, la cuestión no es nueva, como lo demuestran los numerosos estudios disponibles sobre la circulación internacional de los saberes y de sus portadores, pero ha resurgido, con fuerza, en la agenda global de la investigación educativa en la pasada década. Muchos son los especialistas que, en forma todavía dispersa, en numerosos países, aún en los tradicionalmente considerados como de procedencia más que de inserción de esa población particular, se interesan a las rutas migratorias, los aportes y la inserción de los científicos extranjeros en los laboratorios de los países donde radican.

Los varios capítulos que componen este volumen versan sobre realidades regionales (América Latina, Asia y Europa) y sobre diferentes países (México, Colombia, Brasil, Argentina, Ecuador, Italia, Portugal, Reino Unido, Australia y Nueva Zelanda). Sus autores proponen un panorama general de la movilidad científica internacional en el mundo actual y ofrecen pistas para analizar varias de sus vertientes. En una perspectiva macro, observan la migración científica en Europa y América Latina, es decir en una dirección sur-norte, asociada a modelos tradicionales de circulación científica. Muchos refieren sus estudios a contextos de políticas neo liberales y a escenarios de mundialización de la ciencia, alentados por los grandes proyectos de cooperación científica. Por otra parte, en una perspectiva micro, dan a conocer investigaciones cualitativas, de carácter exploratorio, realizadas por investigadores doctorandos y de post-doctorado. Presentan un material muy rico, constituido por entrevistas a diferentes tipos de informantes claves, que explicita la diversidad de las apuestas subyacentes a las movilidades científicas, en términos colectivos e individuales. Esos informantes son investigadores, líderes de equipos y jefes de laboratorios. También son rectores y decisores políticos, todos inmersos en distintos juegos de intereses, políticos e intelectuales.

Algunos de los artículos hacen énfasis en los sujetos individuales, en situación de movilidad, y en los programas de becas y ayudas para el fomento a la movilidad científica internacional. Otros recalcan las repercusiones de la migración en las trayectorias profesionales, en las condiciones laborales, en las elecciones de consolidación de los equipos de investigación, en las estrategias institucionales de acreditación de la calidad así como en la existencia de los científicos afectados, marcando las condiciones diferentes en las que hombres o mujeres la viven.

Eses distintos capítulos, independientemente de su interés intrínseco, confirman no sólo la diversidad de los abordajes al tema sino el hecho de que el tópico dista de estar instalado en una agenda normalizada y comparada de investigación. Una prueba fehaciente de ello es la indefinición del universo de "científicos extranjeros". Más allá de que la identidad de los sujetos justifique la pertinencia de los distintos tópicos explorados, los científicos extranjeros constituyen universos heterogéneos: en ellos, coexisten refugiados políticos, expatriados económicos y migrantes por elección.

Tomar en cuenta la diversidad de los sujetos y la de sus contextos (de partida y de recepción) es fundamental para diseñar políticas de atractividad eficientes, sean abocadas a la repatriación de científicos internacionales (es decir nacionales formados y residentes en el extranjero) o a la invitación a científicos extranjeros. Define las oportunidades de que los programas de movilidad circulatoria o de inmigración, tengan esos fines temporales o bien de mediana o larga duración, sean exitosos.

Los capítulos de ese volumen se interesan a programas cuyo propósito es consolidar nichos disciplinarios e instituciones emergentes gracias a un uso estratégico de las dinámicas de movilidad científica internacional. Esos programas, en tantas expresiones de proyectos políticos nacionales y de cooperación internacional, sea quien sea el gobierno oferente, son indisociables de inversiones económicas y de estrategias de formación de elites con visos políticos. En esta perspectiva, la articulación de las dimensiones macro y micro en las investigaciones sobre los científicos en situación de movilidad transnacional, internacional o bilateral, debe ser profundizada para dar cuenta de las dimensiones variadas a las que remiten.

Bajo tal ángulo, es importante señalar que es relevante analizar los discursos emitidos por distintos actores para entender el contexto socio-profesional e intelectual en el que se despliegan las migraciones científicas. Explica las lógicas de integración de los individuos migrantes en sus equipos e instituciones. Revela la multiplicidad de factores que inciden en una "integración exitosa" en términos institucionales e individuales. En efecto, son frecuentes los sesgos entre retóricas y hechos por una parte, entre políticas gubernamentales de atracción científica o retorno, cuando las hay, y condiciones concretas de inserción.

Cabe también marcar que los debates generados por los capítulos aquí presentados permiten examinar cuestiones, que se requiere examinar a la luz de los datos y de los casos. Los primeros son: ¿adónde se dirigen los científicos extranjeros para desarrollar sus carreras? ¿Siguen procurando instalarse en los polos tradicionales urbanos que concentraban tradicionalmente las mayores capacidades instaladas? ¿Por los efectos combinados de la descentralización geográfica de la investigación y de la mayor oferta de plazas en establecimientos ubicados fuera de los epicentros nacionales de indagación, se están distribuyendo ya en forma más dispersa territorialmente? ¿Cómo y dónde producen? ¿En qué tipo de revistas, mediante que redes, en qué formato académico y conforme a qué patrones de co-publicación? Reflexionar sobre esos interrogantes permitirá develar nuevos esquemas de articulación entre migración y movilidad temporal al extranjero, apreciar su relevancia en los recorridos académicos, en tanto un episodio inaugural que anuncia una bifurcación o en tanto constante de la trayectoria, con incidencias perennes.

En suma, por la diferencia de intereses académicos, de perspectivas y de países a los que se refieren sus capítulos, este libro permite contrastar enfoques sobre un fenómeno complejo. Apunta temáticas a desarrollar, en una agenda de investigación que sería necesario pensar en forma individual y colectiva a efectos de comparación. Permite lanzar una discusión (a consolidar) sobre las perspectivas a partir de las cuales abordar las migraciones científicas, en una arena de producción de conocimientos, estratificada y globalizada, es decir interconectada pero jerarquizada. Si bien la atracción de científicos en sociedades desarrolladas y menos desarrolladas responde en ambos casos a políticas de consolidación de capacidades, dichas capacidades y las coyunturas en relación a las que toman sentido son heterogéneas. Las sociedades avanzadas procuran asegurar, en situaciones demográficas adversas, una concentración espacial de materia gris para mantener su competitividad y, en algunos casos y disciplinas, su prosperidad y bienestar: Las sociedades que son cunas de emigración buscan contrarrestar el *brain drain* y robustecer "nichos" disciplinarios de calidad.

Por fin, en su conjunto, los capítulos del libro desafían a analizar la migración científica no sólo en relación a la organización de los mercados académicos nacionales e internacionales, y a los perfiles profesionales de sus integrantes sino en relación a coyunturas más amplias y complejas, que remitan a las perspectivas del neo colonialismo, de las periferias científicas o de la innovación en sociedades mundializadas.

Introduction

Beatriz Padilla and Thais França

The relevance of international mobility of scientists has been increasing immensely in the last decades. World changes resulting from the advancement of globalization such as the improvement of new technologies, the reduction on travel costs, the consolidation of international economic blocks and the growing importance of knowledge for economy growth have contributed to the internationalization of science and academia worldwide. In this new scenario, international scientific mobility refers to the movement of individuals bringing about questions regarding the production, circulation and transfer of knowledge, information and technology.

Like other complex social dynamics, scientific mobility should be understood at the macro, meso and micro levels. Macro issues involve geopolitical hierarchies, national and international policies for attracting and promoting mobility, among others. Meso aspects relate to institutional aspirations and interests of Higher Education Institutions (HEI) and micro factors include family issues and individual goals.

Thus, the complexity and contemporaneity of scientific mobility has resulted in different and innovative attempts to explain it, as recently critical investigations aim at overcoming traditional frameworks that in general disregarded the ideological and political interests embedded in these international dynamics.

Often, international scientific mobility has been celebrated due to its positive aspects and the benefits it fosters: international networking, saving in experimental costs, knowledge circulation, greater internationalization of HEI and cultural diversity promotion, among others.

Consequently, experiences of working abroad have increasingly become a fundamental step to guarantee the development of an appropriate scientific career path.

However, only rarely some of the problems and challenges of international scientific mobility, such as persistent geopolitical asymmetries, gender differences, career precariousness and neo-colonial practices are brought to the debate.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, the book "Transnational Scientific Mobility: Perspectives from the North and the South" collects original chapters on this topic which resulted from an intense and lively debate carried out among/by the authors in different spaces and circumstances. The main objective of this volume is to contribute with new and critical viewpoints in the analysis the phenomenon, bringing together scholars from or based in different countries. This diversity is illustrated also in its multi-language composition that as organizers of the book, we defend. Thus this edited collection is conceived as a space for promoting cultural diversity, including a multi-language debate that aims to promote the decolonisation of knowledge on this topic.

This e-book is one of the outputs of the research project *Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration* sponsored by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), under the coordination of Thais França and Beatriz Padilla, between 2013-2015. Its principal objective was to investigate scientific mobility in the Portuguese context considering its complexity and multi-dimensions, based on the experience of non-Portuguese scholars and scientists who developed their careers in Portugal.

It is also a result from the project "Multilevel Governance of Cultural Diversity in Comparative Perspective: EU-Latin America (GOVDIV)" sponsored by the European Commission programme IRSES — Marie Curie Action "International Research Staff Exchange Scheme" under the coordination of Beatriz Padilla. Among its multiple activities — workshops, seminars and publications — many tackled international scientific mobility. Moreover, GOVDIV promotes the mobility of researchers across countries and institutions.

The book opens with a chapter authored by Thais França and Beatriz Padilla (ISCTE-IUL, CIES-IUL, Portugal) entitled "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration — Preliminary Results". Their contribution presents preliminary results of the project *Scientific Mobility to Portugal:*

Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration. They draw a picture of the international scientific mobility dynamics by analyzing data collected through extensive fieldwork, which encompassed mixed methods: 80 in-depth interviews with non-Portuguese scholars and scientists who developed their activities in Portugal and 20 interviews with representatives of HEI and an on-line survey (173 respondents). They show that while Portugal has potential to attract international scientists, many fragilities inhibit its reaching its full capacity, thus some important aspects must be carefully taken into account in order to improve its outcomes.

The second chapter "Brains and bodies on the move. A research agenda on precarious researchers' mobility" written by Chiara Carrozza (CES-UC, Portugal) and Alberta Giorgi (University of Bergamo, Italy / CES-UC, Portugal) and Luca Raffini (Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, University of Genoa) critically revises the theories and policies on EU mobility, exploring the consequences of mobility in the realm of social and romantic relations, using as empirical data an original database of interviews with female researchers. They applied the concept of 'Living Apart Relationships' (LAR), shedding light on an often-overlooked aspect in the 'brain drain/circulation' narratives, and arguing for the need to overcome neoliberal rhetoric on mobility and drawing attention to the fact that both brains and bodies are on the move.

Isabela Wagener (Institute of Sociology Warsaw University, Poland) is the author of the third chapter entitled "Transmobility — A Cosmopolitan Process? Discriminations & Auto-discriminations of/by Transnational Professionals in the Research and Academia World". Based on an original methodology (multi-sited and longitudinal ethnography) together with an innovative theoretical approach (interactionist sociology of labor), the author unveils some hidden processes related to national/ethnic discrimination embedded in international scientific mobility. Her work reflects on the impact that features such as nationality, religion, race and language have on the careers of contemporary scientists. According to her, the influence of origin and cultural background is perceived only as a minor element shaping professional paths, however they constitute an inflammatory topic among the academic community under investigation.

The chapter on "Academic Mobility: Lessons and Opportunities", by Liudmila Kirpitchenko (Deakin University, Australia), approaches academic mobility as an opportunity for examining how intercultural flows of people and ideas create effective pathways for knowledge transfer. Its main objective is to set up the theoretical framework for exploring intercultural encounters within academic mobility, revealing the underlining conditions for successful intercultural knowledge transfer and creation.

Yolanda Alfaro (Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Universidad Autónoma de México) in her article "Repensando las perspectivas teóricas y categorías de análisis de la migración calificada desde el caso de Ecuador" reflects theoretically on the viability of the use of analytical categories such as brain drain- brain gain- brain circulation in the discussion of international scientific mobility in the Ecuadorian context.

The next chapter by Sylvie Aupetit (CINVESTAV-RIMAC, México) entitled "La cooperación universitaria entre universidades mexicanas y asiáticas: de la movilidad a la vinculación". Aupetit reviews the academic collaboration relationships established in the last four decades between Mexico and its Asian counterparts. According to her analyses, after having been encouraged essentially by the governments, these interactions are increasingly becoming an object of institutional interest. For this reason, they are giving rise to innovative cooperative practices, consistent with the emerging character of international relations between Mexico and, fundamentally, China, Japan and Korea.

Brenda Matossian (CONICET-IMHICIHU, Argentina) in her chapter on "Mujeres profesionales en San Carlos de Bariloche: movilidades científicas y trayectorias académicas", analyses the arrival of women researchers who have experienced international scientific mobility during their doctorate and / or postdoctorate and have been incorporated in local scientific communities with a strong male tradition. She discusses their role as researchers and their rebuilding of their academic paths characterized by high mobility linked to different educational stages: postgraduate and postdoctorate studies.

"Fuga, circulación, intercambio y ganancia de cerebros: una mirada preliminar de los migrantes que se dirigieron a EE.UU. y regresaron a Argentina" authored by Verónica Moreno (IIGG-UBA, Argentina) discusses brain drain, circulation, exchange and gain, according to the experience of their protagonists. This chapter investigates Argentinian scholars who migrated to the US to develop a doctorate or post-doctorate in natural and exact sciences and then returned to Argentina. It analyzes those movements in relation to the dynamics of the scientific field and systems of both countries, pointing to how circulation and exchange approaches are thought as essential aspects of scientific activity in both contexts, and highlighting the omission of existing tensions and power reproduction between the two countries.

The chapter written by Carol Pavajeau Delgado (Pontifica Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá, Colombia) "Escenarios de movilidad académica en pareja: negociando afectos, dinero y carrera profesional en el marco de las políticas científica en Colombia" discusses the impact of the Colombian scientific policies that promote and regulate academic mobility. The chapter focuses on the analysis of the negotiations, decisions and strategies that Colombian scholars use to move with their family to another country, with the objective to carry out postgraduate studies. It draws attention to how people manage their affections, money and professional career in the micro-politics scenarios of everyday life, analyzing the use of economical transactions and relational work to generate, hold and transform their links.

The final chapter of this volume "A educação Superior como um ativo econômico global: os casos da Austrália, Canadá, Nova Zelândia e Reino Unido" by Sonia Pereira Laus (UDESC, Brazil) describes how the intensification of the international student mobility since the 2000s has motivated some countries perceived as providers of international education to consider higher education an economic asset and a key export product in their national policies and strategies. Cases from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and UK are considered, highlighting how mechanisms such as academic rankings are contributing to complement this scenario, establishing an international dispute at the category of "world-class university."

Due to the diversity of topics touched upon, and theoretical frameworks developed and methodology applied, as well as to the novelty of the critical perspectives involved, the chapters altogether contribute greatly to enrich the debate and knowledge on international academic mobility. We hope that this e-book on Transnational Scientific Mobility: Perspectives from the North and the South sparks new interests and discussions on such relevant issues, and in doing so, readers enjoy its content even more.

Chapter 1

Scientific Mobility to Portugal

Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration — Preliminary Results

Thais França and Beatriz Padilla

Abstract This chapter presents the preliminary results of the project "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration".[1] Its main objective was to investigate how scientific mobility takes places in Portugal, considering its complexity and different dimensions. It is based on the experience of foreign scholars and scientists who develop their academic career and scientific activities in Portugal. By using a mixed-method approach that includes an online survey and in-depth interviews to foreign scholars working in Portugal and semi-structure interviews to directors of research centres and national laboratories, it shows that Portugal has a great potential to attract international scientists, however some important aspects must be carefully analyzed and improved in order to better place the country in the international academic mobility dynamics.

Keywords scientific mobility, social inequalities, geopolitics asymmetries, mixed-methods methodology.

Introduction

Scientific mobility is one form of high-skilled migration. In Europe, this issue has been gaining relevance and attention since the late 1970s, mainly in concentrating efforts towards creating a common area for research. Initiatives such as the European Research Area, Marie Curie Actions, European Network of Mobility Centers and EURAXESS attest to its importance. In Portugal, its relevance is reflected by the legal changes incorporated in Law 23/2007 to facilitate the entry of international students and scientists into the country through the creation

1 The project was funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) between 2013 and 2015.

of a specific type of visa. In addition, there has been a blooming of initiatives to promote mobility research programs in the form of grants, scholarships, fellowships among others, mainly funded by public and private institutions such as the Portuguese Science and Technology Foundation (FCT), the Gulbenkian and the Champalimaud Foundations, the Camões Institute — which in conjunction with several bilateral agreements between national and foreign institutions have contributed to increase scientific mobility. This is because the production and circulation of knowledge have become increasingly important aspects for societies to integrate the so-called "knowledge society". Thus the mobility of scientists and scholars has become an integral part of the academic and scientific career (Thorn & Holm-Nielsen, 2006) contributing both to the internationalization of the sciences, as well as a crucial indicator itself to assess academia.

When considering the relevance of the dynamics of skilled immigration (Baganha & Ribeiro, 2007; Chaloff and Lemaître, 2009; Peixoto, 2004; Ackers and Gil, 2008), scientific mobility arises as a fundamental dimension of analysis, both because it refers to the transnational movement of individuals, and because it brings about questions regarding the production of knowledge and dissemination of information in a time when knowledge appears as a central resource for economic and social growth (Reis, et. al 2010). Currently, scientific mobility is not understood in terms of *brain drain* or *brain waste* any more (Salt, 1997). Rather, it is considered a continuous flow instead of a stalled process; therefore its effects cannot be assessed dichotomously. Based on that, the concept of circulation of knowledge, *brain circulation* was added to scientific mobility analysis (Meyer, 2003). In this perspective, scientific mobility is an enriching process for sending and receiving countries, by which both benefit from the knowledge produced (Solimano, 2008).

However, this new understanding of the phenomenon does not counterbalance old problems, because, depending on how they are managed, *brain drain* and *brain waste* may remain, especially when considering the mechanisms of gender and racial-ethnic segregation as well as international geopolitical asymmetries (Brown, 2010; Padilla, 2010). Like other migration dynamics, scientific mobility is pervaded by a set of variables ranging from macro issues — geopolitical hierarchies, national and international politics and policies for attracting and promoting mobility and high standard requirements for national research centers or institutions — to micro factors — family issues and individual aspirations (Bauder, 2015). It also varies according to stages in career and life cycle dynamics, especially after marriage and the birth of children with greater impact on women (Iredale, 1999), compelling that studies on scientific mobility to go beyond an economic perspective and examine personal aspects as well, overcoming aspects that are taken for grated, usually introducing biased views around gender, emotions and family.

In Portugal, research on scientific mobility is scarce, with the exception of Delicado's work (2008, 2010b) as well as contributions from Peixoto (2004), Gois and Marques (2008), Fontes (2007), Reis et. al. (2010), Fontes et. al (2012a) and Araújo et. al. (2013). All these studies have been unanimous to point out the need for more in-depth knowledge on the migration aspects of scientific mobility, particularly taking into consideration a need for a gender perspective. However, the lack of research on the feminization of skilled migration is global (Ackers, 2010; Kofman, 2000) and it has been kept invisible because of the gender blindness prevailing in most studies and of the dominant focus on the precariousness of migrant women, mainly as unskilled labour, covering blatant asymmetries.

If the debate around scientific mobility and gender is considered scarce, the one taking into account the effects of race, ethnicity and origin in shaping scientific mobility schemes is almost non-existent. Cantwell and Lee (2010) and Lee and Rice (2007) are some of the few studies on this topic. Likewise, the analysis of scientific mobility considering how geopolitical hierarchies shape scientific mobility dynamics and the logic behind the legitimization of knowledge production are even scarcer.

Thus, the objective of this study is to contribute to this field by sketching the profile of the non-Portuguese researchers and scientists in Portugal, analyzing the reasons for such transnational scientific mobility, examining how markers of difference (race, gender, ethnicity, nationality) and geopolitical asymmetries (North-South) structure the phenomenon. To do so, we propose a framework that incorporates a critical feminist perspective together with a decolonial approach.

Scientific mobility — general overview

The growth of international scientific mobility has led to a change in migration studies, broadening their scope. One the one hand, these issues were not commonly investigated, and on the other, this new development promotes a more profound discussion about production and circulation of knowledge (Ackers, 2005).

International scientific mobility has been used to refer to the geographical movement of scholars and scientists among international institutions as part of an individual project or a formal exchange program aiming to develop academic and scientific activities for long or short periods (Bauder, 2015). It has gained enormous relevance internationally as it is directly related to knowledge production and circulation, and consequently to economic growth but also refers to the degree of internationalization of host and sending institutions. Its complexity involves a multiplicity of societal and political dimensions (gender, race, class, nationality, age, geopolitical hierarchies) claiming for an in-depth and critical analysis (Ackers, 2005, 2010).

Some of the advantages fostered by international scientific mobility are international network creation and development, increase in co-authoring and publications, experiments cost reduction, intensification of internationalization levels of academic institutions and the promotion of cultural diversity, among others. However, as stated previously, its straightforward and strong connections to knowledge production and circulation may be its main aim. Since knowledge started to be recognized as a key factor for societies' economic development and growth (Hardt & Negri, 2005; Padilla, 2010; Stehr, 1994) great political efforts and financial resources have been invested to encourage scientific mobility as a win-win situation for all actors involved — States, academic and scientific institutions and scientists and scholars.

Due to the increasing understanding of scientific mobility as a positive phenomenon contributing to scientific and social improvements and transformations, the more it has become an obligation to develop "good" scientific and academic career paths (Ackers, 2004; Bauder, 2015; Leemann, 2010). The more international experience a scientist or scholar possesses, the better his/her evaluation and positive impact on the evaluation of her/his institution.

Although the benefits brought by international scientific mobility schemes are undeniable, it is extremely naïve to believe that it is not distorted with problems or controversial issues. International scientific mobility is shaped by political interests, in which the articulation of distinct markers of difference — gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and social class among the others — and the position that each country occupies in the international political and economic dynamic play a central role. Therefore, when Robertson (2010) states that scientific mobility is a resource and as all other resources it is not equally accessible to all, resulting in privileges and asymmetries among individuals and countries, he is recognizing the geopolitics embedded in mobility and knowledge production.

Even if studies that consider gender differences in international scientific mobility programs are still insufficient, some important aspects have been revealed, thus using a gender and feminist perspective is relevant to counterbalance the field. Domestic and family's responsibility, motherhood, gender segregation within sciences and academia, gender blindness throughout the selection process and mobility programs and the reduced number of women as host professors or supervisors have been pointed out as some of the reasons that limit even more women's international scientific mobility (Ackers, 2004, 2010; Jonkers, 2011; Jons, 2011).

Campbell et. al. (2000), Lee and Rice (2007), Cantwell and Lee (2010), Leeman (2010) and Robertson (2010) are some of the few studies that discuss issues of race and ethnicity in Academia. According to them, on the one hand, non-white scientists and scholars have fewer opportunities to participate in scientific mobility program and face more difficulties during their academic mobility experience. On the other hand, upper-class scientists and scholars, whose parents are graduates, are more prone to take part in a scientific mobility program and have more access to more international networks. Further, they also have more social capital (family and financial support) to ensure a successful international scientific mobility experience.

Decolonial and post-colonial studies also offer important frameworks to better grasp the field of international scientific mobility. These theories have contributed largely to the debate about geopolitical asymmetries and knowledge production (Harding, 2006; Mignolo, 2010; Quijano, 2009; Said, 1979) by arguing that because of the colonial past and postcolonial domination practices, some regions were built as moderns, advanced, civilized and developed while others are viewed as traditional, illogical, exotic and barbarian. These dichotomies were transformed in epistemic hierarchies, placing some regions as recognized knowledge producers, "the Global North", and others as knowledge consumers or field work spots, named as "Global South" (Mignolo, 2003). The same process was observed with the subjects, not all subjects are legitimate to produce valid knowledge, those coming from the Global North have the capacity of producing universal knowledge, while those from the periphery lack the skills to produce rational and theoretical knowledge (Grosfoguel, 2008). In this perspective, regions and human groups are also hierarchically racialized. Even if this debate raises extremely relevant issues to science and knowledge production, not many empirical studies articulate and recognize the effects of geopolitical hierarchies and asymmetries on academic mobility structure.

Based on this theoretical framework, in our project we aimed to analyze scientific mobility from critical perspectives (gender/feminist and decolonial) promoting new discussions and reflections.

High Skilled migration, scientific mobility and knowledge circulation — Contextualizing the Portuguese Case

Due to Portugal's global fragile economic situation, even if a member state of the European Union, the country was never able to attract a significant flow of high skilled workers. On the contrary, throughout the 20th Century, net migration was negative, emigration outnumbered immigration. One exception took place after the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa with the influx of the returnees. However, most of the highly qualified returnees did not qualified as immigrants, as were the Portuguese living abroad or their descendants. A second exception was constituted by the first wave of Brazilians and Luso-Brazilians that arrived in the 1980 and 1990s, and had to fight for the official recognition of their qualifications, dentists being a remarkable case (Machado, 2000; Malheiros, 2007; Peixoto, 2004).

Few important studies have been conducted on highly-skilled migration in Portugal, thus interest in this field is rather unusual. Peixoto's pioneering studies on the topic (1994, 1998, 2004) drew one of the first pictures of skilled immigration to Portugal. However, because of the economic crisis the country faced in the first decade of 2000, the reality of skilled migration changed considerably. Nevertheless Peixoto's analysis still offers some relevant hints in understanding the current dynamic of international scientific mobility in Portugal.

In the 1990s, skilled migration represented almost a third of all inflows of foreign labor force, even if those fluxes were reduced. Skilled migration was composed of expatriates, independent liberal professionals from Brazil, Western and Eastern Europe and students coming mainly from the former ex-colonies. Peixoto (2004) features the flows coming from the European Union as more company-related, due to the lack of skilled national labor force, while the independent flow was made up of liberal professionals coming from Brazil and Africa. According to him, student and academic exchange (scientific mobility dynamics, although he does not denominate it in this way) would contribute to increase skilled migration to Portugal, even if some of them were still in training.

Despite this configuration, the author identifies some vis-à-vis aspects regarding skilled migration to the country: low level of competitiveness to attract the best and the brightest, the persistence of a relatively less central status within the European context and the difficulty in consolidating local scientific centers of excellence in international comparative terms.

More recently, Góis and Marques (2007, 2014) highlighted that skilled migration is still not a well-known issue in Portugal — statistics, data, documentation and theoretical frameworks about the phenomenon are rather scarce — and that skilled migrants potential is not properly utilized in the national labour market. These authors identified three groups of skilled foreign workers in the Portuguese context: a) individuals who migrated to Portugal and whose their labor market position is in accordance with their level of qualification (mainly expatriated); b) independent migrants who are employed in a secondary labor market; and c) foreigners who attained their qualification in Portugal and work in the local labor market. Moreover, they are emphatic in denouncing the absence of a formal strategy to recruit and retain non-Portuguese scholars and scientists in the country, stressing the scarcity of the number of studies on this topic and the low relevance that scientific mobility has among the national migration policies (2014).

Yet, it could be said that it was only after 2000 that some specific measures were implemented towards the regulation of qualified migration, which could be associated to a push given by the European Commission. For example, in 2007 significant changes were introduced to make legislation friendlier to qualified migrants and to foresee specific admission regimes for skilled migrants to perform research or qualified activities. Furthermore, a deeper Europeanization

Table 1.1 Legislation regulation on skilled-migration in Portugal

Decree 244/98	First law to recognize skilled migration and its specificity. It introduced the concession of study visas allowing scientific work and research.
Decree 34/2003	Creation of visas allowing scientific research activity development or any kind of activity that involves a high-qualified technical knowledge. The visas were temporary and could be extended according to specific requirements. Promote bilateral agreements signatures to concede special multiple entry visas to skilled individuals coming from the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP)
Decree 43/2003	Enabled a specific group of qualified Brazilians professionals to exercise their activities for 90 days without a visa (or search for jobs)
Law 23/2007	New Immigration Law that created a set of specific visa types, including skilled immigrants to perform scientific or high skilled activities, entrepreneurs and investors. It also brings the definition of researcher (a third-country national holding an adequate academic qualification, who is admitted at a research centre to execute a research Project which in principle requires the mentioned qualification) and of Highly Qualified Activity (as the one whose performance requires technical and specialised competences or competences of exceptional nature and thereby require adequate qualifications, namely university qualifications).
Law 29/2012	Transposition of the European Union directive 2009/50/CE and the introduction of the Blue Card.

process of national migration policies has been taking place, in this case through the introduction of the Blue Card in 2012 to regulate and promote skilled-migration. Table 1.1 illustrates the main Portuguese legal framework on skilled-migration.

Interestingly and overall, these pieces of legislation have had limited impact in retaining the scholars that had attracted through programs such as Welcome II and FCT-Ciência, given that after that once the contracts were over, no efforts were made to hire them permanently.

Reis et al. (2010) assert that skilled migrants in Portugal composed a very heterogeneous group, with different motivations, mobility standards and labor market entrance path. From an official data analysis (2002-2003), the authors concluded that at that time, immigrants represented about 5% of the total number of scholars and scientists in the country, which also corresponded to the percentage of Portuguese researchers and scientists who leave the country. Therefore they support the idea of a brain circulation dynamic instead of a brain drain one. In the global scientific mobility dynamic Portugal could be seen as a circular platform, on the one hand Portuguese scientists are leaving the country and on the other hand international scientists are arriving. According to them, this position would reaffirm Portugal's relevance in the international scientific mobility dynamic. Regarding the country's ranking in the international research and scientific system, Reis et al. (2004) defend that, although Portugal cannot be recognized as a central country within the international scientific mobility schemes, it has the potential to attract qualified scientists and scholars just as much as any other European country.

Further on, the authors draw attention to three important aspects: the majority of international scientist and scholar are located in higher education institutions and only a small number in private companies or in public institutions, the main reasons to move to Portugal are related to personal issues, and the importance, not only of migration policies to attract and retain these individuals, but of the hosting institutions in integrating this population into their dynamic.

Regarding the international scientific mobility of Portuguese scientists and scholars departuring the country, Delicado (2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) has made a great contribution. Based on a quantitative on-line survey conducted in 2007 and interviews performed in 2008 with Portuguese PhD students and researchers abroad, her analysis focuses mainly on the reasons for leaving Portugal, the motivation to choose an institution abroad and the constraints and opportunities on their return. Further on, she considers the interaction between structural conditions, career path and personal choices taking into account gender, age, and career status.

Due the low development level of Portuguese higher education and research structure, Delicado's studies shows how the country still remains a departure platform of scholars and scientists, although the return flow of national scientists and researchers cannot be disregarded. She disagrees with Reis et al (2004)'s view of Portugal as a circulation platform for scientists. Instead, Delicado points the need for serious public policies to support this dynamic — departure and return — for enabling harvesting the most benefits out of it. While the motivations to leave the country are very much related to their scientific and professional career, personal reasons are also relevant, especially in the decision to return.

Moreover, it can be grasped from Delicados' studies that the relevance of gender, age, family relations, scientific discipline, career status for shaping scientific mobility's choices, attitudes and representations should not go unnoticed, since they have different qualitative impact. Her analysis reaffirms the importance of scientific mobility to career development, showing how mobile researchers' have better career opportunities and more chances to find a position. However, Delicado's work also points to how, due the high inbreeding level and the existence of mistrust practices within Portuguese institutions, national scientists and scholars who were abroad may face difficulties to find a position after their return. Also, returning researchers may find a gap between their new expertise and the level of scientific innovation in their new host institutions, which may imply not being able to profit entirely from their experience abroad.

During 2007 — 2010 the project MOBIScience — Scientists' mobility in Portugal: trajectories and knowledge circulation[2] was conducted by a research team led by Emília Araújo. Based on the analysis of Portuguese scientists who moved abroad and non-Portuguese scientists who move to the country in three different fields (immunology, civil engineering and sociology), the main objective of the project was to investigate how scientific mobility is associated with knowledge circulation, considering its implications for the actors involved and for the organization of scientific production at the country level. Based on the data of this project, Fontes, Videira and Calapez (2012b) highlighted that international networks are relatively more frequent in the case of mobile scientists, although it is necessary to consider the difference between mobility performed during PhD and post-PhD professional mobility. The project also reaffirms the importance of public policies fostering scientific mobility as it can be considered a relevant step to building international scientific networks.

Another important discussion brought about by MOBIScience is the analysis of scientific mobility considering gender differences. Araújo and Fontes (2013) investigated scientific mobility of Portuguese scholars and scientists taking into account the differences between men and women in their mobility experience (reasons to leave and impact on their career) and how these differences were converted into gender inequalities. Further, they identified a hierarchy between a core group with stable working contract and a peripheral group depending on precarious contracts, which obliged them to be more available for mobility programs. The authors' analysis regarding these hierarchies is very original, drawing attention to the importance of

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2 MOBIscience — Scientists´Mobility In Portugal: Trajectories And Knowledge Circulation. Project reference: PTDC/ESC/64411/2006, Funded by FCT.

gender, ethnicity and social class differences in this dynamic. Yet, Araújo and Fontes (2013) discuss the link between scientific mobility and the precariousness of the scientific career process as an aspect to be considered when analyzing men and women's understanding of scientific mobility. This is especially remarkable for the new generations who are consolidating their professional career and family plans while these transformations on academic career and scientific mobility structure are an ongoing process. Due to traditional division of labor and family conventions, women are responsible for family duties and wellbeing thus it is expected they would sacrifice their careers to follow their husbands. The precarious conditions offered by academic mobility schemes (low salary, fix term contracts, no accommodation support, espouse hiring visas or childcare) contributes negatively, discouraging women from taking part in such programs.

More recently, still as a result of MOBIScience project, Araújo et al. (2013) published book with 7 different contributions named "On a debate on mobility and brain drain /Para um debate sobre mobilidade e fuga de cérebros". The book focuses mainly on the discussions between brain "drain" and "gain" processes, transversal to most of scientific mobility and skilled migration projects. The authors consider scientific mobility and skilled migration one of the most important social political issues in present days, and therefore call for more in-depth studies on the topics. Among the contributions, Delicado and Alves (2013) based on a secondary data analysis (EUROSTAT, GPEARI[3] and FCT) state that Portuguese women scientists and scholars face similar problems compared to the rest of European women in academic and scientific field — mainly difficulty of progressing in their career due to gender segregation and discrimination.

Fontes and Araújo (2013) investigate the relationship between scientific mobility and scientific networks in Portugal, based on research conducted with scientists and scholars from three different fields: heath, information technology and sociology. They compared scientists and scholars with a singular mobility trajectory: a first group without international mobility experience who have a strong international network, a second group with long duration international mobility experience who

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3 Gabinete de planeamento, estratégia, avaliação e relações internacionais -Ministérios das Finanças / Planning, Evaluation, Strategy and International Relations Office — Finance Ministry.

have a strong international network as well and finally, a third group without international mobility experience and who have no access to international networks. They concluded that, although long duration scientific mobility is not fundamental to establishing an international networks, it contributes to improve the quality of the relations.

Finally, Videira (2013) reflects on the Portuguese case of scientific mobility based on a literature review of the current discussions about the theoretical and methodological framework to approach international scientific mobility. The author points some important aspects of the Portuguese reality: lack of studies in the country, the high numbers of Portuguese scholars and scientists who decided to go abroad because of they could not find opportunities in Portugal or because they recognize scientific mobility as a career obligation. He also points out, in accordance with Delicado (2008, 2010a, 2010b), that in the Portuguese case, going abroad in a mobility scheme can be damaging to the professional career in terms of future reinsertion. However, despite this, between 1994 and 2010, as a consequence of the intensification of national investments to develop the academic and scientific sector in Portugal, 43% of scholarships were given to Portuguese PhD students enrolled in institutions abroad. This had a great impact on the internationalization level of Portuguese science and research, translating into an increase in international networks and collaborations. Videira (2013) also highlights Portugal's poor capacity to attract or retain international and Portuguese scientists and scholars either because of the economic crisis or the structure of the Portuguese scientific and academic sector: low salaries, unstable careers and poor infrastructure, to which endogamy could be added.

Overall, the state of the art points out that several factors hinder scientists' international career path. Among those, discrimination and sexism arises both as a structural problem and as a micro-level issue with a direct impact on women's scientific mobility performance.

Project description and objectives

The literature discussed above allows concluding that although the excellence of Portuguese literature on high skilled migration and scientific mobility cannot be questioned, it is still scarce and insufficient. Thus, the mapping of previous work reinforce the relevance of the present study; which aims to draw a profile of international scientific mobility to Portugal and analyzing it from a broader perspective. It intents to give visibility to a variety of social hierarchies, asymmetries and exclusion processes that places individuals in a more or less privileged position in the international scientific mobilities dynamics. In other words, this project is fully engaged in discussing scientific mobility from a critical perspective, taking into account mechanisms embedded in this phenomenon, which are usually taken for granted.

Based on these remarks, the main objective of this project is to fully investigate scientific mobility in Portugal, analyzing the internationalization of the national academic environment based on the assessment of migration policies, including actions to attract researchers and agreements between Portuguese and international higher education institutions, labs and research centers. This study also aims to analyze the scientific mobility trajectory of foreign researchers and their scientific mobility experiences in Portugal. The identification of good practices, if any, for promoting scientific mobility and gender equality intersects the entire development of this study.

Its specific objectives are:

1. To understand how Portugal appears as a destination for scientific mobility.
2. To profile foreign researchers and scientists in the country: origin, place of residence, gender, field of work, types of mobility program, etc.
3. To identify key aspects in the mobility trajectory of these scientists and researchers: motivations, prior experiences, short and long term plans, etc.
4. To understand why researchers and scientists choose Portugal, how they evaluate the employability process, their satisfaction levels, etc.
5. To analyze their work relation in Portugal — opportunities; inclusion/ exclusion dynamics.
6. To investigate work relationships with the country of origin, whether there is intent to return, motivations and obstacles.
7. To examine the institutional perspective on scientific mobility.
8. To analyze the effects of the current economic crisis on the immigration of foreign scientists to the country.

Methodology

The definition given to international scientists and scholars in this project is broad, it included all foreign individuals participating in Portuguese doctoral programs and postdoctoral fellows, as well as junior and senior scholars or scientists currently affiliated to any private or public scientific or academic institution across Portugal for at least a year.[4] The subjects could rely on different funding sources home country or international sponsors, host institutions and even private resources. Also, as one of the projects objectives was to analyze the relation with home country, scientists or scholars who had the previous commitment to return to their country of origin were included in the sample.

This study uses a mixed-methods approach. This choice is justified because the combination of methods to collect quantitative and qualitative data complements each other, strengths findings and recommendation and allows to reveal the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon. As Ackers (2005) points out, international scientific mobility has been investigated mainly from a quantitative standpoint allowing a more objective description. For that, we opted for collecting and analyzing secondary data (statistics, official sources) and collecting primary data through the application of a survey to foreign scientists in Portugal.

However, a quantitative approach misses many aspects relevant to international mobility, as not everything can be quantified. For instance the singularities of gender and racial experiences, personal and family matters, the differences across countries of origin, among others. So, qualitative approach through interviews was chosen as an innovative way to understand scientific mobility, as it allows collecting other type of information — mainly issues regarding personal and family matters, or career path opportunities — moving away from a strictly economic perspective.

The fieldwork was conducted between September 2014 and October 2015. Based on preliminary survey conducted in 2013 and on facts and trends from the literature review, a questionnaire was developed

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4 Although scientific mobility can refer to also to short experiences, for example less than three months or even one week. As the study aims to give broader panorama of scientific mobility in Portugal, we understood that stays inferior to a year would lack of some important elements of analyses.

to be applied an on-line. The survey was available for six months and it targeted non Portuguese scientists and scholars in the country, with the intention to draw their profile, including their socio-demographic characteristics and overall aspects of their scientific international mobility such as motivation for choosing Portugal, trajectory, links and engagement with their country of origin, plans for the future, among others. Data was analyzed in light of the SPSS/PAWS using descriptive and correlational analysis.[5]

The survey was available in Portuguese and English and it was hosted on the Lime platform. First it was tested with a Portuguese-speaking control group and after their comments were considered, adjustments were made. Afterword, it was translated to English and reviewed by two English native speakers familiar with the jargon of the academia, and tested on an English-speaking control group. Once again, after their suggestions, corrections and adjustments were introduced. Finally, both versions were compared and reviewed by the research team, before uploading the final versions into the platform.

As there is no official list of international scholars and researchers in Portugal, it is not possible to have a complete sampling frame, thus the identification process of possible candidates to respond the survey was performed using different techniques. The first one was to send the survey link directly to our contacts at FCT and ask the institution to circulate it on its members list. Following, the centers, faculties and institutions listed on FCT's webpage were also contacted and invited to send the survey to their mailing list. And finally, a manual scanning of the same institution's staff list was conducted aiming to identify other potential participants. In the invitation e-mail it was clearly described the participation criteria — international scientists and scholars (including PhD students) working in Portugal for more than one year, in a public or private university funded by FCT, European or home country institutions or privately. Even if sampling frame remains unknown, due to the variety of channels used to contact people, the survey was answered by a total number of 173 respondents.

The qualitative methodology included two different types of in-depth interviews: to foreign scientists and to authorities in science

5 As this chapter aims to draw a general overview of the results of the project, no deep correlation analysis will be performed.

institutions. In total, 80 non-Portuguese scholars and scientists who develop their activities in Portugal (42 men and 38 women) were conducted. The interview guide was composed by open-ended questions type and encompassed several topics (personal information, academic career development, international experiences, evaluation of the experience in the Portuguese academic-scientific environment, contact with the country of origin, plans for the future). The interviews were transcribed and analyzed based on the theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), understanding discourse as social practice (Fairclough, 2008).

Again a combination of different strategies was used to construct the sample of scholars and scientists interviewees. The first one was snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) — starting from our extended network of personal contacts, individual interviews were conducted and afterwards we would ask them to recommend another person who fits our criteria — international scientist and scholars working in Portugal for at least a year, under diverse funding condition and including those who have a previous commitment to return to their home country. The second, once more, involved a manual scanning of the institutions' webpage to spot international scientists and scholars working there through their curricula reading. All the potential interviewees were contacted via e-mail before to explain the project and confirm availability.

Although we are aware that these two techniques may introduce some bias (snowball samples cannot be considered representative of a population, and a manual scanning of webpages may miss unlisted individuals), due the specificity of our target population, random sampling was not an option. Thus, combining the two techniques produced a more suitable strategy to reach a satisfactory number of individuals within our profile requests. Moreover, as a result of its qualitative nature, the most important of in-depth interviews is reaching its saturation point, which means the threshold at which discourses started to be redundant and present constant repetition.

The interviews were carried out across the country, between January and August 2014, lasted about 90-110 minutes and took place at the interviewees' place of preference, thus some were at their offices, other chose their homes or public spaces — as cafes or parks. They were conducted in English, Spanish or Portuguese according to the interviewers preference. A list of questions inquiring about their previous academic experience in their home countries and other countries they maybe have studied or worked before, the process of choosing to move to Portugal, their expectations, the advantages and disadvantages of being in the Portuguese academia, relation with the country of origin and future plans were used to guided the interviews. However, the questions were not rigid or fixed, aiming to allow some discourse fluidity and promote a dialogue.

After completing the in-depth interviews with foreign scholars, a second set of semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 institutional actors: Directors or authorities of Portuguese universities, faculties, research centers and laboratories, and public officials at immigration-related agencies. The scientific and academic institutions were selected based on FCT's Researcher and Development list. Again, first contact with the organization was made via e-mail to introduce the project and to check availability. Interviews lasted around 50-60 minutes and were conducted in their institutional office.

All the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, scientists, scholars and institutional actors' names and institutional affiliations have been changed and are presented here using fictional ones. According to the grounded theory (Ackers, 2004; Keddy, Sims, & Stern, 1996), after the transcription, the interviews were coded using inductive and deductive processes; for analytical and comparative purposes the data was organized in categories structured around the mains topics covered. Some of the categories created were: region of origin, family structure, strategy to arrive in Portugal, period of time living in Portugal, gender relations, inclusion-/exclusion perception, career development path, relation with country of origin.

Preliminary results

Quantitative Analysis

Data from the survey made possible to draw a profile of our sample of foreign researchers' in Portugal, based on the following variables: sex, age, family condition, nationality, immigrant status, field of expertise/area of interest, year of arrival, 1st and current held position, reasons to come to Portugal, advantages and disadvantages of being in

Table 1.2 Survey International Scientists and scholars' profile (in %)

Variable		%
Sex	Men	56.6
	Women	43.7
Age	21-30	6.4
	31-35	25.0
	36-40	31.5
	41-45	13.7
	46-50	12.1
	51-55	5.6
	56-60	4.0
	61-70	1.6
Field of work	Natural Sciences	36.5
	Social Sciences	27.0
	Technology and Engineering	15.7
	Humanities and Arts	8.7
	Medicine and Health Science	2.4
	Agriculture	0.8
	Others	7.1
Position	PhD	21.5
	Post-Doc	27.6
	Research fellow	16.9
	Principal Investigator	14.9
	Coordinator Investigator	3.4
	Assistant Professor	4.5
	Associate Professor	6.9
	Full Professor	1.3
	Invited Assistant Professor	2.0
	Invited Associate Professor	1.0

the country, evaluation of overall experience, integration level and contact with origin country.

The results from table 1.2 shows that in our sample the majority of scientists and scholars are men 56.6% while women stand for 43.7%. This is in accordance with the global literature (Ackers, 2004, 2010; França & Padilla, 2013; Jons, 2011), which points that men are more likely to take part in mobility program than women. In Portugal, as in other countries, due to society's patriarchal and androcentric social arrangements, family duties (domestic work; child and elderly care) are still women's responsibilities (Hochschild & Machung, 2003). Therefore,

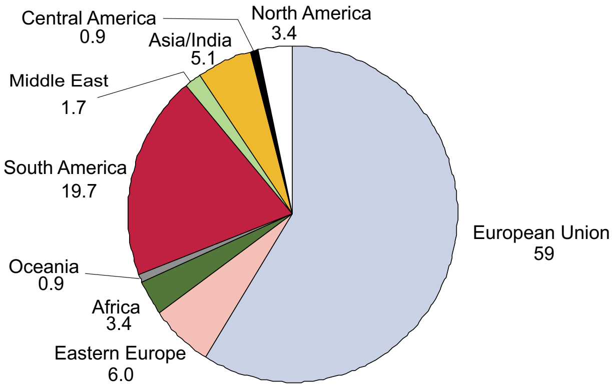

Figure 1.1 Region of Origin

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

women are less mobile than men because an international move implies the reorganization not only of women's personal life, but also of their families' routine. In addition, if married or with children, they may have less bargain power to negotiate. In turn, as scientific mobility becomes more important for academic career development, the fact that women are less likely to be involved in this kind of programs, directly affects their career prospects and progression (Ackers, 2004, 2010; França & Padilla, 2013; Jons, 2011; Leemann, 2010).

Another important characteristic of our overall sample is its youth, as the age interval between 31-40 years old represents 56%. Scholars and scientists between the age of 41 and 55 formed the second most representative group accounting for 32% of the responses. Literature has shown (Ackers, 2010; Bauder, 2015) how career stage and family dynamics shape interests in taking part in scientific mobility programs, in the sense that young researchers and scholars would move easier between different countries as they are still in an early career stage and have less family obligations. Furthermore, the fact that in our sample 21.5% of the respondents were doctoral students (table 1.1) may have contributed to reinforce this result.

Regarding family status, 58% of the sample has a partner with 55% not having children. As it was mentioned before, having a family of their own has a great impact in scientists and scholar's participation in scientific mobility programs. Considering respondent's average age, it was expected that they would have stable relationships, which was confirmed by our data. The lack of support offered by scientific mobility programs to family issues gives some important insight to analyze the reasons why the majority of the respondents have no children.

Adding gender as a variable of analysis shows that men represent 59% of the population who has a partner and women count for 41%. Yet, a further element that can be considered to illustrate how gender differences shape academic mobility experiences is children. In our sample, 56% of the respondents who have children are men, while 44% are women. This trend supports the discussion about how conventional family roles shape men and women's academic mobility projects differently. It is more likely that women give up their careers or pause them for a while to follow their partners in their international academic mobility opportunities. In the case of men who join academic mobility programs with their children, they tend to have a female partner at home, taking care of them, while they dedicate fully to their career.

Looking at region/country of origin, figure 1.1 illustrates geographical distribution by continent.

More than half of the respondents come from European Union countries, 58%, followed by Latin Americans 22%, with little representation from other world regions. This supports the idea that Portugal has strong relations with countries of the European Union, closely tied to EU policies fostering intra-European mobility and a common research area within the Schengen space, through actions and programs such as Erasmus, Sklodwska-Curie Action and the European Research Area (Giorgi & Raffini, 2015; King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003). This is reflected in policies, as for example, while EU citizens cannot be excluded to receive Portuguese public funding, third country citizens (non-EU) need to meet certain requisites and be sponsored by their hosting institutions.

Within the scholars from the EU in our sample, Spain represents 31.3% of the researchers and Italy 16.4%. The high percentage of EU researcher can be associated to a combination of factors, one being the economic crisis spread in the European Union, imposing severe cuts on higher education and research (although Portugal also shares that constrain), and the other to prevalent endogamous practices in other

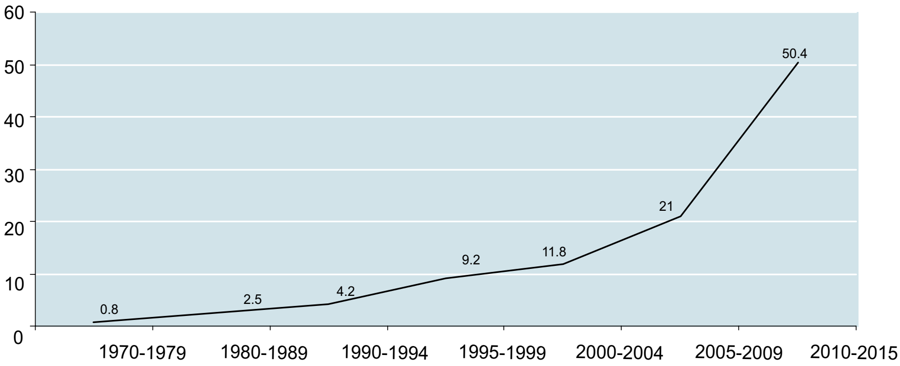

Figure 1.2 International academic and scientific mobility to Portugal evolution (1970-2015-%)

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

EU countries, mainly in Southern Europe, both obliging scholars to look for opportunities somewhere else.

If considering Latin Americans, Brazil stands for 77.8% of the researchers. Portugal and Brazil share important past and present links including a common language, which undoubtedly contribute to the significant presence of Brazilians in the international scientific mobility dynamic in Portugal. In addition, in the last decade, many agreements have been signed between Portuguese and Brazilian governments and higher education institutions, strengthening bilateral relations. The scientific and academic relation between Brazil and Portugal results from a complex interaction of historical, geopolitical, economic and social aspects that have been structured asymmetrically throughout time. Portuguese colonialism has played a key role in this process, and has been revisited in more neocolonial practices more recently. Portugal, as the ex-metropolis tries to take advantages of the colonial past, defending the need to groom colonial relations. This neo-colonial discourse aims to attract Brazilian scholars and scientists, increase the number of cooperation agreements, maintain the intellectual influence in the local academia and profit financially from it, as at that time Brazil was investing largely in internationalizing the national science (França & Padilla, 2016; Padilla & Cuberos 2016).

Table 1.3 Sources of funding

Source of funding	%
FCT	55.7
Portuguese Institution - except FCT	19.7
Home Country	12.1
European Union	7.5
Personal Funding	2.8
Others	1.9

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

When analyzing the year of arrival in Portugal some important remarks can be made from the figura 1.3. According to our data, scientific mobility to Portugal has increased linearly during the years with the interval between 2010-2015 showing a strong acceleration and corresponding to more than 50% of our answers. This result could be associated either to investments increase by the Portuguese government or institutions to promote international scientific mobility to the country or to an improvement of Portuguese academic and scientific reputation internationally do its recent developments and achievements.

Although we cannot disregard this trend, these numbers have to be analyzed very carefully. The data presented above can be the result of a sample bias, the fact that scientists and scholars who arrived in previous years had already left the country, or the existence of a gap between the openings of the call and the actual start of the contracts. Lastly, in this analysis, it is also important to take into account the consequences of the international economic and financial crisis from 2008 in the Portuguese scientific and higher education funding. Although it was not so evident (Soeiro & Campos, 2011) some cuts were already performed. Following this, in 2011, due to the intensifying of the crisis, the intervention of the TROIKA (European Central Bank, European Commission and International Monetary Bank), imposed severe austerity measures (Soeiro & Campos, 2011) leading to even more drastic cuts in public expenses in science, technology and higher education.

As a consequence, during the TROIKA years (2011-2014) the number of scholarships funded by the Science and Technology Ministry diminished significantly as well as funding for supporting centers

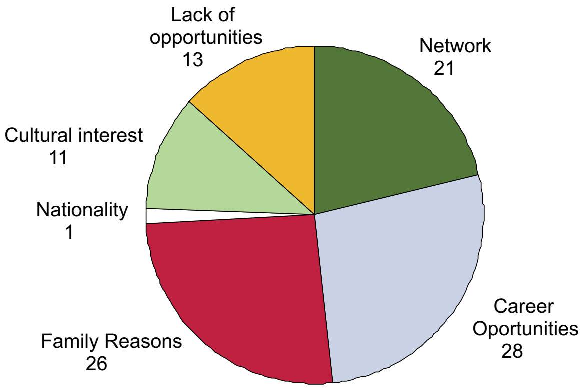

Figure 1.3 Reasons for coming to Portugal

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

and laboratories research activities. In 2007, the number of scholarships awarded by FCT to PhD students and post-doctorate fellows was 2945, in the following year this number dropped to 2358 and in 2013, a very critical crisis year, only 1395 scholarships were granted by the Foundation, a lower numbers than in the year of 1994 (FCT, 2016). However, in 2013, to compensate for such reduction of fellowships, FCT started granting scholarships directly to Doctoral Programmes (although it implies less scrutiny about the selection process).

As table 1.3 shows FCT has been the major source of funding for international scientists and scholars who come to Portugal. Regarding the sources of funding of the respondents scientific mobility to Portugal in our sample table 1.3 shows that FCT is the main source of funding, followed by other Portuguese Institutions (Instituto Camões, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian), home country's institutions, European Union funding and personal funding.

These numbers attest to the relevant role of FCT in the internationalization of the Portuguese science and academia. Between 1995 and 2008, Portugal, to reach the European Union scientific indicators and standards, invested heavily on its scientific and technological development and begun a period of blooming that led the country to become a scientific powerhouse in the EU context. In consequence, the number of national and international researchers and scientists

Table 1.4 Advantages of Choosing Portugal (%)

Career Opportunities	30
Career Internationalization	26
Family Reasons	25
Quality of Portuguese Science	19

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

Table 1.5 Disadvantages of Choosing Portugal (%)

Work Conditions	43
Academic and Scientific Culture	30
Labour Precariousness	27

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

multiplied during these years. FCT grew and consolidated itself as the main Portuguese funding agency, proved to be able to attract leading researchers and to sponsor high quality and competitive projects.

Concerning the reasons for coming to Portugal, figura 1.4 summarizes the responses. Opportunity for career development appears as the main reason, 27%; followed by family reasons 26% and pre-existing networks 21%. This data shows that although career opportunities are the main reason for scientists and researchers to move to Portugal, family aspects are also very important, and therefore should not be disregard.[6]

The tables 1.4 anda 1.5 summarize scientists and scholars' perceptions and impressions about their scientific mobility experience in Portugal, considering what they define as advantages and disadvantages.

If focusing on the advantages of being in Portugal, career opportunities appear as the main one. Once again, the Portuguese potential for developing a scientific and academic career is mentioned. It is important to highlight that in 2006 FCT launched its Programa Ciência, targeting to hire 1000 PhD researchers under a 5 years contract through public competition by 2009. In 2012, the Programa Investigador FCT came out targeting

6 França and Padilla (Forthcoming), in accordance with the recent literature (Ackers, 2004; Jons, 2011; Leemann, 2010) shows how family reason is even more important in women's decision to take part or nor in a international scientific mobility scheme.

to hire 1000 PhD researchers under a 5 years contract until 2016, but foreseeing three different levels (starting, development and consolidation). Both programs aimed at national and international scientists and scholars and have been conceived as temporary positions. However, they presented significant differences regarding the evaluation board, criteria and contract clauses. The Program Welcome II also targeted European researchers who were abroad for at least 3 years and interested in working in Portuguese institutions. Therefore, the availability of these scientific hiring schemes, at a first glance, portrays Portugal as an attractive country to where develop academic careers.

However, the three types of contracts presented above implied temporality without any certainty regarding the continuation of employment or opportunity for career progression, illustrating how contradictory and uncoordinated Portuguese scientific polices are. After a massive investment made by FCT to attract international scientists to the country, no extra efforts have been made to develop long-term links with their hosting institutions. Moreover, it also demonstrates a lack of dialogue between FCT and the higher education institutions that are responsible for hiring researchers and scientists under permanent contracts. Notwithstanding, universities and faculties are more interested in hiring lecturers and professors, than investing in the research sector in the long term. Thus, after the "Science Contracts" contracts finished no attempts to retain the scientists or researchers were made. However, at present, new conversations are taking place to assess some continuity to FCT Investigator and other types of fellowships/contracts over three years, but the centre of discussion has been displaced from FCT to the University and Research centres and the Unions.

Family reasons were also mentioned as one of the main advantages of being in Portugal, 25%, reaffirmed the importance of family dynamics to scientific mobility. Partners' career opportunities, partner's responsibility for elderly parents, relatives or extended family members living in Portugal and the recognition of Portugal as an ideal environment for raising children due to security and quality of life are some of the elements related to family reasons. The literature on international mobility of Portuguese scientists and scholars (Delicado, 2008, 2010a) also points how family reasons are considered a fundamental aspect on the decision to return to Portugal after a period abroad. Scientists and researchers cannot be understood as individuals isolated from their social context. On the contrary of what happens

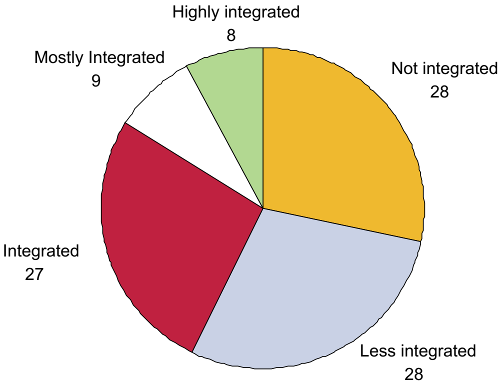

Figure 1.4 Self-perception of integration level

Source: "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" data base.

to most of the programs for expatriates, scientific mobility programs rarely consider family issues. Overall there are not programs in universities that support family visas, spouse hiring and child care.

It is important to highlight that when analysing family reasons as an advantage to be in Portugal, if considering gender, there are important aspects to be taken into account. Women represent 59.2% of the respondents who considered family as an advantage to be in Portugal, while only 40.1% of men gave the same answer, illustrating how family has a greater impact on women's academic career choice than men's.

When analysing the disadvantages of being in Portugal, 43% of the respondents pointed to the poor working conditions as the main one. Responses mentioned: difficulty in accessing international journals database, inadequate funding for organizing and participating in international events, limited support to acquisition of equipments and material. Additionally, Portuguese academic and scientific culture was also mentioned as a negative aspect among 30% of the sample. The negative aspects of scientific and academic culture encompassed bureaucracy, high level of hierarchy and formality in professional relations, classes overload, lack of teamwork and unclear rules in competition/selection process for career progression opportunities. Finally, labour precariousness was also mentioned by 27%, mainly related to the fact that most of the respondents were still under temporary contracts or scholarship regimes, without any perspective of having a permanent position.

Hence, if on the one hand FCT investments were able to attract a significant number of highly qualified scientists and scholars in the last years, on the other hand the Portuguese host institutions were not able to offer good physical working conditions or a sociable and receptive working environment where recruited international researchers and scientists could satisfactorily develop their work.

The respondents' evaluation of their self-perceived integration as a scientist into of their institution is illustrated in the figura 1.5.

It is clear that the majority of our sample consider their integration level into their hosting institutions as poor or unsatisfactory as 28% affirmed not feeling integrated and 29% declare to be little integrated, that is 57% feel some degree on alienation. Only 8% see themselves as highly integrated and 9% mostly integrated. These numbers shed some light on the imaginary of Portugal as a country open to diversity. The Migration Integration Police Index (MIPEX) (2015) considers Portuguese integration Polices as one of the best in the world, just behind Sweden. Specifically, according to MIPEX analysis Portugal also proved a solid foundation for labour market integration over time. Therefore, it would be expected that scholars and scientists would feel well integrated to their working environment, however based on our results, this was not confirmed.

The high levels of endogamy in the academic sector is a fundamental aspect to interpret in relation to the low levels of integration (Horta, 2013; Horta, Veloso, & Grediaga, 2010; Santiago & Carvalho, 2012; Tavares, Cardoso, Carvalho, Sousa, & Santiago, 2014). The hierarchical, traditional and self-centred characteristics of the Portuguese academia tend to benefit local scholars and scientists, who have being working for many years in the same centre or with the same supervisor, who is responsible for opening a space for career development. Therefore, those coming from abroad have difficulties in being integrated in the institution's dynamic, as they lack this social capital.

Furthermore, the respondents pointed out that teamwork and collaborations are very rare in Portuguese academic dynamics. In most of the cases, the dominant rule is individual work, with few or no interaction with colleagues, resulting in a feeling of isolation, as reported by our respondents. Overall, all these factors lead to professional disappointments from not being able to advance their careers as expected.

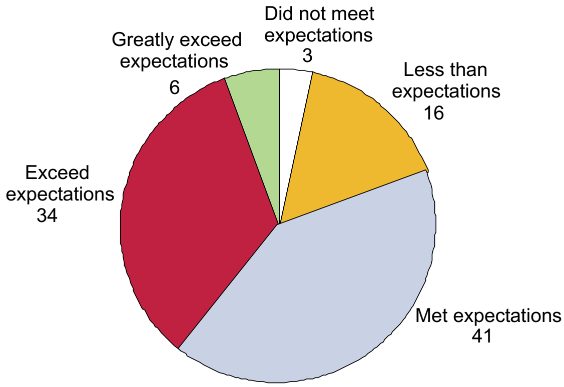

Figure 1.5 General evaluation of the scientific mobility experience in Portugal

A high statistical correlation was found between integration level, gender and country of origin. Women reported lower level of integration than men. And researchers and scholars coming from countries outside of the European Union, except the USA and Canada, also reported feeling less integrated than their colleagues.

One last important remark from the quantitative survey to highlight is the respondents' general evaluation of their scientific mobility experience in Portugal.

On the contrary to what would be expected, on average, the experience of mobility in Portugal was evaluated positively, reaching 81%. More specifically 41% considered to have met their expectations and 40% that it exceeded the expectations. On the other end of the spectrum, 19% declared that it did not meet their expectation. Although these numbers may seem contradictory with the reported high level of disadvantages and low level of integration in the academic environment, alternative explanations may include that their initial expectations were low based on their previous assessment of the Portuguese academia, or that due to their performance they were able to shine, or that other factors such as quality of life or personal aspects compensated for the negative aspects of the experience.

Thus, despite all the problems that experiences of scientific mobility in Portugal may present, its positive aspects overcome the negative ones. Thus, Portugal may be overall considered a potential market for developing an academic and scientific career, where other assets can be positively accessed: good quality of life for self and family, opportunities for staying in the academic sector while in other countries that is not an option, high level of internationalization if compared with other Southern EU countries, namely Spain and Italy.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative data gathered through interviews offer both complementary and new elements to analyse international scientific mobility to Portugal. As presented in the methodology, in-depth interviews were conducted to scientists and scholars working in Portugal and semi-structured interviews were carried out with institutional authorities and directors of Portuguese research institutions. The interviews were analysed based on grounded theory approach. Thus the purpose was to inductively identify trends and patterns to later produce an original contribution to the literature considering the Portuguese case. The interviews were transcribed and relevant general topics emerging from the data were identified. Along the process of reading and coding the interviews, new elements and categories surfaced leading to a constant rethinking of our results and assumptions. The categories and concepts created were analysed together and compared, helping us to explain the phenomenon.

Therefore, the analysis process started early when the data were being collected and continue throughout the coding of the interviews. Categories were emerging, leading to more complex recoding and new categories, to then identify trends, connections and explanations.

This section on qualitative data is divided in two parts. The first one regarding the interviews carried with official representatives of Portuguese higher education institutions (universities, faculties and research centres), who present their institutional vision on international scientific mobility to Portugal. The second part is dedicated to the analysis of the interviews conducted with scientists and scholars working in Portugal.

a) Institutional Vision

The three discourses below allow us to draw a picture of the institutional vision on international scientific mobility to Portugal.

A rector of a public University declared:

> Foreign researchers are just as important as foreign students. It's been shown that there is a strong correlation between the quality of an institution and the level of internationalisation. Therefore, having more foreign students and researchers or professors is always a factor that helps to qualify the university, not only because it brings new perspectives but it also opens new possibilities in establishing further relationships abroad. There is an extra benefit in bringing a foreigner into the institution in the way he/she interacts with his or her home country and eventually other networks. Recruiting a foreigner is always with the objective of bringing someone highly qualified to work in an area that we would very much like to develop (University Rector, male)

This statement illustrates a positive interpretation of international mobility perceived as a win-win situation, in which both institutions and researchers profit from it. In accordance with the more popular discourse about scientific mobility, the Rector highlights some of the benefits of international scientific mobility: an increase of institutions' internationalization, the promotion of international cooperation in the form of agreements and scientific networking, among others. Such affirmation shows a clear institutional opening of Portuguese academic and scientific units towards scientific mobility.

> In research, we have a significant number of foreigners in mobility programs and I recognise this as an important aspect for the faculty. In teaching, however, for instance the bachelor courses, language may be a problem. As a result, we try to use them more in MA and PhD courses. I do however recognise that foreign researchers, despite the language challenges, are very important for BA students who write their projects in laboratories. The opportunity of these students to be exposed to foreign professors or researchers is very important as it opens new horizons and opportunities for the students. I think that the most important aspect about having foreign researchers and professors in our faculty is that the approaches and strategies that they use are, in most cases, not those that we are used to. And this is something quite positive as they will interact with the Portuguese and in the end new lessons are learnt and exchanged by all (Health Science Faculty director, female).

The statement above also shows an optimistic view about international scientific mobility schemes. Using a strategic involvement of the international researchers and scholars in MA and PhD courses, the Faculty's director overcomes language problems that they may face and offer students the experience of working with highly-qualified scientists in labs and specific projects. Moreover, she positively values the presence of international scholars and scientist as an important exchange opportunity for the Portuguese team to learn different techniques.

Thus, both institutional discourses presented so far are in accordance with the understanding of international scientific mobility as a positive experience for all the parts involved. However, despite these good examples, it is also possible to find among some heads of research institutions, discourses that are less positive.

> This institute, if we include post-doc fellows, for a few years was made up of almost 20% international researchers and scientists. In some areas, having foreign researchers is fundamental to developing these areas. For the areas where we lacked suitable skills or knowledge, we recruited from abroad. When Portugal was not facing an economic crisis and funding for sciences was growing, we recruited 'group leaders' actively from abroad. Now unfortunately, the foreigners are usually the first to depart. This is one of the least positive aspects as not having as many ties to the country and not necessarily relishing living in a country with such economic constraints, they quickly find much more suitable positions in other countries. We therefore have a significantly smaller population of foreign researchers as a result. (Research Center of Technology Director, male)

On one hand the centre's director highlights the important role that international scientists played in scientific institutions, pointing out their relevant contribution towards the development of strategic research areas in which Portugal is behind or less developed. On the other hand he shows some uncertainty about the international researchers and scientists' reliability, as they are the first to leave when periods of crisis affect Portugal, as it is happening at present. However, what he does not reflect upon is all the other aspects that may induce researchers to leave the country, as the structural lack of career perspectives, the high level of social isolation experienced by many scientists, the selection processes' dimness and the instability of projects and scholarships calls and renovations. Also, the statement above, disregards any reason that could contribute to the decision of international scientists and scholars to stay, as for example, family reasons, having a working team and all the personal and professional investments made by them while in the country. Furthermore, it does not take into account the fact the Portuguese researchers and scientists also leave the country during a crisis, as has been the case with the emigration of highly qualified scientists. Thus, according to this perspective international scientists and scholars might be stimulated to develop their activities only because of career reasons and economic aspects, reproducing the old stereotype of scientists and scholars as economic subjects, driven only by career goals, alienated from families and without personal or private ties, which we have seen, is not the case, and differs between men and women. Also, it may point out the fact that there is a communicational gap between directors and foreign scholars about how they feel.

b) International Scholars and Scientists' personal experiences

Now, we move on to assess scholars' personal experiences. The analysis of the discourses of researchers and scientists offers important elements to understand the complexity brought by international scientific mobility to the Portuguese academic and scientific dynamics. Knowing more details of the experiences of foreign scholars, enable to grasp information about career issues that had not been acknowledged or explored before, that is, from a different perspective. In total 80 interviews were carried. The number allowed us to reach a saturation point, at which the discourses started to repeat constantly the same elements. The table 1.6 shows a general profile of the interviewees.

Due to the large number of interviews conducted, it is not possible to analyse all of them individually. Thus, we selected some cases, extracting illustrations and experiences, aiming at building a broad picture of the main discussions brought by the investigation. Table 1.7 presents a summary of the analysed interviewee's profile.

Esteban is Swiss, 40 years old, married to a Portuguese woman with whom he has two kids. Currently he holds a Principal Investigator position under an Investigator FCT contract. Esteban graduated in chemistry in Switzerland and moved to the United Stated for graduate studies with a PhD scholarship, there he got married to a Portuguese female scientist. After completing his PhD he found a position as a researcher in a project in a different institution in the USA. As his and his wife's contracts were getting to an end, they decided to look for new opportunities for both of them. At that time, FCT had just launched the Welcome II Program aiming at attracting scholars who had been abroad for at least 3 years. Their application processes were successful and in

Table 1.6 Interviewee's general profile (%)

Variables	Categories	%
Gender	Men	57.5
	Women	42.5
Region of Origin	European Union	35.0
	Eastern Europe	11.3
	Latin America	33.8
	North America	1.3
	India/ Asia	5.0
	Middle East	3.8
	Africa	8.8
	Oceania	1.3
Field of work	Natural Sciences	36.5
	Social Sciences	27.0
	Technology and Engineering	15.7
	Humanities and Arts	8.7
	Medicine and Health Science	2.4
	Agriculture	0.8
	Others	7.1
Position	PhD	17.5
	Post-Doc	24.6
	Research fellow	15.9
	Principal Investigator	11.9
	Coordinator Investigator	2.4
	Assistant Professor	4.0
	Associate Professor	5.6
	Full Professor	1.0
	Invited Assistant Professor	1.6
	Other	15.1

2012 they moved to Portugal, in 2013 he applied to the Investigador FCT call and was awarded a five year contract.

> At the start of my appointment, it was risky as I had only my salary, which was not much for a researcher, so I needed to apply for FCT and European Union grants in the current tough funding environment. Hence I was not sure if I would gain sufficient funding to start my research; however it all worked out well. Now I feel I have all the resources that I need in order to do exactly what is required. Whether here or anywhere else, I doubt that there is a difference now, I can really say that I have everything I need here. It's a big institute with a lot of groups, a lot of expertise, a lot of equipment and you tend to know that should

Table 1.7 Analysed Interviewee's profile

Name	Nationality	Age	Field of work	Arrival year
Esteban	Swiss	40	Chemistry	2012
Fabian	British	42	Biology	2012
Henry	Argentina	43	Physics	2008
Rose	Belgium	37	Political Sciences	2007
Lucy	Australian	40	Anthropology	2008
Elis	Cape Verde	38	International Relation	2005
Eva	Argentina	53	Sociology	2002
Ana	Romania	40	Archaeology	2008

> you need anything that you will find it. (Esteban, 43 years old, Swiss, Principal Investigator — Chemistry)

Esteban analyses his experience in Portugal as positive, he feels his workplace offers him all the resources needed to develop his work adequately. He points that despite the lack of research funding during his first year, he was able to succeed later on, achieving everything that was essential for his job. This case illustrates a very positive scientific mobility experience in Portugal. According to him Portugal offers satisfactory conditions for international scientists to develop their activities. However, in a very subtle way he mentioned a certain level of instability at his arrival in Portugal, as his contract did not foresee initial research funding and his institution did not offer any primary financial support opportunity, thus, he found some difficult to start his projects. This situation happens very often in Portugal, the institutions hire the scientist and researchers but do not offer enough conditions to develop their work.

Fabian's statement presents a different view of an international researcher in Portugal. He is a 43 years old British who, since 2012, holds a Principal Investigator position in marine biology under the Investigator FCT Program. Fabian graduated in biology in England, went to Scotland for his Masters and PhD. After that, he got a research position in a centre in the United States for three years, followed by another one in London. In 2007 he was awarded with the FCT Ciência contract. Because he did not know much about the centre's reputation where he was going to work, he visited it before moving and had a meeting with its director who guaranteed him good infrastructure and enough funding for his research. However, this was not the case:

> I eventually came here as 'Group Leader' doing my own research, so I was expecting at least an office, however, the centre was relocating so they had no idea who was going where, there wasn't really anything and the centre gave me minimal support, actually considerably less support that I was originally told I would receive when I accepted the position. I flew down here to see what job I was going to get before I moved to the country so I spoke with the head of the centre and spoke about what kind of financial support I could expect. They gave me a number, which of course turned out to be much less when I actually arrived. "Financial restrictions, we don't have the money so you can't have that". That was kind of difficult. It was even more difficult because I had no one to report the situation to, as my contact was with the Institution and FCT would only provide my contract. And this was also tricky for me and hard to understand. FCT would pay me, but my relation was only with the center. The advantage for me is the opportunity to lead a group and do my own research and this is why I came here, if I had been a post-doc or under anyone else's direction, I wouldn't have taken the job. It was purely the fact that I could do my own research here. (Fabian, 43 years old, English — Principal Investigator — Marine Biology)

Fabian reports a frustrated experience in Portugal. His statement points to a delicate situation regarding the lack of commitment and attention that many research centres and laboratories have with their international scientists and scholars. According to him there is a big gap between what is promised sometimes to the researchers and what they actually are able to receive. In his analysis, the contracts, the funding puzzle and complex guidelines make unclear to the international researchers which resources and financing they actually have available.

This case needs to be understood within the context of cuts that affected Portugal even before the financial crisis. Right after the program FCT Ciência 2007 was launched, the government imposed a significant cut on the science and research national budget. For a country that aims to be well positioned in the international scientific and academic sector, the instability and uncertainty involving funding for academic and scientific research contracts show limited commitment, compromising scientists' productivity.

The following statement reinforces these critics regarding the low level of commitment, clarity and certainty that international researchers may find in the Portuguese scientific and academic institutions.

> Here in Portugal, the rules change from one year to the next and no one knows how they will evaluate the proposal in the following year. (…) The Argentinian research system has less than 30 years of existence, but it has a structure and operation that everyone is familiar with. The predictability regarding the rules and the evaluation criteria in a selection process I think is very important. What may change is the amount of money, and, of course, this can change according to the country's economy, but the coherence in predicting the evaluation and what is requested for funding a project is fundamental and this does not happen here. This is one of the main disadvantages I see here. (Henry, Argentinian, 43 years old, Principal Researcher, Physics)

Henry is another example of a highly qualified international scientist who moved to Portugal in 2008 under the Ciência FCT Program. His career started in Argentina, moving to Sweden for this PhD then to Germany for two post-docs. One of the main reasons that prompted him to accept the Ciência FCT contract was the promise of a future permanent position when the initial contract finished. However, in the meantime a new program to attract international scientists and researchers was released (Investigador FCT) undermining the possibility of having a permanent position. There are plenty cases like Henry's that could be brought to this discussion, inclusively the lack of link or connection between the two programs: Ciência and FCT Investigator.

What this situation points clearly is a high level of job instability and insecurity that many international researches face during their mobility experience in Portugal. It is true that national researchers may also face similar conditions, however it is necessary to bear in mind that for non-Portuguese researchers an international move affects not only their career but also their personal lives and their migration status. At a professional level, the negative effects do not only involve the stress of finding a new contract but all efforts investmented into build a working team, laboratories, networks in a new country. Furthermore, at the personal level, the impossibility of having the contract renewed in the same country may lead to a new move to another country, which may not be in the researchers' partner's career plans, for example.

Overall, contracts unpredictability, selections process and funding rules needs to be pointed out as a great challenge to international scientists and scholars in Portugal.

However, not all international scientists' experiences in Portugal are negative. Rose's may be presented as a positive one. Rose is Belgian, 37 years old with two children and is currently divorced. She did her masters and her PhD in Italy, and worked there as an assistant researcher. She moved to Portugal in 2007 because she was unsatisfied with her position in Italy and because her husband had a good job offer in an EU entity. Rose arrived to Portugal unemployed and through her husband network, she was offered a temporary contract as a researcher in a research center to replace someone who had left. Shortly after, in 2008 she got her own Contrato Ciência and in 2012 she got a position as assistant Professor in a Portuguese public University. Rose's husband had a well paid position in the Portuguese labor market, thus when they had children, he could afford paying a full time nanny, while Rose would go to work.

> One thing that helped my career development here in Portugal was the fact that we could afford to have a full time nanny. I would come back home at 17.30, and if they were sick, they would stay with her, during these more critical periods, when they are young and are sick very often she was the one who took care of them. And to be honest, I did not suffer much damage in my career. I lived motherhood twice and would restart my academic activities a bit earlier than my colleagues. And because I did not have to teach, I had enough free time and could build a strong CV. (Rose, Belgium — 37 years-old, Assistant Professor, Political Science)

Rose's statement shed some light on women scientists and scholars' situation during their experience abroad. In her case, she was able to strategically use her family economic situation to the benefit of her career. It has been heavily discussed the negative impact of family duties on women's professional career. However, as it was mention before, in Rose's case, due to her comfortable financial situation she was able to hire a nanny to take care of her children and therefore continued investing in her career. Because her path is considered a successful experience, as she was able to find a permanent position as assistant Professor. Rose's case could be used as example of how maternity is not necessarily an obstacle to academic career development. However, it is worth to note, that her confortable was based on her husband socio-economic status in Portugal, which is not the rule within the academic environment, thus social class played a relevant role in freeing Rose from family and mothers' duties.

Yet, a deeper consideration of Rose's experience shed a more complex reading of how maternity can be lived and enjoyed due to career expectations. She mentioned that regardless of the privilege status that allow her to have a full time nanny, she sacrificed part of maternity leaves in the name of her professional career, as she returned to work earlier in order to cope with the academic demands: publishing, doing research, etc. Although maternity leave is assured by law in research and teaching contracts in Portugal, the pressure for high levels of productivity and the instability of the contracts are obliging some women to give up on full maternity leave and restart working earlier. Though this situation affects not only the international scientists but also Portuguese scholars who do not have permanent positions.

Apart from institutional problems, there are other features, which also negatively shape the experience of international scientists in Portugal.

> Lack of teamwork, I have never seen anything like this before. Actually, I would not even consider that there is any teamwork here. People don't ask what you are doing, what kind of project are you working on. Inviting you to write a paper together? Forget this. It's such an individualistic atmosphere, who would dare to ask for help, or for feedback? I always learnt so much from my colleagues' critics, comments and suggestions. But here, such a thing doesn't happen at all. My biggest career's achievement before here was because of friend's collaboration, invitation and incentive. Since I got here, I have never had this again. (Lucy, Australian, 40 years old, Post Doctor, Anthropology)

Lucy, Australian, 40 years old, moved to Portugal with her husband in 2008 under the post-doc FCT scholarship program. She graduated in anthropology in Australia and did her PhD also there. She was working as a researcher and a lecturer before she moved to Portugal. Her main concern is the social isolation she has experienced since she arrived. Actually, after the second year as a member of her center, because she never felt integrated and was never taken into account, she decided to move away from Lisbon. So, she went to live in a smaller city with her husband and stopped going to the center on a daily basis. In fact, her interview took place at her house and not at her office, during the last year of the fellowship, and after six years, she still felt no integrated into her research group.

It is usual that right after the arrival in a new organizational culture, the integration process would take some time while social and professional rules are learned and negotiated. However, after almost 6 years working in the same place, it is expected that integration would have taken place. When this does not happen, the experience becomes negative, hindering both productivity and psychological well-being.

Studies (Ibarra, 1993, 1997) have shown the importance of professional and social integration in a working team to have good productivity level as it is connected to: information circulation about call for papers, conferences, scholarships and funding; invitation to participate in projects, publications and teaching activities as well as feedback, comments and critics on their work. It can involve also network building and mentoring opportunities. Besides, learning new techniques, analytical schemes, theories, languages and culture are pointed as one of the biggest advantages of scientific mobility. However, if social integration does not happen, none of these gains will occur, especially when the hosting institution does not value or recognize the potential and contribution of the newcomer. In Lucy's case, it can be implied that the benefits of participating in a scientific mobility scheme were not achieved.

Elis' experience sheds some light on the suspicion surrounding international scientists in Portugal. Elis is from Cape Verde and came to Portugal in 2005 to do a master degree in International Relations. Right after, she started a doctoral program in the same institution. As she did not always have a scholarship, she worked as a researcher on different projects. Currently she holds a position as associated researcher.

> I always had the feeling that we immigrants have to work harder than the Portuguese. Like there was a mistrust relative to immigrants, if we are going to remain here or not, we have to show loyalty. (…) Thus in some cases there are more opportunities offered to nationals, because they think that "one day the foreigners will have to go back to their home country", therefore it is better to be prepared for this situation, investing more in nationals. It seems that all the time they are testing us. (Elis, Cape Verde — 38 years-old, associated Investigator, International Relation)

Elis built her academic life in Portugal, but still she highlights how non-Portuguese researchers and scientists are seen as less trustworthy than nationals, because they are expected to leave to return to their home country of origin someday. Under this excuse, in Portugal, less opportunities and investments are given to some international scholars. In addition, it can also be added that high inbreeding levels of Portuguese academia (Horta, 2013) contributes to create practices that favors national scholars while excludes international

In many cases, just like it happens in other migration experiences, what is expected to be a temporary experience abroad becomes a life project. Elis now is married to a Portuguese and has one child. But, just like other international scientists, she is still seen as someone who can leave the country at any moment, just like the Research Center Director expressed in the statement presented above. The discourse that international scientists and researchers career projects are more unpredictable carries prejudice, upholding stereotypes about immigrants as always willing to leave.

However, Rose's statement presents a different perspective on how not being a Portuguese national, depending on the country of origin, may contribute to promote more or less inclusion/exclusion dynamic.

> And during the last years that I was there, I don't know what happened, but they started believing in me. They gave me a lot of responsibilities. From one day to the other I joined the scientific committee, I was director of a PhD Programme and responsible for a research line. Suddenly I was so well integrated (…) they were talking about opening a position for me. (…) Not being Portuguese was a positive aspect, as they wanted to attract foreigners. It was an advantage for me.

Rose declares that the change towards her happened without her doing any special effort or anything different from what she had been doing since the beginning. However, her credentials and the fact that she comes from a EU country could have played a part in her benefit. Thus, when Rose mentions that Portugal is interested in attracting "foreigners", it is not mean that the interest includes all kind of foreigners. The country of origin geopolitical position plays an important role in this dynamic, as it can be seen from the next statement.

In general, scientists from less developed countries or from countries whose academia is not internationally recognized do not have the same opportunities as those from the EU or other developed countries. The formers tend to have to struggle more than the latter to be able to develop their careers, as it seems that the quality of their curricula and work and their qualifications are not enough to guarantee them a successful career path.

> In many of the selection processes for lecture/research candidates that I participated in Portugal (naively but also by principle) either I was excluded or "informed" that the position available was not for me, as it was to promote someone

> who was already in the lecturing path or to incorporate some protégé. (…) However, in the Portuguese and European selection process for project funding, which involves the evaluation of international boards reviewing the curricula and the quality of the proposals, I have always been positively evaluated and have had numerous projects selected and funded. (Eva, Argentina, 53, Senior Researcher, Social Sciences)

Eva is Argentinian and has been living in Portugal since 2002. She had previous important international experience as her master and PhD were done in the United States of America. Since she arrived to Portugal she has had only temporary scholarships and contracts and although she has been applying successively to job vacancies, she has never been selected. In spite of the excellence of her curriculum, which can be attested by her projects selection for national and international funds, her experience is very much different from Rose's The fact that the academia from Latin America seems to be less recognized, even if her training was done in the United States, seems to be a strong element to explain the differences in these two different situations.

The next statement also shed some light on the discussion on the relevance of the country of origin in the academic career path in Portugal.

> Yes, I think that there is a difference because I am not Portuguese. I think this made everything more difficult for me. Specially, when I come from Romania. Romania is not seen as a serious country. (Ana, Romenia — 40, associated Investigator, Archaeology)

Ana is from Romania; she arrived to Portugal in 2008, to a research centre located in Lisbon, under the FCT Ciência 2007 scheme. She did not have any personal or professional contact before moving to the country. After that, in 2011 she had a three years investigation project approved by FCT in which she was the principal investigator. Since 2014 she has a post-doctorate scholarship sponsored by FCT, which meant downward mobility for her.

Her career trajectory in Portugal has been marked mainly by temporary positions and contracts/scholarships with lack of linearity. Actually, Ana has experienced a deskilling process along the 9 years she has been living in Portugal, from a researcher with a full contract and prospects, she went to a post-doctorate position with a scholarship.

As it can be noticed, Ana's career trajectory is very different from Rose's. When Rose arrived was offered a contract and after that had a professor position was created for her, while Ana had been jumping from one temporary position to another all on her own. They also have different perceptions about the influence of not being Portuguese and their career development. While Rose sees it as an advantage, Ana considers it a disadvantage. These two different interpretations reinforces the view of existing differences based on geopolitical asymmetries, mainly based on the country of origin. Belgium and Romania are placed differently in the academic world, while. Belgium is pictured as a developed, civilized and modern country part of European Union's core dynamics, house of the European Commission and many EU institutions, Romania is seen as a traditional, and poor country marked by corruption and its communist past (França, 2016). Therefore, if on the one hand it is true that Portugal needs to attract international scientists, on the other, not all of them are value similarly not offered the same opportunities

Final considerations — Preliminary Results of the project Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration

As mentioned above, several factors have led to the intense development of the Portuguese educational and training sector in Portugal: joining the EU in 1986, the expansion of its university and scientific system expansion in the late 90's and the creation of FCT in 1997. During the last decades, to internationalize its science and academia, Portugal substantially increased the number of international scientists and researchers in its national institutions, by taking important actions: participatiing in the EU scientific and academic mobility programs and projects (Erasmus, Marie Curie Action, Life long learning program), promoting international mobility programs funded by FCT and other national institutions such as Gulbekian Institute, Champalimaud Foundation and Camões Institute, being involved in cooperation agreements with countries outside the EU (i.e. Brazil-CAPES/FCT; Morocco-CNRST/FCT; USA-MIT/Portugal Programme).

Furthermore, legislative changes were introduced by Law 23/2007 and Law 29/2012 to facilitate highly skilled migration, foreseeing specific admission regimes for skilled migrants, transposing to the national regime the 'European Blue Card' Directive 2009/50/CE, thus updating the obsolete previous regime (Padilla and França 2016).

From a broader perspective, the project Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly skilled migration intended to closely screen the latest trend in Portugal, focusing on institutional practices and discourse and personal experiences. In other words, its main objective was to investigate how scientific mobility dynamics take place in Portugal in order to make suggestions for improvements and policy recommendations.

Based on the analysis presented here, an overall evaluation shows that international scientific mobility dynamics to Portugal reproduce much from what has been highlighted in the literature: career development opportunity, importance of social and personal network, mobility of young researchers, internationalization of institutions, promotion of international cooperation, gender blindness, precariousness, racism dynamics and geopolitics asymmetries among others. On one hand Portugal was able to promote and develop international scientific mobility schemes in a positive way, however, on the other hand was not able to overcome shortcomings and negative aspects both for institutions and researchers.

Our analysis based on the qualitative interviews, the survey and the policies implemented suggests a combination of three different aspects of the international academic mobility to Portugal between the late 1990s up to present days:

1. The advance of Portuguese science during the late 2000 years attracted more international scholars and scientists.
2. A more active recruitment of international scientists and scholars took place hoping to improve the level of internationalization of the Portuguese academia and science during the years 2000.
3. The two-folded features of the Portuguese academic sector: high level of opportunities in a close European market and low level of competitiveness if compared with other markets (UK, Germany, The Netherlands, USA) contributed to attract mainly early career researchers, without guaranteeing opportunities for gaining seniority or steadiness.

It also highlights the importance of FCT for the internationalization of the Portuguese science. Under strong EU investments and regulations, the foundation increased its credibility and consolidated itself as the main Portuguese funding agency, responsible for the attracting and sponsoring the majority of the international scholars and scientists in the country. However, if its importance is undeniable, it is worth to reflect on the excessive dependence of Portuguese science development on FCT funding without fostering other strategies to fund their own research. As it was mentioned, during the economic crisis and austerity measures, investments in science and technology were reduced dramatically. From 2011 to 2014 there was a 14% cut in the government budget for FCT. While in 2009 FCT's budget was euros 654,1 millions, in 2012 FCT registered the lowest budget in the last six years, euros 3945,4 millions (Público, 2012; Roque, 2014). Only in 2016, FCT financial situation started to improve again, for this year the government budget foresee euros 502 million to the institution (Público, 2016). Throughout these years, the Portuguese researcher centers, laboratories and universities struggled to adapt to the new reality — including how to attract and keep international scientists and scholars — as they had on FCT their main sponsoring source.

Furthermore, more specifically, regarding to the international scientists and scholars in Portugal, based to the survey, the body of international researchers and scientists working in Portugal is composed of a majority coming from European Union countries, specifically Spain, Italy and Germany; while South Americans occupied a second place, among them Brazilians constitute de dominant nationality. Because of EU policies and dynamics, it was expected that EU researchers would occupy a relevant position within international mobility schemes, especially Spaniards, due geographical, historical and cultural proximity. The importance of Brazil is explained by a combination of factors that include colonial past and present links between Brazil and Portugal, Portuguese active policies favouring international mobility through academic networks, bilateral cooperation agreements and exchange programmes, as well as Brazilian policies to promote internationalization though programs such as Science without Borders among others.

Other features of their profile indicate that they tend to be relatively young, the majority are men, the average interval of age is between 31 and 40 years old, have a partner but no children, holding PhD and postdoc positions in natural science or social science, under temporary contracts or scholarships of 4 to 6 years of duration.

Their first perception of Portugal was an attractive scientific mobility destination with great potential to develop an academic and scientific career. However, in many cases, a few years after working in the country, their perception changed in a negative way, mainly because of the impossibility of improvement in their careers and the low level of development of science. Most researchers complain about social and professional isolation, shortage of working resources, bureaucracy overload, contract instability, lack of clarity in promotion and selection process rules as some of the main problems they faced while working in Portugal.

There is a double down situation involving international mobility to Portugal. On the one hand, the high level of endogamy within institutions is an obstacle for scientists and researchers coming from abroad to find real opportunities to develop their career. On the other hand, the institution's low level of internationalization — measured in low involvement in international conferences, international projects, association and networks, partnerships or cooperation with prestigious centres abroad — contributes to increase their isolation from the main international scientific and academic communities.

The experiences of international women scientists and scholars in Portugal reaffirm gender inequalities, hierarchies and asymmetries denounced in previous studies about international scientific mobility and gender and about gender hierarchy in the Portuguese academic and scientific sector. They point to the reduced number of women as host professors, the lack of childcare infrastructure or not so friendly family policies, glass ceiling, social harassment, exclusion from formal and informal social networks, rigid working environment and discrimination based on gender and origin (mainly in the case of third country nationals) as some of the obstacles they faced during their stay in the country.

At the institutional level, although the official discourse highlights the importance of scientific mobility, this is not reflected across the board. There is an implicit assumption that sooner or later international scholars will return to their home country. Because they are not seen as reliable as nationals, international scientists have to work harder to prove not only their productions' quality and merits, but also and mainly to prove their loyalty and engagement with the host institution. Moreover, this mistrust together with high endogamy level lead to having less promotion opportunities or invitations to join projects, to lecture, to write papers or to assume representative positions. The frequent exclusion of these activities reflects negatively on their career, and there seems to be a different path for national scholars to move forwards.

The main contributions of the project "Scientific Mobility to Portugal: Production and circulation of knowledge in highly-skilled migration" to the discussion about scientific mobility has been, on the one hand to recognize the potential of Portugal as a spot for scientific mobility schemes, and on the other hand to highlight aspects that usually are not addressed such as the precariousness and instability in the academic sector, the poor working conditions, the shortage of infrastructure, the lack of social and work integration, the limited career development opportunities under the label of internationalization, the negative consequences of endogamic practices, gender inequalities and geopolitical asymmetries.

Therefore, if Portugal hope to have an academic sector recognized globally, with high standards, well developed and up to date infrastructure, it is necessary to take into account some of the aspects emphasised in this study, restructuring its international scientific mobility rules and dynamics that considers scholars, men and women, both at the professional and personal level.

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Chapter 2

Brains and bodies on the move

A research agenda on precarious researchers' mobility[1]

Chiara Carrozza, Alberta Giorgi and Luca Raffini

Abstract Mobility represents a powerful factor of change. It redefines the structures of society and stimulates the re-orientation of identities, the feelings of belonging and the individual social networks. Indeed, mobility provides chances of life improvement but also brings about new risks and produces new inequalities. The EU represents an extraordinary laboratory of mobility and transnationality. This contribution focuses on a particular category of mobile Europeans: precarious situation of academic researchers. Young mobile researchers are part of the "Erasmus Generation" but they are also part of the "Precarious generation" carrying out their work with little security. Both these factors encourage mobility, acting as "pull" and "push" forces.
We critically revise the theories on mobility and the governance of research mobility in EU policies, we analyse the available data on researchers' mobility and finally, and drawing on an original database of interviews with female researchers, we explore the consequences of mobility in the realm of social and romantic relations. We focus, in particular, on the concept of 'Living Apart Relationships' (LAR), that sheds light on an often-overlooked aspect in the 'brain drain/circulation' narratives, which is the fact that researchers, besides brains, have bodies too. We conclude outlining a new research agenda on academic researchers' mobility in Europe that aims to overcome the neoliberal rhetoric on mobility and draw attention to the fact that both brains and bodies are on the move.

Keywords scientific mobility, European Union, transnationality, precariousness, LAR.

1 The paper is the outcome of a common reflection carried out by the authors, starting from two different papers presented at the conference "Researchers Crossing Borders: Transnational Scientific Mobility". The paper "Representing Mobility", presented by Chiara Carrozza, on Panel B I on Scientific Mobility Policies, and the paper "Love and Ryanair: Academic Researchers relocating", written by Alberta Giorgi and Luca Raffini and presented by Alberta Giorgi on Panel III on "Scientific Mobility and Identity". The responsibility can be divided as follows: Chiara Carrozza: sections 2 and 6b; Alberta Giorgi: sections 4 and 5; Luca Raffini: sections 1 and 3. The authors share responsibility for the remaining parts.

Resumo A mobilidade representa um fator de mudança, que redefine as estruturas da sociedade e promove a reorientação das identidades, pertença e redes sociais. A mobilidade oferece oportunidades, mas também traz novos riscos e novas desigualdade. A UE representa um laboratório extraordinário de mobilidade e trans-nacionalidade. A contribuição trabalha sobre uma específica categoria dos europeus móveis: os pesquisadores. Os jovens investigadores móveis são parte da "geração Erasmus" mas eles também são parte da "geração precária". Ambos incentivam a mobilidade, com factores "push/pull".
Nós vamos a rever criticamente as teorias sobre a mobilidade e a governança da mobilidade científica nas políticas da UE, analisamos os dados disponíveis sobre a mobilidade académica e, com base em um banco de dados originais de entrevistas em profundidade com mulheres investigadoras, vamos explorar as consequências da mobilidade nas relações românticas. Nós nos concentramos, em particular, sobre o conceito de "Living Apart Relationships" (LAR), que permite de observar um aspecto muitas vezes negligenciado nas narrativas das "fuga/circulação de cérebros": os pesquisadores, além de cérebros, têm corpos também. Nós concluímos delineando uma nova agenda de pesquisa sobre a mobilidade académica na Europa.

Palavras-chave mobilidade científica, União Europeia, transnacionalidade, precariedade, LAR.

Introduction

In this paper we propose a research agenda on researchers' mobility that takes into account the multiple aspects and dimensions of their mobility experience. Mobility is a complex phenomenon, changing every aspects of social life (Elliott and Urry 2008; Castells 2010).Mobility does not only impact professional careers, but also social and romantic relations, cultural consumption and political behaviours. We focus on academic researcher's mobility (Cantwell 2009; Leeman 2010; Jons 2011;Vohlídalová 2014). Academic mobility is usually deemed to positively affect the researchers' professional and social opportunities (with some nuances, depending on the mobility strategies, see Veugelers and Van Bouwel 2015). Yet, and even more in times of growing precariousness and uncertainty, mobility may also bring about multiple risks and uncertainty. Our interest is to nuance the concept of mobility, as an opportunity for individual development and as a carrier of transnationalization and horizontal Europeanization, in order to embrace a complex and multidimensional approach to mobility. We aim to combine the literature on mobility of high skilled workers and the literature on precarity, underlying the complex interplay of push and pull factors in the researchers' experiences of intra-European mobility. Making reference to the six patterns of academic mobility identified by Hoffman (2009), we explore rationales, characteristics and individual consequences of the "emerging forms of academic mobility" (ibid.), and, in particular, the kind of multidimensional academic mobility characterizing the trajectories of the younger generations. The goal is to understand the consequences of mobility in the life of mobile academic researchers, in their relationships, in their emotional ties with a specific territory, and analysing how mobile researchers continuously redefine and negotiate their time and their spaces, and which strategies they employ to conciliate private and professional trajectories. The outcomes call for a new research agenda on academic researchers' mobility, based on a critical revision of some theoretical assumptions, including the 'brain drain/circulation' narrative (Cervantes and Guellec, 2002) and the mechanisms of 'Europeanization from below' (Eigmüller, 2013). In this contribution, we first analyse the category of mobility in the scientific literature (section 1), paying specific attention to researchers' mobility. Then, we analyse the EU policies fostering mobility (section 2), and we critically revise the available data (section 3). Finally, we explore the individual experiences of mobile researchers, drawing on an original empirical analysis carried out conducting biographical interviews with young mobile female researchers (section 4), analysing how mobile researchers manage their long-distance relationships (section 5). In the concluding section we discuss the multifaceted nature of mobility and we propose a research agenda.

Framing mobility: new liberty, new myth

The opportunities, risks, and rhetoric that characterize academic researchers' mobility (Ackers and Gill, 2008; Cantwell, 2009; Leeman, 2010; Jons, 2011; Oliver, 2012; Vohlídalová, 2014) can be better understood if framed in the more general context of the "mobility turn" (Urry, 2008). Mobility represents a powerful factor of change, along with globalization and the individualization processes, that redefines the structures of society and every-day interaction (Castells,2010). Social experience is progressively detached from the physical space, and mobility deeply changes "the creation of identities and the micro geographies of everyday life" (Cresswell, 2011: 551). The trespassing of borders promotes the reorientation of identities, belonging and social networks. Due to the increase in both physical and virtual mobility, individuals are more and more involved in transnational networks that connect country of origin and country of settlement (Vertovec, 1999). The weakening of traditional "hard" borders does not means that inequalities disappear. The "network capital" (Elliot and Urry, 2008) adds to, and interacts with, other forms of capital (social, economic and cultural capital), determining the individual chances of mobility, and the consequences and goals of the mobility strategies. Moreover, it influences individual ability to enter plural and rich networks. Freedom to move is not equally distributed among individuals: Favell suggests framing it as a "fourth liberty" (Favell, 2014), that discriminates between who is actually living a novel type of social experience "beyond borders" from "stayers", or from those who experience mobility as an obligation, rather than as a free choice. Bauman (1998) argues that globalization exacerbates the divide between "winners" and "losers". While the former have increasing chances to move, the life of the latter wavers from being confined in a place to be forced to move, to escape from war, poverty, oppression.

Mobility, as one of the core features of global society, is often framed in positive terms, as an opportunity for individuals and for society as a whole. Influenced by the neoliberal humus, the mainstream perspective looks to mobility as an opportunity, an obligation, and a "moral" duty. Mobility becomes the new "myth", or even the new ideology of network society: a secularized ideology, where salvation is not placed in the afterlife, nor in the future, but in "somewhere else" (Elliott and Urry, 2008). Indeed, the age of mobilities is also the "age of migration" (Castles and Miller, 2009), that it is not only made of individuals who made use of:

> their free choice to move to the area where they will receive the highest income (…). This harmonious picture often fails to match reality (…). Capitalism has made use of both free and unfree workers in every phase of its development. Labour migrants have frequently been unfree workers, either because they are taken by force to the place where their labour is needed, or because they are denied rights enjoyed by other workers, and cannot therefore compete under equal conditions. Even where migration is voluntary and unregulated, institutional and informal discrimination may limit the real freedom and equality of the workers concerned. (ivi, 71)

The European policy well represents this new approach to mobility as both an opportunity and a duty, an economic and a cultural imperative, framed by separating the discourse on mobility from the discourse on migration. Intra-EU mobility is actively promoted by the European institutions as an instrument of "horizontal Europeanization" (Mau, 2010), while extra-EU immigration is still represented as a phenomenon to be managed and controlled. This fits well into the so-called liberal paradox, which couples the opening of borders for economic interest with a security minded and defensive orientation. For the European élite, the denationalization of the social experience provides new opportunities for work and leisure, and represents the institutional framework to widen the scope of their social relations. The social experience of lower classes, on the contrary, is still mainly framed inside national borders (Koopmans et al. 2005). For the bulk of EU citizens, the European integration process is lived, more than as an internal change, but as an external threat to economic security and job conditions, to national identity and political sovereignty. Economic crises exacerbate these feeling, nurturing nationalism and anti-European attitudes (Trenz et al., 2015). In addition, the crisis fosters a defensive approach to mobility. Mobility as seen by the lower classes taking the forms of (someone coming to my country who represents a threat to my job, whether from outside or inside the EU) and emigration (me, forced to move to another country for economic reasons).[2]

Yet, intra-EU mobility it is not only made by "Eurostars" (Favell, 2008) and low skilled economic migrants. Although proven that the middle class is still weakly involved in practices of mobility other than tourism and while it is less "denationalized", compared to lower and higher classes (Baglioni and Recchi, 2013), it is, indeed, on the move: therefore, mobility cannot be narrowed to the cosmopolitan, denationalized élite, at the top, and the "Polish plumber", at the bottom. Previous researches have proven that behind this dichotomy Eurostars/Gastarbeiter we can find the more complex and nuanced situation of "middling transnationality" (Conradson and Latham, 2005), made by people that are in between the two ideal-types. A growing share of them experience mobility as a strategy to improve — or defend — their professional and social status, that is, to experience an upward social mobility or to prevent a downward social mobility, undertaking a career in line with their educational credentials and expectations.

2 This is exemplified by the rise of the extreme-right parties that intensify and mobilize anti-immigration feelings as one of their main tenets (Ignazi 2003).

Mobility of researchers is not a new phenomenon. What is radically new are its characteristics. According to Hoffman (2009), if traditional/conventional forms of academic mobility include national career patterns, ICT-based mobility and short-term exchange and sojourns, new patterns of academic mobility include vertical mobility, lateral mobility and generational mobility. In our analysis we focus in particular on "lateral academic mobility", regarding researchers who "entered the labor force in their current location by crossing a national border for more than a year", while vertical and generational mobility refer to "academic personnel with a migrant background or coming from migrant groups" (Hoffman, 2009: 355-357).

Academic internationalization, and, in particular, transnational academic mobility is a key feature of the "mass university" (Trow 1974). Shaped by neoliberal policies and "market-framed research competition" (Kim, 2009), academic mobility turns to be a new imperative (with various nuances, see Canibano et al., 2011). It is considered a prerequisite to promote competition, to achieve meritocracy (Gornitza and Massen, 2000; Ross, 2009) and to reach excellence and it is actually positively correlated to higher scientific productivity (Veugeleurs and Van Bouwel, 2015).

As stressed by Cantwell (2011), academic mobility can be interpreted both in terms of accidental mobility, forced mobility and negotiated mobility. Indeed, the analysis of the entanglements between these three interpretations of mobility can improve the understanding of academic mobility in times of crisis, where precarity and uncertainty increase. Even highly educated youth and precarious researchers move to escape from the threat of being trapped in a downward mobility and in the 'precariousness trap' (Armano and Murgia, 2014). They are pulled and pushed to move, they find new opportunities but they also exacerbate their uncertainty, in professional and personal life. In a context marked by a generalized deterioration of researchers quality of work and quality of life (Currie and Vidovich, 2009), a "gap of insecurity" affects every-day life (Oliver, 2012). Yet, "on the policy level the negative impact of academic mobility on researchers' lives and especially women's it is usually overlooked and marginalized" (Vohlídalová, 2014).

Mobility as a key idea in the Europe of knowledge

If scholars and academics have always been mobile — with some studies estimating that some centuries ago one tenth of academics, or even more, engaged in experiences of scientific mobility (Teichler, 2015:7; see also Scott, 2015:60-61) — it is after the Second World War, and particularly beginning in the 1990s, that internationalisation of the higher education sector jumped to the top of Western political agendas, particularly in Europe, becoming an argument for almost every reform in higher education and science. Scientific mobility is increasingly framed today as a mandatory passage in developing a successful academic career and there is evidence that emerging economies are imitating the European example in promoting scientific mobility (Jacob and Meek, 2013: 341-2).

In this section, we present a preliminary map of the complex assemblage of actors, procedures, funding, programmes, initiatives, events, and services that constitute and materialize the current representation of scientific mobility in the European Union.[3]

The empirical material used to develop this section is a collection of 43 documents related to the governance of scientific mobility in EU research policies;[4] these documents could be generally classified into three different kinds:

a) general political documents defining the overall political and economical agenda (such as the establishing acts of the European Research Area);
b) reports on policy implementation (such as the three implementation reports on the 2001 "A Mobility Strategy for the European Research Area")
c) documents related to initiatives particularly focused on stimulating/supporting scientific mobility and career development (such as the working programmes of the several generations of 'Marie Curie Actions').

3 See for further analysis on the topic, Ulnicane 2016 and Oliver 2012 (specially pp. 3861-66).
4 The documents collected run from 2001 to 2013.

Mobility in the European Research Area

The development of a socio-technical map of scientific mobility in the European Research Area could start from the definitions emerging from the analysis of this corpus of documents.[5] Mobility represents one of the cornerstones of the ERA project, being closely associated to the first of the key three objectives of the initiative: "the creation of an 'internal market' in research, an area of free movement of knowledge, researchers and technology, with the aim of increasing co-operation, stimulating competition and achieving a better allocation of resources".[6]

Based on the Lisbon Treaty and European Council Conclusions, the same definition of the European Research Area recalls the principle of the internal market: "a unified research area open to the world based on the Internal Market, in which researchers, scientific knowledge and technology circulate freely and through which the Union and its Member States strengthen their scientific and technological bases, their competitiveness and their capacity to collectively address grand challenges".[7]

According to the EU documents, implementing ERA means realizing the 'fifth freedom', the free circulation of researchers and scientific knowledge.

However, beyond programmatic statements, mobility often emerges as instrumental to achieving several aims.

One of these is meeting the demands of knowledge circulation and exchange and fostering effective knowledge-transfer, especially across sectors (inter-sectorial mobility, notably between public research and business).[8]

In second place, it is strategically important in connecting external and internal dimensions of EU policies, *via* mobility of third

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5 The collection of documents has been analyzed with the support of Dedoose (http://www.dedoose.com/), a web application for mixed methods research and a visual representation of the analysis can be viewed at https://prezi.com/rplhvkl3yq7h/mobility/

6 European Commission (2002). Communication From The Commission. The European Research Area: Providing New Momentum. Strengthening — Reorienting — Opening up new perspectives. Brussels, 16.10.2002 COM(2002) 565 final.

7 European Commission (2012). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic And Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A Reinforced European Research Area Partnership For Excellence And Growth. Brussels, 17.7.2012, COM(2012) 392 final.

8 European Commission (2008). Challenging Europe's Research: Rationales for the European Research Area (ERA). Report of the ERA Expert Group. EuR 23326. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

country nationals across the external EU borders. The potential of third-country researchers to contribute to the Lisbon's 3% objective is connected to the perception of the risk that the supply of human resources in R&D, and of teachers to train these resources, may become inadequate for future needs. In this respect, "immigration from outside the EU is one source of highly skilled people, and third-country national students and researchers in particular are groups which are increasingly sought after and which the EU needs to actively attract. Third-country national students and researchers can contribute to a pool of well-qualified potential workers and human capital that the EU needs".[9] In the same document, allowing third-country nationals to acquire skills and knowledge through a period of training in Europe is conceived as enhancing "brain circulation", which is supposed to benefit both the sending and the receiving countries. Since the 6th Framework Programme, the EU has aimed at making Europe more attractive to the best of third country researchers[10] and, more recently, the establishing act of Horizon 2020[11] stresses that international cooperation with third countries is necessary to effectively address many specific objectives set out in the new funding cycle, essential for frontier and basic research and for addressing societal challenges and instrumental to enhancing the competitiveness of European industry.

Starting from the Communication "The European Research Area: providing new momentum, strengthening, reorienting, opening up new perspectives" (see footnote 6), the Commission noted that the mobility of third country nationals was not yet organized at EU level, with only two Member States in 2002 (France and the United Kingdom) with specific rules regarding the entry of researchers from third countries. In the First and Second Report on Mobility Strategy[12] it was underlined that legal rules or administrative practices were still raising

9 EuropeanCommission (2013). Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Councilon of the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of research, studies, pupil exchange, remunerated and unremunerated training, voluntary service and aupairing. Brussels, 25.3.2013, COM(2013) 151 final.

10 Decision No 1513/2002/EC of the EuropeanParliament and of the Council of 27 June 2002 concerning the sixth framework programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities, contributing to the creation of the European Research Area and to innovation (2002-2006).

11 Regulation No 1291/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 establishing Horizon 2020 — the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (2014-2020) and repealing Decision No 1982/2006/EC.

obstacles to the entry and stay of third country researchers and their families and that some action was needed to facilitating entry and residence for researchers from third countries. To implement this purpose, the European Union has framed developing country researchers as a specific category of immigrants, adopting the so-called Scientific Visa package (see Cerna and Chou, 2014 for extensive discussion). With this instrument, the EU has intended to link the common EU visa policy for short stays, Member States' national policies concerning long stays and the overarching framework of the EU external migration and asylum policy.

This package of instruments comprises a directive (2005/71/EC) and two recommendations (2005/762/EC and 2005/761/EC), creating a specific residence permit for third country researchers independently of their contractual status. The directive provides for a fast-track procedure for the "admission" (entry for more than three months to the European Community) of third country researchers. In this scheme, accredited research organizations certify the status of the researchers with a "hosting agreement" which acknowledges the existence of a valid research project, as well as the possession by the researcher of the scientific skills, financial means and health insurance. On the basis of this hosting agreement, the migration authorities of the host country can rapidly (in 30 days) issue the residence permit to the researcher. Once a residence permit is granted the researcher will be free to move within Europe for the purpose of the scientific project.[13] Researchers will also have the possibility of submitting applications for residence permits directly to the authorities of the host Member State, if they are legally resident in that country. Moreover, in order to extend the stay in another Member State, it will not be necessary for researchers to return to their country of origin to submit an application.

The European Commission proposed on 25 March 2013 a new visa directive for working periods exceeding three months — which is

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12 European Commission (2003), Commission Staff Working Paper. First Implementation Report on "A Mobility Strategy for the European Research Area". Brussels, 4.2.2003, SEC(2003) 146; European Commission (2004), Commission Staff Working Paper. Second Implementation Report on "A Mobility Strategy for the European Research Area". Brussels, SEC(2004) 412.

13 European Commission (2005), Commission Staff Working Paper. Third Implementation Report on "A Mobility Strategy for the European Research Area". Brussels, 6.4.2005, SEC(2005) 474.

expected to be in force in 2016 — with the aim of overcoming remaining obstacles non EU researchers have to face when they want to come to Europe for research purposes.

In third place, the promotion of transnational mobility is framed as a simple, effective and powerful mean of boosting European excellence as a whole. In this respect, mobility is approached as a way to train skilled workers, optimize research results and build networks between the institutions among which the researchers circulate.

The frame of 'excellence' in EU research policy (excellence is indeed one of the key ideas in ERA initiative, emerging in particular from 2007 onwards, see Ulnicane 2015) is connected to the constant concern of global competition. In the documents revised, Europe is constantly described as lagging behind its historical competitors — USA and Japan — and as threatened by emerging ones.[14] The lack of comprehensive statistics about mobility of researchers in the majority of Member States, even in countries with regular collection of information and nation-wide registers, emerges as a related concern.[15] An initiative in this respect has been the project "Human Resources in Research & Development: Integrated Information System on the Career Paths and Mobility Flows of Researchers" (IISER) (see, on this and other initiatives on mobility statistics, the Third implementation Report on the Mobility Strategy).

The main instrument to promote excellence through scientific mobility in Europe is represented by structured mobility schemes for researchers. The European Commission has been supporting the mobility of junior researchers since the 1960s under changing names,

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14 See, for example, the following documents: European Commission (2002). Communication From The Commission. The European Research Area: Providing New Momentum. Strengthening — Reorienting — Opening up new perspectives. Brussels, 16.10.2002 COM(2002) 565 final; European Commission (2000). Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Towards a European Research Area. Brussels 18.1.2000. COM(2000)6 final; European Commission (2013). Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Councilon the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of research, studies, pupilexchange, remunerated and unremunerated training, voluntary service and aupairing. Brussels, 25.3.2013, COM(2013) 151 final; EuropeanCommission (2001). Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. A Mobility Strategy For The European Research Area. Brussels, 20.06.2001. COM(2001) 331 final.

15 European Commission (2001). Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. A Mobility Strategy For The European Research Area. Brussels, 20.06.2001. COM(2001) 331 final).

from 'Sectoral Grants' initially to the several generations of 'Marie Curie' grants (Teichler, 2015: 16), launched with its first edition in 1996. Marie Curie Actions (MCA) represents an effort to enhance the human resource dimension in science, and more particularly, the values of mobility. From one funding cycle to another, the budget allocated this particular initiative to be constantly raised; for example, in the Seventh Framework Programme the overall budget (for the 'People' programme) came to more than euros 4,7 billion over a seven year period until 2013, representing a 50% increase on average as compared to FP6.[16]

While the specific regulations changed slightly from one funding cycle to the other, the key rule of the MCA stays the same: researchers receive funding on the condition that they move from one country to another to broaden or deepen their competencies.[17]

Accompanying measures

While funding hundreds of researchers moving across Europe, the EU has also implemented a set of accompanying measures, with a view to removing obstacles to mobility and to enhancing the career perspective of researchers in Europe.[18] These accompanying measures relate mostly to two kinds of issues: a) career and b) social security rights and fiscal issues.

As for career, the Commission has often claimed that the way in which research careers are structured and organised in Europe does not allow Europe to fully exploit its potential in this field.[19] In particular, 'the lack of transparent, open and merit-based recruitment […] makes research careers less attractive and hampers mobility, gender equality and research performance'.[20] The Commission has expressed

16 European Commission (2007). Working Programme People 2007. Decision C(2007)3123 of 29 June 2007.

17 European Commission (EuropeanCommission (2014). Horizon 2020. Work Programme 2014-2015. Marie Sklodowska-Curie Actions. Decision C (2014)4995 of 22 July 2014.

18 European Commission (European Commission (2014). Horizon 2020. Work Programme 2014-2015. Marie Sklodowska-Curie Actions. Decision C (2014)4995 of 22 July 2014.

19 European Commission (2003). Communication From the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Researchers in the European Research Area: one profession, multiple careers. Brussels, July 2003, COM (2003) 436 final.

20 European Commission (2012). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A Reinforced European Research Area Partnership for Excellence and Growth. Brussels, 17.7.2012. COM(2012) 392 final.

concerns because mobility is often not sufficiently appreciated by the local research labour markets/systems: "for researchers without a permanent position, there is a fear of being left 'out of the system' if they go abroad. Researchers who have been away from their national research system for some years often have difficulties in obtaining a position on the return home. For more established researchers, a leave of absence can be a disadvantage to career advancement. The research undertaken abroad or in another sector may not be adequately appreciated. Researchers who move with the intention of a long-term stay in another country have often to 'start from the beginning' in the new country: they may lose the recognition and social status they have had".[21] Studies (see, for example, Musselin, 2004) found that for postdoctoral researchers, employers were keen to attract the best candidates from abroad while not expecting them to stay or encouraging them to do so. In general, the role of mobility for promotion/hiring is affected by the different local labour markets for academics. Systems designed around the provision of stable employment — which is the case for most of Europe — has been found to be more oriented to endorse immobility because of the importance of local networks in increasing the chances to be hired and promoted (Cruz and Sanz, 2010; Stephan, 2012; see also Lawson and Shibayama, 2015 for a review on the topic).

A specific initiative in this respect, although with a limited impact, is the "The EU Charter for Researchers", launched by the Commission in 2005, that includes two articles related to mobility: "Value of mobility" and "Recognition of mobility experience". Also been the Researcher's Mobility Web Portal has been created, offering contents and services related to job opportunities and grants offered by the different actors of the European Research Community (Universities, Industry, Foundations, etc.) as well as information about administrative and legal issues. A tailored and customised help desk-function has been created through the constitution of the European Network of Mobility Centres.[22] These two initiatives were combined, in 2008, into the EURAXESS (http://ec.europa.eu/euraxess/index.cfm) 'Researchers in

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21 European Commission (2001). Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. A Mobility Strategy For The European Research Area. Brussels, 20.06.2001. COM(2001) 331 final.

22 See the map at https://ec.europa.eu/research/fp6/mariecurie-actions/pdf/eramore_map_en.pdf

Motion Network' platform, providing a single point of reference to acquire information.

As for social security rights and fiscal issues, since the initial definition of the Mobility Strategy (2001), the EU has recognized that the differences in the social security systems and levels of taxation among Member States may make mobility unattractive. With respect to health services, since February 2003 the Commission has adopted a Communication on the European Health Insurance Card, presenting a roadmap for its gradual introduction in order to replace the paper forms needed before for access and reimbursement of health care during a temporary stay in a Member State other than that of insurance. Since June 2004, the European Health Insurance Card has provided an effective means to properly deal with issues connected to circulation among different national health systems.

However, in several other aspects different national regulations for social security still show lack of compatibility, and this particularly affects families (for example, with respect to maternity leave, benefits and day-care for children). Mobile researchers often have to pay contributions for benefits they cannot enjoy, nor receive compensation for, as is often the case for unemployment benefits.[23] Previous regulation coordinating social security systems (Council Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 and its amendments) which was very restrictive for transfer of unemployment benefits, has been replaced in 2004, with the adoption of the Regulation 883/2004 simplifying and improving the coordination of social security schemes. Together with the Implementing Regulation 987/2009, this legislative package is referred to as "modernized coordination" of social security systems.

Transferability of supplementary pension rights is one of the issue in this area that deserve the greatest attention according to the EU, since in some Member States researchers have to remain with the same employer for many years before being entitled to a supplementary pension. If the researcher has to move before that period, he/she will not have acquired any pension rights. These topics have been the subject of some initiatives: the improved portability of occupational pension rights has been the subject of two Commission consultations addressed to the European social partners in June 2002 and September

23 High-Level Expert Group on Improving Mobility of Researchers. Final Report. 4 April 2001.

2003 and of a legislative initiative in this field in 2003 (Directive 2003/41/EC, enabling the setup of one pension vehicle for employees from different countries). The Commission has also more recently proposed a directive laying out the possibility of acquiring pension rights even for short periods and keeping pension entitlements by transferring them to a new scheme in the event of professional mobility, and in June 2013 the Council has endorsed this proposal of directive.

As for fiscal issues, bilateral taxation agreements are missing in some relevant countries, introducing the risk of double taxation, including the double taxation of pensions (see the Second Implementation Report). The DG Research has proposed a detailed set of initiatives at legislative, administrative and practical level, to be implemented by the Member States under the OMC (Open Method of Coordination) to minimize the differences of taxation regimes within and between Member States for the same kind of contracts/fellowships, and the simplification of the administrative procedures. However, it has been recognized that it is unrealistic to imagine harmonization of the taxation regime for researchers throughout Europe (see the Third Implementation Report). Efforts in this area will remain focused on the strategy of better informing researchers when they move across countries.

The mobility of an academic researcher in Europe between pull and push factors

Despite being so prominent in international agendas, objects of a wide stream of studies and the key element of the complex infrastructure described in the previous section, there still remain many "grey areas" — things that we don't know — on scientific mobility.

However, recent analysis has led to complaints, in particular, the scarcity and poor quality of the factual data available (Minneci, 2015; Teichler, 2015; Teichler and Cavalli, 2015), particularly highlighting the plurality of ways of defining, classifying and measuring the "components" of scientific mobility in the available datasets, which limits comparison and elaboration of data. Despite the limitations mentioned, available data on academic mobility show evidence that intra-EU mobility is growing and that higher education and academic research sectors are highly Europeanized. Higher education and academic research seem to actually represent a field particularly interested in horizontal Europeanization dynamics.

According to the EU funded MORE project (Mobility Patterns and Career Paths of EU Researchers) around 15% of researchers working in the EU are currently mobile, but the percentage doubles to 31% if we look at all researcher who experienced at least a three month stay in another country in the last ten years in their post PhD career (MORE2, 2013). Higher education and academic research, then, seem to represent a field particularly interested in horizontal Europeanization dynamics, as intra-EU mobility is more than double than in the general population. Particularly, academic mobility fluxes move from Southern and Eastern to Northern and Central European countries (Ackers and Gill, 2008; Minneci, 2015). Mobile academic researchers are characterized by high social and cultural capital. They also have high levels of education, which existing surveys positively correlate with the feeling of 'being a European citizen' (cfr. Díez Medrano, 2003). For all these reasons, academic researchers are at the forefront in experiencing a professional and personal life "beyond borders" (Recchi, 2015). Cultural factors and structural factors converge in creating "pull" factors promoting their mobility and in insert them among the "pioneur", "the Pioneer of European integration (Favell and Recchi, 2009), that is, among the "winners" of EU integration (Flingstein, 2008). They are expected to hold the necessary level of social, cultural and professional capital to take advantage of the removal of national borders and to live mobility as a multiplier of resources and as an instrument of "horizontal Europeanization" (Mau, 2010).

Indeed, different types of criticisms converge in questioning this quite linear and optimistic interpretation. In-depth analyses suggest that academic mobility of researchers does not exclusively fit in a horizontal dynamic. Also a vertical dimension exists. Mobility is higher from central and northern countries (Denmark and Switzerland, 53%; Netherland, 46%; Germany, 45%; Norway, 43%; Finland, 42%), lower from southern countries (Greece, 34%; Spain, 32%; Portugal, 27%; France, 26%; Italy, 25%) and even lower in eastern countries (Franzoni et al., 2012). Also shifting the attention to the countries of destination we find great disparities. While the USA is still the major country of destination for European researchers (11%), among European countries incoming mobility is higher in the UK and Germany (11% for both) and in France (8%), and lower in Italy (4%) and in Spain (3%). As a result, foreign researchers and engineers in Italy account for only the 3% and 7.3% in Spain, while the incidence of foreign researchers[24] is 32.9% in UK, 23.2% in Germany and 17.3% in France (*ivi*). Overall, the stock of researchers who leave countries such as Italy (16.2%) and Spain (8.4%) is greater than the stock of researchers coming from other countries, while outgoing and incoming flows are quite balanced for the UK, Germany and France.

Due to the interaction of structural factors (economic competiveness, investment in higher education and research) and cultural factors (economic and cultural openness, language, cosmopolitan attitudes) researchers from some countries are more mobile than other and some countries are more internationalized than other. As a result, it seems that behind the myth of free movement, as an instrument of horizontal Europeanization, we can detect a 'brain drain' from the southern to northern EU countries.[25] It's not surprising that 70% of Italians who experience mobility, compared to the 33% in OECD states, are high skilled. They represent the most dynamic, innovative and qualified sector of the young population but they express particularly low expectations in terms of career opportunities, social mobility perspectives, and benefits regarding their professional positions in their countries of origin (MORE2, 2013; Ackers, 2010). As a result of the negative perception about their professional (and, by the way, for their personal and familiar) future in their country, highly skilled youth from countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, experience mobility in order to seek opportunities they do

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24 In the collection of these data, the authors also include engineers.

25 It's worthy to mention that the south/north divide and the consequent brain drain phenomenon does not affect all Southern Countries in the same degree. The divide depends on the different opportunities provided by the national system in terms of PhD and PhD positions. In Italy, reforms and cuts in public expenditure in higher education and research (-22.5% from the beginning of economic crisis) has turned into a dramatic decrease in PhD positions (from 12,338 to 9,189, corresponding to a 25% decrease in one year, from 2013 to 2014), and to a harsh decrease of opportunities and a deterioration of the perspectives for precarious researchers (Toscano et al 2013). The cut in public expenditures happened after several years of stagnation. On the contrary, Portugal invested in higher education and research, and especially in creating opportunities for younger scholars. As remarked by Heitor et al., Portugal "overtook countries that historically had always invested more in R&D, amongst those Italy and Spain, with 1.26%" and "two decades of public funding for the advanced training of human resources and laying down new scientific institutions has started to bear fruit". Yet, Portuguese Universities succeed in attracting young researchers from abroad (Heitor et al. 2014). Nonetheless, as in other Southern European countries, Portugal is characterized by a dramatic restriction in the possibility of accessing permanent academic positions.

not find in their own countries. This kind of phenomenon, looking to the collective dimension, seems to fit into the 'brain drain' narrative, as it represents an "individual advantage", paid with a "loss of the country's highly qualified human capital that, in Europe, benefit countries such Germany and the United Kingdom, at the expense of countries like Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy" (Milio et al., 2011: 3).

Brain and bodies

In this section, we focus on the actual experience of the mobile Europeans, with the aim of bringing nuance to the analysis of mobility and Europeanization. We argue in favour of considering the mobile researchers in their concrete experiences of embodied mobility, rather than only in the abstract circulation of their brains; we also highlight opportunities and constraints that mobile researchers face in their everyday intra-European mobility.

The main data source is a dataset of interviews addressing female researchers, both relocated and mobile.[26] Just as it occurs in other economic sectors, women are under-represented in the apical positions and, more specifically, in the tenured staff, as the European documents acknowledge. Moreover, women are more likely to experience long years of precarity and to drop out, also due to family reasons (leak pipeline) (see Jons, 2011; Leeman, 2010; Vohlídalová, 2014). In the interviews, we adopted the perspective of participatory action research: a process during which the knowledge of the researcher and that of the interviewee are both mobilized to co-produce knowledge.[27] In this frame, we were not interested in comparing female and male frames — on the contrary, we were interested in exploring the specific gendered production of meanings and knowledge.

Our interviewees explained the ambivalent status of their choice, proudly claiming it as a way of improving their career, and, at the same time, forced mobility due the lack of opportunities in their countries of origin. The actual experience of mobility is characterized by brightness

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26 The 25 interviews address female researchers (age: 30-40), moving from Southern (Italy, Portugal) and Eastern European (Romania) to Central and Northern European countries, and were carried out between 2012 and 2014. For reasons of anonymity, interviewees are identified by their initials (name).

27 For a discussion on participatory action research in relation to the academic researchers, see Giorgi and Piazza 2010.

and shadows: new interactions and loneliness, career improvement and a sensation of exile. In other words, the narratives switch constantly between the positive experience of the 'cosmopolitan expat' and forced exile of the 'economic migrant', passing through the identities mentioned above. This ambivalence clearly emerges in the words of S., who, in her mid-thirties, experienced twice the within-country migration processes (from her town of origin to the city in which she graduated, and again to another city for her PhD) and twice cross-country migrations (during her PhD and, later, for her Post-doc, which now turned into a permanent position). When she arrived in the city where she currently lives and works, the long relationship she had at the time collapsed, because the partner decided not to move.[28] Currently she is involved in a proximity relationship.

> I am a migrant, even though I'm not the classical migrant. I am privileged, I have money, I have a status… Nonetheless, mine was not a voluntary choice, but something I needed to adapt to. And it has required all my emotional resources […] Then, the relation between these two dimensions plays a role — between the privilege and the lack of opportunities in your country of origin, because of the lack of the adequate structural and economic conditions. And the relation between these two dimensions is a political relation […] When I put my situation in a collective perspective, I say to myself that I do not have the right to groan. Then again, when I think about my personal situation…I feel sorrow (S.)

The description of the individual identity of mobile workers is made complex by the difficulty in framing the experience of mobile workers in the traditional job categories, with respect to wage, status, and job certainty.

In the evaluation of the shortcomings of mobility, our interviewees also underline the gender dimension. Mainly, though, inequalities between men and women in academia are narrated as being related to the general academic context. Particularly successful, V. works in a male-dominated academic field: after her PhD in Italy (for which she experienced within-country mobility), she worked for a while in the private sector before deciding, unsatisfied with her job, to come back to the academia, moving to a northern European country where she obtained a permanent position. At the time of the interview, she was in a

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28 Here, we report only the main mobility experiences of our interviewees, for reasons of space.

long-distance relationship that collapsed after a while — and she is currently involved in another relationship in the country where they both live.

> Usually, it's a gendered thing, right? The man finds a job, moves abroad, and the woman follows him. But, now, you know… Considering our fields of expertise, I've more chances in the job market (V).
> The literature deals with us, young intellectual, middle class, who bring and move everything, and we move again and it does not take into account gender nor age (S2).

In her late thirties, S2 moved from her country to a northern European country during her PhD, then came back to her country and moved again to another continent, for a post-doc. At the time of the interview, S2 was in the process of deciding whether to stabilize in the new country (with her partner) or come back without her partner (which she eventually did). Currently, she holds a temporary appointment in her country of origin (in a different city than her new partner).

Frames and narratives are also shaped by the specific evaluation of what is mobility: most of the interviewees describe mobility as a constant feature of life — in the researchers' imaginaries, there is the idea that mobility is a transitional situation — an 'in between' of more stable conditions — but likely to occur multiple times during a lifetime. A distinction should be made between mobility and relocation: due to the current job market contraction, mobile researchers are likely to move a lot before finding a permanent position. Therefore, the situation in which the researchers prefer to commute is not rare, relocating only when a permanent position is on the table (see also Minneci, 2015). Cross-borders mobility is characterized by multiple profiles of bi-polar (city of job *versus* city of love and family relationships, for example) or multi-polar mobility where the same notion of place change, redefining as a relational structure which is composed of various social relationships of differing scopes (Bittner et al., 2007).

In this perspective, mobility fosters mobility, and researchers' cross-bordering practices are in fact structural conditions of their lives. Researchers are — in fact — European citizens. Nonetheless, Europe makes it difficult.[29] As explained before, European policies supporting mobility are indeed shaped by the underlying assumption of relocation, rather than mobility. Therefore, there is scarce attention to mobility service that may support a ubiquitous life between the borders. It is not surprising then, that when asked about tools and institutions supporting their mobility, researchers mention private companies and services (low cost airlines and transports, short term online rental services such as AirBnB and the like) rather than the public institutional services. In relation to this, mobile researchers' evaluation of mobility conditions is strictly related to the city/cities in which they live, rather than to the country or states.

Another interesting feature we want to highlight, beside the self-imaginary of mobile researchers and the difference between relocation and mobility, is related to the consequences of the researchers' perceptions of mobility with respect to their social and civic commitment. The living on the border, despite its structural character, is mainly perceived as a temporary/transitional situation: therefore, the emotional investment, and the participation in the public and political life of the country-of-job are 'postponed' to a time in the future when, hopefully, the country-of-job and the country-of-life can be the same.

Low-cost love

Indeed, when asked about what is 'home' for you the researchers pointed out the difficulties in defining what is 'home' in a situation of constant mobility. More specifically, 'home' is related to emotional maps, connecting dots all over Europe (and beyond). Having frequently experienced relocation, and currently living in a new continent, S2 explains:

> Then again, the answer to this question really changes, everyday — in my head, home is [city of origin], home is feeling, emotions but also that physical space. Then again, when you are gone […] home are also the small habits you develop and then, what you see when you go for a long time, is that, at some point, you have to let it go […] I realize that [country of origin] still matters to me, and this makes it impossible for me to feel at home here (S2).

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29 "Europe is not ready to manage these mobility fluxes" (A2) — "Europe does not exist, in relation to that […] to have some kind of policy would be enough" (S.). In her mid-thirties, A2 constantly moves between three European countries (her country of origin, where her partner lives, another European country, where she works, and a third country where she acts as a consultant for a project), facing bureaucratic complications. A. is the "voice" of the interviewer, in the participatory action research perspective we discussed in the first section.

Mobile researchers often live long-distance relationships: the studies dealing with non-cohabiting relationships (Living Apart Together, Levin and Trost, 1999) rarely (if ever) considers the nuances of togetherness and apartness — as clearly argued, for example, by Stoilova et al. (2014), who, moreover, suggest to use the more neutral concept of 'Living Apart Relationships' (LAR). Exploring how researchers conceptualize LAR sheds light on an often-overlooked aspect in the 'brain drain/circulation' narratives, which is the fact that researchers have bodies as well.

> Moreover, in a LAR it means that one of us [...] has to drop everything and follow the partner, hoping that the relationship will work. And I discovered that I was really dependant — because, I mean, the literature says that with the migration there is the social death and, you know, it's true... (S2).

The partner is new and familiar at the same time and intimacy is continuously renegotiated and redefined. The periods of separation are mediated by devices (like Skype, Facebook, mobile phones) that allow a constant communication and, at the same time, mediate the relationship, somehow de-coupling 'brain' and 'body'. An ambivalent relationship with these devices emerges, in their unexpected and complex intervention in the love relationship.

Moreover, the promise of ubiquity is in fact a reality of physical detachment: In order to speak on Skype with my partner I have to sit at my computer. Indeed, even though Internet transports my voice wherever I want, my body is required to sit and all my attention is devoted to the mediating device. Even though my body is here, my mind is there — and it cannot be in two places at once, no matter how I try, as this excerpt exemplifies. A. is in her late thirties, and at the time of the interview was involved in a long-distance relationship:

> If I have to be at my computer to speak with you every night, it means that I cannot have friends here — it requires my complete attention. Had he lived here, it would have been different. We could go out with friends — together. Right now, it's mutually exclusive (A.)

In a LAR relationship, the presence of the partners in each other's lives is indeed quite relevant. The couple is an anchorage and for this reason, it is put under a lot of pressure. M. relocated for her PhD, during which she knew her current partner — after the defense of her PhD thesis, she moved to another continent for a post-doc, during which both she and her partner successfully applied for temporary positions in the same city — in a third country of Southern Europe — and, subsequently, they were able to got two permanent positions in a Northern European country (even though in two different cities).

> It is easier when you don't move alone, clearly. I mean, there's no debate on that. It's much easier to face the logistical and the psychological hurdles of moving from one country to another with your partner rather than not, it's naturally…it's easier to rely and to split the work and everything that is required to make a new house and…you know from the material, you know, condition of building a material home, finding a new place, all this is quite complicated, to the psychological support that you need in moving into a new place. On the other hand, I must say that moving around does also put a lot of stress on the relationship because, as I was saying before, since you don't have other friends, right? Since you don't have other people to talk to, there's a lot of pressure on the relationship. Because there's no circle, there's no family, there's nothing out there, right? So it's tricky. It's better, clearly, it's easier — but on the other hand we must be careful because when there's only the other one you can venture to reveal your fears or whatever else is caused by the move the relationship is also affected, right? (M)

Everything has to be scheduled in advance, so it becomes a high emotional investment right from the beginning — at least for the mobile one. The same goes for the 'life imaginaries' and mutual expectations. Indeed, LAR becomes even more problematic when the time of the couple is de-synchronized, meaning when there is a non-mobile partner. In this case, tensions emerge with relation to the integration of different rhythms — of life, work, friendship and relationship. In a couple living at distance, there is not the possibility of 'taking it slowly' (see also Giorgi and Raffini 2015).

The many temporalities of LAR also interact with the spatial dimension. First of all, the private space is continuously changing between the 'couple's space' and 'the personal space'. The spatial dimension is, in turn, strictly related to the economic dimension, which is crucial for the possibilities of intimacy — whether or not it is possible to have a private apartment, or to move frequently — and therefore shapes the conditions of LAR. It not only intervenes in the forms of intimacy, it also plays a role in the rhythm of the relationship. Speaking of her living apart relationship, A. observes:

> Well, it means that maybe I would prefer to stay at home, because I'm sick, but I can't because I already booked the flight…or I would like to see you because we need to talk, but it's too expensive… (A.)

At the same time, mobility has the unexpected effect of allowing the exploration of new forms of intimacy and balances, both within and outside the couple.

> When you've been in a place let's say for three, four, five years, then you make a life there. And friends are your family, right? They provide support and they substitute for whatever your family would otherwise provide (M.).
> I have something to fix at home and I cannot do it and it would be good to have a fiancé, a partner, someone to whom you can ask to do it when you can't do it. Also, you know, pay the taxes and, more broadly, managing a life on your own is difficult! And unfortunately we are not able to create an alternative, because maybe I do not need a fiancé, maybe I only need a community and that, we don't have that anymore. We were thinking about co-housing, something like that, because maybe this is the solution to the emotional blackmail, or to the fact that you look for the support and the sharing dimension within a couple that maybe you would like to manage in a different way […] Yes we are doing that. We had a sort of a car sharing, now we do it with the bikes…a new welfare (A).

While M. frequently experienced relocation in different countries and cities, at the time of the interview A. only moved for short periods (except she now moved to a Northern European country): nonetheless, they both emphasize the relevance of the informal welfare of friends, which has an increasingly important role in the strategies and the conditions for mobility, becoming the functional equivalent of the family.

In this section we focused on the individual experiences of researchers. Of course, the material is rich and deals with a variety of issues: here, we touched upon some key elements that may suggest nuance of the analysis of the process of Europeanization and the positive European narrative on researchers and mobility. Indeed, from these individual experiences outlined we see the ambivalence of mobility. Summarizing one of the interviews, and speaking about her own experience, A2 affirms:

> You are compelled to continuously rethink yourself, your future, the endless possibilities… you need to live and manage the uncertainty. I mean, interesting, for sure but — it's really a mess (A2).

Especially, for researchers. With an enlightening excerpt, S2, who is still juggling, three years after the first interview, concludes:

> You know, it's always that: potentially, everything will be ok or just not. Maybe I will come back, I'm able to get this temporary job and I'm ok for four years, meanwhile I can look for other opportunities. Or, it's possible that I find nothing and I'll work as a cleaner. This is the point that you never know, you are always at a turning point, but between radically different sceneries (S2).

Conclusion — a research agenda

a. Beyond the neoliberal rhetoric

Researchers are the most likely candidates for the Europeanization from below (Mau 2010; Recchi 2015). Academic researchers mobility (Cantwell, 2009: Leeman, 2010; Jons, 2011; Vohlídalová, 2014) increased in the last decades, also thanks to the framework developed by the European Union (Ackers and Gill, 2008), as explained in the second section. The importance and the prestige of internationalization and experiences abroad slowly penetrated even in the most protectionist academic systems. Mobile researchers are likely to experience fewer difficulties in relocating, with respect to other categories of workers, because of the powerful infrastructure of European research we described before. Last, but not least, they have high levels of education, which surveys positively correlate with the feeling of 'being an European citizen' (Diez-Medrano, 2003). In other words, Europe comes with the job. On the other hand, intra-European mobility also bears some difficulties: couples living apart, the decrease of permanent positions, which results in frequent relocations, problems in accessing local welfare systems and the nightmare of organizing a pension scheme. Moreover, as we discussed in the third section, the academic job market is experiencing a contraction, also in relation to the neo-liberal turn in the overall system of higher education in Europe.

Behind the increase of academic researchers' mobility we find the effects of a complex combination of cultural and structural variables, acting as push and pull factors. Academic mobile researchers are both members of the "Erasmus Generation" and members of the "Precarious Generation" (Raffini, 2014). They move, pulled by their transnational habitus, the loosening of EU internal borders, and in the framework of various initiatives of the European Commission, aimed at promoting the Europeanization of higher education and academic research. Indeed they also experience mobility pushed by professional and economic reasons. They feel pushed by structural conditions to experience mobility, to project professional trajectories attuned to their skills and their expectations and at the same time, they have the social and the cultural resources to look to Europe as a natural horizon where to project their personal and professional live, as a place to settle, to work and to build a family. The radical uncertainty about the future also involves highly skilled individuals. New generations are used to "navigate by sight". They are called to project their life in a kind of "extended present", "dealing with uncertainty, rather than following pre-established routes" (Leccardi, 2014). In this context, where "future collapses into the present", the vertical orientation toward the future is substituted with the search for an alternative present, through mobility (*ivi*).

Mobility comes with opportunities and challenges. Mobility is an adjunctive, extraordinary tool, in the project of life, but it can also represent the only possibility to nurture hope in building a professional trajectory in line with skills and expectations, in a context marked by precarity and the risks of downward social mobility. Precarious researchers often combine high social and cultural capital with low economic capital. Experiencing mobility even exacerbates this "incongruence of status" (Raffini 2013), as mobility further increases professional skills and widens the transnational networks in which the individual are inserted, but also exacerbates uncertainty. Mobility is also highly expensive, since it implies facing charges for relocation and travel. It has to be considered that often the bi-local experience turns into multipolar experience (Mueller 2015). Mobile, precarious, academic researchers do not live across a border: they live on the borders. They are not "rooted cosmopolitans;" they are "scattered cosmopolitans". In order to grasp the complex balance between risks and opportunities, choice and obligation, as well as to explore the difficult balances between professional and personal/intimate life, we need to move beyond the disembodied — neoliberal — approach, characterizing both the simplistic vision of mobility as an opportunity and as a "moral obligation" and the notion of "brain drain" or "brain circulation". The exploration of the effects of mobility in every-day life and in the construction of social and romantic relations allows identification of the dissonance between representations and practices. Mobility involves bodies, and not only brains, and it originates opportunities but also risks and costs, both economical and emotional. Beside its positive outcomes, it also generates deprivation and distress — and researchers' representations of mobility show the ambivalence of this concept.

Moreover, mobility is in fact an intervening factor in researchers' self-identification. Firstly, it nuances their self-identification as mobile workers, in between privilege and deprivation. Secondly, the everyday practices and experiences of mobile researchers highlight the open issues of Europeanization from below — policies supporting relocation, rather than mobility. Finally, it requires a continuous effort of self-reflection in re-imagining identity, relationships, the future, and strategies. Mobile researchers live 'in between' — countries/cities, here and there, poor migrant and cosmopolitan expat, to name but a few.

b. Future Research Agenda

We conclude this contribution by outlining a research agenda that analyses the multifaceted nature of mobility, taking into account its multiple and diverse dimensions. An interesting research trajectory might develop from the work of Sheller and Urry (2006), who have underscored that the social sciences have largely approached movement (of ideas, peoples, things) as a *black box*, a neutral set of technologies and processes permitting forms of economic, social, and political life that are seen as explicable in terms of other, more causally powerful processes (ibid. 208) and launched a research agenda aimed at "tracking the power of discourses and practices of mobility" (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 211).

Following this line, Cresswell's work about the politics of mobility (2010) came up with a definition of mobility as the entanglement of movement, representation, and practice: movement, is "the fact of physical movement getting from one place to another; the representations of movement that give it shared meaning; and, finally, the experienced and embodied practice of movement." (ibid.:19). Of course, understanding physical movement is one aspect of mobility. But this says little about what these mobilities mean or how they are practised. Just as there has been a multitude of efforts to measure and model mobility, so has there been a plethora of representations of mobility. Mobility has been viewed as adventure, as something one may be

Table 2.1 Dimensions of analysis of scientific mobility

	Unpacking scientific mobility in the ERA		
Levels/dimensions	Physical movement of researchers from one place to another	Representation of mobility in the ERA	Experience of being a mobile researcher
Questions (inspired by Cresswell 2010)	Who goes where? How often? For how long? Who moves furthest? Who moves fastest? Who moves most often?	How is mobility discursively and materially constituted? What narratives have been constructed about mobility? How are mobilities represented?	How is mobility embodied? How comfortable is it? Is it forced or free?
Empirical objects	Fluxes of "movers" and their features (age, gender, nationality, stage of career, disciplines…)	Policies, funding, public debate, actors, programmes, discourses of scientific mobility	Professional, social and political practices related with being a mobile researcher
Methodologies research approaches	Statistics, policy evaluation, mostly quantitative, cross-national, cross-temporal	Interpretive policy analysis, quali-quantitative analysis of a corpus of documents, historical, comparative	Qualitative techniques and particularly ethnography

Source: our elaboration, based on Cresswell (2010).

condemned to, as education, as freedom, as modern, as threatening. We can think of the contemporary links made between immigrant mobilities and notions of threat reflected in metaphors of flooding and swamping used by journalists and politicians (Tuitt, 1996; White, 2002), or, alternatively, to the idea of the right to mobility as fundamental to modern Western citizenship which is expressed in legal and governmental documents (Blomley, 1994).

Finally, there is practice; by practice, Cresswell means both the everyday sense of particular practices such as walking or driving and also the more theoretical sense of the social as it is embodied and habitualised (Bourdieu, 1990).

The table 2.1 provides a guide to adapt Cresswell's proposal to the case of scientific mobility in the European Research Area.

The *movement* dimension is still the one most investigated by the scientific literature on the topic, with all the challenges of building solid knowledge in this respect. The *practice* dimension although less often than the previous one, has also been a subject for investigation; to some extent its combination with analyses about *movement* is at the basis of the policy approach of the push and pull factors. The *representation* dimension appears instead largely neglected in the case of scientific mobility.

While would be certainly valuable to develop an analysis that reconnects and simultaneously addresses all three levels, in the future we are particularly interested in the critical exploration of the intersection between *representation* and *practice*. By investigating how the idea and the lived experience of mobility intersect, we aim at exploring the power, as well as the contradictions of the European discourse on scientific mobility. Both power and contradictions seems to emerge from the dissonance between representation and practice suggested by our previous research and research in progress.

In a paper from Italian early stage researchers Carrozza and Minucci (2014) noted how the use of the term “mobility” is associated to a universe of meanings different from those associated with the notion of emigration.

On the one hand, when asked about their opinion on scientific mobility in general, researchers recalled the rhetoric of the European research policies (defining mobility as a right, as the freedom to build a satisfying career by gathering professional and personal experiences in different workplaces and cultures, as a source of value for both the researcher and the European society as a whole); on the other hand, they often contradicted these definitions when asked to describe their personal experience, underlining their uneasiness with what some defined as “forced mobility” and describing their mobility more in terms of a necessity rather than as a choice. The dissonance between representation and practice and the process of reifying mobility (i.e. conceptualizing mobility *per se* and approaching it as something that *exists* beyond the real experiences), suggests in itself the political relevance of the current representation of scientific mobility and the power of mobility discourse.

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Chapter 3

Transmobility — A Cosmopolitan Process?

Discriminations & Auto-discriminations of/by Transnational Professionals in the Research and Academia World[1]

Izabela Wagner

Resume This paper focuses on the dynamics of the construction of scientific careers in the internationalized world. I implemented my ethnographical research in different places around the world (USA, France, Poland, Germany). The article shows the tensions between the official "cosmopolite" vision of professional world of scientists and the role of "auxiliary characteristics" (citizenship, ethnicity-nationality, culture-language) that determinate scientific careers. In our present world the situation of researchers is dynamic, however the situations of persons working in the country of their origin differs significantly from migrant-researchers. The data concerning active scientists, working in highly competitive laboratories, suggest a huge variety of cases; the majority of participants experience precarity and instability not only at the first step of their careers. By consequence, the official image of a researcher as a Transnational Professional concerns only a few, while the main trajectories of participants could be described as a perfect case of "double absence" — a typical situation for migrants studded by Abdelmalek Sayad.

Keywords: Scientific careers, international academic mobility, discriminations, precarity, transnational professionals

Introduction: Instant Immersion in the Field

Instead of a usual introduction, I will present to you two different types of sources as a departure for the analysis of the issues that the following material contains: the first one is a part of a journal interview

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1 I would like to thank the Polish-American Kosciuszko Foundation for a fellowship that supported my visiting scholar position at Harvard University in the Department of the History of Science; the Polish Foundation of Science for their contract of research on the Polish elite. All my research-work would be impossible without strong involvement of my participants, whom I am deeply grateful. I would also like to thank Magdalena Misiuk for her careful corrections . As always, all responsibility is mine.

with a famous scientist, and the second one is an excerpt from a letter from the correspondence with one of my key participants.

Notes from the field no.1

As millions of active researchers do, I took a low-cost plane to attend one of the numerous conferences that I had scheduled for this year (2015). The editors in chief of the Ryanair journal are certainly aware of the phenomenon of "the Ryanair researcher"[2] since they devoted some pages of their journal to describing a successful story concerning a scientist. The article is actually entitled: "Successful Story: Fabiola Giannotti — Nostra Signora della Particelle Our Lady of the Particles". We can read: "As from the first of January 2016, for the first time since the year of its foundation, 1954, at the head of the CERN, the absolute reference point of excellence in the study of particle physics, there will be a woman, and she's Italian. (…)Fabiola Gianotti is a veritable star of the science world."; later the journalist writes:

(J) "On my way to CERN, on the tram from the railway station, I met two young researchers, one a 23 year old undergraduate from Pavia and the other 29 years old who had arrived from Harvard University. When they found out I had an appointment with you they reacted as if I was going to meet a pop star: did you ever imagine that you'd become a famous as Madonna, for the world of science that is?

(FG) "Absolutely not (laughs-) I'm just a physicist that does her job with curiosity and determination, just like thousands of other scientists in the world. But two aspects shouldn't be under-evaluated: physics is a passion. And furthering human knowledge is one of man's greatest aspirations, so these young researchers you mention more than likely have the same passion than others have for music. And being able to realize a dream like discovering the Higgs boson is a real privilege."

(J) Soon you'll be coordinating the work of 11,000 scientists from all over the world. But the first day you came to CERN you were still just a physic student… do you remember that day?

2 I heard this term during one of the conferences devoted to the international mobility of researchers — I am not able to establish who employed it.

(FG) Perfectly: when I arrived here I was an undergraduate, to take part in a meeting with a number of colleagues from the group in Milan I was working with. I still remember the smell of the corridors: the smell of 'laboratory'.

(J) How you will define that 'smell'?

(FG) Hard to describe: workshop, the smell of manual work. Then the wonderful feeling I got the moment I set foot in CERN's cafeteria: there were hundreds of young people from everywhere, a Babel of languages, different colors and faces, and a Nobel prize-winner eating alongside us, exchanging comments and opinions with students. These days the idea of a global world is commonplace, but in the mid-eighties it wasn't.

(J) If you could export that concept, there'd be no more war in the world…

(FG) That's the way it is when you're working universal ideals, like knowledge, that has no color, religion or passport.[3]

Note from the field no.2
(e-mail from a researcher; mid-career in tenure track)

At the moment, I'm a bit unhappy since I have good samples ready to be analyzed by electron microscopy but apparently all the facilities in Europe (with instruments payed with EU money it means our money......) are free only depending on your surname....
I always say that Italians are great not because of their past but just because they were and are brave enough to give a name to this kind of affiliations and the name is MAFIA!! So now I'm planning to go to XX (US) for doing it and this is also why I'm so busy. Let's hope that we will be lucky!

The two cited above examples seem to come not from the same environment, although both persons work in similar institutional areas. However, they are not at the same level of their (institutional and scientific) careers as well as they are not at the same age (the second one is much younger). The perceptions of the professional milieu that the both examples depicted are quite opposite. This paper analyzes the tensions animating the scientific world which are illustrated by the

3 This interview was published in Ryanair Journal — September 2015 (distributed in the plane of this low cost company

above examples. These could be placed at opposite poles: the first example shows us the passionate cosmopolitan world in which there does not exist anything like discrimination based on religious, national or racial features. The second example indicates that the research world in the sense of Becker's art worlds (Becker, 1982) or Strauss'es social worlds (Strauss, 1978) is highly stratified, and the access to vital resources on which the success in research depends is determined not only by the reputation of the institution of affiliation and the network of collaboration, but also by nationality, ethnicity, class and religion.

To what extend could we attribute the term cosmopolitan to the working environment of scientists? What kind of impact do the features such as: the nationality, religion, race and language have on the careers of contemporary scientists? How do people perceive their careers? What kinds of obstacles are there to become a Transnational Professional (Wagner, 2011)? This text will respond to the questions formulated above on the basis of a long-lasting study that combines ethnographical research with multi-part interviews conducted with researchers. The following section will define the concepts and the methodology employed in this study.

Transnational Professional, Transmobility and long-term multi-sited ethnography.

Based on a multi-sited ethnographic research (Marcus, 1995) conducted in life-science laboratories (situated in France, Poland, USA, Germany), I have elaborated a model of career typical of a 21st-century researcher: a trajectory of the Transnational Professional. This field study, started in 2003, indicates a strong interaction between career advancement and geographical mobility; I define this correlation as the Transmobility (Wagner, 2011). Even though the official discourse about internationalization or globalization of the scientific world confirms this model, the participants of the study provided several accounts of situations and professional decisions in which their (ethnic, national) origin had played an important role.

In order to understand how people construct their careers in the internationalized world, I implemented my ethnographical research in different places around the world. I started in 2003 in France by doing a participant observation of a national research institution, in a laboratory that focused on basic research inn the bio-chemistry area. This first field-work became the introductory stage (I conducted fifteen interviews, including multi-part interviews with 3 persons). Also, I spent several days on observations throughout one year. In 2006, I opened a fieldwork in a Polish national research institution, where I was present several days per week throughout the period of over a year. Afterwards, for the 3 following years, I would come there to have additional punctual observation sessions that updated my knowledge as well as to pursue my multi-part interviews with some participants. In 2010-2011, I spent one semester in the USA (Boston) observing two (molecular biology and plant biology) laboratories. In 2011, upon coming back to Europe, I conducted punctual observations in Germany and in other EU countries (Italy, France) on a shorter time basis. I concentrated then mainly on interviewing researchers (I also completed my interviews data in China, when I was 2 months working as a visiting professor at Fudan University in Shanghai and spoke with foreigner scientists working there).

When the observations are less intense, I conduct more interviews and I do so in several places. These are semi-open biographical interviews focused on the process of the interviewees' careers. By 2016, I conducted almost 400 interviews with researchers form different countries, of various disciplines, specializing in different methods and working in several countries. My interviewees included both males and females, at different ages (from 16 to 99 years old) and at various stages of their careers (from the high-school students to the emeritus professors; from debutants working as volunteers in laboratories to Nobel Prize winners). This large study has enabled me to build a strong and complex basis of data that nourish my analysis.

Contemporary careers in science consist of several stages, the majority of which are based on short-term contracts. Scientists are under constant pressure of competing for the next position and they undergo permanent selections. In the official discourse, those selections always depend on specialized knowledge. However, field data do not confirm this rule, showing that the selection process is actually determined by other criteria. Hughes names those criteria by the term of "auxiliary characteristics" (Hughes, 1945). Contrary to the common perception, according to which the meritocratic criteria determinate the selection, those auxiliary characteristics are not only very important but in several cases they play decisive role. (Hughes showed it using race as a main auxiliary criterion, but he evoked also gender and culture in the sense of ethnicity; Hughes, 1945). Even though we acknowledge such discriminating practices of selection in various working universes (Delcrois, Kezzi, 2006; Hagendoorn, 1993; Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Silberman, Fournier, 2006), our common vision of the scientific universe seems to defy the idea that the same procedure is actually performed within the research world as well.

The originality of this paper stems from the chosen methodology (multi-sited and longitudinal ethnography), the theoretical approach (interactionist sociology of labor, mainly Hughes) and most of all — from the chosen topic (hidden processes related to the national/ethnical discrimination). To my knowledge, the problem of influence that the researcher's origin and cultural background hold over his or her career is perceived only as a minor element shaping their professional paths. In the current and past literature devoted to this professional group little is written about specific aspects of international work places and multicultural functioning of the teams. The issues which will be analyzed are rarely investigated, whereas they constitute an inflammatory topic among studied community of professionals.

How does it work in those places that we suppose are open to passionate people coming from the whole world?

Becoming a Transnational Professional — a permanent competition

Careers of scientists in the 21st century are paved with a permanent selection.

The trajectory of becoming a Transnational Professional is composed of two main trainings: first — acquiring knowledge, which brings a debutant to the position of a professional (Reader, 1966), and the second — acquiring the skills to work in the internationalized area (ability to build a transnational career). The professional knowledge is acquired over the period of several years, already punctuated by various selections. At (primary and secondary) school, students compete for having a good position in their class, thanks to which they hope to get the access to a good college. In the EU we could basically say that because of low university fees, the material condition of a family should not be important in the child's choice of the university. However, relying on the findings of various studies (about parental involvement in the child's education; Ho, Willms, 1996; Perier, 2005; Lahir, 2008; Wagner, 2015; and the place of living — a "good" or " bad neighborhood" — hence a good or bad school; Van Zanten, 2001; Lepoutre, 2001), we can easily admit that the social capital determine the access to the college which prepares the students for their immersion into scientific areas (Wagner, 2011). Here it is worth noting that the class provenance is directly related to the access to the main professional resources (a good level of scientific education) even in the states where the primary education and the higher education are free of charge.

Moreover, all types of the necessary soft skills that are to be acquired in the years preceding the university training (such as writing, asking questions, organizing the learning process, performing projects, communicating with others on scientific matters and… competing) also depend on the access to resources (in other words, on the candidates' social capital). The knowledge about the competition and the attitude of competitors are precious.

In the EU, collaboration is present in the scientific work environment as a term that is commonly understood as a part of the vocabulary connected with grant projects and science policy designers. In other words, collaboration predominantly means "doing research in collaboration with other teams under various forms of international projects". Collaboration among team members, among colleagues in the large understanding of this word (not a pragmatic collaboration in the sense of co-authorship or combining various methodologies and types of data) is rarely the missing part of official and reflexive curricula.

The university training and particularly PhD programs are the most intense (with post doc) period for practicing research. Through their each publication and presentation of data (from a lab-meeting to a conference), scientists are evaluated and selected (or not) to the next stage of their advancement in their careers in the field. Young people seem to have become used to the selection as they admit that their professional trajectory is constantly under evaluation. This path is similar to the one followed by freelance artists (Hollywood composers) studied by Faulkner, who on several occasions mentioned the rule of musicians: 'you are as good as your last performance was' (Faulkner, 1983).

To some extent,[4] we could also apply this rule to the highly competitive milieu of science.

The second necessary acquisition to become a Transnational Professional is the knowledge connected with the international work culture and organization specific to the scientific world. The English language skill acquisition as well as a specific type of sociability, adaptability to a high level of geographic mobility (spending several months working in different countries, where English is obligatory at work but yet another foreign language is spoken in the streets) and being ready to create a professional trajectory inside of various organizational systems (different areas of work — for example each EU country has its own peculiarities in this respect) — all those elements need to be incorporated in order to pursue the typical (not only the elitist) trajectory of a Transnational Professional. Thanks to the acquisition of such skills and the pursuit of a Transnational or even international trajectory, researchers are able to compete not only in their native country but also in several different countries and at the international level. Thus, the selection is permanent.

This process is undergone not only by candidates to a scientific position at the first stage of their research career. In fact, it is throughout all their lives that scientists must keep proving to be able to meet complex and dynamic expectations, which change in some disciplines very fast.

Those expectations are driven by science itself (scientists are expected to keep up to date and to go ahead in their specialization) as well as by some broader context: institutional, national and international systems of organization of science have built complex expectations which include also non-scientific features.

Grant applications and other bureaucratic procedures which have to be handled alongside actual research work make the activity of scientists really diverse. What is interesting is the relationship between the time spent on doing science (in the case of my participants, it means performing experiments and "wet work") and the time spent on bureaucracy tasks (e.g. constructing new projects, which includes non-scientific issues, typical of the group management and new management style of work).

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4 Especially this rule is true in experimental sciences and for people at bench work. Construction of reputation, however is much more complex and relays also with the power position in the field, access to the resources and institutional attachment.

According to my data, especially concerning scientists working in European countries, the rule is following: scientists advancing in their careers tend to spend progressively less time on “purely” scientific activity. This provokes a peculiar situation among team members, i.e. people who are higher in the official hierarchy become less knowledgeable (because of the lack of time for updating their knowledge as well as because of little “direct” research practice) about the new developments in science. In the disciplines where the knowledge dynamic is high, this phenomenon provokes considerable tensions between those “who are” (at the top positions) and those “who know” a lot about science (usually PhD students and post-docs, i.e. scientists at lower positions) (Wagner, 2011). If we assume that the reputation and prestige go by default to the person who knows better (this is how “peer recognition” works, according to Merton, 1968), we could say that in several situations the official hierarchy (based on academic titles and institutional positions) stands in stark contrast to the unofficial hierarchy (based on scientific knowledge and actual involvement in direct scientific activity).

This situation increases pressure on laboratory teams. In addition to the contextual change of work conditions (increasing number of short contracts, decreasing number of permanent positions), scientists work in a very stressful environment and they frequently express their worries about their future. Contemporary laboratories are full of discussions about job research strategies in the face of the low survivability of work in the unstable conditions, the challenge to fulfill the expectations imposed by the “system”, and the increasing competition to publish an original research work (the “publish or perish” rule).

The researchers who (after several years of such an unstable life led in several countries with a low-paid job) become Transnational Professionals undergo several selections and have a baggage of experiences which clearly show that the process concerns not only scientific criteria but also (and sometimes foremost) auxiliary characteristics (Hughes, 1945). I develop this topic in a paper devoted entirely to this issue; However, it is necessary to mention here that the data from ethnographical fieldwork are full of examples of misbehavior and discriminatory practices which confirm the statement about the influences of auxiliary characteristics on scientific careers (for detail see: Wagner, 2015).

In the example cited in the introduction, the journalist said nothing about the cultural provenance of the students met before her interview at CERN. However, we should notice that the interviewees had studied at famous institutions (number 1 in the world rankings): Harvard University and Pavia University (one of the oldest higher-education institutions in the world, and one of the best training places for scientists in Southern Europe). Those new-coming to CERN students were not from "weak" or not known places. They had already passed several selections before their temporary stay in that "Tower of Babel".

Cosmopolitan Tower of Babel, Ivory Tower, or simply a Tower[5]?

> (…) when you're working universal ideals, like knowledge, that has no color, religion or passport — citation from first example (Introduction — the opinion of the head of CERN)

The idea cited above is attractive, but the real world of laboratory research is much more complex. If it is true (and only partially, see: Collins on universalism of mathematics; Collins, 2000) that some disciplines have universal dimensions and (as Sklodowska-Curie claimed) the science is universal, the world of scientific work is far from being a "cosmopolitan Tower of Babel" so nicely evoked in the above quote.[6] Research laboratories are organized according to several different systems specific to a given country. And those systems determine, in turn, the specific policies of selection. For example, after 9/11, the law changed in the US and, in result, Pakistani researchers (and also other foreign researchers) had huge difficulties to obtain documents necessary to pursue their careers in US laboratories. The negative effects of the "passport and citizenship" policy are well known in the scientific community, when in the selection this element is taken into account (for example, in the EU it is much easier to get a contract as a EU citizen than as an African or a Chinese). All the same, this could have also a positive effect — several EU projects were focused on

5 In the past — a tower was equal to the jail or, in general, an isolation situation.

6 I developed the issue of the "styles of thought and scientific facts" that determine the work of scientists in another publication (Wagner, 2014) however it is worthy to bring back the whole approach introduced in sociology of science by Ludwik Fleck who already in 1930s claimed that culture and background of a researchers shapes radically the knowledge construction (Fleck, 1935).

facilities for new EU states citizens, so the team that had hired a Romanian scientist before Romania became an EU member, could much easier obtain financial support from the EU grant programs (in some countries the major financial support of basic research).

Religion is also a selective factor in some cases. As I have observed several times, some of PIs (principal investigators or — in other words — chiefs of laboratories) hesitated or excluded the people coming from Islamic countries because of the specificity of the relationship between men and women and of difficult experiences in the past. More specifically, female PIs frequently mentioned the problems they had to manage male subordinates, not because of some issues with domination and recognition of the official hierarchy, but because of the difficulties in the communication and the impossibility of those male scientists to acknowledge that they did not understand (the prove in their eyes of weakness and inferiority comparing to that female PI). So, a lot of misunderstandings were attributed to this 'culture difference', which became afterwards the basis for religion-driven rejection ("I will never hire a men from those countries").

Culture as one of the main selection criteria was the theme of my previous texts,[7] and due to the lack of place I will only mention here that if race officially is never a problem in hiring a new scientist, his or her cultural provenance (Asian, African, Indian, Pakistani or from Maghreb) is frequently the point that people who decide about the acceptation will take into consideration and, in order to "avoid problems in the future", will chose a much "sure" candidate (e.g. coming from an EU country). All this under the claim that in those countries the level of the university training is much better. This argumentation is partially true, since a lot of people who had got rejected upon the above criterion subsequently accomplish their PhDs in France, Germany, Spain or Sweden (i.e. countries with an excellent level of education).

All what has been said here brings us to rejecting the image of the cosmopolitan, open, meritocratic (professional features) institution, where people from around the world work together animated by their passion for scientific discovery. The nationality is important, the culture and/or race[8] is important and the passport is important at each

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7 See Wagner, 2011; 2014; 2016.

level of the selection. Those prestigious institutions (which are factories of precarious workers, hiring only the winners of strong competitions and multi-dimensional selections) are perhaps like the Ivory Tower — a place where, after a certain time of pursuing your activities, you get completely disconnected from the concerns of everyday life and eventually you lose the sense of "exterior".

Closed in such places (prestigious research institutions) and hardly working, those intellectuals passed their selections several years ago, when the situation on the research market job was completely different. For instance, the hard time at the end of the Cold War triggered a switch from physics to medical research and, in result, biology became the queen of science with all sectors of medical fields in strong development. For the last decades of the 20th century, many countries (e.g. the USA, Canada, then the UK, the Scandinavian countries, Japan) invested in the new research institutions offering several thousand of job positions. With a PhD in science it was really easy to find an interesting and well-paid job. In some areas it was true till the beginning of the 21st century.

Now, except for new institutions in China, only a few countries are offering new job positions and the job market seems highly saturated. The "production" of PhDs is increasing and the job offers are too few to satisfy the market demand. There are no statistics yet about those proportions (i.e. concerning the job market of science: permanent/temporary basic research jobs and employment offers). The market of research jobs is internationalized and the data are fuzzy about the real situation of scientists. They work under short-term contracts (2-3 years) living in several countries for dozens of years to be able to participate in the global research activity. For the chance of "doing research", scientists pay the high price by sacrificing the stability of their private life. This significant lack of data obscures the difficult situation in which those highly-educated people (constituting the creative elite of each society) live today. The situation could be (thanks to some generalization) presented in the following way: our global world is divided into Wallernstein's "center and peripheries" (Wallernstein, 1999). The peripheral countries have invested in the education, and the

8 "Race" concept is understood here as a social construction, in the Beckerian sense of labelling (Becker, 1983), and not such as a "biological criteria" that are proved to be false (Yudell, and all; 2016)

society benefits from cheap or free basic and higher education in order to form the scientific elites. The central countries have invested in the research institutions and they organize the research activity (the American model is extreme at this point, as over 70% of scientists working in US medical research laboratories do not hold a permanent-stay documents and are employed on the J1 or H1 visa (Garison, Stith, Gerbi, 2005). Those central countries charge higher-education students a lot of money. This is why their own citizens are not so eager to pursue scientific careers and are rather interested in earning back the money spent on their higher education. The research institutes in those central countries are full of foreigner scientists who come from the peripheries, are better educated (in some fields) and certainly do not have to pay back for their higher education. We could sociologically call this phenomenon "a division of work between central and peripheral countries". Scientific research is organized according to the following model: education in the peripheries and work in the central countries (in some fields, the center and the peripheries are not congruent to the picture presented above — for example for some humanities it is in Italy, Germany or France that the best research places and centers of knowledge are situated).

The smell of the laboratory — passion or the bitter taste of tears?

Several sociologists working on occupations underline the vital role of the passion discourse in the professional culture. In the case of artists, the emphasis on passion frequently works like a smokescreen hiding the lack of resources or a low income. In the case of scientists, passion is perceived as a core factor in their engagement in the professional trajectory, which requires a huge effort and a long training. Passion is a positive element of selection (Lamont, 2009) at the stage of the attribution of scholarships or grants, as well as in the job selection procedure (Wagner, 2011). However, such a huge focus on passion is, at the same time, connected with acquiescing to enduring bad conditions of work and precarious terms of employment. More to the point, scientists are underpaid, given their enormous availability and the huge amount of hours they work. If you are passionate, you do not ask for vacation or for a pay rise or for a permanent position. Instead, you work 24/7 and you are happy to be participating in a great project, because — even though it will last only 12 months — you are carrying it out in a prestigious institution which employs prominent scientists. The passion and professional ambition are keywords in the understanding this "paradox" of working hard, being extremely well educated and leaving as a working poor in the precarious situation. The phenomenon of scientific ambition was analyzed exceptionally well by Joseph Hermanowicz in his case study of physicists. The author of "The Stars are not Enough" (Hermanowicz, 1998) underlined the role of ambition, that is progressively incorporated by young students (then scientists), and which increases proportionally to the prestige of the institution in which those debutants are receiving their education. The focus on the competition aiming at high achievement is characteristic of the contemporary research world — and constitutes an ingredient of the "smell of the laboratory". The smell becomes certainly less attractive if we consider the side effects of that competition, i.e. those who have lost (and in science it is only the first place that counts) and those who are frustrated because they consider themselves as losers (Hermanowicz, 1998). Hermanowicz interestingly showed that the level of frustration and auto-evaluation of the careers is much higher among scientists who are trained in the best institutions. This indicates that in prestigious laboratories the expectations of the top results (visible throughout top publications) will generate a lot of pressure and the feeling called by sociologists as "comparative failure" (Glaser 1964).

Debutants coming into such places expect (in line with the professional ideology saying that researchers' activity is motivated by passion for science) no racism, no hierarchy, no religion, no passports — under the assumption that we live in a global world (that notion had been developed much earlier than the term "globalization" got popular). Steven Shapin showed in several texts how this kind of vision about a 'perfect scientist' is at odds with the reality and how the social world of researchers is similar to other social and professional places where the auxiliary characteristics such race, gender, age, nationality or religion play an important and discriminatory role (Shapin, 2008; 2010). Shapin's analysis does not concern the contemporary situation — yet, in my ethnographical fields, I have often observed situations which give the basis for deconstructing that professional tale about the global and cosmopolite world of passionate scientists.

Ghetto laboratories and Auto-discriminations

Most authors analyze the problem of discrimination by focusing on a specific feature of discrimination (e.g. gender, race, nationality, ethnicity, class). A lot has been discussed about discrimination based on the grounds of gender and the problem has been widely recognized. This is probably the reason for which the director of CERN, in her interview, did not mention gender discrimination as non-existent. So, the laboratory can be considered as a place without discrimination, even though gender inequality (according to several hundred of publications) is still performed. For several years now, various groups of sociologists have underlined different aspects that need to be modified in order to give female scientists the possibility to conduct their careers in the conditions similar to those in which their masculine colleagues conduct theirs. The recent years' focus on researchers' geographic mobility has made the compatibility between one's private life and scientific career much more difficult, especially for women. Considering the biological calendar (the reproduction period), it is difficult for a young female researcher to be a mother and, at the same time, to move forward in her professional career in the most intense period of a scientific career (PhD and post-doc), when young researchers must show their ability to conduct research (the "publish or perish" phenomenon) in order to have prospects for a permanent position. This current of inquiry, stemming from the issue of gender discrimination, is nowadays being shifted to the family issue and private the life-work balance area of research.

In the field of intersectional studies, the main focus in now placed on the relationship between different features of discriminations. This approach is considered new in the discrimination studies (mostly developed in the area of Gender Studies). However, since the 1950s., sociologists of work have paid attention to the crossing points between different types of discrimination. Using the conceptual tool of auxiliary characteristics and master status (Hughes, 1971; Hall, 1949), they showed how different types of features not related with one's profession determinate his/her career.

I employed this approach in my extensive analysis of the question of discrimination based on ethnicity, nationality, native-language and culture. Based on my work conducted in US institutions, I published the paper entitled "Ghetto laboratories", in which I explain the mechanisms that influence the creation of laboratories composed of scientists from one cultural area, following the rule: if the boss is from India, the majority of scientists will be from India; if the PI is from Russia, this will be a "Russian lab", with the majority of scientists educated in Russia. I made it clear that this type of ethnic organization is useful for scientists working abroad, as it helps them to create and maintain their networks that function according to their organizational and work cultures. In other words, this is a transformation from a disadvantage into a positive value. In fact, several laboratories of that type have fruitful collaborations with their countries of origin. Also, they successfully practice outsourcing of scientific projects as well as hiring procedures (Wagner, 2014).[9] The creation of a "ghetto lab" is also foreigners' response to having a difficult access to the networks of scientists educated and established permanently in the USA. I have also observed similar social mechanisms and practices of networking among people from the same culture (and country) in Europe. But in Europe, the organization of scientific team work is different, because the majority of scientists working in EU institutions are locals (i.e. Germans in Germany, Italians in Italy or Frenchmen in France and the PI's as well as a majority of team-members are usually issued from this 'local' country), which prevents the creation of such ghetto laboratories on a large scale. However, such network support is crucial for a scientist at each step of his/her career — at each form of selection: publication, hiring, or accessing rare and expensive resources.

What determines the possibility to pursue (or not) scientific projects is a set of factors: the proximity of institutions that offer the tools for doing experimental research, the scientist's curriculum, his/her network and the institutional affiliation. As my key participant wrote: "all the facilities in Europe (with instruments payed with EU money, it means with our money...) are free only depending on your surname…"

CERN is also one of those rare institutions that possess a kind of unique infrastructure (machines and apparatuses) to conduct high-level research. The excerpt cited above voices the opinion which I have heard several times — in laboratories not affiliated with first-class research institutions, from scientists who do not

9 For more examples on this field, see: Wagner 2014: 145-170.

have permanent jobs in top laboratories. This is one of the types of discrimination largely practiced in the researchers world.

Such insider knowledge about this kind of practice is largely spread among scientists and is acquired during the socialization process. In sociology, we could even consider it as tacit knowledge. This knowledge provokes an interesting (from the standpoint of sociology of work) phenomenon: auto-discrimination.[10] Professionals who were not educated in prestigious institutions and are who are not affiliated with such institutions do not think about their careers in the similar way as those who have been in such a privileged situation since the firsts stages of their careers (being a PhD student of an IVY League university, being a member of a famous team). The "other" scientists will prepare their projects according to their situation by sending their publications to second-rate journals and not applying for prestigious grants or scholarships. For them, this is a pragmatic way of coping with the structure of their fields animated by powerful and prestigious networks.

Rarely could we find persons who do not implement those auto-discriminatory practices, which are perceived such as a "realistic planning" or a "pragmatic career strategy". This was observed in the case of some "inheritors", i.e. persons who come from families of scientists and thus have a substantial social and professional capital (Wagner, 2016). Similarly to the director of CERN mentioned above (a daughter of a scientist), young people who enter into the with the social world of scientists being already familiar with its functioning are much better prepared to take part in a long-term (if not permanent) competition to become successful in the given field. This background eliminates auto-discriminative practices and gives the possibility to additionally benefit from the originally favorable situation. The inheritor category can protect young scientists from various types of discrimination. This is why I consider the category of class and familial background as a crucial (and frequently missing from career studies) feature in the analysis of scientific careers.

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10 I am not using here the Bourdieu's perspective (Bourdieu, 1988; 1996) on dominations in a given scientific fields while I worked with different — interactionist- approach, My interpretation is more dynamic and context related, this is why I am more focusing on socialization of scientists, the transmission of patterns and strategies of making career than a domination structures.

The life in between[11] — the cosmopolitan dream and stratified reality

Double absence and collective lie (Sayad, 1999)

The cosmopolite world, passionate scientists working in international teams and transnational professionals active in several countries while being involved in various research projects — this is the image transmitted by politicians of science who design the activity of this professional milieu. The focus on mobility and internationalization has transformed scientists' careers. In the past, these were mostly related to the activity in one or two institutions, but now careers are conducted in several places, around the world, without a permanent attachment (or attained only after several years of a pilgrim life).

We use different terms (some created and forgotten, others permanently in use) to describe such a researcher (a globetrotter researcher, Mahroum, 2000; a pilgrim, Bunt-Kokhuis, 1996; a transnational professional, Wagner, 2011), or such type of on-the-move phenomenon (motility, mobility Kesselring 2006; or transmobility; Wagner, 2011). We rarely speak of migration in this context, for professional migration is usually from one place to another, whereas in this case there is this constant movement and researchers who work abroad in several countries in a row are rarely the situation of an immigrant. However, in some cases, after several years — they have to deal with these questions: Who am I? Which place do I belong to?

In the response to that question, I employed the concept of the Double Absence, introduced by a sociologist of migration, Abdelmalek Sayad (Sayad,1999). This concept concerns migrants who no more belong to the place of their origin and are not yet incorporated in the new society. This situation is in opposition to the Transnational vision developed by some scientists.

According to my observation, we could say that the situation of scientists working in the 21st century could be placed in between the Double Absence model and the Transnational path. In my fieldworks, conducted in the disciplines of a high level of competition (so-called "sexy fields", like cancer research or environmental

11 More about it in Wagner, 2015b.

studies), the participants' situation is more often closer to the Double Absence than to the Transnational Professional.

In November 2015, I took part in a meeting of young Polish scientists organized at Cambridge University by a group of young researchers in order to create a network if Polish Scientists abroad (that initiative was supported by the Polish government). After my presentation, which focused on careers of mobile Polish scientists, I carried out a small probe research (kind of instant pool) concerning the meeting attendants' own feelings about that "in-between" situation. I asked about 100 participants how they felt — on the scale of 1-10 (1 was the Double Absence situation, and 10 — the Transnational Professional situation); I also asked for their institutional position (an under-graduate, a PhD student or an academic with a permanent position). The meeting attendants were mostly young people, but the majority of them were certainly "the cream of the cream" of Polish students and scholars working mainly in the UK. They were predominantly Cambridge or Oxford affiliated best specialists, who had passed the intense selectivity in admissions. We could consider them as belonging to academic elite working in the privileged and prestigious institutions. The findings of that study were following: the median of the responses was 3,5; only a few responders situated themselves as close to the Transnational Professional position and the huge majority claimed to be no more in Poland and not yet a part of those prestigious institutions. The feeling of being apart, being "outsiders", was commonly shared (this is probably also a success of actions like "Polish Perspective in Sciences"). The result of this study corroborates with my ethnographical data. The Double Absence is a situation typical of a mobile scientist. Working intensely in a foreign laboratory, a person coming from other country has a limited access to permanent positions (for example a non-French speaking researcher will be unlikely to get selected to a university or CNRS position; similar limitations exist in other EU countries, where not only the language but also the knowledge of the given system of education and culture of work proper to that place prevent outsiders from being successfully selected). There was noticed an interesting relation between the advancement in the career and the feeling of being a Transnational professional: with time, the participants in that small probe research of mine had become less "optimistic". The majority of those who were on advance stages of their professional careers expressed the feeling of the Double Absence.

We could deduce that with time and with experience of living abroad, the researchers would adjust their knowledge about their social world. They stopped believing in the official image transmitted by the authorities and present in the professional discourse maintained by politicians of research. The discourse about tolerance, cosmopolitism, passion and excellence (more about excellence in science: Wagner, 2016). With time and experience, the researchers learned about the various types and practices of exclusion and discrimination. Their perception of the laboratory life underwent a dramatic modification. The deterioration of their work conditions as well as the increase of precariousness contradicts the official image of the world of scientific research. But public discussion about those issues is not yet really open. Some papers on the topic (mostly individual testimonies) have been published in general journals (Guardian Science, Le Monde, Chronical of Higher Education, New York Times). Scholar discussion about work conditions and careers in science is more dominated by political-official discourse about "international scientific careers" and "positive effects of mobility" than influenced by critical analysis of precarious and migrant researchers. The ideal of cosmopolite and passionate scientist is really strong. If you are not one of them, you are not a "good" one, you are not set for this kind of job (especially as this is believed to be actually a vocation not a job).

The silence about the majority of situations that mobile scientists should face is largely spread. This phenomenon of hidden "reality" is similar to migrants 'lies' — the term coined by Abdelmalek Sayad: In their country of origin, they kept silent about the hardships of their life in France (connected with their real job and life conditions) in order to maintain the image of themselves as successful emigrants in the eyes of their family and the society of emigration (Sayad, 1999).

In the case of scientists, the collective lie is that our professional environment is free from discrimination (race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, class) and that we are driven only by passion for science. We assess only professional performances in order to select the "best" people. The terms of "best" and "excellent" cover complex processes in which auxiliary characteristics are as much important as professional ones — both are interdependent and strongly correlated.

Instead of a conclusion:

The need for action — public sociology — obstacles and challenges

As we read above, in response to the discriminatory practices, researchers have invented the "ghetto laboratories" organization. The national networks are a reaction to the lack of open access to official and non-official groups of support and collaborations. There are few sociological critical publications and deep field-studies which do not nourish the powerful professional ideology that propagates the existence of a professional, cosmopolite and free from discriminations milieu. Those practices and rare critical voices are not enough to prevent the deterioration of scientists' work conditions.

What is the future for young people who are involved in scientific careers in the view of the problems that are presented in this article?

In my opinion, the only solution could be a collective action undertaken by researchers, working in different countries, under various types of contract. I mean here the creation of a professional union whose members would work in various disciplines and in various institutions around the world. Only a collective action of a large number of participants could influence the policy of research and improve scientists' work conditions.

Such trans-national professional organization would be a solution to the problem at stake, i.e. the precarious job situation of highly educated intellectuals leaving close to the poverty category. For several years, European researchers have been waiting for the implementation of the Chart of the European Researcher. Our credits are not cumulated as we move through our professional careers from one country to another, our pension is not regulated by a strict policy, our familial situation is neglected by politicians who design research programs. Since European workers hired in EU institutions do have a specific track of careers with a specific work and employment conditions, why cannot such a rule apply also to researchers working on their projects in the EU? Why don't the universities engaged in the Bolognan system follow a common policy toward academics, while in other areas of university activity a unification of procedures and practices has been imposed and implemented? Why are there such disparities in work conditions within the EU? Why, after 20 years of hard work in many laboratories in the world, don't researchers have any coherent cover similar to the one that other employees of the EU countries have?

This is all about the fragility of our employment conditions and bad protection of our professional situation. This reality needs a strong mythology to be covered; a strong drama based on passion, ambition, excellence and cosmopolitism, i.e. all the strong values that make our claim for being employed under a decent work conditions inappropriate. If we are not happy to be precarious, dozens of other precarious scientists will take our job. If we have no more faith and passion — the door is open for us to leave. If we are not good enough, the blame is entirely on us. This is a classic neoliberal situation — the structure is such that the entire responsibility for failures and weakness is burdened on the individual — if we are not the winners in the system, this is our individual problem.

At the beginning of its existence, in the USA the sociology was not an academic discipline but a part of actions performed by social workers (Chapoulie, 2001; Deegan, 1986). During first half of the 20th century, the aim of the sociology in Chicago was the improvement of life and work conditions of people living in the new metropolis. The sociology in its applied sphere was close to real people and their problems. Recently, Michael Burawoy has revitalized the public sociology (Burawoy, 2004). According to his words, this should be one of the facets of our professional activity. In my opinion, in the case of scientific career studies, the implementation of our work results should mean concrete actions that will shed light on the real work conditions of scientists (precarious job situation, low salary and lack of long-term social protection). Sociologists, especially those who are specialists of careers in science, should help to organize such a movement. This is our responsibility towards our participants. They have helped us with their research and our duty is to help them in their work.

We as a scientific community should get organized. We know the tools for pursuing our careers (collaborative projects, Internet communication, social networks). Also, we have powerful social and professional skills. No one else will do it for us. This is the time for an action.[12]

12 There are examples of successful actions undertaken in the past, such as the boycott of Elsevier Editions or the movement created by the Cost of Knowledge community.

Such a collective action of international-global network of scientists who struggle for the improvement of their work conditions should give precise results in terms of specific rules and laws which, once implemented, will made the smell of the laboratory less bitter.[13]

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13 UNICAS is an example of this kind of action. The dynamics of its development is difficult to predict. If you are interested, you can visit the site: www.izabelawagner.com — there the site UNICAS ready from September 2016 will be indicated.

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Chapter 4

Academic Mobility

Lessons and Opportunities

Liudmila Kirpitchenko

Abstract This paper approaches academic mobility as an opportunity for examining how intercultural flows of people and ideas create effective pathways for knowledge transfer. Its main objective is to set up the theoretical framework for exploring intercultural encounters within academic mobility with an additional goal of revealing underlining conditions for successful intercultural knowledge transfer and creation. Academic mobility refers to global mobilities of tertiary students and university staff and describes a growing phenomenon worldwide. It creates additional possibilities for exploring the enabling conditions for the intercultural knowledge flows. Academic migrants have been acknowledged as important agents of intercultural knowledge transfer, interchange and, ultimately, knowledge creation. This paper is guided by a hypothesis that cosmopolitan dispositions that academic migrants display or acquire can create preconditions for successful knowledge transfer in everyday intercultural interactions in academia. In this paper, theoretical notions and ideas are discussed to provide a foundation for designing an ethnographic research which will seek to locate and analyse empirical manifestations of intercultural competencies and emerging cosmopolitan dispositions. Some preliminary findings of a pilot study are also analysed.

Keywords Academic mobility, knowledge transfer, knowledge creation, cosmopolitanism, cultural dispositions, cultural capital.

Introduction

Knowledge creation and circulation have become increasingly important topics for modern societies that relay on knowledge-based economies. When knowledge becomes a central resource for economic and social growth, governments increase their efforts in encouraging transnational knowledge flows and exchange. Academic mobility is one of the skilled migration forms that have been growing and gaining the most importance worldwide. Transnational academic scientific mobility as a type of skilled migration that refers to the international movement of professors, scholars, researchers, post-doctorates and tertiary students across national boundaries and international institutions, laboratories, universities, think tanks and research centres.

The importance of academic mobility is evident in the European Council's policies to create a common European area for research. Initiatives, such as the European Research Area, Marie Curie Actions, European Network of Mobility Centres and EURAXESS, testify to this importance. Additionally, the expanding European Union hosts many programs for academic mobility exchanges, such as *Erasmus, Socrates, Marie Curie, Tempus* and others. At the same time, the leading immigrant-receiving countries, such as Australia, have enhanced their immigrant recruitment policies to attract highly educated and experienced international migrants. The focus of this paper is on academic mobility as a platform for examining knowledge flows and effective intercultural pathways for knowledge transfer. Academic mobility creates additional possibilities for exploring knowledge mobility, knowledge translation and knowledge transfer (Kirpitchenko, 2014). Academic migrants have become very important agents of knowledge transfer, interchange and, ultimately, knowledge creation.

Academic mobility may not be a novel phenomenon, but popular awareness of its prominence has grown relatively recently — after student exchange programs were introduced in the evolving and expanding European Union in the late 1980s. Academic mobility is defined in this research as translational movement of university students and staff for learning and teaching assignments. Its hyper-modern manifestation is the *Erasmus* Programme which stands for *EuRopean Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students. Erasmus* started in the united Europe in 1987 as a program for student exchange and nowadays, the European Union hosts many other programs for academic mobility exchanges, such as *Erasmus, Socrates, Marie Curie, Tempus* and others. *Erasmus* remains the most well-known and widespread of them. With its newer addition — *Erasmus Mundus* — it now truly involves the global academic community. The program grows every year and in 2012-13, close to 268,143 students participated in *Erasmus* exchanges (EC, 2014).

International dimension of education has been very important for Australia and the recent initiative of the Australian government is an adoption of a new student mobility program entitled the New Colombo Plan. The New Colombo Plan builds on the successes of its predecessor the "Old" Colombo Plan which originated in the 1950s and brought Asian students to Australia. The original Plan was designed mainly as a humanitarian aid effort (Oakman, 2010) and had an objective of fostering the economic development of South and Southeast Asian countries (Akita, Krozewski &Watanabe, 2014). This Plan is generally credited for creating lasting linkages between various Asian countries and Australia and for strengthening Australian soft power in the international arena. In David Lowe's (2002: 204) analysis, "[i]n educating Australians about Asia and promoting Australia as a destination of Asian students, […] the Plan may have enjoyed its greatest success".

The New Plan starts in 2015 and aims to fund a reverse flow of undergraduate students. This time the Australian students are supported to study overseas and will complement large numbers of international students who come to study in Australia on government-sponsored and private initiatives. This student mobility Plan is targeted to the Asia Pacific region and serves as a regional supplement to the already existing and well-established European and North American programs of student and staff exchanges. This research strives to explore both Australian and international experiences of academic mobility thus adding additional comparative value to the project.

This research explores growing mobilities and diverse aspects of intercultural dialogue with an objective to reveal conditions for successful cultural knowledge transfer and creation. For the pilot study, academic migrants at two international educational institutions in Italy — European University Institute (EUI) and LUISS Guido Carli — were invited to share their experiences, views and perceptions of intercultural communication, with a goal of producing a better understanding of the symbolic processes in which people from different cultures create shared meanings. An objective of this qualitative study is to examine socio-cultural conditions enabling knowledge transfer and creation of shared meanings. This paper presents background theoretical ideas and conceptual thinking which underlie the study in progress. It discusses the theoretical notions and viewpoints that prompt the researcher to test the commonplace assumptions and lay the foundations for designing an ethnographic study. Some preliminary results of the pilot research are also presented and analysed.

Mobile Academics and Academic Migrants

This study focuses on the experiences of the mobile academics and academic immigrants who are defined as the highly skilled, hyper-mobile and often migrating professional groups. Academic migrants are a promising subject for study since they possess unique characteristics which are rarely found in other professional immigrant groups. Academic migrants have higher levels of education (e.g., postgraduate degrees) and more diversified international professional experience compared to other skilled migrant groups. In turn, immigrant-receiving countries provide ample policy incentives for targeting mostly educated, experienced and affluent groups of migrants. Consequently, academic migrants have greater propensity for global mobility, and more diversified options for temporary or permanent migration. Academic migrants are more likely to be engaged in the newer types of migration patterns, such as: hyper-mobility, circular migration, return migration, shuttle migration and others.

Traditionally, migration is viewed as a one-time mobility with a view of a permanent settlement. Traditional migrants were less likely to move again once settled. Nowadays traditional way of migration is becoming less appealing, as we witness increased complexities of migration patterns. Hugo (1999) termed this shift "a new paradigm in international migration" and noted that new fluid mobility patterns are becoming more complex and diversified (Hugo, 2006a; 2008). As Ho & Bedford (2008: 53) observe: "The distinctions between temporary and permanent migration are becoming blurred." Khoo, Hugo & McDonald (2008: 195) agree, adding that "Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to dichotomize permanent settlement and temporary migration as though they are two quite separate and unrelated processes". This complexity of mobility patterns pertains not only to nuclear families, but also to the mobility between family members. For example, new patterns of migration and corresponding interesting terminology have been proposed recently. In New Zealand, Ho (2002) and Ho & Bedford (2008) conducted research among bi-local Asian families who were termed "astronaut" families, in which one or both parents decided to return to their countries of origin to work, leaving their children to be educated in the new country. Children who are left to study in the new country are termed "parachute kids" (Ho & Bedford, 2008). Couples without children are termed "cosmonauts" and they are even more likely to stay outside of their new country for prolonged periods (NZIS, 2000).

Academic migrants display newer tendencies for "liquid" mobility, similarly to some other professional and entrepreneur groups. They are more likely to adopt a new cosmopolitan spirit of being open to malleability, constantly looking outwards, challenging old rigid social migration constructs and embracing our increasingly liquid modernity of global mobility (Kirpitchenko, 2011). Academic migration allows us to look at migration in a new way: not as a clearly defined pattern of people's moving to a settler location, but as a more fluid pattern of malleable international mobility.

Academic migrants and mobile academics have been perceived as important agents of intercultural knowledge flows (Kim, 2010) and this project is set to explore this aspect of academic mobility by looking at the agency of academic migrants and their capacities to attain cosmopolitan attributes. Mobile academics are perceived as being more prone to developing cosmopolitan outlooks and dispositions, as Marotta (2010:105) observes, "cosmopolitan strangers develop a more perceptive, broader and keener insight than those confined to either a particular or universal perspective". The purpose of my research is to explore empirical evidence on the academic interactions of diverse cultures in order to advance our understanding of the processes of knowledge exchange, transfer, and ultimately knowledge creation.

Academic mobility is a rapidly growing phenomenon and mobile academics or academic migrants have been portrayed as a very enticing research target group because of their unique cosmopolitan propensities and outlooks. Previous research has suggested that intercultural academic encounters can bring about misunderstandings and refusing the other (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Matthews & Sidhu, 2005), but they also have enormous potential for knowledge cross-fertilisation, enrichment and creation (Godart et al., 2015; Gaither et al., 2015; Vezzali et al., 2015). The academic professional elites are a very promising and fruitful subject of study, and much can be learnt and emulated by a society at large from the academic examples of successful career and life trajectories. Yet, rarely do academic professionals become a focus of exploration for the social scientists (Turner, 2013) and my research aims at addressing this knowledge gap.

Mobile academic and academic migrants can be perceived as unique in displaying a new cosmopolitan spirit of constantly looking outwards and embracing our increasingly liquid modernity and cosmopolitan outlooks. As examples of the 'real cosmopolitan communities,' Jeremy Waldron (1992: 777) cites the 'international community of scholars (defined in terms of some shared specialisation), [and] the scientific community… [who] effortlessly transcend national and ethnic boundaries… to pursue common and important projects under conditions of goodwill, cooperation, and exchange throughout the world'. My project seeks to test and provide empirical evidence for this thesis as well as highlight some of the possible drawbacks and limitations of such mobility. By testing the connections between academic mobility and cosmopolitan dispositions stemming from intercultural communication, this research provides an innovative look on intercultural encounters and knowledge translation. It enriches the body of knowledge on an emerging area of inquiry — the role of cosmopolitan dispositions in current academic intercultural interactions.

This research focuses on academic migrants engaging the issues of social stratification. Academic migrants represent an optimal highly mobile and articulate social group for exploring the research questions on emerging critical cultural awareness through conscious self-reflection at the time of the interaction (Guilherme, 2007). Academic migrants and mobile academics have been one of the more mobile professionals in Australia, and they are an under-researched group. Yet this group of professionals are able to provide valuable insights into emerging intercultural attitudes, skills and dispositions. This research project is building on my previous doctoral research which analysed social and cultural barriers, difficulties and impediments to intercultural communication. It paved a foundation for designing a bigger project which focuses on successful strategies for communication and solutions for intercultural integration. This research seeks to contribute to the recent discourses on cultural competencies (Byram, 2008) by adding cosmopolitan dimensions that tend to effectively contest ethnocentric, racialized, gendered and national narratives.

Thus professional migrants are the very suitable subject of research on mobility in the age of post-modernity. Additionally, academic migrants is an enticing research group because it can be argued that they tend to be better equipped for smooth international integration: they tend to have broad liberal education, knowledge of the host language, prolonged international exposure, greater openness to diversity of ideas, and general cosmopolitan outlooks. It can be assumed that this group will be easily integrated in any international environment because academic migrants may not face any solid barriers to integration, such as a necessity to learn the language or to learn a new skill or profession. Their barriers to integration tend to take a more subtle, liquid and culturally defined form. International flows of highly skilled migrants including international students and scholars has been steadily high in the last decades, and research on the positive outcomes of academic mobility is gaining its recognition and urgency worldwide (Kenway & Fahey, 2006; 2009).

Overview of Previous Research on Academic Mobility

Scholars tend to agree that research on academic mobility is in its nascent state worldwide (Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Kenway & Fahey, 2006; 2009). This emerging field of research witnessed its Inaugural Conference in Finland in 2006 in which the author was privileged to participate. Conference participants were mainly engaged in drawing conclusions from the highly successful Erasmus program on student mobility within the European Union. It was noted that academic staff mobility is growing alongside student mobility, yet academic professional mobility remains under-studied and under-researched internationally. Many counties of the expanding European Union presents attractive opportunities for academic mobility. At the same time, the leading immigrant-receiving countries — Australia, Canada and New Zealand — have enhanced their immigrant recruitment techniques to attract highly educated and experienced people, reflecting a political shift in immigration policies, from family reunification to skilled selection (Hugo, 2006a; 2006b; Arunachalam & Healy, 2009). It was observed at the conference that despite all the opportunities that the expanding European Union is offering, Eastern European academics are increasingly migrating outside the European continent, mostly to North America and Australia. Nonetheless, only a modest body of research exists on academic mobility outside Europe.

The First Academic Mobility Conference provided a glimpse into the amount and quality of research on academic mobility that has been done in Europe (Dervin & Suomela-Salmi, 2006). Existing research is mainly concentrated on the differences in academic expectations among non-native students and staff in the modes of academic writing (Durkin, 2004; 2007), critical reading (Angelova & Riazantseva, 1999), and academic interpersonal relations (Kirpitchenko, 2007; Zharkova-Fattore, 2007). Most significantly, there is a growing body of research on the educational prerequisites for success in the internationalized academia (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2003; 2007) and on the best practices of intercultural dialogue in academia internationally (Boesmans, 2007). The main conclusion from the conference was summarized by Abdallah-Pretceille (2007): "Mobility without education is nothing but ruin to the soul" which parodies the famous formula of Rabelais "Science without conscience is nothing but ruin to the soul". Mobility presupposes education and this study endeavours to shed light on some educational prerequisites for migration which can be termed cosmopolitan dispositions.

The Second Academic Mobility Conference was meant to build on this emerging theme and it was held in Estonia in 2009. It was the Third International Conference on Academic Mobility and Migration attended by the author and held in 2012 that marked a shift in how academic mobility is approached. The conference themes suggested two important changes to the scholarly perceptions of academic mobility. Firstly, by adding "Academic Migration" to its title it acknowledged that "Mobility" and "Migration" are inseparable concepts and often accompany one another. Secondly, by holding the conference at the Kuala Lumpur International University, the conference extended its reach to the Asian Pacific academic community in recognition that this geographical region shows an increasingly active participation in the global academic mobilities. Within the Asia-Pacific region, Australia is one of the preferred destinations for academic mobilities and the country strives to compete globally to remain one of the largest net beneficiaries of "brain gain" (Beine, Defoort & Docquier, 2007). This expanded vision of fluid academic mobility presents a new ground for studying global intercultural encounters and testing emerging cosmopolitan values and dispositions.

International flows of highly skilled migrants including international students have been steadily growing and diversifying in the last decades. According to the OECD (2014) in 2012-13, more than 4.5 million tertiary students were enrolled outside their country of citizenship. Australia (followed by Austria, Luxemburg, New Zealand and the United Kingdom) has the highest proportion of international students as a percentage of the total tertiary enrolments. Over the past four decades, the number of international students has increased close to sixfold, from 0.8 million worldwide in 1975 to over 4.5 million in 2012. Since 2000, the number of foreign tertiary students enrolled worldwide more than doubled with an average annual growth rate of 7%. Australia not only has the highest percentage of international students among the tertiary enrolments, but also relies on the large presence of international students who have a significant impact on the tertiary graduation rates. If data from international students are excluded, Australia's graduation rate from university-level first degree programs drops by 16% (OECD, 2014). Given the importance of academic mobility for the educational sector and society, research on academic mobility and knowledge creation is gaining significance and urgency worldwide (Kenway & Fahey, 2006; 2009).

Culture and Knowledge Mobility

Growing numbers of mobilities are known to create new opportunities for the most visible and tangible economic benefits which are recently termed *edu-business* (Ball, 2012). Not less significantly, global mobilities present opportunities for intercultural enrichment and ultimately knowledge transfer (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2005) and this aspect of their contributions to knowledge mobility is the focus of this research. Within theoretical thinking, knowledge is inseparable from culture, and thus knowledge is discussed as being embedded in the culture of the individual. In social sciences, culture has countless interpretations, but there tend to be an agreement that the role of culture is paramount in any social form of human interaction. This study draws on Durkheimian thinking on culture as representing a collective consciousness (not necessarily equivalent to nation) combining a range of knowledge, languages, skills, attitudes and dispositions. It adopts a broad definition of culture in its anthropological understanding as a collective notion, encompassing a refinement of the individual's mind through a variety of everyday norms, traditions and expressions.

This broader understanding of culture within social sciences equates culture to civilization and includes a variety of everyday life perceptions and cultural expressions, such as patterns of thinking, feeling and acting. Edward B. Tylor (1958: 1) provided the first formal definition of culture: "[c]ulture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Use of culture in wide collective, anthropological and holistic terms is growing globally. Thus, UNESCO (2002) described culture as follows: "...culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs". UNESCO (2002) also noted that "culture is at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion, and the development of a knowledge-based economy". Based on the preceding descriptions, a working definition of culture is adopted as a *way of life* in its broad holistic interpretation.

Research Questions and Objectives

This research focuses on contemporary international encounters and interactions in the context of an ever-growing global academic mobility. It will investigate the benefits of knowledge mobility for societies accounting for contiguous processes, described as knowledge sharing, transfer, exchange, translation, mobilisation and creation (Graham et al., 2006; Williams, 2006). How knowledge is shared and what preconditions successful knowledge transfer is an important topic in itself, but it becomes even more compelling when knowledge is being shared across diverse cultures and continents (Asad, 1986).

The purpose of this research is to explore empirical evidence on the academic interactions of diverse cultures in order to advance our understanding of the processes facilitating or impeding knowledge exchange, transfer, and ultimately creation. This project explores international experiences of academic mobility and the research questions will:

1. Explore empirical evidence on the synergies and dynamics of intercultural interactions among mobile academics in order to

advance our understanding of the processes of knowledge exchange, transfer, and ultimately creation.

2. Empirically test an often made theoretical assumption that cross-cultural interactions generate cosmopolitan values, beliefs and attitudes that can be described as cosmopolitan dispositions.
3. Examine the optimal conditions and circumstances leading to successes in communication and therefore successful knowledge interchange and creation.
4. Identify and analyse successful strategies for knowledge integration and the role of cosmopolitan values and dispositions for new knowledge creation and circulation.

Ultimately, the purpose is to identify and examine cosmopolitan conditions conducive to mutual willingness to engage, cultural acceptance and accommodation in the processes of intercultural communication, which have been identified in the literature as the main cosmopolitan dispositions. My doctoral research which focused on the barriers to social inclusion raised new questions in relation to the cosmopolitan values and dispositions that can help to overcome barriers to intercultural communication. This project will test the assumption that cosmopolitan dispositions are the conditions that are the most favourable for knowledge breakthrough and intellectual ingenuity.

In the theoretical approach, this project draws significantly from two main scholarly streams:

1) Theories of cosmopolitan attitudes and dispositions by Ulrich Beck (e.g., 2006), Ulf Hannerz (1996) and Steven Vertovec (e.g., 2002); and
2) Cultural capital, cultural dispositions and cross-cultural encounters theories by Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., 1988, 1986), Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) and Gerard Delanty (e.g., 2011).

The central role in this project is devoted to the concept of *cosmopolitanism* which has recently re-emerged in the scholarly writings and received keen attention among the social scientists globally. In Vertovec and Cohen's (2002) summarising definition, cosmopolitanism has five main facets: sociocultural condition, a philosophy, a multifaceted political project, attitudes and, finally, competences. While theoretical conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism has advanced in the recent years, the empirical dimensions of cosmopolitanism still remain to be explored in depth (Brennan, 1997; Cheah & Robbins, 1998; Kendall, Woodward & Skrbis, 2009; Van Hooft, 2009; Pichler, 2009; Van Hooft & Vandekerckhove, 2010). I intend to undertake this empirical challenge of exploring cosmopolitanism in everyday intercultural interactions. The focus in this research is on the *everyday cosmopolitanism* which combines cosmopolitan values, attitudes and competences that are manifested in the everyday encounters and quotidian interpersonal relations.

Cultural dispositions, which are defined by Bourdieu (1977: 72) as durable cultural "propensities and inclinations that individuals display in relations with others", are to be explored as the crucial components of successful intercultural dialogue. Cosmopolitan cultural dispositions have a potential of challenging the essentialist binaries of local and global, particular and universal, or national and international. They can be viewed as the gains of successful cultural knowledge interchange guiding to mutually beneficial social inclusion (Kirpitchenko, 2011; 2014). I will analyse cosmopolitan attributes which tend to be developed in the processes of successful knowledge translation. These attributes include: mutual willingness to engage; cultural acceptance; openness to diversity; and mutual accommodation in the processes of intercultural communication. By examining intercultural encounters of mobile academics, the central aim is to empirically test an often made theoretical assumption that cross-cultural interactions generate cosmopolitan values, beliefs and attitudes that can be described as cosmopolitan dispositions.

Intercultural academic encounters have huge potential for knowledge interchange and cross-fertilisation. My aim is to analyse contemporary intercultural encounters and focus on the widely assumed emanating cosmopolitan perceptions of cultural inclusion (Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). It has been observed that intercultural exchanges of dissimilar cultural patterns have a propensity to generate shared beliefs and cosmopolitan attitudes (Wise, 2009). Cosmopolitan values tend to provide feelings of unity and community cohesion and are conducive to intercultural affinities (or commonalities) in understanding social inclusion (Vasta, 2012). This project will effectively test these theoretical ideas in relation to the positive dynamics of intercultural encounters which lead to formation of a shared cosmopolitan understanding of cultural inclusion (Noble, 2009).

Cosmopolitan Dispositions

In this research, the role of culture in the intercultural communication processes is analysed while appropriating the advances in contemporary debates on post-modernity and cosmopolitanism. These current approaches share a central feature — a clear emphasis on diversity and plurality of viewpoints. Giddens (1990: 2) states that "[t]he post-modern outlook sees a plurality of heterogeneous claims to knowledge." Individual projects are no longer bound by the traditional social anxieties in constructing and maintaining their self-identities. Individual projects are seen as more open and flexible undertakings (Giddens, 1991). Writing about a postmodern cosmopolitan society Beck (2006: 89) suggests the idea of "*internalization* of difference, the co-presence and coexistence of rival lifestyles, contradictory certainties in the experiential space of individuals and societies". Beck (2006: 89) considers it a new world order "in which it became necessary to understand, reflect and criticize difference, and in this way to assert and recognize oneself and others as different and hence of equal value". In this way, the cosmopolitan theory has opened the way to considerations of mutual recognition, understanding and respect of cultural otherness.

The central defining characteristic of a cosmopolitan perspective is the "*dialogic* imagination", according to Beck (2002). It means imagining the practice of entering into the conversation with the other and creating a dialogue with diverse cultures. Ultimately, "*dialogic* imagination" means the appropriation and internalization of cultures and rationalities within one's own life, and creation of the '*internalized* other' (Beck, 2002). The dialogic imagination corresponds to the coexistence of rival ways of life in the individual experience, which makes it a matter of importance to compare, reflect, accept, understand, and combine contradictory certainties. The cosmopolitan perspective is an imagination of alternative ways of life, cultures and rationalities, which necessarily include the otherness of the other (Beck, 2002). The processes of interpenetrations between various cultures of the world are often described as interculturation. Ideas of every culture exist "side by side, in combination, comparison, contradiction and competition in every aspect of human experience" (Beck, 2002: 18). These processes of interculturation are continuing as they are imminent and inevitable.

This research is guided by the methodological applications of cosmopolitanism and the way cosmopolitanism is redefining the sociological frame of reference. Three defining features of a concept of cosmopolitanism are outlined by Beck (2002:35-36). They are *globality*, *plurality* and *civility:*

1) *Globality* describes openness to the world, awareness of a globally defined sphere of responsibility, and globally shared collective futures.
2) *Plurality* is an acknowledgement of the otherness of others and commitment to "stimulate the self-reflexivity of divergent entangled cosmopolitan modernities".
3) *Civility* defines commitment to dialogue and non-violence.

Departing from these three fundamental features — globality, plurality and civility — this study approaches cosmopolitanism as espousing open-ended and welcoming dispositions. Hannerz (1996: 104) proposed a classical definition of cosmopolitanism as an "orientation, a willingness to engage with the other ... intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity". Calcutt, Woodward & Skrbis (2009: 172) draw on this definition and suggested that "cosmopolitanism includes Kantian universalism, cross-cultural competence, and either a willingness to tolerate or engage with otherness". The idea that "willingness to engage with the other" leads to better societal-wide outcomes is central in a very influential work conducted by Florida (2002, 2005) on global competition for talent. Skrbis & Woodward (2007: 730) point out a central dimension of cosmopolitanism adding that "cosmopolitans espouse a broadly defined disposition of 'openness' toward others, people, things and experiences whose origin is non-local". Cosmopolitan values are viewed as pertaining to meta-culture and 'lying beyond culture, custom and community' (Rapport, 2012:102) and having an emancipating and civilising role globally (Linklater, 2012). These definitions of cosmopolitan values and attitudes formed a foundation for designing a pilot study to test the theoretical promises of cosmopolitanism.

Pilot ethnographic research had an objective of testing in practice whether mobile academics tended to display certain cosmopolitan dispositions that aided them to being successful in intercultural interactions and professional communication. Cultural dispositions describing "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986: 243) that individuals display in relations with others, were found to be the crucial components of successful intercultural dialogue. Intercultural encounters are being explored as opportunities for prompting individuals to develop critical cultural awareness — the ability to interpret, evaluate and negotiate perspectives, practices and outlooks in their own and other cultures, which may lead them to acceptance of new ideas and thus creation of new knowledge. This paper hypothesises that cosmopolitan dispositions facilitate and promote intercultural dialogue, knowledge transfer and creation of shared cultural meanings.

Being attuned to different cultures on many levels has been considered a necessary cultural attribute in the age of modernity. Cultural openness involves "the search for, and delight in, the contrasts between societies rather than a longing for superiority or for uniformity" (Urry, 2000: 7). Cultural openness is the main characteristic of cosmopolitan disposition, a stance that may be conducive to generating new forms of critical knowledge (Hannerz, 1996: 103-9). Cosmopolitanism has to entail universal ethical commitments and "a distinct ethical orientation towards selflessness, wordiness, and communitarianism" (Kendall, Woodward & Skrbis, 2009: 22). This pilot empirical research examined theoretical interpretations of cosmopolitanism and set an objective of locating cosmopolitan values and dispositions in everyday discourses, situations and experiences of interpersonal interactions in academia. This paper presents preliminary empirical testing and discussion of cosmopolitan dispositions which were found to be preconditions for successful knowledge exchange, knowledge transfer and knowledge creation. The central hypothesis of this study is that various expressions of cosmopolitan dispositions present an opportunity of viewing cosmopolitanism as a desirable prerequisite for intercultural dialogue in the age of post-modernity.

Empirical Research in the Internationalised Academia

An objective of this discussion is to examine preliminary empirical evidence of the growing cosmopolitan values and dispositions in everyday academic interactions and for this purpose, two highly acclaimed international academic institutions were chosen for a pilot study. Empirical research on academic hyper-mobility was conducted on the premises of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence and LUISS Guido Carli University in Rome, both in Italy, which are perfect sites for examining the experiences of mobile academics of the post-modern times in a cosmopolitan academic milieu. The EUI is an international educational institution overseen by the European Union. LUISS Guido Carli stands for *Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali*, which is translated as Free International University for Social Studies. Both the EUI and LUISS attract big numbers of international students and staff. Both Universities are synonymous with academic mobility internationally and represent a vivid example of liquid academic mobility. Their academic environments provide an excellent opportunity to explore how social and intercultural interactions develop among academic professionals.

The researcher's lengthy stays as a Visiting Scholar at the EUI and LUISS provided her with ample opportunities for participating in all types of educational activities: lectures, classes, seminars, conferences and recreational events. In this way, the researcher was offered unique advantages in experiencing academic research environments enriched from cross-fertilization of research traditions and academic approaches which are unique. The EUI and LUISS are leading research and teaching institutions devoted exclusively to social sciences. They especially emphasize comparative studies and international links which are of particular interest for academic migrants. Both are renowned academic institutions which promote academic mobility by recruiting their full-time teaching staff, fellows and research students from all countries of the European Union and many other parts of the globe.

Overall, many participants described the EUI and LUISS environments as being international and/or cosmopolitan. For instance, one mobile academic with plentiful international experiences, was adamant about the EUI international environment: "I have here 95% of students from all around the globe". Similarly to many others, an international postgraduate researcher explained that there was no monolithic academic culture at the EUI: "Professors here are from different places". The teaching cultures of both universities were described as being heterogeneous and very diverse. This type of environment, which can be defined as international, intercultural or cosmopolitan, created a supportive milieu so that many participants enjoyed intercultural communication which made knowledge sharing a successful practice.

For the pilot study, research data were collected utilizing the qualitative techniques of participant observation and individual in-depth interviews with twenty-two academic migrants. As a crucial part of fieldwork, valuable insider's research was undertaken by the researcher by partaking in diverse doctoral and post-doctoral training activities as a participant and observer. It allowed the researcher to gather plentiful qualitative data on students' learning experiences by participating and observing academic presentations, discussions and debates. The EUI and LUISS presented exceptional opportunities for exploring academic intercultural dialogue through first-hand interaction with post-graduate researchers, post-doctoral fellows and professors from mainly Eastern European countries who became directly engaged in this pilot fieldwork research.

My focus is on international educational institutions with Italy hosting both LUISS and EUI which are distinctly international universities. EUI is a social science institution, hosting postgraduate students and scholars from over 60 countries. LUISS promotes student exchanges through Erasmus and 130 agreements with universities in 33 countries. For over 25 years these two universities have benefited from extended EU mobility programs and now enter into a renewed stage titled Erasmus Plus. Research on intrinsic benefits of EU mobilities can provide rich comparative case studies for Australia that recently announced a massive student mobility program — the New Colombo Plan.

Academic Mobility and Internationalization of Education

In the recent decades the scholarly community witnessed the increased mobility of university students and scholars thanks to a number of academic mobility programs. The futures of increasingly international academic community contemplate growing opportunities for intermixing of diverse ethno-cultural identities, cultural patterns and scholarly traditions. Academic mobilities of tertiary students and staff for academic career purposes are on the increase worldwide. In this research, academic mobility is seen as a part of the continuing changes in the teaching and learning processes that academic institutions are undergoing globally. These changes are often termed 'internationalization of education' and they are expressed in the transformations in both the curricula and the recruitment practices of students and staff (Agoston & Dima, 2012). Internationalization of education responds to the needs of preparing graduates for a globalized society and it inevitably alters the ways knowledge is transferred, exchanged and created in academia and beyond. Academic mobility is a growing phenomenon worldwide and Australia is one of the leading countries in promoting *edu-business* (Ball, 2012), where education sector is seen as having a business rationale of generating economic revenues. Researchers of skilled migrants (Hawthorne, 2005; Arunachalam & Healy, 2009) attest that Australia has been receiving substantial economic, cultural and intellectual benefits from the inflows of people, skills, knowledges, and ideas.

Internationalized education signifies inclusion of multiple cultures where teaching and learning become not only multicultural by promoting inclusion, but also intercultural by sustaining interactive learning practices. Intercultural education opens the doors to intermixing, combining and interchanging multiple cultures. Intercultural encounters inevitably involve knowledge translation which means much more than a one-way linear diffusion of knowledge. Successful knowledge translation includes interactive practices, such as collaboration, linkages, sharing and exchanges of cultural perspectives. This project benefits from utilizing insider research methods and auto-ethnography (Kirpitchenko & Voloder, 2014), as the researcher has been actively engaged in the interactive practices, and she has been a part of transnational academic mobility as a participant and a researcher for a number of years. These transnational academic mobility experiences have helped the researcher to develop an insider's viewpoints on the intricacies of intercultural dialogue in the milieu of internationalized education and transnational knowledge mobility.

Global scholarly community has become increasingly aware of the academic mobilities after many programs for academic mobility exchanges were introduced within the evolving and expanding European Union. They include *Erasmus, Socrates, Marie Curie, Tempus* and others. The most prominent and widespread of them remains *Erasmus*, which stands for *EuRopean Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students*. The *Erasmus* Program started in the United Europe in 1987 as a program for student exchange, and with its newer addition of *Erasmus Mundus*, it now extends beyond Europe and truly involves the global community.

This original study aims to provide valuable insights into intricacies of intercultural communication and shared gains of knowledge exchange and creation. This research has an international-level appeal and significance as it focuses on the emerging topic of intercultural interactions and knowledge creation in academia. This project harbours economic and scholarly benefits for diverse nations and societies that maintains worldly outlooks and pursues intensive campaigns (e.g., recent Australian New Colombo Plan) in promoting academic exchanges and recruiting international students and staff. This project has a strong capacity for meeting societies' worldly aspirations, improving international linkages, promoting educational cooperation between academic centres and institutions as well as contributing to joint collaborative research networks around this innovative area of inquiry.

By examining synergies of cultural interactions among mobile academics and underlining conditions for new knowledge breakthrough and creation, this research will explore successful strategies of knowledge integration and probe cosmopolitan values and dispositions arising from intercultural encounters. This innovative project endeavours to contribute to preparing diverse societies to fully embrace transnational academic mobility for public benefit.

Research Methods

Research methods are designed to closely respond to the research objectives. To analyse emerging intercultural competencies and cosmopolitan dispositions that provide social and economic benefits to societies, I use a mixed methods approach combining ethnography, interviews, focus groups, insider participation, vignettes, narratives and statistical analysis. The use of multiple methods 'adds rigor, breadth complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry' (Denzin, 2012:82). I will also add digital methods to the mix. Social media present valuable resources for mining rich data as my pilot interviews have shown that multilingual online forums and blogs play an increasing role in intercultural interactions. Ethnographic component of this research is guided by Malinowski's tradition which emphasises everyday interactions and observations rather using direct inquiries into specific behaviours. Thus participant observation during my lengthy stays at the international universities 'subsumes the bulk' of field research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011:2). Formal interviews will be conducted with all levels of academic migrants at the EUI, and possibly other international universities of Florence. Interviewees for this project will include international postgraduate students, postdoctoral researchers and mobile academic scholars. Interviews will be based on a semi-structures questionnaire, and they will be audiotaped and transcribed.

Preliminary Ethnographic Insights

Ethnographic participatory research revealed important preliminary findings on the growing perceptions of cosmopolitan outlooks and dispositions in everyday social interactions among mobile academics. The underlying idea of this discussion is that various expressions of cosmopolitan dispositions are desirable preconditions for successful knowledge exchange, knowledge transfer and knowledge creation. Two cosmopolitan dispositions that became salient in the pilot fieldwork research are discussed in this section. They are: 1) *willingness to engage* referring to deeper interpersonal engagement; and 2) *openness to cultural diversity*, described otherwise as *intercultural acceptance*.

This research proposes to test whether cosmopolitanism provides a framework for mutually including diverse cultural patterns, which may be seen previously as mutually exclusive oppositions. It seeks to substantiate an argument that cosmopolitan values, including openness to cultural diversity, willingness to engage, and cultural acceptance, create mutually beneficial conditions for effective transfer and creation of all types of knowledge. The empirical value of this research is seen in engaging a group of academic migrants to share their experiences, views and perceptions of intercultural communication, with a goal of producing a better understanding of the symbolic processes in which people from different cultures create shared meanings. One of the objectives of this study is to examine socio-cultural conditions enabling knowledge transfer and creation of shared meanings. It is set to test whether postmodern cosmopolitan milieu facilitates intercultural integration and enables knowledge transfer and creation of shared cultural meanings.

The pilot interviews revealed that cosmopolitan dispositions tend to be displayed by academic migrants. Thus the notions, which can be described as *willingness to engage* or *more profound interpersonal engagement,* have featured as profound sentiments among many respondents. The desire to be socially involved often sparked out of perceived greater isolation and emotional detachment that almost every respondent felt at the beginning of their stay abroad. Other cosmopolitan dispositions that can be termed *openness to cultural diversity* and/or *intercultural acceptance* have found meaningful resonance in the interviews. Among participants, there was a deep sense of global openness to the world diversity, awareness of a global opportunities and responsibilities, along with globally shared collective futures. Very high hopes and aspirations of the new possibilities opening up in the new countries — this is what usually drives people to move from their home countries into the unknown.

Intercultural acceptance presupposes recognition of plurality of viewpoints. It is an acknowledgement of the otherness of others and commitment to be self-reflexive of diverse cultures, no matter how entangled they may be in cosmopolitan milieu. Many participants had favourable expectations of learning about diverse cultural imaginations. One female participant described enjoyment in interacting with people from different cultures in this way: "Their worldviews are different and you have to adjust to different viewpoints and it takes time to figure out that people are different. But it is also interesting to see how different viewpoints can be". Another female participant also said that "it was genuinely interesting… to hear someone speaking who experienced [diverse] societies and realities."

A male participant agreed that "being different is not necessarily your drawback" and it was only a lack of adaptation that mattered, "but when you adapt, those differences can play on your behalf". He continued: "I cherish these differences. … I am actually curious about cultural differences and it is a good challenge: How does this work in ... your culture? ... It is like languages — whenever you learn another language it enriches you". These words testify of the existing cosmopolitan dispositions that tend to surface in the midst of intercultural encounters among academic migrants in a cosmopolitan milieu.

Conclusion

This research paper presented discussion of some of the theoretical ideas and notions that form the foundation for the ethnographic research in progress, such as culture, cultural capital, intercultural encounters, knowledge transfer and cosmopolitan dispositions. It also presented insights from the pilot empirical study which uncovered some budding manifestations of evolving cosmopolitan dispositions within academic intercultural interactions. They included intercultural values, such as: 1) willingness to engage, also described as more profound interpersonal engagement, as well as 2) openness to cultural diversity or intercultural acceptance. This paper views emerging cosmopolitan values as preconditions for successes in knowledge exchange, transfer and creation. Empirical evidence revealed that the capability of mobile academics to be successful in knowledge exchange depended to a great extent on the person's habitual dispositions, propensities and inclinations rather than situations presented to them. Some participants learned to thrive in the new self-described cosmopolitan culture and found it even to be more comfortable and enjoyable for them. Many noted that cultural differences mattered had little salience when they are mediated by cosmopolitan dispositions. It was also becoming evident that recognition and acceptance of intercultural differences through the process of self-reflection lead to the creation of shared intercultural pathways for knowledge transfer.

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Chapter 5

Repensando las perspectivas teóricas y categorías de análisis de la migración calificada desde el caso de Ecuador

Yolanda Alfaro

Resumen En el presente artículo se reflexiona sobre la pertinencia de seguir utilizando las categorías de análisis con las que hasta ahora se ha estudiado la migración calificada en Ecuador (*Brain Drain- Brain Gain- Brain Circulation*). Considerando que en el actual escenario político económico los planes, programas y políticas de atracción, vinculación y repatriación de profesionales altamente calificados corresponden a una estrategia de desarrollo. Se presenta la "perspectiva del sur" como el enfoque teórico más adecuado para explicar el caso de Ecuador, en tanto que permite poner en el centro del análisis el papel del conocimiento, la ciencia y la tecnología en el proceso de transformación de la matriz productiva y de la atracción de recursos humanos en pos de aprovechar sus conocimientos en las estrategias orientadas a alcanzar ese fin.

Palabras claves migración calificada y desarrollo, categorías de análisis, perspectiva del sur, Ecuador.

Abstract In this article, we question the pertinence of continuing to use the analytical categories which so far have been used to study skilled migration in Ecuador (Brain Drain- Gain Brain- Brain Circulation); given that, in the current economic political setting, plans, programs and policies to attract, network and repatriate highly skilled professionals respond to a development strategy. Southern Perspective is presented as a more appropriate theoretical approach to explain the case of Ecuador, because it allows to put at the core analysis the role of knowledge, science and technology into the process of transformation of the production matrix, and the role of highly skilled professionals into the strategies oriented to succeed that end.

Key Words skilled migration and development, categories of analysis, Southern Perspective, Ecuador.

Introducción

En Ecuador, a partir de la Constitución de 2008, el tema migratorio marcó una ruptura teórica, política y ética en tanto y cuanto fue introducido como un aspecto fundamental en la planificación del desarrollo bajo el enfoque del Buen Vivir. Una muestra contundente de este giro fue la elaboración de estrategias que contemplan la atracción vinculación y repatriación de profesionales altamente calificados para marcar la nueva ruta de la transformación de la matriz productiva. En el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo del Buen Vivir 2013-2017, la migración altamente calificada se presentan como un recurso esencial para desarrollar dos campos estratégicos: i) investigación científica e innovación tecnológica y social y ii) formación de recursos humanos altamente calificados (SENESCYT 2012).[1]

Es así que, a diferencia de otros países de la región, en Ecuador la migración calificada, como un tema de investigación del campo de los estudios de la migración y el desarrollo, ya no gira únicamente en torno al impacto de la fuga de cerebros (*Brain Drain*) o al desperdicio de talentos (*Brain Waste*) que ha causado la masiva emigración de profesionales a finales de los años noventa, sino también a la necesidad de atraer cierto tipo de recursos humanos en pos de desarrollar un proyecto de desarrollo endógeno, denominado Buen Vivir.

El propósito de este artículo es reflexionar sobre la pertinencia de seguir utilizando los enfoque teóricos y las categorías de análisis con las que hasta ahora se ha estudiado la migración calificada en Ecuador, considerando que las mismas se abstraen del contexto en el que se configura este flujo migratorio, de los objetivos que persigue y de las implicaciones que trajo la implementación de políticas públicas orientadas a dicho fin, de manera de visibilizar la necesidad de utilizar nuevos enfoques y, en consecuencia, nuevas categorías para analizar y caracterizar los actuales flujos de migración calificada.

En la primera parte del artículo se presenta una discusión sobre las categorías de *"Brain Drain", "Brain Gain" y "Brain Circulation"* como construcciones fundantes del debate dominante sobre migración calificada. En la segunda parte, en el intento de ir más allá de los paradigmas dominantes sobre la migración calificada, se plantea la perspectiva del sur como el horizonte analítico alternativo, en tanto permite situar el tema en

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1 Véase: http://www.buenvivir.gob.ec/

el campo de los estudios críticos del desarrollo. En la tercera parte, se presenta las tendencias generales de los estudios de migración calificada en el caso de Ecuador, evidenciando así algunas reflexiones hacia la construcción de nuevas categorías para analizar y caracterizar los flujos de migración calificada en el contexto del Buen Vivir. Y, a manera de conclusiones, se presentan algunas ideas para repensar las perspectivas teóricas y categorías de análisis de la migración calificada desde el caso de Ecuador.

Enfoques y categorías de análisis en el estudio de la migración calificada

La migración calificada aparece como un problema de investigación en el contexto de la pos II Guerra Mundial, dado que las migraciones de profesionales y científicos altamente calificados fueron parte de las estrategias de reestructuración de la economía mundial de los países desarrollados. De esta manera el tema se enmarcó en la problemática del desarrollo bajo el concepto de "fuga de cerebros" (Brain Drain) denotando que la migración de profesionales calificados representaba el surgimiento de un sistema refinado de inmigración selectiva para los países receptores y una pérdida de recursos humanos para los países de origen (Luján 2005; Prisno 2005, Gaillard y Gaillard 1998).

Esta definición desató una polémica entre los académicos que planteaban una visión internacionalista frente a una nacionalista. Los primeros, bajo el enfoque de la teoría económica neoclásica, afirmaban que la migración de profesionales era una elección racional, debido a que respondía a los factores de expulsión en el país de origen y a los de atracción en los países de destino (Push-Pull) generando así cierto equilibrio en el mercado laboral. En cambio para los nacionalistas la emigración de profesionales calificados significaba una pérdida neta para los países de origen, pues los profesionales eran considerados un recurso fundamental para el desarrollo económico de un país. En concordancia con esta concepción, el estudio de la migración calificada se desarrolló en el marco de la división internacional del trabajo, y la categoría de "fuga de cerebros" fue utilizada para denotar que, en tanto la formación de recursos humanos calificados y la consolidación de centros de innovación constituían dos aspectos claves para el patrón de desarrollo endógeno, la migración calificada constituía una externalidad negativa (Chaparro y Arias 1970 ; Rodríguez 1986 ; Oteiza 1996; Pellegrino 2003, Koolhaas et al 2013).

En América Latina la corriente nacionalista fue desarrollada, inicialmente, por la Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), de ahí que gran parte de las investigaciones de la década de los años setenta —con distintos matices— adoptaran una connotación economicista de la migración calificada. Posteriormente, fue utilizada por aquellos investigadores afines a la línea marxista del enfoque de la dependencia, posicionándose como una mirada crítica en tanto planteaba que la migración de profesionales constituía otra dimensión del intercambio desigual entre el centro y la periferia.

A partir de la segunda mitad de la década de los años ochenta las preocupaciones sobre la "fuga de cerebros" empezaron a perder centralidad en las discusiones de los nacionalistas del ala crítica hasta quedar por fuera de la agenda académica y política de los países de la región (Oteiza 1996; Marchal y Kegels 2003). Fue hasta la mitad de la década de los años noventa, en el contexto de la implementación de las reformas neoliberales, que la migración de profesionales volvió a formar parte del interés de la academia debido a que este flujo experimentó un aumento significativo.

A diferencia de los primeros estudios en la región, la nueva ola de investigaciones sobre la migración de profesionales se caracterizaba por la connotación "positiva" que le atribuían al utilizar la categoría de "ganancia de cerebros" (*Brain Gain*), pues sostenían que dependiendo de la situación económica, social y política del país de origen y destino, la atracción de profesionales calificados puede traducirse en una ganancia para los países con bajos niveles de crecimiento económico (Beine et al 2008; Sorolla 2010; Gandini y Lozano, 2011).

Esta tesis fue utilizada de manera acrítica por algunos académicos y políticos para señalar que los países con bajos niveles de desarrollo económico podían encontrar varias ventajas en la migración de profesionales, pues no sólo les permitía equilibrar la oferta y la demanda de la fuerza de trabajo profesional, sino que propiciaba la transferencia de conocimientos y de fuerza de trabajo calificada (Pañescu 2004; Beine et al 2001). De hecho, a partir de los supuestos efectos de intercambio que producía la migración de profesionales altamente calificados en los países de origen los organismos internacionales propusieron la "circulación de cerebros" (Brain Circulation) como una nueva categoría de análisis bajo el supuesto de que la migración de profesionales genera en sí misma sinergias para el desarrollo científico, tecnológico y académico entre los países de origen y destino (Meyer y Brown 1999)

En similar sintonía, la categoría de "diásporas científicas" ha sido utilizada por los gobiernos de los países de origen para promover programas de migración circular y repatriación de talentos. Al respecto, Meyer y Brown (1999), Arellano et al (2012), entre otros, señalan que este enfoque sería el más adecuado para analizar el carácter dinámico de migración calificada, dado que la práctica científica siempre se ha caracterizado por la movilidad y el intercambio de conocimiento —en esquemas tanto de cooperación como de competencia— (Docquier 2014; Docquier y Rapoport 2007; Docquier y Markfouk 2004).

Aunque la connotación de estas categorías ha despertado gran interés entre los tomadores de decisiones, una revisión a las recientes discusiones teóricas sobre la diáspora de profesionales altamente calificados demuestra que hay poca evidencia empírica que apoye la tesis de que la formación de diásporas científicas permite el intercambio de conocimiento, ciencia y tecnología o la formulación de proyectos nuevos e innovadores que permitan abrir canales de desarrollo para los países de origen. No obstante, las políticas y programas de vinculación o retorno para migrantes altamente calificados, sustentados en la noción de "circulación de talentos", por una parte, hicieron evidentes los intereses económicos de los gobiernos de los "países desarrollados" sobre la producción de conocimiento científico y tecnológico, y por otra parte, remarcaron los intereses políticos de los organismos internacionales dentro de la agenda global de gestión de las migraciones para reducir al mínimo la migración irregular, por lo que se ha convertido en una herramienta conveniente para los intereses de los países de origen a tono con las políticas económicas neoliberales.

El interés por avanzar hacia una conceptualización más precisa y una tipificación más detalladas de los aspectos que condicionan la migración calificada, ha llevado a algunos investigadores a utilizar el enfoque de la movilidad científica bajo el argumento que permite poner de manifiesto los espacios, los sujetos y las prácticas de la movilidad en diferentes temporalidades y dimensiones de análisis. El enfoque de las movilidades se presenta como una aproximación al nivel meso de la realidad social; muchos autores lo identifican como un enfoque teórico-metodológico de investigación transdisciplinaria, no obstante, y aunque con la perspectiva de las movilidades se cruza con algunas de las preocupaciones de la sociología (desigualdad, poder, jerarquía), la geografía (territorio, fronteras, escala), la antropología y estudios de medios de comunicación (discursos, representaciones, esquemas), la propuesta de usar la categoría de movilidad científica se encuentran todavía en una fase embrionaria (D'Andrea et al, 2011).

La corriente crítica en los estudios de la migración altamente calificada hacen hincapié en evidenciar los intereses políticos que encubren los enfoques teóricos que hacen uso de las categorías *Brain Circulation y/o Academic Mobili*ty para señalar que en el actual contexto de la globalización la movilidad académica es condición necesaria para que los países formen parte de la construcción de la sociedad del conocimiento. Esta corriente crítica propone demostrar teórica y empíricamente que la movilidad de científicos está estrechamente ligada con los regímenes institucionales que gestionan los flujos de migración altamente calificada sur-norte, de manera que, en el contexto del llamado capitalismo cognitivo, las diásporas académicas o las redes de profesionales altamente calificados operan en una lógica de migración selectiva, sustentada en programas de atracción y/o vinculación laboral del norte al sur global (Saxenian 2005).

En ese sentido, la actual dinámica de la migración altamente calificada debe estar inserta en las discusiones críticas sobre el nexo entre migración-desarrollo, y las múltiples problemáticas que se desprenden del cruce de las dos variables. Es necesario establecer, por una parte, los elementos estructurales, tales como las relaciones de poder entre los Estados, las relaciones entre estrategias de control y de cooperación implementadas desde el norte y, por supuesto, las desigualdades conformadas por aspectos tales como la clase, el estatus legal, el género, las áreas de conocimiento, entre otras (Pedone y Alfaro, 2016).

La perspectiva del sur para repensar las categorías de análisis de la migración calificada

Teniendo en cuenta que el contexto en que surge la inmigración de profesionales altamente calificados a Ecuador, y con el fin de empezar a repensar las categorías de análisis para su estudio, se propone adoptar la conceptualización de la relación entre la migración y el desarrollo que plantea "La perspectiva del sur", en tanto está estrechamente relacionada con un intenso debate regional respecto la teoría y la práctica del desarrollo por lo que hacen hincapié en la necesidad de situar las causas y consecuencias de las migraciones en el marco del desarrollo desigual de las regiones, países y espacios intra-nacionales que subyace en las estructuras del capitalismo contemporáneo (Delgado-Wise 2013).

Frente a la corriente de pensamiento dominante, la propuesta de los académicos del sur global es el análisis de la compleja relación entre desarrollo desigual y movilidad humana como una relación dialéctica en lugar de unidireccional, con el fin de hacer frente a las causas profundas y las múltiples impactos que se desprenden del cruce de las dos variables. En contraste con el énfasis sobre la migración calificada, que ha dominado la literatura desde la década de 1990, esta perspectiva amplía los horizontes de análisis ofreciendo un enfoque holístico y multidimensional: económico, político, social, ambiental, cultural, racial, étnico, relacionadas con el género, el territorio y los factores demográficos (Delgado-Wise, Márquez y Puente 2013; Canales 2015).

Tomando en cuenta estos planteamientos de carácter teórico y metodológico, es posible señalar que en contexto del capitalismo contemporáneo la migración calificada está directamente relacionada con la reestructuración de los sistemas de innovación a nivel global (Delgado Wise y Chávez, 2015), puesto que en la evolución del capitalismo contemporáneo la dinámica de reestructuración ha cristalizado en una nueva geografía de la innovación, así como de la investigación y el desarrollo científico/tecnológico asociados a ella. En este tenor, es importante considerar que el direccionamiento de la ciencia y la tecnología no es un aspecto neutral; por el contrario, se trata de un ámbito administrado por un status quo histórico y determinado por el modo de producción prevaleciente, y los Estados son partícipes de este juego de intereses a través del diseño e implementación de políticas públicas dirigidas a la promoción del desarrollo.

De acuerdo con Delgado, Chávez y Rodríguez (2016) dicha reestructuración se caracteriza por presentar cuatro dimensiones estratégicas: i) mercantilización de la ciencia e innovación abierta y fragmentación de las actividades de ciencia y tecnología para su comercialización; ii) nuevas formas de control de las agendas de investigación y apropiación del trabajo científico; iii) Ciudades científicas y una nueva cultura de la innovación basada en la flexibilidad, descentralización e incorporación de actores en espacios locales y trasnacionales y iv) nuevas reconfiguraciones de los flujos de migración altamente calificada.

Esta última dimensión, además de dilucidar las principales transformaciones de la migración calificada sur-norte, las cuales han venido acompañadas de una creciente selectividad, permite poner en discusión las implicaciones de la exportación de fuerza de trabajo altamente calificada proveniente de los países periféricos, la cual se configura como un nuevo peldaño en la división internacional del trabajo, bajo nuevos mecanismos de precarización laboral del número creciente de científicos y tecnólogos provenientes de la periferia.

Al respecto, es importante recordar que la dinámica del capitalismo, en relación con el conocimiento, no está marcada por un único modelo de regulación, sino más bien por diferentes formas de regulaciones y regímenes de su producción, circulación, uso y difusión. En el capitalismo cognitivo, la capacidad de reproducir el conocimiento como un tipo de capital fijo (capital material) o como recurso o bien inmaterial (I+D, software, patentes, etc.) depende de tres aspectos inherentes a la economía del conocimiento: i) la relación capital- trabajo; ii) la forma de interpretar el conocimiento: como mercancía susceptible de apropiación privada o como bien público, y iii) el rol del saber como variable competitiva a nivel micro, macro y meso económico. Estos tres aspectos, interrelacionados, definen aspectos cruciales de la nueva división internacional del trabajo (Míguez 2012).

Entonces en la nueva división internacional del trabajo fundada sobre principios cognitivos, el factor determinante de la competitividad de los sistemas de innovación depende cada vez más del stock de trabajo intelectual e inmaterial que puede ser incorporado en el proceso de producción. El análisis de la migración altamente calificada reviste particular relevancia en esta perspectiva, puesto que la reestructuración neoliberal ha dado lugar a un significativo crecimiento de movilidad de profesionales altamente calificados.

En ese sentido, la Perspectiva del Sur, se presenta como un marco analítico alternativo en tanto permite: i) insertar el estudio de los rasgos característicos de la innovación en los países subdesarrollados; ii) tomar en cuenta múltiples agentes sociales para superar la contraposición esquemática entre Estado y mercado; iii) destacar la importancia de relacionar los aspectos económicos, políticos, institucionales y culturales y iv) incorpora al análisis de la producción del conocimiento en el capitalismo cognitivo, de manera que se explicite la necesidad de captar fuerza laboral altamente calificada para impulsar el desarrollo de la ciencia, la tecnología y la innovación.

Se trata de un análisis que define la migración calificada como fuerza de trabajo necesaria para impulsar la producción capitalista, en tanto sus conocimientos y capacidades se colocan en el centro de los procesos productivos que permite transformar los procesos científicos y tecnológicos en nuevos productos, procesos y/o servicios que, intensifiquen el desarrollo económico. Tal como señala Harvey (2014), los procesos de cambio tecnológicos de los últimos años la capacidad de producir y usar conocimiento para generar innovaciones constituye el eslabón esencial del capitalismo, creando una forma de potestad de la fusión entre ciencia y tecnología para mantener o aumentar el dominio de las grandes corporaciones multinacionales.

La migración calificada en Ecuador

La migración internacional laboral no calificada ha sido un tema de investigación ampliamente estudiada en Ecuador, desde perspectivas teóricas como empíricas, pasando por áreas del conocimiento de la sociología, la demografía, la economía, principalmente. En contraste, la migración laboral calificada y altamente calificada, han tenido poca atención, pues es apenas a partir del año 2000 que se torna en un tema relevante de las agendas de investigación académica. La revisión de fuentes secundarias producidas hasta el 2012 permite señalar que gran parte de las investigaciones realizadas sobre la migración calificada se enfocaron en caracterizar la migración calificada a través de cuatro áreas analíticas: i) las tendencias demográficas; ii) las causas de la emigración de profesionales; iii) la inserción sociolaboral de los emigrantes calificados en los países de destino; iv) la diversificación de este flujo en relación a las variables género y etaria.

La "fuga de cerebros" (*Brain Drain*) fue la conceptualización predominate de los estudios realizados en este periodo, en virtud de que la preocupación de los investigadores era demostrar que la emigración de profesionales representaba una pérdida significativa para el país en la medida que los recursos invertidos en el proceso de formación profesional estaban siendo aprovechados por los países de destino (Pagnota y Ramírez 2010; Ramírez 2012).

A partir del 2012, el estudio de la migración calificada toma un nuevo rumbo, pues ante una serie de reformas socioeconómicas que el gobierno de la Revolución Ciudadana emprendió para impulsar la agenda de transformación de la matriz productiva, la inmigración de profesionales altamente calificados se convierte en una estrategia de desarrollo. En tal sentido, se abre una nueva etapa de investigaciones sobre el tema, por una parte, los estudios se enfocan en la migración de retorno de los profesionales calificados y las políticas que el gobierno estableció para promover y gestionar el retorno voluntario de un perfil de profesionales (Moncayo, 2014), y es que en el actual gobierno se desarrolló el Programa Prometeo para repatriar al talento humano ecuatoriano, en tanto y cuanto los migrantes calificados son considerados generadores de conocimiento y su atracción o retorno puede entenderse como "ganancia de cerebros" o como "circulación de cerebros" . No obstante, en el caso específico de Ecuador dicho supuesto carece de sustento teórico-empírico, puesto que ambas categorías se fundamentan en un enfoque contrario al del contexto en el que surge la migración calificada y, en consecuencia, las políticas implementadas por el actual gobierno.

Por otra parte, frente a las transformaciones políticas, económicas y sociales actuales de las migraciones en Europa y América Latina, Ecuador se ha transformado en destino de profesionales altamente calificados. En tal sentido, Vega, Gómez y Correa (2014) evidencian cuatro posibles temas de estudio: i) migrantes españoles calificados y retornados ecuatorianos calificados que se insertan bajo distintas modalidades en el sector de la educación; ii) ecuatorianos que salen hacia España en búsqueda de calificación (maestrías y doctorados); iii) ecuatorianos retornados que buscan una mayor calificación en Ecuador y iv) españoles que se han insertado en universidades ecuatorianas con el propósito de desarrollar estudios de maestría o doctorados.

El enfoque analítico que proponen estos autores para analizar cualquiera de estos cuatro casos es la circularidad migratoria en el entendido de que desde este mirador es posible demostrar que la reciente dinámica de migración calificada de españoles a Ecuador se caracteriza por ser de tipo pendular o circular.

A partir del estudio del "Programa Prometeo" en Ecuador, Pedone y Alfaro (2016) propusieron el enfoque de la interseccionalidad para analizar la migración de profesionales altamente calificados como una forma de movilidad específica dentro el marco de la migración Norte-Sur y/o Sur-Sur. Este trabajo considera las dimensiones de etnia, nacionalidad, clase y género para develar el complejo entramado que se teje con la política de atracción de profesionales altamente calificados, pues más allá de fortalecer el sistema científico-tecnológico y el sistema de educación superior del país, es decir cumplir con su propósito en la planificación de la matriz productiva, desembocó en una salida laboral para migrantes calificado europeos, latinoamericanos y ecuatorianos retornados afectados por la crisis socioeconómica en Europa.

En tal sentido, el panorama sobre las políticas de atracción de profesionales altamente calificados se transforma radicalmente si aplicamos el enfoque interseccional, puesto que permite no sólo el análisis de la reestructuración de las dinámicas de la migración altamente cualificada en el contexto del Buen Vivir, sino también los nuevos engranajes aplicados a las jerarquías y relaciones de poder que se construyen alrededor de las categorías de clase, género, nacionalidad, área de conocimiento, entre otros.

Sin lugar a dudas, las últimas investigaciones realizadas demuestran que si bien es cierto que se han hecho esfuerzos por superar el enfoque de *Push-Pull*, todavía sigue pendiente avanzar hacia la elaboración de supuestos analíticos que enmarquen la migración altamente calificada como una estrategia de desarrollo en el contexto del Buen Vivir, y en ese sentido proponer categorías de análisis que permitan develar los intereses políticos y económicos que están detrás de las actuales políticas de atracción, vinculación y repatriación de profesionales altamente calificados. No obstante, es importante tener claro que no se trata simplemente del análisis de una política asociada a una serie de estrategias, planes e instrumentos que persiguen un cambio en la estructura productiva, sino adoptar una mirada crítica para dar cuenta de que se trata de una estrategia que forma parte de las reestructuraciones económicas, políticas, sociales y culturales que el país inició a finales de la década del noventa con la intensión de romper con la idea y práctica imperante del desarrollo.

Reflexiones finales

Como se pudo constatar en los apartados anteriores en el contexto del capitalismo contemporáneo el análisis de las políticas de atracción de profesionales y científicos altamente calificados, en la mayoría de países, están supeditadas a los intereses de la economía del conocimiento, por lo tanto su estudio demanda de nuevas herramientas teóricas, conceptuales y categorías de análisis. En el caso de Ecuador, la perspectiva del sur se presenta como una vía para alcanzar dicho propósito, en tanto y cuanto permite poner en el centro del análisis de la política pública el papel del conocimiento, de la ciencia y la tecnología en el proceso de transformación de la matriz productiva y el rol de los profesionales altamente calificados en las estrategias orientadas a alcanzar ese fin.

En tal sentido, sería interesante desarrollar proyectos de investigación referentes a los siguientes temas: i) la política pública que guía las actividades de investigación, desarrollo e innovación en Ecuador, ii) la migración calificada como un recurso estratégico dentro de la política de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación (I+D+i) y iii) las implicaciones de las políticas de atracción, vinculación y repatriación de profesionales altamente calificados en el marco del Buen Vivir.

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Chapter 6

La cooperación universitaria entre universidades mexicanas y asiáticas

De la movilidad a la vinculación

Sylvia Aupetit

Resumen México centró tradicionalmente su cooperación universitaria en torno a Estados Unidos y países centrales de la Unión Europea. Consolidó una colaboración académica con Japón y China en los años 70 y 80, cuando esos países apenas despertaban interés en América Latina. Esa colaboración dependió, hasta hace poco, de unos cuantos establecimientos pero, recientemente, un número mayor de instituciones de educación superior empezó a vincularse con socios asiáticos. Sus motivos para desarrollar esa cooperación son distintos: abarcan desde el entrenamiento de profesores de idiomas hasta el fortalecimiento de grupos científicos en estudios de área y disciplinas variadas. En ese texto, describiremos las relaciones de colaboración académica que México estableció en las pasadas cuatro décadas con sus contrapartes en la región para mostrar su evolución. Nuestra hipótesis es que, en una primera etapa, el gobierno fue su impulsor principal, mediante programas de becas. Pero, actualmente, un número creciente de instituciones de educación superior está interesándose en firmar convenios con países de Asia están interesando cada vez. En ese marco, están desarrollando prácticas innovadoras de cooperación, conforme con el carácter emergente de las relaciones internacionales existentes entre México y, fundamentalmente, China, Japón y Corea.

Palabras claves internacionalización, México-Asia, cooperación académica, movilidad.

Abstract University cooperation in Mexico has traditionally been established with the United States and the principal countries of the European Union. Notwithstanding this, in Latin America, Mexico was a pioneer in setting up academic collaboration with Japan and China in the 1970s and 1980s, by the way of some interested institutions. Taking into account this historical situation, the number of higher education institutions currently attempting to forge links with Asian partners and the different interests involved in such cooperation, in this chapter, we offer a review of academic collaboration relationships established in the last four decades between Mexico and its regional counterparts. Our hypothesis is that, after having been encouraged essentially by the government, these interactions are increasingly becoming an object of institutional interest. For this reason, they are giving rise to innovative cooperative practices, consistent with the emerging character of international relations between Mexico and, fundamentally, China, Japan and Korea.

Keywords internationalization, Mexico-Asia, academic cooperation, mobility.

Antecedentes: una cooperación reducida pero pujante

En México, las políticas de internacionalización fueron incluidas en la agenda gubernamental a principios de los 90, cuando el país negoció su ingreso al Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (TLCAN), con Estados Unidos y Canadá y a la Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico (OCDE). Más de veinte años después, los apoyos disponibles para la cooperación y, sobre todo, para la movilidad son numerosos: algunas universidades públicas y privadas, los centros de investigación y unos establecimientos tecnológicos alcanzaron grados relativamente elevados de internacionalización durante ese periodo, sobre todo si se mide el proceso no solo por la intensidad de la movilidad estudiantil sino en forma integral (licenciaturas y posgrados conjuntos, atracción de científicos, dispositivos innovadores de cooperación) . En efecto, la movilidad estudiantil en México, es relativamente estancada (0.7 en1999 /0.8 en 2013)[1] y los flujos de salida son muy superiores a los de entrada.

La consolidación incipiente de un proceso de internacionalización diversificado en sus actividades así como la necesidad de aumentar y reequilibrar los flujos de movilidad explica la redistribución, en términos espaciales, de los procesos de cooperación académica. No obstante, la reorientación territorial de las relaciones de cooperación no obedeció sólo a dinámicas decisionales en el campo universitario mexicano, ni respondió exclusivamente a los programas bilaterales de cooperación educativa y científica, manejados por la Secretaria de Educación Pública (SEP) y el Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT). Estuvo determinada, asimismo, por las decisiones de política exterior de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores: por ejemplo, la creación en abril 2011 de la Agencia Mexicana de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AMEXCID) incidió fuertemente en la preocupación de las instituciones de educación superior e investigación

1 UNESCO, UIS, 2016, Cuadro Outbound mobility ratio by host country, http://data.uis.unesco.org/

por realizar actividades internacionales con contrapartes no convencionales, al ofrecerles la oportunidad de participar en programas de apoyo a la cooperación sur-sur y triangular. Ese entorno llevó las IES a reactivar sus colaboraciones en el espacio latino-americano y, asimismo, a explorar oportunidades de vinculación con Asia. Modificó, aunque en forma limitada, un proceso de internacionalización que había favorecido tradicionalmente esquemas de colaboración sur- norte, con Estados Unidos y, en Europa Occidental, con España, con Francia, con Alemania y con Gran Bretaña.

Finalmente, el despunte de la cooperación entre las IES mexicanas y sus contrapartes asiáticas expresó el interés de las primeras por responder a las demandas de su entorno local, principalmente en entidades federativas en donde las inversiones de Japón, de China y de Corea son cuantiosas. Así, en algunas universidades públicas, creció rápidamente la inscripción de estudiantes en cursos de chino: la matricula del instituto Confucio en la universidad autónoma de Yucatán, campus Mérida (UADY) fue de 93 personas, en 2007, cuando impartió el primer curso de chino mandarín. En 2015, alcanzó 745 estudiantes, 500 de ellos alumnos de la Universidad. La UADY incluso tuvo que firmar convenios con la Universidad de Campeche y con la Universidad del Caribe en Cancún para atender la demanda expresada en los tres municipios (Cristales, 2016) En otros casos, ciertas facultades se involucraron en proyectos de investigación en vinculación con empresas asiáticas. Por ejemplo, la Escuela de Ingeniera de la Universidad Autónoma en Aguascalientes participó en programas de investigación con movilidad de estudiantes, financiados por la industria automotriz, principalmente por Nissan que tiene varias plantas en la entidad.

Por el lado asiático, las agencias de cooperación externa, fundaciones o embajadas de los países extranjeros han acentuado su protagonismo y aportado recursos a programas de vinculación e investigación destinados a académicos y a estudiantes mexicanos: si bien Japón o China, desde los 70 y los 80, respaldaron intercambios estudiantiles con México, hoy, están ampliando los alcances de su oferta de cooperación. Establecieron interacciones con un número creciente de contrapartes mexicanas. Las instituciones mexicanas más experimentadas aprovecharon esa coyuntura para afianzar dinámicas de internacionalización *in situ,* es decir para acordar actividades que permitiesen acercar a los estudiantes o académicos que no tienen acceso a la movilidad en actividades de internacionalización. Los establecimientos menos experimentados en la materia encontraron en la cooperación con Asia opciones de movilidad internacional saliente y de investigación compartida, de aprendizaje de idiomas extranjeros y de co-graduación, de acceso relativamente fácil debido a que esa cooperación está en una fase de desarrollo pujante. En ambos casos, les representó un espacio para ensayar prácticas de internacionalización, innovadores por su perfil y organización o innovadores en relación a las actividades institucionales.

Actualmente, la OCDE clasifica a México como un país de desarrollo medio, con mercados productivos y financieros abiertos a la inversión extranjera. Esa situación tiene incidencias en las IES: la diversificación geográfica de la cooperación internacional de las universidades es en efecto un proceso dual, producto de interese propios y de factores exógenos. En relación a Asia, tuvo tres motores principales: primero, respondió a demandas de servicios y de formación de recursos humanos expresadas por las empresas de China, Japón y Corea cuya presencia en México se acentuó en la pasada década y por loa estudiantes. Segundo, en un campo disciplinar particular, el de los estudios de área sobre Asia, el interés por la región fue incrementándose debido a la "maduración" de los grupos de especialistas, a su inserción en un número creciente de instituciones y a su agrupamiento en redes académicas. Tercero, resultó de una acumulación progresiva de competencias para la gestión de la cooperación, en algunos establecimientos: esa permitió a algunas oficinas de relaciones internacionales desempeñar un papel proactivo en la selección de sus contrapartes extranjeras.

El desarrollo de esas prácticas de cooperación con Asia está así vinculado con tres dinámicas en el actuar institucional: la primera está referida a un robustecimiento de la internacionalización que ha llevado las IES a negociar, de manera proactiva, convenios que amparen actividades de su interés, es decir orientadas por fines de internacionalización comprensiva;[2] la segunda está vinculada con la investigación, sea disciplinaria, sea en los estudios de área sobre Asia; la tercera

2 Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility.

depende de una habilidad para identificar y "pescar" oportunidades, sin que ello responda a intereses previamente acreditados de investigación sobre la zona o de colaboración disciplinaria. Por ejemplo, dos de los cuatro institutos Confucio ubicados en universidades públicas en México, a partir de 2006, fueron localizados en universidades que carecían de tradiciones de colaboración con o sobre China (Chihuahua, y Yucatán) pero cuyos rectores se comprometieron a apoyar esa iniciativa cuando la Hanban (la Oficina Nacional de Enseñanza del Chino como lengua extranjera) propuso financiar su apertura.[3] Las otras dos universidades sedes (UNAM y Nuevo León), en cambio, sí tenían estudios de área.

En esa perspectiva, la apertura a Asia de las universidades mexicanas responde a lógicas organizativas fincadas en la vinculación (responsivas a demandas del entorno), en la disciplina (fundamentadas en grupos académicos con sólidas experiencias de trabajo en esa región) o en una toma de decisiones jerárquica (impulsada por compromisos políticos de los rectores asumidos en función del contexto de oportunidades). Se enmarca entonces en dinámicas distintas de improvisación, de planeación o de intercambio intelectual. En consecuencia, el potencial innovador de las cooperaciones con los países asiáticos varía, dependiendo de su origen, de las condiciones de "desarrollo" regional, local e institucional y de los grados respectivos de involucramiento de las autoridades y grupos académicos en la implementación de los proyectos. Cualesquiera que sean sus orígenes, la importancia de la cooperación con Asia en las universidades mexicanas es marginal en términos cuantitativos. No obstante, los establecimientos que operan proyectos con Asia enfatizan, en sus estrategias de comunicación, las carreras en grados conjuntos, las movilidades o la impartición de los idiomas de la región, con fines de profesionalización de los egresados (coreano en la Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila, entidad en donde la automotriz Kia anunció la apertura de una planta, por ejemplo).

En ese artículo, partiremos de la premisa de que las políticas de internacionalización con Asia en las IES son tributarias de la política exterior de México, de la inversión extranjera directa en México hecha por Japón, China y Corea así como de las decisiones tomadas por las

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3 Un quinto Instituto Confucio fue establecido como asociación cultural en la Cd de México.

autoridades de las universidades mexicanas o/y grupos científicos. Con base en las entrevistas y los aportes de integrantes de la Red sobre Internacionalización y Movilidades Académicas (RIMAC),[4] analizaremos como las dinámicas de interacción entre las universidades mexicanas y las asiáticas se han expandido. Analizaremos las prácticas de cooperación en torno a proyectos de interés mutuo y a programas propuestos por fundaciones, agencias de cooperación y embajadas así como por las propias universidades. Finalmente, estudiaremos las actividades que las universidades mexicanas llevan a cabo (movilidad, investigación sobre tópicos de interés compartido, diseño de programas conjuntos), los mecanismos que implementan y las percepciones que tienen de sus prácticas de colaboración con Asia.

De los sesenta a los ochenta del siglo XX : una lenta consolidación de la cooperación universitaria entre México y Asía

La cooperación entre las universidades de México y sus homologas de Asia es, históricamente, polar: en relación a las contrapartes en Asía, hasta hace pocos años, la mayor parte de las relaciones vigentes había sido establecida con Japón y con China y, con intensidades menores y más tardíamente, con Taiwán y con Corea. Los establecimientos que, en México, empujaron esa cooperación fueron El Colegio de México (COLMEX) y la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Iniciaron estudios de área sobre Asia respectivamente en 1964 y 1966 (Toledo, 1997) y concentraron históricamente la mayor parte de los vínculos con la región. Ambas instituciones fueron de hecho pioneras en el país (e incluso en América Latina) en cuanto a la producción de conocimientos y a la oferta de programas de posgrado, especializados sobre Asía.[5] El

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4 RIMAC está financiada por el Programa de Redes Temáticas del CONACYT. En la Página Web, ver las entrevistas a Emy Kameta, Hiroyuki Tani, Takeshi Kishikawaj Mari Minowa, Shigeo Osunoi, Takahiro Miyashi, Akihiro Koido y Kazuyazu Ochiai (Japón), Fernando Nakpil-Zialcita (Filipinas), Pasuree Luesakul y Chaowarit Chaosangrat (Tailandia), Hiang Joo Park, Mónica Ramos y Alejandra Castellanos (Corea) y los artículos de Juan José Ramírez Bonilla, Carlos Uscanga, Pablo Henri Ramírez y Sylvie Didou [http://www.rimac.mx].

5 "En 1964, con la creación de la Sección de Estudios Orientales (SEO), en el Centro de Estudios Internacionales, fue institucionalizado el primer posgrado en estudios asiáticos del mundo iberoamericano; la Maestría en Estudios Orientales contemplaba cuatro áreas de especialización: China, India, Japón y Medio Oriente. En 1968, la SEO devino el Centro de Estudios Orientales, bajo la dirección de Graciela de la Lama. En 1974, siendo director Omar Martínez Legorreta, la influencia de Edward B. Said y la inclusión de los estudios

Centro de Estudios sobre Asía y África del COLMEX recibió, en sus posgrados, alumnos procedentes de América Latina, constituyéndose en un polo regional de atracción disciplinaria.

Los inicios de una historia académica común entre México y Asia son sin embargo anteriores. Con Japón, se remontan a finales del siglo XIX, aun cuando se rompió durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial cuando Japón apoyó la Alemania Nazi y México a los aliados[6]. Una vez reanudadas las relaciones diplomáticas entre ambos países, en los 70, un programa relevante para reactivar la movilidad, principalmente estudiantil, fue el programa de las 100 becas entre México-Japón co-administrado por la *Japan International Cooperation Agency* — JICA y por el CONACYT. Ese programa, apoyado decididamente por los japoneses, fue respaldado por el presidente mexicano Luis Echeverría Álvarez[7] quien, durante su gobierno, procuró situar a México como un líder del Tercer Mundo en el escenario internacional. La decisión de fortalecer la cooperación educativa con el bloque de los países no alineados y con Asia fue esencialmente política. Aunque se carece de un estudio sobre quién es quién entre los egresados de ese programa, investigadores tanto mexicanos

sobre el Magreb en la agenda de investigación orillaron a cambiar la denominación por la del Centro de Estudios de Asia y África del Norte (CEAAN). Finalmente, en 1980, bajo la dirección de Manuel Ruiz, la extensión de la agenda de investigación al África Subsahariana llevó a un segundo cambio en la denominación: el CEAAN devino el Centro de Estudios de Asia y África, con las siguientes áreas de estudio: China, India, Japón, Medio Oriente y África" (Ramírez Bonilla, 2016)

6 "Japón es el socio comercial más antiguo que México tiene en la región de Asia-Pacífico, como resultado de la formalización de sus relaciones diplomáticas con el Tratado de Amistad, Comercio y Navegación de 1888. A lo largo de ese tiempo se ha podido conformar -en el imaginario de los funcionarios públicos, empresarios y opinión pública en general- una imagen positiva hacia Japón, a pesar del distanciamiento que ambas naciones tuvieron durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial" (Uscanga, 2015:1)

7 Luis Echeverría Álvarez fue presidente de México de 1970 a 1976. Durante su sexenio, promovió la "apertura democrática" a nivel interno para restaurar la cohesión después de la masacre de Tlatelolco que dio fin al movimiento estudiantil del 68 y luchar contra varios movimientos de guerrilla urbana y campesina. A nivel internacional, criticó el imperialismo, apoyó al gobierno de Cuba y dio una acogida importante a los refugiados políticos de los países del Cono Sur. Esa política no fue continuada por sus sucesores. "Con la crisis de 1976 se fue por la borda la política económica seguida desde mediados de siglo, en la que el gasto público era el motor del crecimiento. Igualmente pareció enterrarse la idea de hacer de México un país líder del 'tercer mundo', como lo había pretendido el presidente Echeverría, viajero incansable, crítico un tanto confuso del 'imperialismo' a lo largo de todo su sexenio y autor de la iniciativa de la Carta de derechos y deberes económicos de los Estados adoptada por la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas contra la voluntad de los países más desarrollados." (Meyer y Bizberg, 2009: 23)

(Uscanga, 2016) como japoneses (Ochiai, 2015) opinan que la iniciativa fue crucial para institucionalizar las colaboraciones académicas en varias disciplinas, en ciencias sociales (antropología, ciencias políticas, sociología) y en áreas ingenieriles y técnicas: telecomunicaciones; electrónica; industria eléctrica -ligera y pesada —; mecánica de precisión — óptica, relojería, máquinas, herramientas y otros; maquinaria industrial y agrícola; siderúrgica y metalurgia; química y petroquímica; industria textil -sintética y de algodón; celulosa y papel; tecnología de alimentos; equipo de transporte y cerámicas industriales y cemento (Uscanga, 2016). Formó a generaciones de académicos, tanto en Japón como en México, que mantuvieron a lo largo de su carrera un interés por el país donde habían realizado estancias de movilidad. Ese interés se tradujo en el diseño de programas de colaboración así como en la expansión de los estudios sobre América Latina en Japón y sobre Japón en México. Sus repercusiones fueron por ende duraderas, independientemente de que el número de beneficiarios haya sido mayor entre los japoneses que entre los mexicanos, de que la movilidad efectiva haya sido inferior a la planeada y de que el número de estudiantes en situación de movilidad haya disminuido considerablemente a partir de la mitad de los noventa.[8]

Con respecto de China, después de que los gobiernos mexicano y chino restablecieran sus relaciones diplomáticas en febrero 1972, entre 1974 y 1987, el Colegio de México recibió estudiantes becados y seleccionados por el gobierno chino para aprender español y adquirir conocimientos básicos de cultura e historia. Entrevistas realizadas a quiénes fueron beneficiarios de este programa indican su relevancia, independientemente de sus altibajos o de su duración limitada (Fraga 2016 sobre Martínez Legorreta): en efecto, una proporción importante de académicos, diplomáticos, oficiales de gobierno, funcionarios de agencias de cooperación, activos en la promoción de una colaboración académica con México o, en términos más generales, con América Latina, fueron formados por ese programa, de avanzada en su época (Cornejo, 2000).[9]

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8 "inicialmente fueron 98 mexicanos y 99 jóvenes japoneses que arrancaron el programa. Posteriormente fue reducido y en 1995, se estableció un cupo para 30 estudiantes de cada país con un número acumulado en ese momento de 2,920;actualmente el programa establece 50 espacios donde hasta el 2011 se han beneficiado en total de un poco más de 4 mil personas"(Uscanga, 2016: 11)

Ambos programas de becas, con Japón y China, fueron "iniciativas semillas", con repercusiones de largo alcance. Los ex becarios mantuvieron esquemas de colaboración duraderos entre las instituciones donde se insertaron profesionalmente y las en donde estuvieron formados u otras que conocieron durante su estancia de posgrado Esa colaboración fue disciplinaria, por ejemplo en las ingenierías o en las ciencias sociales y económicas. También se articuló con la consolidación de estudios de área, sobre Asia en México y sobre México o América Latina en Asia : en Japón, quienes impulsaron las Cátedras reciprocas entre dos universidades de investigación, la Universidad Hitotsubashi y el Colegio de México, establecidas en el 2010[10] en ciencias políticas, ciencias sociales y marketing, fueron recipientes, en su época estudiantil, de esas becas. La red en economía coordinada por la Universidad de Tokio y la de Guadalajara (dos universidades públicas de gran tamaño) están a cargo de ex-becarios japoneses que realizaron estancias en el COLMEX y la Universidad de Guadalajara. Con base en la gente que conocieron y con el respaldo de instancias institucionales, de agencias de cooperación y del gobierno, instalaron dispositivos, bi o multilaterales, que garantizaron la constancia de los intercambios, mediante diversos agenciamientos financieros y organizacionales.

Esos programas fundacionales de becas, con sus impactos trans-generacionales, permitieron a México afianzar su imagen como un socio estratégico para Asia. Eso, aun cuando el tamaño de las comunidades de migrantes chinos y japoneses asentadas en el país sea reducido con respecto del de las instaladas en otros países de la región, tales Perú o Brasil: de hecho, algunas instituciones cooperan en forma importante con contrapartes japonesas, gracias al entretejido histórico de contactos

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9 Ese Programa Especial para la Enseñanza del Español a estudiantes de la República Popular China preparó a 151 alumnos en el periodo (Cornejo, 2000)

10 "Somos una universidad dedicada a las ciencias sociales. Por ello, es muy importante el convenio con el COLMEX. La relación empezó cuando, en 1965, un profesor nuestro de economía fue a dar una conferencia al COLMEX y mantuvo después una relación constante con la institución. Por ejemplo, en 1997, el profesor Kato fue enviado a la institución por la Fundación Japón para impartir un curso intensivo de economía. En el 2000, Amaury García fue alumno del profesor Kato y con base en esa relación, se estrecharon todavía más las relaciones. De hecho, en el 2010, el COLMEX estableció la Cátedra de Estudios Mexicanos en Hitotsubashi y nosotros la Cátedra Hitotsubashi en el COLMEX. La Cátedra está financiada en México por la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores. Ha sido exitosa porque funciona con base en un principio de reciprocidad y es bilateral: en nuestro caso, no mandamos a latino-americanistas sino a especialistas de Japón." Entrevista con Akihiro Koido y Kazuyazu Ochiai [http://www.rimac.mx/los-estudios-sobre-america-latina-en-la-universidad-hitotsubashi/]

académicos basados en intereses convergentes y en una confianza mutua. Las entrevistas publicadas en la RIMAC indicaron que la identificación de temáticas disciplinarias comunes, vinculadas con la formación de especialistas o el estudio comparativo de problemáticas transversales (migración, industrialización en el sector automotriz, producción agrícola, maquiladoras) fue un factor de asociación relevante para los académicos. No obstante, a diferencia de lo que ocurrió con Japón que prontamente apareció en el imaginario nacional de México como un interlocutor legítimo para todas las actividades de cooperación, las relaciones con China, dieron lugar a episodios recurrentes de tensión (González y Haro, 2013; Escalante, 2015) o desconcierto, por motivos socio-culturales, económicos e históricos (Cornejo, 2013).

Con Corea, aun cuando la migración de coreanos inició con el arribo de más de 1000 personas a las haciendas henequeras de Yucatán en 1905, fue hasta los 60 cuando México formalizó sus relaciones diplomáticas con ese país. Si bien el primer tratado bilateral fue firmado en 1966, las relaciones académicas repuntaron en el siglo XXI (Falk y Agustina, 2004). En el intervalo, las movilidades académicas fueron a cuentas gotas: el establecimiento en los 60 de un "hermanamiento" entre la Universidad de Hankook de Estudios Exteriores y la UNAM se tradujo en el envío de apenas dos estudiantes y un profesor coreano a México y de un profesor mexicano a Corea. Por ello mismo, a diferencia de lo que ocurrió con Japón y China, la cooperación universitaria entre México y Corea (y otros países: Tailandia, Malasia, Filipinas) casi no ha sido estudiada.

En suma, hasta finales de la década de 1980, la cooperación académica y científica entre México y Asia dependió de los programas bilaterales diseñados por el gobierno mexicano con sus contrapartes más que de un interés declarado de las instituciones de educación superior, salvo cuando esas tenían estudios de área sobre la región o contactos disciplinarios. Su mantenimiento fue producto del compromiso individual de ex becarios y de especialistas en ambas regiones. La relación fue centrada en la formación de "especialistas" para la investigación y el servicio exterior. En ese marco, las principales contrapartes asiáticas de México fueron Japón y China. Por el hecho de depender de un pequeño número de individuos e, igualmente, por involucrar un número reducido de instituciones de educación superior, la cooperación tuvo componentes personales, intelectuales y afectivos que generaron lealtades sólidas y duraderas. Esas sustentaron relaciones académicas estables, justificadas por una convicción de que era posible trabajar juntos y en la selección de temáticas que lo hicieran posible.

A partir de los ochenta, el incremento de los flujos de movilidad estudiantil entre México y los países asiáticos estuvo conectado con la formación de un número creciente de expertos e investigadores en la región. Se basó en el auge de la matricula inscrita en los estudios de área sobre Asia, cuando su descentralización en instituciones de los estados permitió ampliar el reclutamiento de alumnos. En México, la descentralización de los estudios de área dependió, en una primera fase, de los grupos académicos "matriciales" del COLMEX y de la UNAM: sus egresados, al insertarse en IES en donde iniciaron proyectos de indagación y formación con Asia, introdujeron esos temas en las agendas de departamentos con enfoques más amplios en antropología, relaciones internacionales, historia, economía y comercio internacional. A finales de la década, los especialistas en la región se organizaron en redes para acentuar su visibilidad en el escenario académico: en 1987 y 1988, se dedicaron a producir información sistemática sobre la Cuenca del Pacifico; en 1990, organizaron una Red Nacional de Investigadores sobre la Cuenca del Pacífico (RNICP). En 1992, 57 especialistas mexicanos de Asia formaron grupos de trabajo sobre agricultura, pesca y transportes, telecomunicaciones y turismo (triple T) e impacto de la Economía mundial en las regiones mexicanas (Rivas Mira, 1993).

En consecuencia, en México, tanto el fortalecimiento de centros especializados de investigación sobre Asia como el recrudecimiento de las movilidades científicas fueron procesos lentos pero se aceleraron a partir de finales de los ochenta. No obstante, la incorporación de instituciones al grupo de las universidades que trabajaban con y sobre Asia no siempre fue cuidadosamente programada a escala institucional: en varias ocasiones, dependió del reclutamiento de un especialista en Asia que logró constituir un grupo de investigación y formar estudiantes. En esa perspectiva, la expansión de la cooperación con Asia no siempre resultó de una política planeada de diversificación de las relaciones internacionales. Derivó ocasionalmente del interés y de las capacidades organizativas y de liderazgo individual: por ende, aunque algunos intercambios con Asia funcionaran de manera constante y se evidenciarán en movilidades, eventos académicos compartidos y publicaciones, no permearon otros ámbitos institucionales, más allá del núcleo originario que los incentivó. Así, la Facultad de Arquitectura y el Instituto de Artes de la Universidad Veracruzana mantienen, desde los 70, relaciones con instituciones japonesas, después de que un escultor japonés, por invitación de intelectuales del estado, fijara su residencia durante casi una década a finales de los 60 en Xalapa. Su estadía contribuyó al surgimiento de una escuela "japonesa" de escultura, con movilidades reciprocas, de naturaleza intergeneracional. Marcó el paisaje urbano y el del campus; pero, pese a su dinamismo intrínseco, esa cooperación se quedó encapsulada en su espacio fundacional.

Diversificación y consolidación bi y multilateral de las relaciones Asia -México durante los noventa

La cooperación universitaria con Asia, tanto multilateral como bilateral, se incrementó, a partir del sexenio de Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), cuyo gabinete promovió los intercambios comerciales con Asia y su inclusión en los foros políticos y organismos de integración regional de Asía del Pacifico. Desde finales del sexenio anterior, el presidente Miguel de la Madrid (1992-1988) había creado una Comisión Mexicana de la Cuenca del Pacifico, de índole inter-secretarial: esa fue encargada de gestionar la admisión de México a foros regionales, principalmente al Consejo de Cooperación Económica del Pacifico (PECC), en el que México ingresó en 1991. En 1993, el país devino socio del Foro de Cooperación Económica Asia Pacífico (APEC), seguido por Chile (1994) y Perú (1998). Interactuó asimismo con países asiáticos en organismos multilaterales: fue el caso con Corea en el marco de la OCDE. Finalmente, la participación del país en los grupos de trabajo sobre educación superior y/o ciencia y tecnología organizados por esos organismos alentó un número mayor de universidades mexicanas a explorar posibilidades de cooperación con establecimientos asiáticos.

La estrategia de participación en organismos multilaterales fue mantenida por los siguientes presidentes del país, pese a la alternancia política entre el Partido Revolucionario Institucional y el Partido Acción Nacional a partir del 2000. Esa continuidad constituyó un entorno ventajoso para que varias instituciones, publicas (Universidad de Colima) y privadas (ITAM/ITESM) abran centros de indagación sobre la región, con líneas que privilegiaron el análisis de fenómenos económicos (Rivas, 1992). En consecuencia, los estudios sobre Asia realizados en México se centraron, en su mayoría, en las estrategias de integración financiera, económica y comercial, en las escalas macro y subregional, de los países de Asia del Pacifico y de esos con América Latina. Eso explicó el auge de enfoques teóricos como el nuevo regionalismo. Si bien algunos investigadores siguieron interesándose a cuestiones políticas, culturales, religiosas o migratorias o a la historia de los países asiáticos o de algunos de ellos con México, fueron minoritarios en relación a un grupo de "especialistas" cuyo tamaño se incrementó rápidamente.

En el robustecimiento de los grupos de especialistas mexicanos, los organismos internacionales jugaron un papel crucial: APEC por ejemplo impulsó, entre 1995 y 2004, la instalación de centros APEC en México, al amparo de instituciones de educación superior.[11] En 2003, esos centros constituyeron un consorcio para aunar capacidades y aumentar el impacto de sus productos. Una encuesta sobre las prioridades de acción y las contribuciones de los centros APEC a la investigación sobre Asia y sobre APEC en México indicaba, sin embargo, en 2005, que sus aportes habían sido limitados: los convenios estaban fundamentalmente orientados a los intercambios estudiantiles; la cooperación de los centros APEC en México se había establecido esencialmente con los miembros no asiáticos de APEC, a saber Estados Unidos, Canadá y Chile. Entre las contrapartes asiáticas más relevantes en el ámbito universitario, destacaban en orden decreciente Japón, China y Corea (Mackintosh, 2005).

Unas pocas universidades mexicanas participaron en el programa *University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific* (UMAP) propuesto por Australia en 1991 y puesto en marcha en 1993. Su involucramiento en UMAP fue limitado por cuestiones organizacionales y financieras pero también por la insuficiente capacidad lingüística de los estudiantes nacionales en inglés, por la escasa inclusión de las universidades mexicanas en los rankings mundiales y por el bajo número de programas o créditos impartidos en inglés en México para que los cursen estudiantes internacionales (Nguyen, 2009).

Varias visitas de alto nivel entre México, China o Japón[12] enmarcaron la firma de convenios para fortalecer la cooperación

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11 En 2015, las universidades de Colima, Baja California Sur, Guadalajara, Veracruzana y Michoacana así como el ITESM-Guadalajara tenían centros APEC.

12 La visita de Estado de Yang Shangkun, entonces presidente de la República Popular China, a México, Brasil, Uruguay y Chile en mayo de 1990, supuso un hito fundamental en el incremento de la actividad diplomática de China en la región (Rodríguez, 2008)

educativa y técnica. El CONACYT en colaboración con la JICA, la Fundación Japón, cuya oficina en México fue abierta en 1987, y otras agencias, diversificó sus programas de becas de movilidad: a partir de 1995, financió, junto con la Sociedad Japonesa para la promoción de la ciencia (JPSP), el intercambio de unos 120 investigadores (Didou y Ramírez, 2016). Algunas IES mexicanas, principalmente en las ingenierías, se volvieron más autónomas en establecer cooperaciones, principalmente con Japón: la Universidad de Sonora recibió así a expertos y científicos enviados por la JICA para consolidar áreas de la física y, ulteriormente, abrir líneas de indagación en nano-materiales (Durand, 2012).

Aunque fue en la siguiente década cuando esas visitas se generalizaron, en los noventa, el repunte localizado de la cooperación con Japón y, en menor medida, con China permitió la intervención en el campo de otras universidades. En una escala menor, igual ocurrió con Corea. Los intercambios, que habían sido de baja intensidad mediante estancias breves para impartir conferencias y realizar alguna movilidad estudiantil, se incrementaron: el número de estudiantes coreanos que estudiaban en México alcanzó 107 y el de mexicanos en Corea 32. Las universidades de Guadalajara, la UAM, la Autónoma de Guadalajara, el IPN y el ITESM iniciaron actividades académicas con y sobre Corea (Dussel, op.cit: 81-84). La diversificación de las instituciones productoras de conocimientos sobre Asia y generadoras de movilidad es, a la vez, indisociable de una ampliación en el número de los egresados de los estudios de área en busca de oportunidades laborales y del fuerte impulso a la cooperación universitaria con Asia, mediante programas bilaterales (principalmente becas), operados por el gobierno mexicano y sus contrapartes asiáticas.

En consecuencia, durante los noventa, se produjeron en simultaneidad una multiplicación de las instituciones que establecieron vínculos con algún país de Asia, la intervención de Taiwán como ofertante de oportunidades de cooperación bilateral y un crecimiento de los grupos académicos interesados en la región. Si bien la cooperación con Japón, China y Corea siguió dependiendo en buena parte de los especialistas mexicanos en Asia, también involucró expertos deseosos de resolver problemas comunes de interés para el desarrollo, por ejemplo en agronomía entre el Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maíz y Trigo (CIMMYT) y universidades japonesas. Taiwán se posicionó como un socio de las universidades mexicanas. El gobierno de ese país, en su disputa con China por la obtención de reconocimientos diplomáticos por parte de gobiernos extranjeros, consideró América Latina como su segunda zona regional prioritaria para la distribución de su ayuda exterior, después de Asia. Aunque México, a diferencia de países de América Central y el Caribe, no haya reconocido oficialmente el gobierno, si abrió una oficina de representación y Taiwán instaló en reciprocidad una oficina económica y cultural de Taipéi, en el Distrito Federal. El país fue, por esa razón, incluido en los programas generosos de becas para formación disciplinaria y aprendizaje del chino, de donaciones, de hermanamiento universitario y de cooperación técnica, financiados por Taiwán, aunque en términos relativos, recibió recursos de menor monto que los destinados a Centro-américa (Rodríguez, op. cit.: 218).

Pese a su reforzamiento e incipiente diversificación, la cooperación en educación superior y ciencia entre las universidades mexicanas y las asiáticas mantuvo un perfil tradicional, priorizando las movilidades estudiantiles y, en menor medida, los proyectos de indagación. Aunque se disponga de alguna bibliografía sobre el rol del COLMEX y de la UNAM en la constitución de un campo de estudio especializado, en buena parte, queda por escribirse la historia de las otras IES mexicanas que construyeron en los noventa relaciones de colaboración con Asia, con una base de especialización temática mucho menor en la zona. Se requeriría establecer una cronología a escala nacional y registrar sus prácticas de colaboración y resultados para estudiar en qué medida contribuyeron a renovar los esquemas bi-nacionales de internacionalización en la región.

Efervescencia organizacional en el ámbito universitario: ¿durabilidad o efecto de moda?

En el siglo XXI, el entramado de las relaciones multi- o bilaterales entre México y los países asiáticos se densificó en todos los ámbitos, incluido el universitario. México adhirió al Foro de Cooperación de América Latina y Asia del Este (FOCALAE) que agrupa actualmente a 20 países latino-americanos y caribeños y 16 de Asia del Este. Dos de sus grupos de trabajo (sobre política, cultura, educación y deporte y sobre ciencia y tecnología) acordaron, en la reunión de Buenos Aires, Argentina (agosto 2011) reforzar los intercambios académicos y poner en marcha una red universitaria, bajo la coordinación de Brasil. En 2013, en una reunión en Colombia, anunciaron la constitución de una Red de convergencia científica y tecnológica (Funes, 2014).[13]

A escala bilateral, México y sus contrapartes asiáticas intensificaron el ritmo de las visitas de alto nivel. Como resultados de esos actos protocolarios, en 2001, anunciaron la creación de una Comisión México-Corea para el Siglo XXI, cuya función era ser un foro de consulta para profundizar la cooperación entre los dos países. En 2004, México estableció una Comisión Binacional permanente con China y suscribió con Japón un Acuerdo de Asociación Económica. La instalación de empresas asiáticas en el territorio mexicano se incrementó. Corea del Sur radicó industrias maquiladores, con vistas a exportar productos a Estados Unidos. China aprovechó el redespliegue estratégico de Estados Unidos hacia Medio Oriente y el retraimiento de agencias de cooperación europeas, principalmente de Europa del Norte, que prestaban ayuda al desarrollo, para intensificar su presencia en América Latina, incluido México (Erthal y Neto, 2013; Creuzfeld, 2014).

En el ámbito científico, CONACYT formalizó convenios con universidades y organismos de cooperación. Firmó un Acuerdo de Cooperación y un Memorándum de Entendimiento con la Universidad de Tokio para dotar a los estudiantes mexicanos de becas para estudiar un programa de posgrado en Japón,[14] teniendo 7 de sus 37 convenios bilaterales[15] con la India, la República Popular China, Corea, Japón y Vietnam. Entre 2007 y 2012,[16] varias universidades e instancias educativas, federales o estatales, negociaron instrumentos jurídicos (protocolos, convenios, cartas de entendimiento o de intención y acuerdos) con países de Asia (cuadro 1). Si bien la cifra es baja si se la compara con la de los convenios con Francia, España y Estados Unidos, revela un interés para normar programas de cooperación con la región. Aunque Corea fue el principal país interesado en firmar acuerdos, también aparecieron

13 Desde 2013, México participa además en el MIKTA, que lo relaciona con Indonesia, Corea, Turquía y Australia, cinco potencias medias susceptibles de puentear una relación entre países desarrollados y sub desarrollados.

14 http://www.mx.emb-japan.go.jp/rectores2014sp.pdf

15 http://www.conacyt.mx/images/pdfs_conacyt/Cooperacion_Bilateral_Paises.pdf

16 La legislatura 2006-2012 publicó un recuento de acuerdos firmados en el periodo. La actual todavía no lo hace, por lo que no se dispone de la información.

Tabla 6.1 Convenios firmados en el ámbito de cooperación académica y científica entre México y países asiáticos, 2007-2012

Institución mexicana	Institución extranjera	Fecha	Objeto
Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua	BISU, Bejing, China	17 octubre 2007	No especificado
Secretaria de Educación Pública de Jalisco	Comisión de Educación de Shanghai, China	26 noviembre 2008	No especificado
Secretaria de Educación Pública de Jalisco	Universidad de Estudios Internacionales de Shanghai, China	8 diciembre 2008	No especificado
IPN	Universidad Meisei, Tokio, Japón	20 Febrero 2009	Colaboración académica y educativa
CONACYT	Agencia de Ciencias y Tecnologia de Japón	1 Febrero 2010	Cooperación científica
Universidad de Colima	Universidad Khon Kaen, Tailandia	27 abril 2010	Doble grado entre la licenciatura en Mercadotecnia de la UC y la lic. En Administración y Mercadotecnia de la UKK
Universidad de Colima	Universidad Khon Kaen, Tailandia	27 abril 2010	Doble grado entre la licenciatura en Gestión turística de la UC y la lic. En Administración de Negocios en hotelería y negocios de la UKK
INIFAP	Academia de Ciencias agrícolas, Vietnam	22 noviembre 2010	Cooperación científica y Técnica en agricultura
CONACYT	Agencia para la Ciencia, la Tecnología y la Investigación de la República de Singapur	1 Julio 2011	Cooperación en general
IPN	Universidad Tecnológica de Nagaoka, Japón	13 octubre 2011	Cooperación educativa y académica
IPN	Universidad Tecnológica de Nagaoka, Japón	13 octubre 2011	Intercambio de estudiantes
BUAP	Universidad de Incheon, Corea	25 noviembre 2011	Cooperación educativa
BUAP	Universidad de Incheon, Corea	25 noviembre 2011	Intercambio de docentes y administrativos
BUAP	Universidad de Incheon, Corea	25 noviembre 2011	Intercambio estudiantil
BUAP	Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou, China	1diciembre 2011	Cooperación académica y científica, e intercambio
Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua	Facultad de Estudios Extranjeros, Beijing, China	16 diciembre 2011	Cooperación académica
Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores	Departamento de Asuntos Extranjeros, Filipinas	16 febrero 2012	Cooperación académica
CONACYT	Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología, China	6 abril 2012	Cooperación científica,

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de http://www.senado.gob.mx/comisiones/relext/docs/acuerdos2006-2012.pdf contrapartes nuevas: Tailandia, Vietnam y Singapur, reforzando su presencia en el ámbito universitario, como lo habían hecho previamente en otras áreas de cooperación (seguridad, salud, medio ambiente). Los propósitos de los convenios interuniversitarios firmados con Japón, Corea y la República Popular China fueron la cooperación académica (movilidad, principalmente), la técnica en ciertas áreas (agua, manejo de recursos forestales o conservación del patrimonio) y los derechos de propiedad industrial.[17]

A principios de la segunda década del Siglo XXI, finalmente, México apostó a reactivar un modelo de cooperación internacional sur-sur, que abarcaba a los países asiáticos, independientemente de sus niveles de desarrollo económico. La ideología de contribución solidaria al desarrollo, sobre todo como reacción y contrapeso a lógicas de mercado cada vez más extendidas en la educación superior y a las inversiones para la compra de universidades privadas hechas por proveedores transnacionales de servicios educativos[18] permitió a la AMEXCID desempeñar un rol proactivo en el impulso a programas alternos de cooperación académica y educativa.[19] Al coordinar el sistema mexicano de cooperación internacional para el desarrollo, amplió el número de convenios con los países que integraban los "sures" y produjo un plan de trabajo territorializado y jerarquizado temáticamente. Asentó en términos generales que: "Las **prioridades geográficas** para la oferta de CID, en orden prioritario son: Centroamérica, el

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17 Entre el IMPI y la Patent Office of Japan, 14 de febrero 2012; con la Korean Intellectual Property Office, el 12 de marzo 2013 y con la Oficina Estatal de Propiedad Intelectual de la República Popular China, el 14 de Mayo 2012

18 El total de las inversiones extranjeras en educación en nivel posteriores al bachillerato entre 1999 y 2014 sumó 289 millones de dólares. Por supuesto, las operaciones descritas en lo párrafos anteriores se expresaron claramente en los datos sobre IEDE en estos años. Destacaron los años 2000, con 53 millones de dólares; 2005 con 18 millones; 2008 con 166 millones; y 2013 con 14 millones de dólares (Secretaría de Economía, 2015) (Álvarez, 2015).

19 En este sentido, a la AMEXCID le corresponde dar continuidad a las acciones de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (CIPD) que se realizan por lo menos desde hace tres décadas. En el caso de la cooperación académica mucho tiempo fue designada como cooperación educativa. Sin embargo, estamos hablando de dos prácticas diferenciadas. Cuando nos referimos a la cooperación educativa implica a todo el sector educativo, es decir, lo que se hace con otros gobiernos en materia de educación básica, secundaria, curricula conjuntas, reconocimiento de grados, etc. La cooperación académica se enfoca en acciones conjuntas en materia de educación superior, considera como sus actores principales a las Instituciones de Educación Superior (IES) y se enfoca principalmente en fortalecer el capital humano y generar vínculos entre actores que participen de este nivel educativo (Barreto, 2016:1).

resto de América Latina y el Caribe y los países en desarrollo de Asia-Pacífico y África. Los **sectores prioritarios** de cooperación para la presente administración serán: educación, salud, medio ambiente y cambio climático y ciencia y tecnología".[20]

En educación superior y ciencia, la AMEXCID apoyó la tendencia emergente a una triangulación de la cooperación entre México, los países asiáticos y otros países, latino-americanos o no. En ocasiones, México desempeñó un rol protagónico en ese escenario y generó buenas prácticas: en 2013, en el marco de proyecto *Science and Technology Research Partnership for Sustainable Development Program* (SASTREP), el Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Forestales, Agrícolas y Pecuarias (INIFAP) y el Cimmyt-Texcoco recibieron a dos becarios afganos para un curso sobre mejoramiento del trigo. La JICA y la *Japan Science and Technology Agency* (JST) proveyeron recursos para ello.[21] Otra práctica de cooperación triangular, clasificada como buena por la AMEXCID, vincula México con Japón y Paraguay para mejorar la semilla del sésamo, siendo usuarios los pequeños productores paraguayos.[22] Desafortunadamente, la información es insuficiente para medir con exactitud la extensión de esas prácticas con respecto de las dominantes en el marco de una cooperación sur-sur, centrada en América Latina. Tampoco permite saber el rol (contribuyente o líder) que desempeñaron las IES mexicanas y otras instancias de investigación científica en esas modalidades de cooperación con Asia.

En años recientes, México y ciertos países asiáticos diseñaron dispositivos de cooperación bilateral que les permitieron redefinir sus interacciones y cuyo trabajo se aunó al realizado por las subcomisiones sobre cooperación científica o educativa en el interior de las comisiones binacionales, tal la establecida entre China y México en 2003. Por ejemplo, crearon en 2005, un Grupo de Alto Nivel, con una subcomisión en educación. Las instancias bilaterales de cooperación en educación convocaron, junto con otros organismos, la primera reunión de rectores México- China en 2009 para reforzar la cooperación universitaria. Con Japón, las Cumbres de Rectores México Japón se reunieron

20 http://www.amexcid.mx

21 http://citaspasaporte.sre.gob.mx/index.php/es/comunicacion-/comunicados/1735-mexico-y-japon-capacitan-a-investigadores-afganos-en-proyecto-de-cooperacion-triangular

22 http://www.gob.mx/amexcid/prensa/proyecto-mexico-paraguay-japon-buena-practica-de-cooperacion-triangular

en dos ocasiones en Junio 2011 y en Octubre 2014. Acudió a ellas un número creciente de instituciones (16 mexicanas y 29 japonesas en el primer evento y, en el segundo, 42 y 25 respectivamente). Los acuerdos consistieron en fomentar la innovación, formar recursos humanos con competencias globales y propiciar la interculturalidad mediante programas de movilidad e investigación compartida.

Asociaciones de universidades y/o ministerios de educación firmaron acuerdos de amplio espectro que indujeron las universidades mexicanas en participar en convenios con países de Asia: por ejemplo, el Instituto Politécnico Nacional (IPN), la Asociación Educacional China para el Intercambio Internacional (CEAIE), la Asociación Nacional de Universidades e instituciones de Educación Superior (ANUIES) y la SEP firmaron memoranda de entendimiento en medicina tradicional (2009), recursos hídricos (2011) y forestales (2012) y un Acuerdo de Cooperación para una fase adicional de acción conjunta entre ambos países (2011-2015). Consideraron como prioridades: "la administración y operación universitaria; el aseguramiento de la calidad de la educación superior; el reconocimiento de la acreditación académica; la promoción del aprendizaje de idiomas; el estímulo a la movilidad de estudiantes y profesores, así como la exploración de investigaciones conjuntas de China y México. Tanto la CEAIE como la ANUIES se comprometieron a realizar esfuerzos conjuntos para cooperar en el intercambio académico; desarrollar los mecanismos de cooperación e investigaciones conjuntas; desarrollar modelos multi-institucionales para la colaboración en investigación y el intercambio académico y estudiantil; alentar la participación de todas las instituciones en los acuerdos ya existentes de intercambio de profesores y alumnos, y explorar diversos modelos de financiamiento para mejorar el intercambio educativo y de investigación" (Centro Gilberto Bosques, 2015:15). En 2010, los asistentes a la IV Reunión de la Comisión Binacional México-China entre ambos países suscribieron un Acuerdo de Reconocimiento Mutuo de Certificados de Estudios, Títulos y Grados Académicos para efectos de continuación de estudios (Álvarez, 2010) con el propósito de dinamizar la movilidad estudiantil. En 2012, el CONACYT y el Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología de China firmaron un acuerdo de cooperación y, en 2014, otros dos instrumentos, un Acuerdo Específico de Cooperación sobre Convocatorias Conjuntas para Proyectos de Investigación y un Memorándum de Entendimiento sobre el Fortalecimiento de la Cooperación en Alta y Nueva Tecnología y su Industrialización. Acordaron organizar una Segunda Cumbre de rectores.

En suma, México participa hoy en más espacios de cooperación con Asia que diez o quince años atrás, principalmente con China, Japón y Corea. Los acuerdos intergubernamentales y bilaterales fueron relevantes para que un mayor número de instituciones establezcan vínculos internacionales con IES de esos países. Durante la pasada década y medio, otras IES experimentaron sus propias prácticas de cooperación con Asia; negociaron para ello directamente convenios directos con establecimientos homólogos. Habida cuenta del rol proactivo asumido por esas instituciones, concluiremos el análisis sobre la evolución de las relaciones académicas entre México y sus contrapartes asiáticas, examinando algunos esquemas de interrelación: esos, en efecto, no están asentados exclusivamente en grupos disciplinarios comprometidos con la producción científica en red y con larga experiencia de producción de saberes con pares internacionales. Están procurando la vinculación con sectores empresariales mediante la capacitación, la preparación de maestros de idiomas, la transmisión de competencias lingüísticas, la difusión cultural o la internacionalización de los círculos académicos, mediante la movilidad saliente y entrante de los investigadores.

Experiencias tradicionales e innovadoras de cooperación universitaria a escala institucional

El reforzamiento de las relaciones académicas de México con los países asiáticos es llamativo pero es circunscrito y no modifica todavía los circuitos geográficos tradicionales de la movilidad académica en México. Sus impactos cuantitativos son restringidos: sólo 33 de los 4825 becarios mexicanos de posgrado en movilidad saliente, financiados por el CONACYT en 2014, se dirigieron a Asia; en el sentido inverso, 2.6% de los 2446 becarios extranjeros del CONACYT, inscritos en un posgrado de calidad en México, procedían de esa región, principalmente de India y China (Patlani, 2015).114 de los 2358 miembros del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores nacidos en el extranjero (sobre un total de 19 632 en 2013) y reclutados como investigadores por IES mexicanas procedían de Asia (India, China y Japón, sobre todo) — Didou y Ramírez, 2016b. Organismos no gubernamentales e internacionales están igualmente propiciando las movilidades estudiantiles y académicas: desde 2012, Santander Universia apoya, mediante su programa *Top México*, intercambios en ingeniería con Japón. Es previsible, en esa circunstancia, que la movilidad hacia Asia se intensifique a futuro, por el interés generado entre los sujetos y por la oferta incremental de apoyos por parte de patrocinadores externos, pese a sus costos y a las dificultades interculturales que marcan los intercambios entre México y Asia.

El incremento, apenas incipiente, en los flujos de movilidad estudiantil, saliente y entrante, continuará: corresponde con un recrudecimiento del interés mutuo de los estudiantes, cultural y profesionalmente, por América Latina y Asia. En Japón, el español es la tercera lengua extranjera más solicitada por los estudiantes, después del inglés y del chino, rebasando la demanda tradicional por el francés, el alemán y el ruso. En Corea, desde finales de los ochenta, universidades enseñaron español con el objetivo de aumentar el número de estudiantes que enviaban a algún país de habla hispana.[23] En México, un número creciente de IES está proponiendo en sus centros de idiomas chino y japonés (UNAM, COLMEX, UNISON, Universidad de Guanajuato, Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara, ITESM, Universidad Veracruzana Universidad Autónoma de Cd Juárez, Universidad de Colima, Universidad Tecnológica de Tulancingo, Unicach). Algunas diseñaron cursos de aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera, especialmente para chinos (ITESM, UV) o japoneses (Universidad de Guanajuato- Rangel, 2015). Los institutos Confucio, a veces duramente criticados como manifestaciones de un "soft power", generaron un interés, profesional y cultural, en el aprendizaje del chino: permitieron a las instituciones sedes tejer relaciones académicas con universidades colaboradoras y recibir profesores chinos por una duración de entre uno y cuatro años, según su contrato profesional en China, para enseñar el idioma y aplicar exámenes de certificación. La Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán reconoce ahora los cursos del chino impartidos por su instituto Confucio como créditos optativos en sus planes de estudio.

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23 "El nuevo interés coreano en Latinoamérica tuvo un impacto en la esfera educativa, resultando en el establecimiento de Departamentos de Español en nueve universidades: Universidad Kyunghee, Universidad Católica de Daegu, Universidad de Corea, PUFS., Universidad Hankook, Universidad Nacional de Seúl, Universidad Chosun, Universidad Jeonbuk, y Universidad Ulsan. Como resultado, la primera parte de los años ochenta se caracterizó por un creciente interés entre el público coreano hacia México, así como en la capacitación en el idioma español y el estudio en países de habla hispana, incluyendo México. Más aún, a finales de los ochenta el número de estudiantes coreanos en universidades mexicanas y escuelas de graduados creció considerablemente"(Dussel, 2005:83).

Por otra parte, se corrobora indicios de una multipolaridad, todavía incipiente, de la cooperación con los países de Asia, en cuanto a socios. Esa es insuficiente para contrabalancear el peso de las articulaciones establecidas con China, Japón y Corea. Sin embargo, aunque las universidades de países como Tailandia están actualmente privilegiando la cooperación con sus vecinos cercanos de Asia (Ramírez P.H, 2016), la Embajada de ese país invirtió en México fondos para incentivar una movilidad de investigadores y estudiantes a Tailandia y apoyar la publicación de obras académicas y culturales en español sobre este país.

En consecuencia, las instituciones con una tradición científica en los estudios de área sobre Asia dejaron de dominar absolutamente el campo de la cooperación con esa región y de definir sus orientaciones y prioridades. Incluso, algunos establecimientos pequeños, a veces de reciente creación, fincaron allí sus dinámicas de internacionalización y movilidad: por ejemplo, la Universidad Intercultural del Estado de México, destinada mayoritariamente a grupos indígenas de la entidad, se alió con la Universidad Nacional de Malasia para fomentar intercambios estudiantiles e investigaciones conjuntas en salud, agua y agronomía (Monroy, 2014).

La Fundación Japón y la Fundación Korea apoyaron la producción científica latino-americana sobre Asia, fomentando eventos de redes de especialistas. La primera respaldó las actividades y los congresos de la sección de México de la Asociación Latino-americana de Estudios sobre Asia y África (ALADAA), fundada en 1976 en El Colegio de México. La segunda respaldó con recursos, desde 2003, la organización de Encuentros bi-anuales de Estudios Coreanos en América Latina (Velarde, 2015) y financia actualmente actividades de cooperación en 10 universidades.[24]

Además del papel protagónico de las Embajadas, de las fundaciones y de las agencias de cooperación, la colaboración horizontal entre universidades creció con base en los intereses mutuos de los establecimientos. Ellos pusieron en marcha esquemas variados de vinculación interinstitucional, determinados por sus capacidades, sus esquemas decisionales y sus prioridades. La cooperación con Japón es ilustradora de ello. A escala nacional, 35 universidades mexicanas están relacionadas con 62 japonesas, mediante más de 100 convenios. Tal número se explica, en México,

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24 http://cea.uanl.mx/programas/

por la historia acumulada en cuanto a cooperación universitaria por establecimientos líderes, por la presencia de especialistas en el área en varias instituciones y por la celebración de los encuentros de rectores antes mencionados. Es igualmente reactiva a una coyuntura externa en Japón, determinada por la cuantiosa inversión japonesa en el país, concentrada en entidades federativas (Cd de México, Guanajuato, Aguascalientes): programas federales como el *Super Global Universities,* lanzado en 2014, para internacionalizar el modelo académico en 37 instituciones japonesas con el fin de que integren el top 100 de los rankings internacionales, ofreció a establecimientos de educación superior — Sophia, Hitotsubashi, Tokio, Tsukuba — cuantiosos recursos para colaborar con América Latina y suministró a instituciones mexicanas oportunidades de conexión internacional (Didou y Ramirez, 2016, op. cit).

Esa situación hizo que la cooperación entre Japón y México se consolidará conforme con distintos esquemas: uno, convencional, se fundamenta en el reforzamiento de los lazos entre instituciones con una añeja colaboración bilateral; el escalamiento de los vínculos se tradujo en diferenciación de las actividades de cooperación y de los actores involucrados — Ochiai, 2014; otro consiste en la participación de instituciones mexicanas, junto con otras, en redes internacionales disciplinarias convocadas por universidades japonesas, gracias a los fondos provistos por el *Super Global 30*: la Universidad de Tsukuba, mediante la *Transpacific Initiative,* invitó así la Universidad de los Andes en Colombia, la Universidad Católica de Perú, la Universidad de Sao Paolo, la Universidad de Chile y el COLMEX a asociarse en un programa de movilidad estudiantil. El tercero es el de respuesta reactiva a demandas del entorno: la Universidad de Guanajuato, una de las entidades donde se concentra la inversión japonesa, diseñó un posgrado en química con la Universidad Tecnológica de Nagaoka y, a la par, presta servicios de entrenamiento lingüístico en japonés, en español y en inglés, vendiendo cursos de capacitación.

Aunque, con China, es más difícil identificar perfiles de cooperación bilateral, por ser menos consolidada esta que la establecida en otros ámbitos, dos experiencias merecen atención. Una es la de UNAM que reorganizó sus estudios sobre Asia, dispersos en diversos centros; convocó a los especialistas a participar en estructuras paraguas como el Seminario Universitario de Estudios Asiáticos (SUEA) o el Centro de Estudios sobre China. Pretendió diversificar sus contrapartes en la región, aunque su marco de actuación siga restringido.[25] Sacando provecho de su masa crítica, abrió un Centro de Estudios Mexicanos en China en 2012. En consecuencia, la UNAM, hoy, es un lugar importante de recepción de los estudiantes chinos que realizan estancias académicas en México,[26] un centro productor de conocimientos sobre la región y un núcleo difusor de la cultura mexicana en China.

La Universidad Veracruzana, por su parte, abrió el Centro de Estudios China-Veracruz (Cechiver),[27] para promover los intercambios entre ambos países, científicos y comerciales e inauguró en la Cd de Chongquing, China, el Centro Sergio Pitol, en homenaje a un conocido escritor veracruzano. Si bien el Cechiver tuvo éxito en la impartición de diplomados y talleres de capacitación a empresarios, tanto chinos como mexicanos, no logró despertar un interés amplio en la comunidad académica, por haber sido una iniciativa rectoral. Por esa razón, ni el centro Sergio Pitol se transformó en un *hub* de intercambios científicos, ni la UV logró constituir a grupos académicos amplios interesados en promover los estudios sobre China, en diferentes disciplinas.

En suma, en el plano institucional, las actividades de cooperación con Asia se expandieron y reestructuraron durante los años 2000. Ciertas universidades consolidaron sus interacciones bilaterales o en red, aunque algunos proyectos no lograron cuajar académicamente por cuestiones políticas u organizacionales. El número de revistas y artículos, producido en México, sobre Japón, China y Corea (y algunos otros países) aumentó y sus temáticas se diversificaron, aun cuando siguieron predominando los estudios con enfoque económico. Esos años

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25 "Se fortaleció la cooperación a través de la suscripción de 15 convenios de colaboración con instituciones de educación superior de: China (ocho), Australia (tres), Corea del Sur (dos), Japón (uno) y Taiwán (uno). Con China se diversificó la cooperación académica a través de la suscripción de ocho convenios de colaboración con: Renmin University, Beihang University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China University of Political Science and Law, Peking University, Beijing Foreign Studies University, College of Stomatology Guangxi Medical University y Shanghai Institutes for International Studies Peking University. Por su parte, la colaboración con otros países de Asia Pacífico ha comenzado a diversificarse paulatinamente, tal es el caso de: Yeungnam University en Corea del Sur, National Taiwan University en Taiwán, Universidad de Ritsumeikan en Japón y Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS) en Corea del Sur" (Lodigiani, 2012, http://www.global.unam.mx/es/quienes_somos/2013a.pdf)

26 https://unamenchina.net/2015/07/28/la-unam-recibe-al-45-de-los-universitarios-chinos-que-estudiaran-en-mexico-este-ano/

27 http://www.uv.mx/chinaveracruz/

representaron, en suma, una época de transición e interés controlado por Asia, en la que se hicieron presentes nuevas instituciones: algunas contaban con recursos suficientes para iniciar una relación de largo aliento, otras no tanto.

Conclusiones

Ese recorrido sobre la cooperación académica entre México y Asía muestra un auge de las estructuras, de los mecanismos normativos que la rigen. Probablemente, el auge de las oportunidades es más rápido que el del número de investigadores susceptibles de darle cuerpo a los proyectos acordados por las autoridades gubernamentales e institucionales. En un contexto en el que Asia está de moda, se advierte la aparición de preocupaciones y el resurgimiento de interrogantes que siempre preocuparon a los especialistas. ¿Cómo propiciar una buena enseñanza de los idiomas? ha sido un tema central de la interacción entre México y sus contrapartes[28] y un objeto de estudio, a partir de los 70 y hasta ahora, en relación al japonés (Ota, 1975) o al chino (Arsovska, 2012) para los hispanohablantes y al español para los hablantes de lenguas asiáticas. Otros temas — por ejemplo, cómo definir proyectos ad hoc de cooperación bilateral con los distintos países asiáticos y como equilibrar las expectativas de México con sus socios — son apenas temas emergentes.

En consecuencia, un primer reto consiste en cómo institucionalizar las relaciones académicas, principalmente con China. Uno de las cuestiones a atender versa sobre lograr una transición, pasando de agendas de cooperación paralelas a una común. En ese mismo orden de reflexiones, cabe preguntarse si México ha desarrollado igual capacidad de comprensión de su relación con China que, a la inversa, China de las relaciones con América Latina (Cesarin, op.cit).

Un segundo reto consiste en identificar marcos idóneos para fomentar la cooperación con Asia. ¿Serán adecuados los de la cooperación sur-sur o triangular, como lo proponen la AMEXCID y los intelectuales que adhieren a los enfoques del post-colonialismo? ¿ lo sería más pensar esas relaciones a partir de otras categorías, como las de cooperación emergente?

28 Japón hizo en 1978 una donación importante de libros al CELE de la UNAM para apoyar la enseñanza del japonés (Meza et al., 1978)

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Chapter 7

Mujeres profesionales en San Carlos de Bariloche

Movilidades científicas y trayectorias académicas

Brenda Matossian

Resumen San Carlos de Bariloche, en la Norpatagonia Argentina, es una ciudad caracterizada por su función turística aunque también por su condición de polo científico gestada con la creación, hace décadas, del Centro Atómico Bariloche e Instituto Balseiro, instituciones de alto nivel en la investigación física y nuclear, a las que luego se sumaron otras. La ciudad experimentó crecimientos demográficos acelerados nutridos por distintos tipos de migraciones. Se busca indagar en la relación entre estos incrementos, demográficos, urbanos, de instituciones académicas, y el arribo a la ciudad de mujeres profesionales que se insertaron en comunidades científicas con una marcada tradición masculina. Se trabaja sobre un barrio, Pinar de Festa, cercano al predio de estas instituciones, donde se entrevistaron a mujeres y científicas que en ellas trabajan. Se analiza su rol como investigadoras en la reconstrucción de sus trayectorias académicas caracterizadas por su alta movilidad vinculada con sus distintas etapas de formación de grado y posgrado, con mayor o menos permanencia en el extranjero. Se concluye que estas mujeres han experimentado circuitos de movilidad científica internacional durante sus fases de formación de doctorado y/o posdoctorado y luego se asentaron institucionalmente y residencialmente en la ciudad de modo más estable.

Palabras clave trayectorias académicas, mujeres profesionales, San Carlos de Bariloche, movilidades científicas, Instituto Balseiro

Abstract San Carlos de Bariloche city, in the Northern Patagonia of Argentina, is well known for its tourist function but it is also recognized for being a scientific hub since the creation, decades ago, of the Bariloche Atomic Center and Balseiro Institute, high level institutions for education and research in physics and nuclear sciences. After them, some other research institutions were created. The city itself experienced a fast demographic growth nourished by different types of migration flows. This work investigates the relationship between these increases, demographic, urban, academic institutions, and the arrival of professionals women which were incorporated in local scientific communities with a strong male tradition. We will focus on a neighborhood, Pinar de Festa, near these institutions campus, where these women, scientists and migrants were interviewed. The analysis discusses their role as researchers and rebuilds their academic paths characterized by a high mobility linked to different educational stages: postgraduate and postdoctorate studies. Some of these stages where developed abroad. We conclude that these women have experienced international scientific mobility circuits during their doctorate and / or postdoctorate training phases and after that they settled down from an institutional and residential perspective.

Keywords: academic paths, professional women, San Carlos de Bariloche, scientific mobilities, Balseiro Institute

Introducción

La ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche se encuentra en la Norpatagonia Argentina, dentro de la provincia de Río Negro, en una región fronteriza con Chile. Inserta dentro del Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi, se ha caracterizado por su función turística dado sus atractivos paisajes de montañas y lagos. Sin embargo, también se destaca por su condición de polo científico desde hace décadas. Esta condición se ha visto gestada por la creación del Centro Atómico Bariloche y el Instituto Balseiro, instituciones de alto nivel en la investigación física, y nuclear, creados durante la década del cincuenta cuando la ciudad apenas tenía poco más de 10.000 habitantes. En la actualidad, luego de casi 65 años de historia y un gran crecimiento institucional y científico, su reconocimiento ha ido en aumento.

Al mismo tiempo, también durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, San Carlos de Bariloche ha experimentado crecimientos demográficos y urbanos acelerados que han generado una profunda fragmentación al interior de la ciudad. En este contexto, este capítulo busca hacer foco en la relación entre estos incrementos (demográficos, urbanos, y también científicos) y el arribo de mujeres profesionales, nacidas en otras localidades argentinas, quienes se insertaron en estas comunidades científicas locales con una fuerte tradición masculina como son los ámbitos especializados en la denominadas “ciencias duras” y/o ciencias exactas. El objetivo es analizar, a través de las experiencias y trayectorias académicas de un grupo de mujeres profesionales residentes en un barrio barilochense, el entrecruzamiento y la simultaneidad de categorías de análisis sobre distintos tipos de movilidades sobre las que se puede reflexionar, en un interés interescalar propio de los enfoques de la geografía constructivista (Lindón, 2011).

Esta concepción del espacio como experiencia ya había sido cultivada dentro del pensamiento anglosajón en los años setenta, aunque cobró especial fuerza y fue especialmente resignificada por el giro cultural de la geografía que se dio desde América Latina, impulsado por Alicia Lindón y Daniel Hiernaux (2010). Desde este enfoque se encuentran algunos puntos de contacto con las metodologías feministas que valorizan la categoría de experiencia tanto para la investigación sobre las cuestiones de género como con las relacionadas con la inmigración (França y Padilla, 2013: 8) en una búsqueda por visibilizar y denunciar situaciones de desigualdades. En esto punto cabe destacar la propuesta teórica de la interseccionalidad gestada desde los estudios feministas y la decolonialidad, reconoce la necesidad de abordar las distintas desigualdades sociales, como capas que suceden de modo simultáneo (Crenshaw, 1991; Mc Call, 2005). Según Nash (2008), ha sido creada como herramienta diseñada para combatir las jerarquías, las hegemonías y las exclusividades como así también los binarismos propios de la modernidad en torno a los debates sobre estudios de género y raza. También se reconoce su surgimiento como respuesta a la larga historia de esencialismos en los estudios sobre identidades, avanzando hacia el conocimiento de las heterogeneidades al interior de los grupos antes abordados como internamente homogéneos. Tal como indica Magliano (2015:691) "emerge como una apuesta teórico-metodológica para comprender las relaciones sociales de poder y los contextos en que se producen las desigualdades sociales, hace posible un análisis 'complejo' de la realidad vivida por los sujetos, mujeres y varones, mediante el abordaje de las diferentes posicionalidades y clasificaciones sociales, históricamente situadas".

En sintonía con estas perspectivas, y volviendo a la perspectiva geográfica, Lindón propone Geografías situacionales y Geografías de espacios móviles como desafíos para comprender el espacio desde esta perspectiva del sujeto-habitante, como una construcción "siempre en curso realizada por el sujeto siempre en interacción con otros, pero también con formas espaciales heredadas y con saberes espaciales consensuados" (Lindón, 2011:203). Es desde esta mirada teórica de la Geografía desde la donde este trabajo aborda los distintos tipos de movilidades de mujeres profesionales en un recorte espacial particular.

Se trabaja sobre el estudio de caso en un barrio específico, Pinar de Festa, geográficamente cercano a las instalaciones de las instituciones científicas ya mencionadas. A partir del análisis de entrevistas en profundidad realizadas, se dará especial importancia al análisis de su rol como investigadoras en la reconstrucción de sus trayectorias académicas y se indagará sobre la movilidad vinculada a las distintas etapas de formación de grado y posgrado y posterior, dando cuenta de las fases residenciales. Asimismo, se indagará sobre las tensiones en el contexto familiar durante los itinerarios y su inserción particular en un espacio urbano definido por profundas fronteras interiores y en una institución científica tan particular.

Cabe indicar que los estudios sobre movilidad y migración calificada en la Argentina no son abundantes. El trabajo de García de Fanelli (2009) sobre movilidad académica y estudiantil es uno de los antecedentes. Asimismo, se destaca la obra colectiva coordinada por Lucas Luchillo (2011) en la que se encuentran trabajos específicos para el caso argentino, además de debates teóricos y metodológicos de sumo interés.

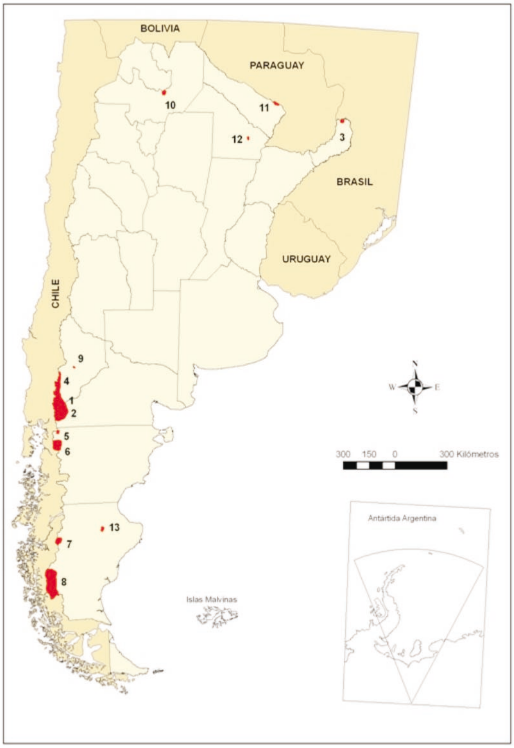
Más escasos aún son los trabajos sobre movilidades científicas en la región Patagónica y desde estudios con perspectiva de género. Tal como indican (França y Padilla, 2013:3) "… em termos de reconhecimento das mulheres como sujeitos produtores de saber, historicamente esse lugar lhes foi recusado através da naturalização do feminino (associação à natureza), de uma negação da objetividade e racionalidade assentadas em uma suposta fisiologia e psicologia feminina. Os estudos feministas vêm exigir, desta forma, o reconhecimento não apenas da mulher como sujeito da história, mas também como sujeito produtor de ciência, especialmente desde uma perspectiva crítica e autônoma". Esta cita resulta relevante con miras al análisis que se propone en este trabajo y que indaga la experiencia de estas mujeres en un contexto científico masculinizado.

San Carlos de Bariloche: entre el turismo y la ciencia

La ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche se encuentra en la Norpatagonia Argentina en una región fronteriza con Chile. Inserta dentro del Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi, se ha caracterizado, en especial desde la creación de dicha área natural protegida (ANP) en 1934, por su función turística dado sus atractivos paisajes de montañas y lagos. En la Figura 1 se puede identificar su ubicación relativa en el total del país en este mapa temático de las primeras ANPs creadas por el estado nacional a partir de la Administración de Parques Nacionales.

Desde la creación del Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi su función turística se fue profundizando. Sin embargo, con el paso de los años, también se ha destacado por su condición de polo científico y tecnológico. Esta condición se ha visto gestada por la creación del Centro Atómico Bariloche y el Instituto Balseiro, instituciones de alto nivel en la investigación física y nuclear, creados durante la década del cincuenta cuando la ciudad apenas tenía poco más de 10.000 habitantes. La creación de estas instituciones se relaciona con la decisión de instalar una serie de laboratorios solicitados por el físico alemán Ronald Richter al gobierno de Juan Domingo Perón, hacia fines de la década del cuarenta, en la isla Huemul, ubicada en el lago Nahuel Huapi frente a donde se encuentra emplazada la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche. Richter buscaba la fusión nuclear controlada, la cual no pudo ser lograda, tal como se comprobó unos años después. Fue así como, luego de un informe realizado por el Dr. José Balseiro fue desestimado el Proyecto Huemul, aunque sentó las bases para la creación instituciones científicas especializadas. Fue así que, en 1950, el gobierno peronista decidió crear la Comisión Nacional de Energía Atómica (CNEA) para dar un marco administrativo a las actividades que se llevaban a cabo en la isla Huemul. Dado el antecedente del mencionado proyecto Huemul, desde la CNEA se crea una de sus sedes más importantes fuera de Buenos Aires: el Centro Atómico Bariloche (CAB) que dio sus primeros bajo la denominación de Planta de Altas Temperaturas.

En aquellos años, se definió que hubiera un sector destinado a la investigación y otro a la enseñanza; la formación de recursos humanos se concretó a través de la organización de escuelas de verano dirigidas por el Dr. José Balseiro. Así, el Instituto de Física fue creado en 1955 a partir de un convenio entre la Comisión Nacional Energía Atómica y la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, en la provincia de Mendoza. Balseiro, su primer director experimentó una trayectoria académica altamente movil: había estudiado en La Plata becado por la Universidad de Córdoba y viajó a Manchester en 1950 becado por el Consejo Británico para encarar investigaciones de vanguardia y realizar sus trabajos de posdoctorado. El Instituto de Física de Bariloche fue luego de la muerte de Balseiro en 1962 fue denominado Instituto Balseiro (IB) en su honor. Es también reconocido como "el brazo académico" del CAB, orientado a la enseñanza la Física y distintas ingenierías. Allí se pueden cursar las carreras de grado (Licenciatura en Física, Ingeniería Nuclear, Ingeniería Mecánica e Ingeniería en Telecomunicaciones) y de posgrado (Maestría en Ciencias



1. Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi (1934)
2. Parque Nacional Los Arrayanes (1934 - Formaba parte del PN Nahuel Huapi. En 1971 se declaró PN de manera independiente)
3. Parque Nacional Iguazú (1934)
4. Parque Nacional Lanín (1937)
5. Parque Nacional Lago Puelo (1937 - como anexo del PN Los Alerces. En 1971 se declaró Parque)
6. Parque Nacional Los Alerces (1937)
7. Parque Nacional Perito Moreno (1937)
8. Parque Nacional Los Glaciares (1937)
9. Parque Nacional Laguna Blanca (1940)
10. Parque Nacional El Rey (1948)
11. Parque Nacional Rio Pilcomayo (1951)
12. Parque Nacional Chaco (1954)
13. Monumento Natural Bosques Petrificados (1954)

Figura 7.1 Ubicación de los primeros parques nacionales en la Argentina

Fuente: elaboración personal.

Físicas, Maestría en Física Médica, Maestría en Ingeniería, y Doctorados en Física, Ingeniería Nuclear y Ciencias de la Ingeniería). También contiinúan funcionando las escuelas de verano. Para cursar dichas carreras allí es preciso obtener una beca, a la cual se accede a través de una exigente selección mediante la cual sólo los que obtienen los puntajes más altos en su evaluación académica pueden acceder. Las carreras de grado son para terminar las mismas dado que se dictan para los últimos años únicamente, de allí que son los estudiantes avanzados de grado los que postula a este tipo de becas.

Tanto el Instituto Balseiro como el Centro Atómico Bariloche constituyen unas de las sedes más prestigiosas de investigación y desarrollo en el área física y nuclear y asimismo son reconocidos por su distinguida trayectoria en la formación de profesionales. En la actualidad, luego de casi 65 años de historia y un gran crecimiento institucional y científico, su reconocimiento ha ido en aumento. Actualmente trabajan y estudian unas 900 personas.

Además de este germen que vincula a la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche con la ciencia y la tecnología, con el correr de los años, se crearon nuevas instituciones que diversificaron la vocación académica de la urbe hacia otras ramas de las ciencias: Fundación Bariloche (1963), Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria — Estación Experimental Agropecuaria Bariloche (1965), Centro Regional Universitario Bariloche de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue (1972). Esta última, según se afirma desde la misma universidad, emerge a partir del "latente anhelo cultural, educativo y político de la ciudad por ampliar las oportunidades educativas regionales" junto con la existencia de centros de investigación de muy alto nivel, como la Fundación Bariloche y el Centro Atómico Bariloche, "que requerían mejorar la docencia de sus especialidades y proponían la creación de un centro de formación en Ciencias Exactas" (http://crubweb.uncoma.edu.ar/?page_id=4124).

En 1972, un egresado Instituto Balseiro, comenzó a desarrollar el Programa de Investigación Aplicada que arribó a la creación de la empresa Invap (Investigación Aplicada) Sociedad del Estado en 1976. La empresa del estado Invap ha crecido notablemente y es reconocida mundialmente por el desarrollo de proyectos complejos donde las tecnologías y los sistemas son la clave. En los últimos años se ha destacado en la construcción de satélites y reactores.

Ya en el siglo XXI estas instituciones continuaron expandiéndose y, a su vez, se agregaron otras como la Universidad Nacional de Río Negro, creada en 2008, cuya sede Andina se encuentra en San Carlos de Bariloche, como así también su Instituto de Investigaciones en Diversidad Cultural y Procesos de Cambio. Así muchos investigadores y profesores se radicaron en los últimos años dando continuidad a este proceso de movilidades de profesionales para su radicación, en buena medida permanente, en esta localidad patagónica-andina en expansión.

Bariloche y sus “otras migraciones”: las movilidades menos estudiadas

Esta ciudad muestra con claridad que distintos tipos de desplazamientos participan simultáneamente en la constitución de lugares (Zusman, Lois y Castro, 2007): migrantes, turistas, intelectuales o empresarios insertos en distintas redes pueden confluir y reconfigurar un único espacio.

En este punto cabe hacer una aclaración sobre el uso que le da a las nociones de migración y movilidad. Tal como indica Bertoncello (2001), se está dando lugar a transformaciones en la valorización de los espacios a escala planetaria, y la movilidad territorial aparece como una de las estrategias fundamentales que los individuos tienen para enfrentar estas transformaciones e insertarse en ellas. Desde esta perspectiva, se reconoce la existencia de un “amplio abanico de formas de movilidad, cuya heterogeneidad lleva a considerar que la migración, tal como ha sido entendida tradicionalmente, es sólo una parte del universo” (Bertoncello, 2001:8). La migración entonces implica un cambio en el lugar de residencia habitual, en tanto estrategia residencial relativamente permanente y estable en el contexto de una trayectoria vital (Sassone et al. 2006). Es desde esta perspectiva que se utiliza en este trabajo, teniendo presente que se trata de procesos altamente dinámicos y reversibles. En todo caso se trata de categorías analíticas escogidas como elección teórica y metodológica previa al trabajo de campo. Estas luego serán confrontadas, revisadas y cuestionadas a partir de las evidencias obtenidas desde las identificaciones que experimentan las mujeres entrevistadas.

Dentro de la producción académica dedicada al estudio del poblamiento de esta ciudad, se han priorizado las indagaciones sobre las características migraciones internacionales de tipo laborales y/o políticas a lo largo del tiempo (Méndez e Iwanow, 2001; Kropff, 2001; Fuentes y Núñez, 2007; Matossian, 2010). Estas migraciones se han destacado como las más significativas en términos cuantitativos (Matossian, 2012). Sin embargo, existen otros tipos de migraciones y movilidades que poco han sido tratados y de los cuales se hará mención en este apartado, aclarando que las categorías que se presentan no son mutuamente excluyentes y que se distinguen por separado con fines analíticos.

Migración por amenidad y migración por estilo de vida

Aún así, dado su carácter turístico, San Carlos de Bariloche se presenta también como un destino atractivo para un tipo de movilidad reconocido como migración de amenidad o migración por estilo de vida (Zunino, Matossian e Hidalgo, 2012). La literatura sobre migración de amenidad (Moss, 2005, 2006; González, Otero, Nakayama y Marioni, 2009) pone el acento analítico en la movilidad de personas desde las metrópolis a ciudades medias, pequeñas o pueblos rurales en el interior, sobre todo hacia destinos de montaña, cuya calidad ambiental y cultural es percibida como superior a la de sus lugares de residencia anteriores. Otro cuerpo teórico es el referido a la migración por estilo de vida (O´Reilly, 2000) el cual describe aquella relocalización como producto de una actitud reflexiva de los individuos sobre sus propias vidas y las posibilidades que el migrante visualiza en la comunidad receptora, por ejemplo: una vida relajada y tranquila, gastos más bajos en vivienda, clima, beneficios para la salud, y sentimiento de vivir en comunidad. Para el caso de San Carlos de Bariloche, tal podría ser uno de los motivos que explica el aumento de ciertos grupos de migrantes internos, desde la Región Metropolitana de Buenos Aires, e internacionales, en particular los procedentes de España y Estados Unidos de Norteamérica.

Migración interna vinculada a las movilidades científicas

En términos generales, se entiende la migración interna como aquella procedente de cualquier provincia argentina (excepto Río Negro) y de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. A este conjunto se suman los rionegrinos nacidos en espacios urbanos (excepto San Carlos de Bariloche) o rurales de la misma provincia. Esta definición está basada en perspectivas demográficas dado que los principales estudios utilizan fuentes estadísticas para su estudio. Este conjunto de población ha sido significativo en el crecimiento de esta ciudad y de toda la región patagónica. Cuantitativamente, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, los incrementos demográficos llegaron a duplicar los provinciales y triplicar los nacionales, como en el caso del período intercensal 1970-1980, de acuerdo a los cálculos de la evolución de la Tasa de Crecimiento Medio Anual Intercensal (Matossian, 2012).

Según los datos relevados a partir de la Encuesta Anual de Hogares Urbanos realizada en 2013, en la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche, un 32% de la población es argentina y nacida en otras localidades y provincias del país y un 8% es migrante internacional.

Del 32% de los migrantes internos, un 19% se trata de rionegrinos nacidos fuera de la propia ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche, tanto de ámbitos rurales como urbanos. Por su parte de los nacidos en otras provincias distintas a Río Negro, el otro 81% de los migrantes internos, la mayor parte ha nacido en la provincia de Buenos Aires.

Por otro lado, aunque estrechamente vinculado con esta última categoría como veremos, también constituyen un tipo de movilidad poco estudiada aquella vinculada con los y las científicos/as que buscan nuevos espacios de inserción residencial y laboral para desarrollar sus carreras académicas. En el caso de San Carlos de Bariloche, este tipo de trayectorias coinciden también con perfiles de migrantes internos (definidos estos últimos en términos geodemográficos).

En general, además de la población nacida en países distintos a la Argentina, la ciudad se ha caracterizado por tener un alto porcentaje de vecinos nacidos en otras regiones y ciudades de la Argentina. Interesa resaltar algunos aspectos sobre este tipo de movilidad poco estudiada y tan significativa en los procesos de poblamiento y expansión urbana de las urbes patagónicas.

A partir de mediados del siglo XX y hasta la actualidad cada una de las instituciones vinculadas a la investigación, la educación y el desarrollo tecnológico de alto nivel que se fueron instalando en la ciudad, que fueron mencionadas en el apartado anterior, requirieron de personal calificado para su funcionamiento, perfeccionamiento y crecimiento. Esta necesidad demandó y absorbió un impulso demográfico muy específico. Si bien no se cuenta con estadísticas precisas que permitan vincular el nivel de instrucción de estos nuevos vecinos, se puede afirmar, a partir de trabajos previos de tipo cualitativos (Matossian, 2012) que si bien su importancia cuantitativa puede no ser voluminosa, su protagonismo en estas instituciones es muy destacado. Estos elementos se sumaron a las particularidades de esta ciudad tanto por el rango que ha ostentado, de ciudad pequeña o pueblo a mediados del XX hasta la ciudad media que es actualmente, como por su imponente paisaje natural, sumamente valorado dada la presencia de montañas, lagos y vegetación boscosa. Estos factores fueron condensados en una imagen de alto atractivo para la instalación de población en grupos etáreos jóvenes principalmente. Tanto personas solas, en parejas, o en familia con hijos pequeños mayormente, con la intención de desarrollar sus trayectorias laborales-profesionales en un entorno menos hostil y en mayor contacto con la naturaleza que el de las grandes ciudades argentinas, en especial Buenos Aires y su región metropolitana, aunque también Rosario y Córdoba. En este punto es evidente que lo que se reconoce, a nivel conceptual, como migración por amenidad o por estilo de vida comparte motivaciones en la elección de esta ciudad con buena parte de los estímulos que incentivan a los que, en término de categorías analíticas, denominamos migrantes internos vinculados a las movilidades científicas.

Las migraciones por insatisfacción como síntesis de las "otras migraciones"

Si se analiza lo que ocurre en particular con este tipo de migración, la interna de profesionales vinculadas al a movilidad científica, podemos ver que esta no responde a las mismas lógicas de las migraciones laborales, no se trata de un modelo motivado o impulsado por una condición de exclusión a partir de carencias en las necesidades básicas insatisfechas o aún situaciones como la persecución política y/o religiosa. Se trata de otro tipo de migración, al igual que el tipo de migración por estilo de vida o amenidad mencionada anteriormente. Siguiendo la propuesta de Cozzani (2005), podemos sintetizar este tipo de movilidad como aquella que se vincula con la insatisfacción, con una percepción de privación relativa de realización de expectativas de progreso o de condiciones de calidad de vida mejores. Según esta autora, en la expresión de la conducta migratoria intervienen complejos mecanismos y "estímulos migratorios". En este sentido, según los estímulos migratorios se pueden definir dos tipos de migración:

1. por carencia o exclusión, impulsada para tratar de satisfacer necesidades elementales — empleo, ingresos suficientes para la subsistencia, libertad política, étnica, religiosa, seguridad jurídica, seguridad pública
2. por insatisfacción, condicionada por una percepción de privación relativa de realización de expectativas de progreso o de condiciones de calidad de vida superiores (Cozzani, 2005).

Es justamente este último tipo de migración, la motivada por la insatisfacción, la menos estudiada y la que interesa en este capítulo, particular la de profesionales. A su vez, los estudios sobre este tipo de movilidades se han concentrado en espacios metropolitanos de las grandes ciudades donde se suelen encontrar las grandes universidades y centros de investigación de excelencia. En este sentido el interés de este trabajo, dedicado al caso particular de San Carlos de Bariloche, en la Patagonia argentina, implica un enfoque sobre las ciudades medias de alta vocación como polos científicos-tecnológicos. Especialmente la vinculada a las motivaciones profesionales relacionadas con las carreras científicas — académicas.

Más allá de la ciudad del turismo, un enclave científico de excelencia: el recorte espacial del barrio Pinar de Festa y el CAB — IB

En este contexto de relación entre estos incrementos vinculados a las dinámicas demográficas, nos interesa analizar las migraciones de mujeres profesionales que se han insertado laboralmente en comunidades científicas locales con una fuerte tradición masculina como lo son los ámbitos especializados en las conocidas como "ciencias duras" y/o ciencias exactas e ingenierías en la Argentina. Esto a raíz de la institución emblemática en el imaginario de la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche como cuna de las ciencias físicas y nucleares: el Centro Atómico Bariloche (CAB) y su "brazo académico", el Instituto Balseiro (IB), ya mencionados.

Dado que el estudio se realiza desde un enfoque de la geografía social y cultural, se priorizó la escala barrial para el análisis cualitativo. Se seleccionó el caso el barrio Pinar de Festa, de clase media y media alta, con un paisaje de arbolado, calles de ripio, casas bajas, funcionalmente de tipo residencial. Este barrio, donde se reconocía, *a priori*, una significativa presencia de vecinos que trabajan en CAB e IB, se encuentra cercano a las instalaciones de estas instituciones, agrupadas dentro de un campus. Se realizaron en este barrio recorridos urbanos de reconocimiento, visitas a la Junta Vecinal y entrevistas en profundidad a mujeres científicas, aunque también fueron realizadas entrevistas a hombres con las mismas características laborales y de trayectoria académica. Se realizaron en total doce entrevistas en profundidad a mujeres lo largo del año 2015 y se hicieron otras tres a miembros jerárquicos de dichas instituciones, todos ellos resultaron ser hombres.

Las entrevistas fueron aplicadas bajo el método biográfico, luego fueron desgrabadas y procesadas para su análisis longitudinal a partir de distintos ejes temáticos; se hizo especial énfasis en el estudio de las movilidades de estas mujeres a lo largo de su vida reconstruyendo y sistematizando las mismas temporo-espacialmente. La finalidad ha sido indagar su rol como investigadoras en la reconstrucción de sus trayectorias académicas. Asimismo, se profundizó sobre las tensiones en el contexto familiar durante sus itinerarios formativos y su inserción particular en un espacio urbano definido por profundas fronteras interiores. Todas las mujeres entrevistadas se encontraban, al momento de la entrevista, trabajando en las instituciones analizadas, en calidad de investigadoras.

Barrio Pinar de Festa y campus del CAB — IB: historia y materialidades

La Figura 2 muestra la ubicación relativa tanto del barrio seleccionado para el estudio cualitativo como del mismo campus donde se emplazan el CAB e IB. Ambos se encuentran dentro de un gran predio de cerca de 66 hectáreas de superficie, ubicado en el kilómetro 9,500 de la Avenida Exequiel Bustillo que bordea el lago Nahuel Huapi. Dentro de este extenso lote, con amplios sectores con jardines, se encuentran emplazados laboratorios, talleres, aulas, un reactor de investigación, la biblioteca, edificios de administración y viviendas para estudiantes y personal. Esto es significativo porque para las trayectorias de las profesionales las primeras etapa en la ciudad fueron en todos los casos en estas residencias dentro del predio, en especial durante el período en el que se encuentran como becarios (de grado y posgrado).Cuenta con seguridad y linda con el predio de la Escuela Militar de Montaña Juan Domingo Perón.

Por su parte, el barrio Pinar de Festa se extiende entre los kilómetros 7 y 8 de la misma Avenida Exequiel Bustillo en un sector del ejido municipal con poca densidad de población, emplazado a un kilómetro del campus del CAB — IB. La distancia hacia el área central de la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche es de 7 kilómetros.

El barrio Pinar de Festa se creó mediante un loteo privado realizado sobre la Subdivisión de las Fracciones II, III y IV del lote N° 37 de la antigua colonia agrícola pastoril del Nahuel Huapi que había sido definida a principios del siglo XX. Su superficie total abarcaba 27 hectáreas distribuidas en diez grandes manzanas irregulares según la

Figura 7.2 Ubicación del Centro Atómico Bariloche y barrio Pinar de Festa respecto al área central de San Carlos de Bariloche

Fuente: elaboración personal.

topografía irregular del terreno, luego sufrió algunas modificaciones al plano original. En 1987 la jurisdicción de la Junta Vecinal Pinar de Festa fue reconocida por resolución municipal 224-C-87. Sin embargo, el loteo había comenzado a ser comercializado entre las décadas del 70 y 80. Actualmente combina la función residencial permanente con la función turística, en particular sobre las vías de comunicación principales: en particular las avenidas Exequiel Bustillo, que bordea el lago Nahuel Huapi, y la avenida de los Pioneros, paralela a la primera hacia el Sur.

Las mujeres y sus trayectorias: dos modelos de movilidad profesional-científica

Las mujeres que trabajan y han trabajado en el CAB e IB se insertan en un ámbito de trabajo altamente masculinizado, tal como se puede identificar a partir de distintos medios, como por ejemplo, los registros fotográficos de las comisiones de egresados que el mismo Instituto

Balseiro publica. De allí que parte de las entrevistas indagaron sobre este aspecto de diferencias entre géneros.

El aspecto troncal del análisis de las entrevistas se ha enfocado en las trayectorias de las mujeres profesionales. Luego de desgrabar, sistematizar y comparar el conjunto de las entrevistas realizadas, se pueden distinguir dos tipologías o modalidades de trayectorias académicas: a) una de ellas ha mantenido un período formativo de grado, posgrado y posdoctorado más estrechamente vinculado al Instituto Balseiro con movilidades científicas al extranjero reducidas; b) por su parte, existe un segundo modelo que ha mantenido un período de formación en el extranjero de mayor longitud para insertarse en el CAB — IB luego de dicha etapa.

En ambos casos, las mayores diferencias se dan justamente en los años de formación que para el caso de las investigadoras pueden llegar a alcanzar más de 15 años entre la formación de grado, posgrado y posdoctorado. En el contexto de los estudios sobre movilidades científicas esto es sabido (Luchillo, 2011). Respecto a este tipo de movilidades científicas internacionales, Ernesto Villanueva (2009:233) afirma que "el doctorado y la formación postdoctoral representan un capítulo especial en este proceso: se observa un fuerte crecimiento en el número de estudiantes internacionales".

Se caracterizarán a partir de casos-ejemplo representativos. Las Figuras 7.3 y 7.4 representan y sintetizan cartográficamente para ambos casos, cada uno de los desplazamientos (indicados con números) que conectan las distintas etapas dentro de sus trayectorias.

Primera trayectoria modelo — caso de formación mayor en el CAB — IB

Trayectoria de María,[1] 63 años, representada cartográficamente en la Figura 7.3. Nacida en la localidad de Carreras, un pueblo del interior de la provincia argentina de Santa Fe. Allí realiza sus primeros años de estudio de escuela primaria hasta que se muda a la ciudad de Rosario (desplazamiento 1), en la misma provincia de Santa Fe, para terminar la escuela primaria y completar sus estudios secundarios. Su formación universitaria comienza en la misma ciudad, en la Universidad

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1 Para garantizar el anonimato de las entrevistadas se utilizan nombres ficticios

Figura 7.3 Primera trayectoria modelo, formación mayor en CAB IB — mapa de desplazamientos para el caso-ejemplo de María

Fuente: elaboración personal.

Nacional de Rosario, donde hizo sus primeros años de la Licenciatura en Física. Luego concursó y ganó una beca para terminar sus estudios de Física en el Instituto Balseiro, donde también realizó su carrera de doctorado, en toda esta etapa se radicó en San Carlos de Bariloche (desplazamiento 2). Más adelante, realizó una estancia de investigación gracias a una beca para realizar su posdoctorado en la ciudad de Grenoble, Francia (desplazamiento 3) donde permanece durante dos años. Una vez concluida esta etapa, regresa a la Argentina y a San Carlos de Bariloche (desplazamiento 4) para insertarse nuevamente en el CAB — IB y continuar su carrera profesional, ahora como investigadora del

Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Tecnológicas. Dentro de esta última etapa, María se casó con un colega que también conoció y trabaja en el CAB — IB; pasó sus primeros años en las viviendas dentro del predio de dicha institución para luego mudarse con su esposo a una casa propia construida en un lote que compraron en el barrio Pinar de Festa. Allí se mudaron y criaron a sus hijos. En esa misma casa reside en el momento de la entrevista.

Es interesante cómo María relata el momento del ingreso a la institución una vez que regresa Francia, indicando primero el ingreso de su pareja y luego el suyo:

> Estuve dos años en Grenoble en Francia una estancia posdoctoral, después volví a Bariloche, al Instituto Balseiro, como investigadora ingresé… mi marido en el 71 y yo en el 72.

Segunda trayectoria modelo — caso llegada al CAB — IB luego de la formación doctoral y posdoctoral

Trayectoria de Alicia, 70 años, representada cartográficamente en la Figura 7.4. Alicia nació en la cuidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina donde realizó sus estudios primarios, secundarios y universitarios; estos últimos en la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Antes de finalizar sus estudios de posgrado, forma una pareja y su compañero está también realizado estudios de posgrado. Inmediatamente después de su unión formal lo acompaña a Estados Unidos de Norteamérica (desplazamiento 1) donde él obtuvo una beca para finalizar su doctorado. También relata que por aquel entonces el golpe de estado de 1966 funcionó como un elemento expulsor muy intenso parar su partida. Allí ambos permanecen dos años y luego se dirigen a Italia (desplazamiento 2) donde él realiza un posdoctorado a lo largo de dos años y ella culmina su doctorado. Luego regresan a la Argentina, particularmente a la ciudad de Rosario (desplazamiento 3) por un ofrecimiento de plaza docente en la Universidad Nacional de Rosario para el esposo de Alicia. En ese momento Alicia resigna su inserción laboral provisoriamente para que su compañero pudiera ocupar ese puesto en la universidad, en un contexto específico del incipiente desarrollo de un posgrado:

> Cuando fuimos a Rosario fue por un ofrecimiento que le hicieron a él… yo no trabajé en esa época, habíamos vuelto en 1973… habíamos vuelto un grupo

Figura 7.4 Segunda trayectoria modelo, formación mayor fuera del CAB IB — mapa de desplazamientos para el caso-ejemplo de Alicia

Fuente: elaboración personal

> numeroso que volvimos de Suiza, Italia, todos a Rosario para generar un posgrado, en la facultad de ingeniería de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario, después vino el golpe y nos tuvimos que ir…

Allí residen durante tres años, sin embargo, dado su compromiso político y de militancia, a partir del golpe de estado de 1976 deben exiliarse en Brasil, en la ciudad de San Pablo (desplazamiento 4). Luego de dos años allí, les ofrecen volver a la Argentina a ambos a partir del ofrecimiento de dos puestos en el CAB — IB en San Carlos de Bariloche (desplazamiento 5). Es así que aceptan y se instalan en la ciudad en 1978, primero en las viviendas dentro del CAB — IB, donde residen 17 años y crían a sus hijos durante sus primeros años. Luego se mudan a una vivienda propia en un lote del barrio Pinar de Festa donde continuaron residiendo 18 años más hasta el momento de la entrevista. Los hijos mayores de Alicia nacieron en el extranjero, sin embargo ella manifestaba su deseo de que ellos fueran criados en la Argentina:

> Cuando estábamos en Brasil ya mi hija mayor empezaba el colegio primario y entonces nos quisimos venir a la Argentina, porque queríamos criar a nuestros hijos acá, entonces buscamos un lugar tranquilo y terminamos en Bariloche (…) La casa del Centro Atómico era un lugar privilegiado.

Una mirada desde las trayectorias académicas: algunos puntos en común

A lo largo de las entrevistas realizadas, aún con las diferencias principales definidas según los dos modelos señalados, se han detectado similitudes entre todas las entrevistadas. En primer lugar, las etapas iniciales en San Carlos de Bariloche se producen dentro de residencias del CAB — IB y con becas o inclusión directa en las instituciones. Al mismo tiempo, la inserción se dio en la mayor parte de los casos, en consonancia con un período de expansión que alcanzó un punto alto en 1978, en pleno auge del plan nuclear argentino. Otra cuestión que emerge en las entrevistas fue la dureza del contexto político y económico durante la década del noventa para la expansión de las ciencias en la Argentina que fue revertido en buena medida en los últimos diez años.

A su vez, las fases dentro de las viviendas en el CAB — IB, desde el punto de vista de las trayectorias vitales, coinciden con una etapa sin hijos o con hijos pequeños. En todos los casos se trata de trayectorias caracterizadas por su alta movilidad vinculada con sus distintas etapas de formación de grado, posgrado y posdoctorado. Por otro lado, las parejas comparten las actividades académicas y se han acompañado en sus trayectorias profesionales (estancias en el exterior — formación posdoctoral). Aún así, en situación de decisiones de movilidad, se priorizaron los avances de las carreras de los hombres antes que las de las mujeres.

> Habíamos vuelto de Italia con la idea de formar algo interesante, de Suiza, Italia, para armar un grupo de ingeniería en la Universidad de Rosario

Desde un punto de vista de las movilidades dentro de San Carlos de Bariloche, luego etapa de salida del CAB — IB hacia un barrio, en particular en el caso de Pinar de Festa, el relato que fundamenta la elección del barrio es el de la tranquilidad y seguridad, donde los vecinos son solidarios, representado el movimiento como un retorno al "lugar tranquilo". Esta percepción se encuentra íntimamente vinculada con las apreciaciones propias de los denominados migrantes por amenidad y migrantes por estilo de vida. Ya en los casos de mujeres con hijos que han terminado sus estudios secundarios, muchas manifiestan su preocupación por la emigración de sus hijos para realizar ciertos estudios universitarios o por motivos laborales.

> Ahora estamos todo menos vinculados porque al producirse el éxodo… eso es una fatalidad de Bariloche… o sea habiendo carreras acá incluso se van a estudiar a otro lado… yo creo que es una psicosis… porque… cuando ya estaban en cuarto año ya empezaban a hablar, ya en quinto como una moda, lo hacen por moda… es un problema que tiene que resolver la familia barilochense, porque se sufre mucho, se gasta un bagón de guita y se sufre mucho y se producen hasta suicidios… no se si escuchaste casos… un compañero de mi hija, y no había ido tan lejos, había ido a Neuquén… es el desarraigo… yo no lo tengo resuelto todavía…

Esta cita refleja por un lado la contradicción que se les presenta a algunas de estas mujeres profesionales que han experimentado trayectorias académicas altamente móviles que luego al ver la posibilidad de que sus hijos atraviesen alguna situación similar se les presenta como una situación de angustia.

Migración interna — profesional y movilidad científica: dos miradas sobre un mismo proceso

En esta instancia de las reflexiones surge la pregunta sobre cuál es el soporte conceptual más pertinente para dar cuenta de estos procesos indagados en el barrio Pinar de Festa en San Carlos de Bariloche. Tal como proponen França y Padilla (2013: 5) "nem sempre é clara a distinção entre ser imigrante cientista qualificado/a ou talento em movilidades". Se intentará reconocer las categorías que entran en juego en caso bajo estudio, a sabiendas de estas limitaciones, algunas de las cuales ya fueron mencionadas en apartados anteriores.

Las dinámicas fueron estudiadas, en principio, en tanto migraciones internas, dado un criterio más enfocado a la geodemografía que analiza el lugar de nacimiento de las personas. El uso de esta categoría no implica identificación de las protagonistas en el barrio Pinar de Festa dado que a lo largo de las entrevistas las mujeres no se reconocieron directamente como migrantes, sí se identificaron como científicas, profesionales y con fuerte arraigo a la ciudad. Ya desde una mirada de tipo cualitativo, abordando las motivaciones y el espacio como experiencia se vislumbraron puntos de contacto con las denominadas migraciones por amenidad y por estilo de vida. Asimismo, al reconstruir las trayectorias académicas han resultado también procesos que pueden ser encuadrados en tanto movilidades científicas, en las cuales estas mujeres en su experiencia de formación en los niveles de grado, posgrado, posdoctorado y luego como investigadoras (en menos medida) realizaron itinerarios dentro y fuera de las fronteras nacionales hacia instituciones internacionales, laboratorios, universidades y centros de investigación.

Tal como se ha discutido en distintos foros temáticos, la movilidad científica no es un proceso novedoso. Los casos estudiados refuerzan esta idea, dado que tanto el mismo José Balseiro había realizado parte de su capacitación en el extranjero, y las mujeres entrevistadas también lo realizaron entre las décadas del sesenta, setenta y ochenta. De hecho, la mayor parte de los miembros del IB saben que existe una parte de su trayectoria académica que debe completarse con una estancia de algunos años (dos como mínimo) en un centro de investigación de alto nivel en países europeos, o en Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. En algunos casos, estas estancias terminan como radicaciones definitivas en estos países, aunque, por razones obvias, no se trató ningún caso de estas características durante el trabajo de campo realizado.

Al avanzar en este sentido, es interesante rescatar los debates abiertos a propósito del coloquio desarrollado sobre este tema en Lisboa en 2015 titulado “Científicos que traspasan fronteras: movilidad científica transnacional”. Según las reflexiones de Didou Aupetit, los intereses mostrados en esta reunión se centraron en dos tipos de científicos: a) los científicos que están en una situación de movilidad temporal: estudiantes de posdoctorado, es decir a “doctores recién titulados”; por lo general, se encuentran en situaciones de migración temporal o bien de movilidad laboral corta por estancias, con becas más que con sueldos; b) investigadores que desarrollaron toda o gran parte de su carrera profesional afuera, en una perspectiva de migración definitiva o de larga duración. Esos científicos migrantes o expatriados dejaron de considerar como una opción viable el retorno, a diferencia de sus compatriotas más jóvenes (Didou Aupetit, 2015).

En los casos estudiados para este trabajo se trata de mujeres que experimentaron trayectorias más o menos extensas en el extranjero y que actualmente se encuentran asentadas de forma estable en la institución, en el barrio, en la ciudad y en el país. Dejaron de atravesar experiencias de movilidad, más allá de la participación circunstancial y breve, en parte dada la etapa en la que se encuentran en el ciclo de vida. Esto también da cuenta de la necesidad de incorporar la variable etária en estos análisis que abordan las desigualdades desde la interseccionalidad. Las mujeres entrevisatas han recorrido distintos tipos de movilidades científicas desde una escala nacional e internacionales y en la actualidad la geodemografía las clasifica como migrantes internas, por su lugar de nacimiento. Esto abre nuevas perspectivas que continúan complejizando estos estudios al incorporar las variables respecto a las condiciones del retorno, la circularidad relativa (retorno al país aunque en una localidad diferente) y las posibilidades de análisis de las movilidades al interior de los países, sobretodo en países territorialmente extensos y con varias ciudades con vocación científica y académica en su interior. En el caso argentino esto es especialmente significativo en los últimos 15 años, dado el impulso otorgado por el Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) a los centros de investigación y universidades ubicadas en provincias con poca densidad de científicos.

Un relato en contraposición “relativa”: mujer profesional argentina — mujer profesional egipcia

Entre las entrevistas realizadas a hombres investigadores del Instituto Balseiro, uno de ellos, uno de los más altos directivos del IB, hizo mención a las diferencias de género en su ámbito profesional. Si bien su reflexión no se encuadra directamente con el caso de las científicas que trabajan en el CAB — IB, hace referencia a las percepciones que se tiene sobre las desigualdades de género dentro del ámbito académico, al que se le superponen las diferencias de origen. En su relato, se describe la situación a partir de la cual el Invap vendió un reactor nuclear a Egipto y, dentro del convenio de dicha operación, estaba incluida la capacitación del equipo de profesionales que debía luego manejarlo. Dicho equipo estaba conformado por 50 personas y se les daba cursos en inglés en el Centro Atómico Bariloche, 49 eran varones y una mujer. Tal como afirma el entrevistado, miembro directivo del IB, respecto a la única mujer de este grupo:

> Para venir la mujer tuvo que casarse, sino no la dejaban venir (…) es un problema de una confrontación de culturas (…) en el Instituto Balseiro la nota es por mérito, nada más y ella tuvo mejores notas que él, fue un drama… estaba muy mal visto, y además él se sintió pésimamente mal que alguien le ponga a la señora una nota mejor que la de él y volvieron a Egipto y ella que es una profesional excepcional está en los almacenes, cuidando almacenes porque no la dejaron otro nivel… y bueno, es la cultura musulmana… las mujeres son secundarias… esto en la Argentina no es así.

Esta apreciación es llamativa dado que, salvando y reconociendo las grandes distancias culturales entre ambas sociedades, todas las mujeres entrevistadas insertas en este ámbito científico analizado están en pareja o casadas con otros miembros del CAB — IB. A su vez, en todos los casos, los hombres tuvieron cierta "prioridad" para culminar sus etapas formativas y de inserción académica. Si bien la cantidad reducida de casos analizados impide realizar generalizaciones, estas reflexiones confrontadas con los resultados cualitativos, nos dan una pauta acerca de cuáles son los contextos en los cuales las mujeres pueden iniciar y continuar una carrera académica profesional "exitosa". Queda abierta la posibilidad de ampliar la cantidad de casos estudiados para avanzar en el conocimiento de los contextos familiares de las mujeres investigadoras.

En contraposición, también deben destacarse ciertos cambios en el enfoque renovado sobre las mujeres en las ciencias. En este sentido, se ha puesto en relevancia la elección de una presidente a cargo de la Comisión Nacional de Energía Atómica (CNEA), la Lic. Norma Boero. La titular estuvo a cargo del cierre del Tercer Foro Nacional Interdisciplinario "Mujeres en Ciencia, Tecnología y Sociedad" que se realizó en San Carlos de Bariloche en 2014. Desde la organización de esta actividad se planteaba que "en este café científico trataremos de resaltar aquellas cuentas pendientes, poniendo de relieve las fuertes relaciones antagónicas entre ciencia y género". En esta instancia la Licenciada Boero afirmó:

> Les quiero transmitir, sobre todo a las mujeres más jóvenes, que no sólo vean la discriminación. Peleen porque se gana. Si uno le pone esfuerzo y convencimiento a lo que está haciendo, se gana. Y las peleas se ganan con nuestra propia arma,

> que es la forma femenina de pelear, basada en la convicción y la concertación de ideas, como mujeres, consensuar es nuestra mayor arma (nota periodística publicada en: http://www.cnea.gov.ar/noticias-detalle?nid=2728).

La entonces intendente de la localidad de San Carlos de Bariloche, la Licenciada María Eugenia Martini, realizó la apertura del mencionado foro y reflexionó sobre los logros y deudas pendientes en términos de equidad de género en distintos ámbitos "hay que pensar en todo lo que hemos avanzado, con mujeres ocupando lugares que antes era impensado tener: intendentas, presidentas, juezas de la Corte (…) pero también hay que pensar en todo lo que falta" (nota periodística publicada en: http://www.cnea.gov.ar/noticias-detalle?nid=2728#sthash.xnOUdA0A.dpuf).

Se trata de un amplio debate, apenas abordado en este trabajo, sobre el rol de la mujer en la sociedad, y específicamente en un ámbito tan competitivo como el científico, en el que se reconocen los avances y se identifica lo que aún falta para lograr un protagonismo equitativo para las mujeres. Una desatacada investigadora del área de las ciencias biológicas del Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), Bibiana Vilá, reflexiona respecto a la relación entre mujer y ciencia e indica:

> (…) el campo científico tiene mecanismos de permanencia y promoción que se basan en un modelo de competencia y dominio. El estilo de evaluación y las condiciones necesarias para poder sostenerse y ser exitosas en nuestras carreras implican un mayor costo en relación a los colegas varones, si además estamos a cargo de hogares y chicos (nota periodística publicada en: http://u-238.com.ar/mujeres-de-ciencia/).

En la misma nota, de nuevo la presidente del CNEA, Boero, reconoce:

> (…) cabe mencionar cómo los estereotipos de género inciden tanto en la elección de carreras científicas como en su desarrollo posterior: en algunas áreas, como por ejemplo en las ciencias duras, se da una menor presencia de mujeres. Lo mismo sucede en los puestos de poder y, en consecuencia, de decisión en la gestión de la actividad científica y tecnológica, en que el número de mujeres es considerablemente menor al de hombres (http://u-238.com.ar/mujeres-de-ciencia/).

Queda en evidencia que aún queda todo un camino por recorrer en este sentido.

Algunas reflexiones finales

Este trabajo ha mostrado que el espectro de las movilidades humanas incluye un abanico de dinámicas que pueden llegar a condensarse de modo simultáneo al interior de la trayectoria vital de una misma persona. Asimismo, ciudades atractivas para distintos tipos de flujos poblacionales muestran complejidades en tanto a las motivaciones lo cual nos alerta sobre la necesidad de abordajes cualitativos que indaguen acerca de aquello que define y condiciona las decisiones de movilidad de las personas y sus familias.

Las mujeres entrevistadas pertenecen a una generación en la cual ser científicas, dentro de la física y las ingenierías, y altamente móviles, implicó atravesar distintos tipos de fronteras, materiales y simbólicas. En todos los casos las familias acompañaron las trayectorias académicas y las parejas notablemente comparten el perfil laboral-profesional. Cabe preguntarse qué sucederá en casos en los que esto sea diferente. Durante sus primeros años dentro de las carreras académicas realizaron sus capacitaciones en otros países, con estadías de entre dos y ocho años aproximadamente. Estos períodos pueden estudiarse en el contexto de las movilidades científicas.

En los casos analizados se posible afirmar que luego de estas etapas de alta movilidad, han escogido la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche como espacio de asentamiento más o menos fijo, estable, donde instalarse con sus familias y criar a sus hijos, para muchas de ellas que los han tenido. Estos últimos procesos son parte de dinámicas migratorias internas dentro de la Argentina y entonces pueden ser estudiados bajo ese prisma también. Se trata de distintos tipos de movilidades que pueden registrarse al interior de las mismas trayectorias vitales de estas mujeres profesionales. Lo mismo ocurre respecto a las búsquedas de una vida tranquila y en contacto de la naturaleza que estas mujeres también refieren respecto a la elección de San Carlos de Bariloche; nociones similares a las de los migrantes por amenidad y estilos de vida. Esta sumatoria de factores, si bien puede parecer obvio, nos ayudan a mantener miradas abiertas respecto al estudio de los procesos migratorios, en tanto dinámicas en continua reconfiguración. Las investigaciones deben propiciar la identificación de esta simultaneidad de matrices de movilidad.

Retomando el estudio de caso, dentro del espacio interior de la ciudad, estas mujeres traspusieron el “área protegida” del CAB — IB para instalarse en un barrio cercano que las reconectó con sus orígenes como migrantes internas y resignificó su rol como madres, sin resignar por ello sus carreras como investigadoras.

Por otro lado, son muy pocas las personas que trabajan en el IB y CAB que han nacido en la misma ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche donde trabajan y viven. En este sentido, el carácter móvil de los trabajadores se encuentra en el mismo inicio de sus actividades allí. Así se reproducen distintas tramas migratorias, donde las escalas nacionales, regionales y globales se intercalan mostrando distintas dimensiones espaciales y temporales, según parámetros que definen ciertos accesos desiguales a las movilidades. Si bien en este caso indagamos brevemente sobre cuestiones de género, también se vislumbró como el origen nacional y/o étnico opera también como un factor de peso en el despliegue de estas movilidades.

Respecto a los desafíos para nuevos abordajes, se puede pensar en analizar lo que sucede en otros ámbitos que han reforzado la función de San Carlos de Bariloche como "polo científico": Invap, las Universidades Nacionales del Comahue y de Río Negro, etcétera. En próximos estudios sería de interés hacer foco en la permanencia de las percepciones que vinculan las denominadas "ciencias duras" con lo masculino y las "ciencias blandas" con el mundo de lo femenino, en tanto mirada binaria que se encuentra aún presente en ciertos sectores de la sociedad.

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Chapter 8
Fuga, circulación, intercambio y ganancia de cerebros
Una mirada preliminar de los migrantes que se dirigieron a EE.UU. y regresaron a Argentina

María Verónica Moreno

Resumen El presente artículo procura aportar al análisis de los principales enfoques de la migración calificada —fuga, circulación, intercambio y ganancia de cerebros— según la experiencia de sus protagonistas. Este trabajo se desprende de una tesis doctoral en curso que indaga a adultos que emigraron a los EE.UU. para desarrollar un doctorado o posdoctorado en ciencias exactas y naturales y que luego regresaron a Argentina, estudiando los movimientos en relación con la dinámica del campo y el sistema científico de ambos países. Se implementó una estrategia metodológica cualitativa y se analizaron treinta y cinco entrevistas semi-estructuradas. Tras presentar las discusiones sobre estas perspectivas, se abordan las pérdidas y las ganancias desde una mirada compleja sobre el fenómeno y la circulación y el intercambio como aspectos esenciales de la actividad científica. Las reflexiones finales remarcan sus múltiples dimensiones, sin omitir las tensiones y la reproducción de las lógicas de poder existentes.

Palabras clave fuga, circulación, intercambio y ganancia.

Abstract This paper tries to contribute to the analysis of the main approaches of skilled migration -brain drain, circulation, exchange and gain- according to its protagonist's experiences. It emerges from a doctoral thesis in progress that investigates adults who migrated to the US to develop a doctorate or post-doctorate in natural and exact sciences and then returned to Argentina. It seeks to analyze those movements in relation to the dynamics of the scientific field and system of both countries. A qualitative methodological strategy was implemented and thirty-five semi-structured interviews were analyzed. After presenting the debate on these perspectives, gains and losses are tackled on a complex view. Circulation and exchange approaches are thought as essential aspects of scientific activity. The final considerations underline its multiple dimensions, without omitting existing tensions and power reproduction.

Keywords drain, gain, circulation and exchange.

Breve repaso de las discusiones y propuestas en torno a la fuga, circulación, intercambio y ganancia de cerebros

La problematización de la migración calificada —conceptualizada como fuga de cerebros— comienza a mediados del siglo pasado con un abordaje que combina una matriz económica neoclásica con una valoración negativa sobre la pérdida de capacidades para los países de origen. Los neoclásicos sostienen que la migración internacional y sus correlatos internos son generados por las diferencias geográficas en la oferta y demanda de trabajo porque los trabajadores con altas calificaciones miden la competencia de sus salarios en términos internacionales (Massey et al., 2000). Este modelo se caracteriza por el peso de la opción individual, realizada por un actor racional que migra en base a un cálculo costo-beneficio y espera un rendimiento monetario positivo. Esta visión ricardiana del intercambio internacional se articula paradójicamente con una concepción afín al modelo de centro-periferia de inspiración marxista (Meyer y Charum, 1994), cuyo razonamiento ilumina las consecuencias adversas vinculadas a las posibilidades de desarrollo económico y social de los países menos aventajados al drenar sus recursos humanos clave, sin verse favorecidos por el posible aporte de los emigrados, y beneficiar a los países centrales en el proceso.[1]

La fuga de cerebros —lejos de ser un enfoque dinámico— supone que las pérdidas identificadas en los países de origen, desprendidas de la emigración definitiva, se transforman en ganancias automáticas para los países de destino porque los inmigrantes traen consigo beneficios derivados de sus actividades. Esta perspectiva también implica que los primeros experimentan serias pérdidas al incurrir en los costos educativos de esta población mientras se ven privados de la maximización de beneficios asociados a su desempeño profesional y recaudación fiscal. Sus defensores, en suma, plantean una relación bastante lineal entre esta población y el desarrollo de los países involucrados (Pellegrino, 2001; Luchilo, 2010).

Entre las décadas de 1960 y 1970 se evidencia el punto álgido de las discusiones — que también influyeron en los formuladores de

1 La noción de centro-periferia alude a la escuela de la dependencia, clave en la consideración de estos flujos como una expresión más del desequilibrio de poder entre las naciones y que contribuyen a reproducirlo (Portés, 1997; Pellegrino, 2001).

políticas públicas— sobre migración calificada, por lo menos hasta el renacer experimentado en los últimos años. El núcleo del debate, polarizado entre internacionalistas y nacionalistas, refleja el antagonismo entre el pensamiento económico neoclásico/ liberal y la perspectiva nacionalista. Por un lado, el enfoque internacionalista asume que las personas altamente calificadas no se encuentran excluidas de las reglas económicas generales que dominan la localización óptima de los recursos a nivel mundial. Entonces, la emigración termina imponiéndose como proyecto de vida si la productividad de los sujetos —con el supuesto de información perfecta— es mayor en una economía extranjera. Este intercambio es valorado positivamente porque refleja las decisiones individuales de quienes optan por emigrar (Pellegrino, 2001). Los internacionalistas adoptan un enfoque de *laissez-faire* y sólo proponen soluciones para mejorar las remuneraciones y el equipamiento tecnológico (Ansah, 2002). Por otra parte, la perspectiva nacionalista critica los cimientos equitativos del intercambio, aboga por un abordaje macro con el cual examina los factores estructurales involucrados y medidas orientadas a la justicia distributiva. Así se remarcan las consecuencias negativas del fenómeno al señalar que los países de origen no pueden contar con los recursos humanos necesarios mínimos para su desarrollo. Sus líneas de acción se distinguen en el énfasis que le dan a las medidas proteccionistas y restrictivas vinculadas al trabajo y la migración e incluyen otras destinadas a generar sentido de responsabilidad patriótica para retener a quienes se encuentran en el país y promover el retorno de los emigrados (Oteiza, 1976; Pellegrino, 2001; Patinkin en Luchilo, 2010).

Tras el fracaso de políticas de repatriación apoyadas en la teoría de la fuga de cerebros, entre las décadas de 1980 y 1990 comenzaron a ganar preminencia planteos que destacan las ventajas asociadas a estos flujos, a nivel individual y colectivo, y al uso intensivo de las herramientas informáticas y redes sociales. Estos enfoques sostienen que los sujetos se desplazan y tienden a pertenecer a más de un territorio y/o comunidad y que las migraciones circulares o pendulares, con retornos transitorios de los migrantes, pueden contribuir a la consolidación de los mercados de trabajos y la promoción socioeconómica de los países en desarrollo (Pellegrino, 2001; Martínez Pizarro, 2005; Brandi, 2006).

Bajo este marco, se destacan tres nuevas conceptualizaciones sobre el fenómeno estudiado que remiten a: la ganancia, la circulación y el intercambio de cerebros. La idea de ganancia señala que los emigrados representan una fuente potencial de recursos para su país de origen, ya sea mediante redes de cooperación transnacionales presenciales y virtuales, o bien, mediante su retorno; elevando el nivel de capital humano nacional. La circulación remarca en el aspecto transitorio del fenómeno; por ejemplo, la emigración impulsada por estudios en el exterior, seguida de una práctica laboral y del regreso al país de origen. El intercambio no siempre implica un desplazamiento físico y supone el trabajo virtual. Estas reconfiguraciones no son excluyentes entre sí y coexisten con la noción de fuga de cerebros. No obstante, su premisa fundamental asume que las pérdidas ocasionadas por la emigración podrían ser superadas o compensadas si se enfocara sobre dichas opciones (Pellegrino, 2001; Martínez Pizarro, 2005). Sus partidarios promueven la generación de redes entre locales y emigrados para favorecer mayores posibilidades de intercambio y transferencia de conocimientos; suponiendo una importante capitalización para el país de origen (Meyer y Brown en Gordon, 2007). Este modelo no sólo se centra en la responsabilidad de los países receptores y de origen, sino que también incluye a: gobiernos, organizaciones de la sociedad civil, empresas, comunidades e individuos (Ansah, 2002). Pese a algunos casos exitosos, hay quienes moderan el atractivo de estas iniciativas como alternativa de política pública, a causa de los logros alcanzados por estos entramados a la hora de afrontar los problemas de la movilidad y la migración científica y profesional (Saxenian en Munster Infante, 2009).

Más allá de la presentación de este breve recorrido conceptual y político, este trabajo coincide con lo señalado por Pellegrino (2013) al afirmar las discusiones de fuga de cerebros versus la circulación o el intercambio resultan equívocas. Las últimas propuestas se basan en un modelo caracterizado por la movilidad y la circulación, donde la emigración definitiva se reduce a una pequeña parte de los movimientos. Los hallazgos que se presentan a continuación se orientan en ese sentido.

Estrategia metodológica

Se implementó una estrategia cualitativa para aportar a la reflexión sobre los principales enfoques de la migración calificada desde el punto de vista de los propios actores involucrados. La unidad de análisis fueron las personas con doctorado o posdoctorado — realizado en EE.UU. — en ciencias exactas y naturales ocupados, adultos (entre 34 y 54 años) y retornados a Argentina. Se trabajó con una muestra intencional donde los casos fueron seleccionados deliberadamente por su relevancia. Sus criterios de diversificación aluden al: género, edad, formación de grado, tipo de estadía en EE.UU. y lugar de retorno. Para este artículo se analizaron treinta y cinco entrevistas semi-estructuradas; treinta a actores que atravesaron la experiencia descripta, tres a personas con el mismo nivel educativo, pero con otras vivencias migratorias para reflexionar sobre los movimientos estudiados desde otra perspectiva y dos a informantes clave, expertos en la materia.

Se escogieron las ciencias exactas y naturales porque, en el caso argentino y según los datos oficiales, presentan una clara mayoría en la distribución de investigadores repatriados[2] por áreas de conocimiento (DNRI-MINCyT,[3] 2011). Se eligió EE.UU. porque es el principal destino histórico de la movilidad analizada; convirtiéndose en una referencia para otros países. La franja etaria seleccionada buscó incluir a personas de diferentes generaciones que migraron y luego, no necesariamente de manera inmediata, regresaron a Argentina. Este rango marca implícitamente la franja temporal del estudio, pero —en la práctica— se incluyeron movimientos de ida, efectuados a partir de la recuperación de la democracia, hasta regresos concretados recientemente. Los lugares asociados al regreso al país se concentraron principalmente en: la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, San Miguel de Tucumán, Mendoza y Bariloche. La mayoría de retornados entraron a la Carrera de Investigador Científico en el Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET).

A partir de un diseño flexible e interactivo, el análisis estuvo orientado a identificar las categorías emergentes surgidas inductivamente durante el proceso de investigación, privilegiando el análisis de los casos estudiados en profundidad según el contexto seleccionado.

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2 En referencia al Programa RAICES (Red de Argentinos Investigadores y Científicos en el Exterior), convertido en política de Estado en 2008, y que —hasta el momento— repatrió más de 1.200 científicos. Sin embargo, esta política no fue utilizada como un criterio de selección de la muestra. Otra medida importante, financiada por la Agencia Nacional para la Promoción Científica y Tecnológica, son los Proyectos de Investigación y Desarrollo para la Radicación de Investigadores (PIDRI). Su objetivo es aumentar la cantidad de recursos humanos especializados en las universidades e institutos de investigación y radicarlos en unidades existentes o por crearse en áreas prioritarias.

3 Dirección Nacional de Relaciones Internacionales y Ministerio de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación Productiva.

Sobre pérdidas y ganancias: una mirada compleja sobre la migración calificada

Al abordar las consecuencias del fenómeno estudiado, los protagonistas suelen destacar simultáneamente diferentes puntos de los planteos expuestos en el apartado anterior, distanciándose de una visión unidimensional del fenómeno. Coexiste el reconocimiento de las pérdidas junto con el de las ganancias, sin que ello suponga necesariamente la presencia de contradicciones en los testimonios recogidos. Este abordaje complejo incluye matices y aclaraciones que remiten básicamente a: la magnitud del fenómeno, las circunstancias estructurales en las cuales los sujetos actúan, los dilemas sobre la medición, los distintos niveles de análisis (micro/ mezzo/ macro), los vínculos de los residentes en el exterior con su país, etc. Se cuestiona así la posibilidad de catalogar con una misma etiqueta la diversidad de casos que efectivamente se presentan dentro de estos flujos. A pesar de ello, este apartado buscará agrupar las reflexiones más recurrentes sobre las pérdidas y las ganancias, identificadas a partir del análisis preliminar de la evidencia empírica recolectada.

La idea de la pérdida, vinculada con el enfoque de fuga de cerebros, es aceptada por los entrevistados cuando los flujos han cobrado una magnitud significativa, en términos cuantitativos, y representan un fenómeno que puede condicionar y/o limitar el desarrollo de áreas vinculadas a la ciencia, técnica o innovación productiva. De ahí que se suele aludir principalmente a dos cuestiones: la irrupción de un hecho traumático —de algún modo evocando el origen del concepto de diáspora— que expulsa a las poblaciones de su tierra natal y, al menos al principio, a la emigración definitiva de personas formadas en el sistema de educación pública nacional (con sus correspondientes costos) frente a otras modalidades relacionadas con la movilidad. Respecto al caso nacional, el acento en los aspectos negativos apunta a lo sucedido en contextos represivos durante períodos dictatoriales o a la falta de oportunidades y/o horizontes académico-profesionales, derivada de una escasa jerarquización de la ciencia en la agenda pública[4]. En otras palabras, cuando los entrevistados remarcan las consecuencias negativas de la migración calificada se tiende a pensar en los movimientos forzados explícitamente por hechos de violencia o impulsados por mecanismos estructurales que los condicionaron. Ambas cuestiones que, como se presentarán a continuación, atraviesan el caso argentino y fueron discutidas durante la salida a campo.

> Si todos los científicos deciden migrar, tenés un problema (…) Después cada cual tiene su historia (…) El problema es cuando no podés quedarte.
> (hombre, 47 años, con posdoctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

Los entrevistados distinguen dos períodos históricos de la Argentina, prácticamente ineludibles, que ejemplifican momentos asociados a la fuga en el sentido de la pérdida, pero lejanos a las premisas de tinte neoclásico que contiene esta perspectiva. El primero, de carácter político, refiere a la sucesión de regímenes militares —particularmente entre la década de 1960 y 1970 — que reprodujeron las lógicas represivas en el sistema académico-científico y que puso en peligro la vida de muchos de sus integrantes, además de otros perfiles sociales, que terminaron emigrando. El suceso más emblemático — presente también en los testimonios — remite a "La Noche de los Bastones Largos". Incursión violenta durante el régimen militar de Juan Carlos Onganía en 1966 de la policía en los claustros de las Facultades de Ciencias Exactas y Naturales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires; acompañada por la intervención de universidades, la derogación de su autonomía y la exigencia a los rectores y decanos de subordinación al Ministerio del Interior (Kreimer, 2010). Episodio que tuvo una clara repercusión demográfica: la emigración de cerca de 1.300 técnicos y científicos (Calvelo, 2008). Ahora bien, debido a la edad de los entrevistados, quienes atravesaron estas circunstancias emigraron junto con sus familias en calidad de hijos mientras que otros las experimentaron indirectamente a través de familiares o conocidos que debieron exiliarse. Además de las consideraciones personales de quienes tuvieron algún tipo de vivencia al respecto, los entrevistados iluminan las condiciones políticas

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4 Más allá de la coyuntura nacional, y aunque trascienda el objetivo específico de este trabajo, se identificaron diferentes incentivos para migrar a EE.UU. Las motivaciones principales aluden al hecho de: i) estar y trabajar en los lugares con mayores desafíos profesionales; ii) interactuar con referentes dentro de las correspondientes disciplinas e iii) incorporarse a instituciones mundialmente reconocidas. Respecto a las condiciones materiales, se remarca en aquellas vinculadas al apoyo a las tareas de investigación (subsidios, material bibliográfico, insumos, equipamiento, etc.). La estancia afuera también puede ser percibida como un paso tácito a seguir en la carrera de un investigador. Asimismo, a causa de la asimetría entre países, se reconoce la importancia de las políticas de captación. La vuelta, por su parte, se encuentra estrechamente ligada a las proyecciones que los sujetos hacen a largo plazo. Los motivos más importantes remiten al plano familiar-afectivo y la búsqueda de un contexto de mayor estabilidad laboral y seguridad social (Moreno, 2014).

que expulsan a personas altamente calificadas del territorio nacional. Fenómeno que tuvo graves secuelas para el sistema académico-científico nacional, que tardaron décadas en recomponerse, como el desmantelamiento de ciertos grupos de investigación.

En segundo lugar, la pérdida también está marcada por cuestiones socioeconómicas y refiere, en función de lo vivido por los entrevistados como jóvenes y/o adultos, a la situación académica-científica atravesada por el país en la década de 1990. Un contexto signado por: i) la situación de desprestigio a nivel político de la actividad científica, ii) la falta de recursos económicos para asegurar salarios acordes con el nivel de especialización y/o para propiciar las condiciones adecuadas para la actividad científica y iii) las escasas posibilidades de proyectarse profesionalmente, materializadas en la poca oferta de becas de formación y/o en las escasas posibilidades de inserción en el sistema de ciencia y técnica nacional. A nivel simbólico, la frase "que se vayan a lavar los platos" pronunciada por el Ministro de Economía del presidente Carlos Menem parece haber quedado marcada a fuego dentro de la población (Moreno, 2014). Bajo este marco, varios sujetos se vieron ante la necesidad de implementar una estrategia de desarrollo de carrera en el exterior a causa de la situación que atravesaba el país y, muy particularmente, el CONICET que, de haber podido brindarles condiciones para permanecer, hubiera podido retener a muchos de ellos.

En este clima de época se experimentaba la falta de oportunidades nacionales entre quienes tenían la intención de inclinarse por la investigación y presentaban calificaciones y competencias. Este dato resulta grave si se reconoce que la formación impartida en ciertas carreras, como Biología, están básicamente orientadas a la práctica científica. Lo trágico es que la falta de horizonte comenzaba a perfilarse, incluso, desde el momento de ingreso a la universidad y, en reiterados casos, mucho antes de contemplar la migración. Por ejemplo, hay quienes recuerdan las advertencias de sus colegas, unos años mayores, que les anticipaban las dificultades que iban a enfrentar en caso de querer dedicarse a la investigación. Como contracara, los entrevistados señalan la cantidad de graduados nacionales, pares o referentes, que habían encontrado en el exterior la alternativa para seguir formándose a nivel de posgrado o desempeñándose en el sistema científico. Esta masa crítica terminaba favoreciendo nuevos movimientos de personas interesadas en no romper con su perfil profesional, contribuía con información útil acerca del proceso de aplicación y les daba soporte al llegar al destino.

> Y el primer comentario es: 'no… ustedes, chicos tienen que saber desde el primer día que acá no hay salida. Estás haciendo una carrera que no tiene ningún…' (…) ellos estaban en ese momento, probablemente en el segundo o tercer año de la carrera, o sea, se sentían en la obligación como docentes de decirnos…creo que había una movida también que hay que irse afuera.
> (hombre, 41 años con postdoctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

> …cuando a mí me sale el rechazo del CONICET la única oportunidad que yo tenía de entrar al sistema académico científico era irme. No había posibilidades de entrar a carrera. Eso era seguro.
> (hombre, 43 años, con doctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

Entre quienes se fueron en este período se daban también situaciones aparentemente contradictorias: personas que luego de haber sido rechazados para becas doctorales en el país, consiguieron la financiación y la admisión en instituciones pertenecientes a la *Ivy League* (Moreno, 2014). Este ejemplo, lejos de ser anecdótico, termina encadenado a un interrogante de difícil respuesta: ¿se iban candidatos con gran potencial, pero menospreciados por su propio país? Hecho que resulta especialmente negativo si esa gente se va peleada con la situación y, más aún, si el país ni siquiera presenta expresiones concretas de interés, que trasciendan el plano formal, con los emigrados. Para estos casos, las pérdidas señalan la indiferencia o la imposibilidad de retener a personas interesadas en desarrollarse en el territorio nacional y que se "fugan" al exterior y son aprovechados por otras economías. Junto a este dilema surgen interrogantes sobre la medición/ cuantificación de las pérdidas (y su contrapartida). Tarea difícil de resolver porque implicaría la consideración de suposiciones y escenarios hipotéticos que no pueden contrastarse con las implicancias de lo que efectivamente sucede.

> Sí, sin duda que el país pierde, pero es difícil de medir porque realmente no sabés como…si la persona que se va: ¿tendría lugar acá? ¿Podría producir acá? (…) es problemático cuando vos decís se van los mejores y se queda gente que no está tan bien formada, ahí sí es problemático…
> (hombre, 36 años, con posdoctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

> … en el paradigma de la fuga de cerebros vos tenías una hipótesis de una contabilidad simple: gasté tanto en formarlo, se fue definitivamente y perdí tanto.

> Todo lo que yo perdí lo ganó otro. Me parece que es muy difícil hacer hoy una contabilidad tan simple.
> (informante clave, experto en la materia)

Además de este aspecto metodológico, los períodos mencionados están separados tan sólo por un par de décadas. Lo cual lleva a repensar el oscilante apoyo y jerarquización que el Estado argentino le otorgó a la ciencia y la falta de continuidad de sus políticas, rasgo que representa una debilidad institucional. Por tanto, resulta comprensible el acuerdo evidenciado sobre la importancia de implementar medidas para evitar movimientos relacionados con la fuga y no hay duda sobre la necesidad de fijar a la ciencia como política de Estado de manera sostenida en el tiempo. Esta decisión supone la inyección de mayores recursos y el establecimiento de políticas y reglas de juego — entendidas como las estrategias para impulsar una buena trayectoria profesional, recompensada por sus pares — a largo plazo. Entonces, además de los programas de repatriación, focalizados en propiciar los movimientos de retorno y valorados principalmente como señales de valoración del país de origen hacia su población en el extranjero, el factor crucial remite a la posibilidad de brindar una inserción laboral acorde a los niveles de calificación de los retornados y garantizar las condiciones materiales necesarias, que puedan sostenerse, para producir competitivamente.

Por otra parte, las nociones vinculadas a las ganancias tampoco son simples ni automáticas. No basta que una persona regrese para que, de por sí, represente una contribución. Si algo atraviesa los discursos recogidos es que los aportes no se reducen a las credenciales con las que vienen los individuos, sino a la producción que generan y los recursos humanos que forman. En algunos casos, las ganancias se van reconociendo a medida que los entrevistados van elaborando y repensando sus argumentos; no siempre aparecen nítidas desde un comienzo. Por ejemplo, aunque al principio se manifieste que la emigración definitiva representa una pérdida, después se pueden identificar — en aquellos casos que mantuvieron un fuerte lazo y compromiso con el país; incluso, sin intención de retornar — aspectos positivos para el campo y sistema nacional. Estas ganancias no aluden a estructuras montadas por el Estado argentino ni a impactos macro para el desarrollo nacional dado que no hay instituciones fuertemente aglutinantes, sino que refieren a la dinámica de las redes tejidas por los integrantes de las diferentes disciplinas.

> Eugenia se fue de muy joven también, como mis viejos con La noche de los bastones largos, se fue para EE.UU., no volvió más. Eugenia desde allá ha sido un norte para un montón de climatólogos o meteorólogos de Argentina. Si hoy vas al (…) centro más fuerte de climatología de Argentina, en casi todas las personas que están ahí vas a encontrar que fue importante en la carrera de ellos.
> (hombre, 45 años, con doctorado y posdoctorado en instituciones estadounidenses en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

> … (un colega argentino) es una persona que es muy importante y trabaja con mamíferos mesozoicos, publica sus papers en Nature. Sus teorías del origen de los mamíferos son de alcance global. Es como uno de los pilares de la sistemática moderna en mamaria y es un orgullo para los otros argentinos que sea él uno sea él uno de los pilares en esto. Ahora, Guillermo es un tipo que vive viniendo de campaña en Argentina, tiene muchísimos colegas en Argentina, coautores y tiene muchísimos alumnos argentinos de doctorado (…) cuando viene acá, viene con plata de sus proyectos de NSF.[5] Y ¿cómo decirlo? Deja, entre comillas, muchísima plata y los fósiles porque, por las leyes paleontolistas, los fósiles no pueden salirse del país.
> (hombre, 43 años, con posdoctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

Tal como afirman estos testimonios, la identificación de ganancias no sale a la luz, salvo que el emigrado circule y vuelva a su país (no necesariamente a instalarse definitivamente) o mantenga intercambios productivos/ formativos con sus pares nacionales. En caso de retornar, puede aportar de diferentes maneras como la apertura de una nueva línea de investigación o la posibilidad de "hacer escuela" en un zonas de menor desarrollo relativo. Por su parte, quienes siguen en el exterior tienen que estar dispuestos a destinar tiempo y dinero para abrir posibilidades desde allá. Así, los aspectos positivos no pueden ser desligados de la movilidad ni de las redes de profesionales capaces de propiciar una colaboración que busque contribuir, de alguna manera, al desarrollo del campo nacional, sin desconocer las asimetrías de poder existentes entre países. A continuación se abordará más precisamente los principales hallazgos vinculados a la circulación y el intercambio.

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5 Por sus siglas en inglés: *National Science Foundation*.

La circulación y el intercambio: dos aspectos esenciales de la actividad científica

La actividad científica tiene un fuerte componente relacional, evidenciado en distintos aspectos de la producción de conocimiento como: el vínculo maestro-discípulo, el trabajo en equipo en los grupos de estudio/ investigación, la discusión sobre la recolección y el análisis de evidencia empírica durante el desarrollo de una investigación, la revisión de los artículos y la posterior citación de los hallazgos por pares. Esta modalidad está enmarcada, a vez, dentro de una estructura de relaciones de jerarquía y lógicas de reproducción social. Por ello, el intercambio y la movilidad internacional, idealmente constante, aparecen como factores clave para el desarrollo científico.

La circulación es valorada por sí misma y como una condición profesional de quienes alcanzaron un buen posicionamiento dentro de la estructura, capaz de permitirles movimientos internacionales. Las estancias en el extranjero, de duración variable y en las diferentes etapas de la formación y/o carrera científica, son altamente estimadas porque favorecen la exposición y reflexión de los resultados de las investigaciones, y la visibilidad entre pares y el conocimiento con referentes en sus respectivas disciplinas, etc. Se admite que los contactos generados a partir de estas experiencias pueden conducir a saltos cualitativos en las trayectorias de los individuos puesto que abren nuevas posibilidades, canales de información o revisiones del material trabajado.

En los casos estudiados se advierte que la movilidad internacional — que actualmente muchos de ellos gozan como científicos— fue favorecida por el movimiento migratorio doctoral/ posdoctoral realizado con anterioridad. Gracias a esa experiencia, los sujetos pudieron tejer lazos con colegas de diferentes partes del mundo —debido al carácter cosmopolita del campo estadounidense, rasgo caracterizado indefectiblemente como una fortaleza— con quienes siguen manteniendo diferentes tipos de colaboraciones a la distancia. Ellos reconocen que difícilmente hubiesen podido entablar dichos vínculos de haberse quedado en territorio nacional, sin ninguna experiencia afuera. Las redes generadas —incluyendo a aquellas que anteceden a los sujetos— también terminan siendo útiles (ganancias) para el grupo de investigación con el cual trabajan porque promueven la movilidad de sus miembros más jóvenes y generan nuevas oportunidades de colaboración. Los discípulos, a su vez, pueden mantener estos lazos y aprovecharlos, independientemente de la persona que los generó en un primer lugar. En definitiva, la circulación y el intercambio son dos fenómenos que se retroalimentan entre sí.

> Y volvimos con más papers publicados, viajar por el mundo, interactuar. Yo conozco y hasta el día de hoy estoy trabajando con gente de Europa, de Asia, publicamos juntos. O sea, yo creo que fue enriquecedor; en realidad, esa fuga temporal.
> (mujer, 43 años, con posdoctorado en una institución estadounidense en el área de biología y residente en Argentina)

El elemento más valorado de la circulación y el intercambio es la capacidad de quebrar patrones endogámicos que encierran y empobrecen el campo al reducir el intercambio de ideas, inhibir la competencia meritocrática y alejarlo de los debates que se dan en otras partes del mundo. También se asume que el crecimiento de un investigador se ve favorecido en tanto se expone a situaciones que lo saquen de su "zona de comodidad"; lo cual implica: cambiar de equipos de trabajo/ laboratorios, aprender nuevas técnicas o abordar otro tema de investigación. La migración aparece como una de las formas más contundentes para reconocer y experimentar con otros modos de práctica académica/ científica y crecer tanto profesional como personalmente. Aunque los movimientos migratorios no deben ser necesariamente internacionales, la idea de trasladarse al extranjero — especialmente a un país como EE.UU. que tiene una posición central en la producción de conocimientos — es pensada como una experiencia formativa que resulta intransferible y que vale más que cualquier intercambio digital. En concordancia, al preguntar entre quienes retornaron si alientan este tipo de movimientos a las nuevas generaciones resulta comprensible que la mayoría lo hace de manera activa; sedimentando ciertas cadenas y reproduciendo la continuidad de los flujos migratorios e intercambios internacionales.

> …muchos de los que fuimos tenemos esta…la cuestión de ´tengo que cambiar de ámbito, tengo que ver otras cosas, eso me va a hacer crecer´ (….) A un doctorando le diría: ´Andate, (…) conseguí un buen lugar, con buenas condiciones y andate. Eso te va a cambiar.
> (hombre, 36 años, con posdoctorado en institución estadounidense en biología y residente en Argentina)

El intercambio y la circulación son valorados a nivel individual y relacional, sin considerar seriamente las redes creadas desde el Estado para favorecer mayores posibilidades de interacción y transferencia de conocimientos. Los argumentos recogidos muestran que, en materia de políticas, el foco de interés se centra en la política académica-científica, en detrimento de las cuestiones migratorias. Sin embargo, este punto no excluye a la movilidad como valor. Por ejemplo, en reiteradas oportunidades se destaca la política estadounidense que no permite a una persona que hizo el doctorado en una institución a quedarse como profesional en el mismo lugar; obligándola a trasladarse, ya sea dentro o fuera de las fronteras nacionales. Esta norma es apreciada porque favorece el ingreso de nueva gente con capacidad de aportar otras perspectivas y revitalizar el espacio. Ahora bien, se entiende que esta medida no podría ser extrapolada, sin una debida contextualización, a Argentina porque existe una menor oferta de instituciones competitivas en el territorio nacional y que, pese a los esfuerzos que se vienen realizando, ésta se encuentra altamente centralizada.

Esta forma de abordar la circulación y el intercambio también lleva a pensar en la necesidad de brindar, desde el sistema científico, subsidios que sigan estimulando la movilidad. Aunque se reconoce que su promoción conlleva una inversión elevada, los movimientos no siempre deben tener una direccionalidad sur-norte. También se piensa en otros internos o de orientación sur-sur. Por último, resulta interesante contemplar cómo implementar medidas capaces de atraer a científicos extranjeros que puedan contribuir al desarrollo del sistema nacional.

Reflexiones finales

Este artículo busca contribuir al planteo realizado por Pellegrino (2013) que sostiene que el antagonismo entre los enfoques principales sobre la migración calificada, aparentemente irreconciliables, es equívoco. Si bien la población entrevistada valora la circulación y el intercambio por su capacidad de promover la formación profesional y la producción de conocimientos, también asume que hay circunstancias asociadas a las pérdidas y otras a las ganancias. Esta postura implica reconocer el fenómeno a partir de sus múltiples dimensiones, sin considerar al aislacionismo como una alternativa de política pública en materia ciencia y técnica. El punto en discusión refiere a cómo aprovechar estos movimientos, que no necesariamente derivan en la emigración definitiva, y no limitarlos. Se entiende también que quienes ostentan una mayor movilidad internacional (circulación) se debe al hecho de haber logrado una buena posición — reconocida por sus pares— en la estructura del campo, capaz de sostener los movimientos e intercambios. Según lo analizado, esta dinámica contribuye particularmente al campo y sistema científico nacional, en lugar de promover el desarrollo del país en un sentido más amplio.

Pese a que excede el foco principal de este artículo, dentro de un esquema donde prima la movilidad y el intercambio —no necesariamente neutral entre actores individuales y colectivos de diferente peso y recursos — se reconoce la existencia de tensiones y la reproducción de lógicas de poder. Esto significa pensar a la circulación y al intercambio de forma poco ingenua y dentro de estructuras condicionantes. Finalmente, se acuerda que la principal responsabilidad de intervenir al respecto recae en el Estado, que debe asegurar condiciones propicias para el desarrollo científico, y no en las personas que actúan en marcos y entramados de sociabilidad que encuadran su accionar.

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Chapter 9

Escenarios de movilidad académica en pareja

Negociando afectos, dinero y carrera profesional en el marco de las políticas científica en Colombia

Carol Pavajeau Delgado

Resumen El trabajo analiza el impacto de las políticas científicas colombianas encargadas de impulsar y regular la movilidad académica en el país, con las negociaciones, decisiones y estrategias que usaron personas colombianas para conseguir mudarse en pareja/familia al Brasil con el objetivo de realizar sus estudios de postgrado en la Universidad Estadual de Campinas -UNICAMP entre los años 2011-2015.
El foco central de este paper es analizar la relación de las políticas científicas colombianas encargadas de impulsar y regular la movilidad académica en el país, con las negociaciones, decisiones y estrategias para conseguir migrar en pareja-familia que usaron estas personas. Específicamente se pretende dar cuenta de las formas en que estas parejas gestionan afectos, dinero y carrera académica en los escenarios micro-políticos de la vida cotidiana analizando el uso que hacen de las transacciones económicas y el trabajo relacional para generar, sostener o transformar sus vínculos (Zelizer 2009).
Los resultados evidencian (1) La tensión entre el concepto de movilidad académica y migración. (2) La invisibilidad de los proyectos migratorios familiares dentro de la movilidad académica. (3) El impacto que las políticas científicas e institucionales colombianas tienen en las negociaciones de dinero, afectos y carrera profesional de las parejas participantes.
Finalmente, se pretende poner en debate la tensión entre el proyecto individual profesional y el proyecto afectivo que se dan en este tipo de movilidades académicas de larga duración, en donde cobra un lugar relevante el contexto macro de las políticas científicas en los escenarios micros de negociaciones de la intimidad, aspectos que no han sido reconocidos por las instancias gestoras de los programas, ni por los estudios existentes en Colombia sobre movilidad académica.

Palabras claves migración calificada, movilidad académica, género, afectos, relación de pareja, políticas científicas.

Resumo O trabalho analisa o impacto das políticas de ciência e tecnologia da Colômbia nas negociações, decisões e estratégias que pessoas colombianas usaram para se mover em casal / família até o Brasil a fim de fazer os seus estudos pós-graduação

da Universidade Estadual de Campinas UNICAMP entre os anos 2011-2015.
O foco central deste trabalho é analisar a relação das políticas de ciência e tecnologia responsáveis de promover e regular a mobilidade acadêmica com as negociações, decisões e estratégias para migrar em casal/ família que tem usado essas pessoas. Especificamente visa dar conta das maneiras em que esses casais negociam afetos, dinheiro e carreira acadêmica na micropolítica da vida cotidiana analisando o uso das transações econômicas e o trabalho relacional para gerar, sustentar ou transformar seus vínculos (Zelizer 2009).
Os resultados mostram (1) A tensão entre o conceito de mobilidade acadêmica e migração. (2) A invisibilidade dos projetos de migração familiar dentro da mobilidade acadêmica. (3) O impacto que as políticas científicas e institucionais colombianas têm nas negociações de afeitos, dinheiro e carreira profissional dos parceiros participantes.
Finalmente, se coloca em discussão a tensão entre projeto individual profissional e o projeto afetivo que ocorrem neste tipo de mobilidade acadêmica de longa duração, onde cobra um lugar de destaque o contexto macro das políticas científicas nas negociações nos cenários micros da intimidade, questões que não foram reconhecidos pelos órgãos de gestão dos programas, ou por os estudos existentes sobre a mobilidade acadêmica na Colômbia.

Palavras-chave migração qualificada, mobilidade acadêmica, gênero, afetos, relacionamentos, políticas da ciência e tecnologia.

Abstract This paper analyzes the impact of the colombian scientific policies that promote and regulate the academic mobility in the country. The negotiations, decisions and strategies that colombian people use to move out with their family to Brazil, with the objective to study a postgraduate program in the Universidade Estadual de Campinas -UNICAMP during the period 2011-2015. Specifically, the forms of how people manage their affections, money and professional career in the micro-politics scenarios of regular life. Analyzing the use of economical transactions and relational work to generate, hold and transform their links (Zelizer 2009).
The results show (1) The tension between the concept of academic mobility and migration (2) The invisibility of the family migrations projects inside the academic mobility (3) The impact of the colombian institutional scientific policies in the negotiations of money, affections and professional career of the participant couple.
Finally, the objective is to put in debate the tension between the individual professional project with the affective project that is present in the long duration of academic mobility, where the context of the macro scientific policies take relevance towards the micro intimacy negotiations, aspects which have not been recognized by the authorities that create these programs, neither by studies in Colombia.

Keywords skilled migration, academic mobility, gender, affections, relationship, science policies.

Introducción

Este trabajo[1] evidencia la relación entre migración calificada, políticas científicas e institucionales y relaciones de la intimidad, por medio de las trayectorias afectivas y de movilidad académica de personas colombianas que se trasladaron en pareja/familia al Brasil para hacer sus estudios de postgrado en diferentes áreas (ingenieras, artes, ciencias sociales, antropología, economía, demografía, física) en la Universidad Estadual de Campinas — UNICAMP entre los años 2011-2015.

Mi condición particular de ser colombiana vivir en Campinas y estar experimentando una movilidad académica proyectada para varios años, me ha permitido conocer y vincularme de manera cercana a una dinámica red de parejas colombianas que están realizando sus estudios de postgrado en la Universidad Estadual de Campinas. Al conversar con ellas sobre mi proyecto de investigación y la posibilidad de vincularlas, varias me han abierto las puertas de sus casas, me han relatado vivencias de sus trayectorias de movilidad y afectivas y me han permitido compartir con ellas diversos escenarios de sociabilidad.

El material a analizar surge de conversaciones informales frecuentes con 30 personas colombinas, la mayoría provenientes de las ciudades capitales de Colombia: Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Bucaramanga, casos particulares de personas de que vienen de municipios de los departamentos de Huila, Tolima, Valle y Costa Atlántica. He realizado entrevistas semi- estructuradas a 3 parejas y he realizado la reconstrucción de observaciones en escenarios de la vida cotidiana con 2 parejas adicionales a las entrevistadas. He registrado a través de las anotaciones y diarios de campo los diferentes espacios de sociabilidad ya mencionados.

Al llegar al Brasil como estudiante de la Universidad Estadual de Campinas, fue sorprendente el alto número de estudiantes latinoamericanos que circulan por su campus, era evidente que estaba frente a una activa migración sur-sur y la reciente reconfiguración de los flujos migratorios hacia América Latina, que ha venido en aumento "a partir del año 2007 debido a la agudización de la crisis económica y

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1 Agradecimientos especiales por los estimulantes intercambios con el grupo de estudio del segundo semestre del 2014 orientado por Adriana Piscitelli y conformado por Iara Beleli, Paula Luna, Anna Araujo, Laura Lowenkon, Natalia Corazza Padovani, Aline Tavera, Bruna Bumachar, Susanne Hofmann y nuestras siempre recordada Paula Togni. De manera especial quiero agradecer la lectura detallada y los valiosos aportes de José Miguel Nieto Olivar a este texto.

financiera en España y EE.UU., acompañada por un endurecimiento de las políticas de migración y los controles migratorios que han marcado nuevas dinámicas, estrategias y rutas de la población migrante internacional, que incluyen nuevas migraciones hacia otros países europeos menos afectados por la crisis internacional, como el Reino Unido y Bélgica, el desarrollo de nuevas rutas migratorias que se incrementan hacía países latinoamericanos como Chile, Argentina y Brasil" (Echeverry M, Pavajeau-Delgado C 2015).

El mencionado endurecimiento de las políticas de migración y los controles migratorios en los flujos sur -norte entran en contraste con la apertura de políticas migratorias en el cono sur que se expresan en acuerdos internacionales como el Mercosur, UNASUR,[2] CELAC.[3] A lo que se suma, para el caso de la migración calificada, la exigencia de la internacionalización en la educación superior por parte de las políticas científicas globales, donde Brasil es pionero en la región Latinoamérica, por lo que en los últimos años ha venido atrayendo a personas de América Latina, el Caribe, Centro América y África para cualificarse académicamente.

Según datos de los anuarios estadísticos de la Universidad Estadual de Campinas — UNICAM de los años 2014[4] y 2016.[5] Durante el año 2013 el número total de estudiantes extranjeros matriculados de manera regular en los programas de pos graduación que ofrece la universidad fue de 626. De los cuales 328 se encuentran en los programas de doctorado y 298 en los de maestría. Hay estudiantes de todos los continentes, sin embargo numéricamente América Latina esta al frente con unas diferencias relevantes destacándose Colombia y Perú. En las maestrías 99 estudiantes son colombianos y 85 peruanos y en los doctorados 116 son colombianos y 76 son peruanos.

El aumento para el año 2015 ha sido significativo, se encuentran matriculados de manera regular 777 estudiantes en la totalidad de programas, 335 en los programas de maestría y 442 en los programas de doctorado. En la maestría 135 son colombianos, 79 son peruanos y en el doctorado 174 son colombianos, 84 son peruanos.

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2 Unión de Naciones Sur Americanas.

3 Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños.

4 Datos Anuario Estadístico 2014, base 2013. Http://www.aeplan.unicamp.br/anuario/2014/anuario2014.pdf

5 Datos Anuario Estadístico 2016, base 2015. http://www.aeplan.unicamp.br/anuario/anuario_2016.php

Estos datos muestran que durante los año 2013-2015, un tercio de los estudiantes extranjeros adscritos a los post-grados de la Universidad Estadual de Campinas fueron de nacionalidad Colombiana, hay un sin número de preguntas que estos datos traen con relación a los asuntos de movilidad académica, sin embargo, quiero centrar mi análisis como mencione anteriormente en un grupo particular: las personas que decidieron emprender este proyecto en pareja-familia, debido a que sus experiencias abrieron para mi un campo de preguntas que circulan entre los estudios migratorios y los estudios de género.

En este documento busco analizar tres aspectos: (1) La tensión entre el concepto de movilidad académica y migración. (2) La invisibilidad de los proyectos migratorios familiares dentro de la movilidad académica. (3) El impacto que las políticas científicas e institucionales colombianas tienen en las negociaciones de dinero, afectos y carrera profesional de las parejas participantes.

La tensión entre el concepto de movilidad académica y migración

Dentro de los estudios migratorios[6] la movilidad académica de corta o larga duración, se ha ubicado dentro de la migración calificada. Varios autores (Bermúdez 2015; Pellegrino, 2013; Coloma, 2012; Lozano y Gadini, 2011; Acker, 2004) coinciden en argumentar lo complejo que es definir migración calificada por la diversidad de personas que hacen parte de este flujo migratorio (profesionales, consultores, artistas, empresarios, académicos, investigadores estudiantes y los cónyuges e hijos/as de cada una de estas personas migrantes), las diferentes implicaciones en los procesos y condiciones que este tipo de movilidades genera, ya que el carácter temporal de estos flujos es dinámico, puede ser permanente, de mediano y largo plazo, o pueden implicar movilidades circulares y proyectos transitorios.

Según Ackers. L (2004) el termino migración calificada aparte de suponer la movilidad humana, habla principalmente del concepto de habilidad (o conocimiento) que sería lo que justificaría este tipo de movilidad. La literatura sobre el tema inscribe a personas que cuentan con

6 Agradezco los intercambios con mi orientadora Adriana Piscitelli y mi colega del grupo de estudio Paula Toni al respecto.

estudios de tercer o cuarto nivel y que no viven en su país de origen como migrantes calificados. (Bermúdez 2015, 2014; Pellegrino, 2013; Özden, 2007; Lozano y Gandini, 2011; Coloma, 2012) .

En ese orden de ideas, es un concepto en debate que como lo ratifica (2015) requiere mayores niveles de investigación y conceptualización, que solo se consiguen si se profundiza en un mayor conocimiento sobre flujos calificados específicos. Reconociendo tal heterogeneidad Bermúdez propone cinco escenarios para caracterizar este tipo de migración así:

1. Migrantes calificados acogidos a un programa de recepción de mano de obra calificada en un país desarrollado, vinculados a un trabajo calificado con estatus legal y protección social en la sociedad receptora. Por lo general, se trata de migración de carácter familiar o, al menos, que en el medio plazo plantea la opción de reunificarse con su familia.

2. Migrantes calificados que salen del país presionados por las condiciones de insuficiencia del mercado laboral de su país de origen y se insertan en trabajos no calificados en el país de destino. En muchos casos se trata de migrantes con estatus legal ambiguo y se corresponde con migración de carácter individual. Por lo general, es un flujo migratorio asociado con redes sociales, de amigos y/o familiares que apoyan o estimulan la migración.

3. Migrantes calificados asociados a redes empresariales. En este caso, la movilidad se presenta como un procedimiento interno en una red empresarial transnacional. Es un grupo selecto; implica una inserción laboral en un alto nivel ejecutivo y de dirección empresarial o un alto nivel técnico productivo. Se puede sugerir que se trata de migración familiar.

4. Migrantes calificados refugiados políticos. Se trata de profesionales que han salido del país acogiéndose a programas de asilo político debido a una persecución política. Son exiliados políticos que llegan al país receptor bajo medidas de protección. La movilidad casi siempre contempla una reunificación familiar. Está asociada a redes institucionales y es apoyada por redes de amigos.

5. Estudiantes de tercer y cuarto nivel móviles internacionalmente. Cada vez se acepta más que la movilidad de estos estudiantes, inicialmente temporal, no sólo constituye un flujo migratorio en sí mismo, sino que se constituye en un flujo potencial de trabajadores calificados (Pellegrino, 2002). En esta última condición se pueden presentar dos situaciones: de un lado, aquellos estudiantes que durante el desarrollo de su formación educativa alternan estudio con trabajo y, de otro, aquellos que terminando su ciclo de escolaridad permanecen

> en la sociedad de destino y se insertan laboralmente cambiando su condición migratoria. En la mayoría de los casos se trata de migrantes con estatus migratorio legal y de carácter individual, favorecidos por procesos institucionales de oferta educativa con becas estatales para atraer a estudiantes extranjeros. (2015,pg 146)

Estos escenarios, muestran las diferencias diplomáticas, económicas, de status, de ocupación y familiares que están inmersas en la migración calificada. También es útil para desnaturalizar los supuestos en los que son leídos y legislados estos diversos proyectos migratorios y las personas que los encarnan.

Cuando les pido a las personas colombianas con las que he tenido contacto que me cuenten como hicieron para venirse a estudiar al Brasil con sus parejas o familias, la mayoría de ellas me han relatado historias de amor, de protección, de cuidado en las que venirse a hacer el doctorado sin su pareja o familia no era un deseo o posibilidad debido a la prolongada extensión de tiempo que conlleva. En sus narrativas se refieren al viaje, a venirse a vivir a otro país, a migrar, pero nunca han nombrado la experiencia como movilidad académica. Conversando con un estudiante del doctorado en física le pregunte ¿cuál de los dos conceptos rescata mejor su vivencia? él respondió:

> El concepto de movilidad académica es un concepto técnico, si lo pienso desde mi experiencia, mismo sabiendo que tenemos y queremos regresar a Colombia, sin saber mucho sobre el asunto… creo que recoge más mi vivencia el concepto de migración, por todo lo que implica vivir fuera de tu país por varios años, es mucho más que una movilidad académica, es un cambio de vida (Notas diario de campo, 2015)

Al parecer, el concepto de movilidad académica, es un término útil para describir el nomadismo intelectual que es propio del oficio investigativo, pero se queda corto al pensar las circunstancias jurídicas, económicas y sociales que están enfrentando las personas que deciden realizar sus estudios de postgrado presenciales en el exterior y requieren trasladarse entre 2 y 8 años (dependiendo del programa de estudios). En ese orden de ideas, no toda movilidad puede ser considerada una migración, ni toda migración puede ser considerada una movilidad en el sentido estricto. Pareciera que la movilidad académica de larga duración esta en medio de las dos. ¿Cómo se construye la categoría de migrante calificado por motivo de movilidad académica desde el discurso público, institucional y social en el contexto colombiano y brasilero actualmente? ¿Qué consecuencias e implicaciones tienen estas formas de enunciación de los sujetos que la encarnan en un contexto transnacional?

La invisibilidad de los proyectos migratorios familiares dentro de la movilidad académica.

Dentro de los estudios migratorios son recurrentes los temas relacionados con los vínculos y los asuntos familiares,[7] sin embargo al interior de la movilidad académica es una cuestión invisibilizada. Ubicando los estudios sobre migración en Colombia, se podría afirmar que han sido dos sus ejes centrales de análisis: los estudios sobre migración forzada interna y los estudios sobre migración internacional. Al interior de la migración internacional, están ubicados los estudios de migración calificada que en el caso particular de Colombia se han centrado por un lado, en lo que se ha denominado "fuga de cerebros" preocupados por la alta migración internacional del poco "recurso humano altamente calificado" que Colombia tiene. (Cepeda, 2012;[8] Charum, J. y J.B. Meyer ,1998). Por el otro, en los estudios sobre movilidad académica, lo cuales están focalizados en los asuntos de internacionalización de la educación superior (Jaramillo C, 2009;[9] Didou, G 2009[10]). Sin embargo autoras como Bermúdez (2010, 2014) han actualizado la discusión teniendo en cuenta el fenómeno de la globalización de las redes conocimiento, donde se está sustituyendo el concepto de "fuga de cerebros"("brain drain") por el de ("brain gain", "brain circulation" y "brain exchange") llamando la atención sobre

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7 En Colombia es un tema investigativo en ascenso con trabajos como los de Puyana, Motoa, Viviel, (2009) Rivas y Gonza´lvez (2009) sobre familiares transnacionales y género; Echeverry (2010, 2014) destacando el lugar de los jóvenes como actores sociales de las dinámicas familiares en contextos migratorios; Gonza´lvez (2010); Puyana, Micolta y Palacio (2013) abordando los asuntos sobre cuidado

8 Cepeda (2012) en este documento analiza la localización en el país de los colombianos con posgrados en el exterior, utilizando información del programa de becas Colfuturo. Estima la probabilidad de no retorno al país por áreas de estudio. Los resultados de este trabajo generan preguntas acerca de cuáles son los incentivos que deben ofrecer las regiones para atraer a las personas más calificadas.

9 Jaramillo (2009) en este artículo realiza una revisión de los principales estudios realizados en el tema de formación de posgrado en Colombia, analiza su orientación, estado del arte y metodologías, con el fin de dar recomendaciones a la políticas públicas.

10 Este libro presenta diferentes artículos agrupados en tres ejes fundamentales: fuga de cerebros en América Latina; redes virtuales y disciplinarias; e impactos de la movilidad en los campos académicos y científicos.

características como "recuperación", "ganancia", "circulación" e "intercambio" de cerebros, enfatizando el lugar central que la migración calificada puede ocupar en los escenarios contemporáneos de desarrollo científico y tecnológico.

Ahora bien, ninguno de estos trabajos tiene en cuenta a las parejas e hijos/as de las personas que hacen parte de la movilidad académica al definir su población de estudio. Tampoco se han interesado en comprender lo que se gesta en los escenarios micros de la vida cotidiana de estos sujetos, ni el impacto que las políticas científicas e institucionales tienen en los procesos de toma de decisiones personales, conyugales y profesionales que este tipo de movilidad demanda.

El supuesto comúnmente generalizado del carácter individual para la totalidad de proyectos de movilidad académica en las políticas migratorias y científicas y por ende en las políticas institucionales universitarias y el medio académico ha tenido implicaciones de diferentes niveles para las personas participantes de este estudio, que va desde las gestiones migratorias, las estrategias para conseguir migrar en pareja-familia, hasta el uso que hacen de las transacciones económicas y el trabajo relacional para generar, sostener o transformar sus vínculos (Zelizer 2009).

Las becas que ofrece el gobierno brasilero y los créditos condonables[11] que ofrece el gobierno colombiano son individuales, no familiares, si el estudiante viaja acompañado por su pareja o/e hijos al dirigirse a la embajada de Brasil en Colombia para realizar los trámites de la visas, el estudiante debe demostrar que tiene los recursos económicos suficientes para sostener a sus acompañantes a través de un documento legalizado en notaría pública donde certifique que su pareja e hijos son personas a su cargo. Este documento también puede ser

11 ara disminuir las tasas de no retorno de la población con formación altamente calificada COLCIENCIAS financia los estudios doctorales a través de créditos condonables. Según la convocatoria 2014[1] , la condonación consiste en eximir al beneficiario/a hasta el 100% de la deuda adquirida mediante el siguiente procedimiento: (1) Culminación del programa de doctorado y obtención del título correspondiente (2) Retornar a Colombia, dentro de los treinta (30) días siguientes a la culminación del programa doctoral. (3) Permanecer en el país vinculado a una entidad del Sistema Ciencia y Tecnología por un periodo mínimo de 2 años, realizando actividades cualificadas de ciencia tecnología e innovación —CTI —. A pesar de que los criterios y rubros de cada convocatoria pueden cambiar anualmente, se puede decir que COLCIENCIAS financia por 4 años, matricula (en caso de requerirla), seguro médico, sostenimiento mensual fijo (sin incremento anual) y tiquetes aéreos por una sola vez.

emitido por un familiar que se quede en Colombia y que certifique que es la persona encarga del sostenimiento de la persona acompañante durante su estadía en Brasil, tal como me contó Camila una estudiante del doctorado en física en una conversación informal que sostuvimos en una de las cafeterías de la universidad:

> Mi mamá me hizo el favor de darme el certificado de sostenimiento que nos pedían en la embajada para poder obtener la visa de nuestros hijos, a pesar de que para todos era claro que con el dinero de las becas de nosotros dos nos íbamos a sostener los cuatro. (Septiembre, 2014.

Algo que sorprendió a Camila posteriormente cuando fue a recoger los pasaportes fue darse cuenta que sus hijos tenían visa de estudiante vinculados al colegio que iban a ingresar en Campinas. Las dos nos preguntamos ¿La embajada los registró como familia o como estudiantes vinculados a las instituciones educativas de manera individual?

Otra manera más sencilla que los estudiantes colombianos han encontrado para obtener las visas de ellos y sus familias es a través del convenio Mercosur donde se otorga un permiso temporal de residencia por dos años a las personas que tengan nacionalidad de los países que hacen parte del convenio, dentro de los que se encuentra Colombia como país invitado.

A pesar de que la movilidad académica es concebida como un proyecto migratorio de cualificación individual, algunas personas intentan articularlo con sus proyectos afectivos siendo este uno de los motivos por los que estas parejas eligen Brasil.

> Unas de las razones, para venir a Campinas fue que teníamos una amiga que nos contó de la experiencia de otra pareja colombiana, que les estaba yendo muy bien haciendo el doctorado con hijos, nos contactamos con ellos y realmente la manera en que nos presentaron la cosa, era lo que estábamos buscando: un contexto amable, un cambio de vida para bajarle a esa locura de articular familia con estudio y trabajo, que fue muy fuerte mientras hicimos las maestrías y todo se carga a la familia, nosotros estábamos buscando poder articular familia y doctorado, sin sacrificar nada, entonces cuando comenzamos a escuchar las historias de estas personas, fue bien importante para tomar la decisión final. (Jorge)

De manera estratégica estas parejas analizan tanto los programas académicos como el estilo de vida de los diferentes países posibles en donde tienen opciones de doctorarse, buscando un equilibrio entre estudio-familia.

> A mi particularmente de Estados Unidos me asustaba tener una vida demente, yo particularmente ya venía reventada de trabajo, Jorge también y pues tenemos una hija, así que para nosotros era prioritario tener una vida distinta y sobre todo que el doctorado no recayera sobre ella, esa era una de las prioridades". (Alana)

> Marcó mucho hablar con amigos que habían tenido la experiencia antes, por ejemplo un colega se fue con su esposa e hijos para Estados Unidos, solo él estaba haciendo el doctorado y él en un momento le tuvo que decir a su esposa y su hijo que se devolvieran porque solo tenía tiempo para estudiar, dormía en la biblioteca… yo decía, yo no voy a hacer esto. Eso para mí no tiene sentido". (Alana)

En una conversación informal que sostuvimos cuatro mujeres colombianas sobre el tema, una relataba como una amiga se había ido a doctorar sola dejando sus hijas al cuidado de sus padres en Colombia, manifestando lo difícil que había sido esta experiencia para todas, a partir de esta historia ella manifestó su opción de no elegir entre el proyecto de formación académica y el familiar. (Notas diario de campo, Mayo de 2015)

Otro elemento relacionado con articulación familia-estudio y la elección de Brasil fueron las decisiones reproductivas.

> La vida lo lleva a uno a los sitios donde tiene que estar. El día que recibimos la respuesta que me aceptaron, nos enteramos que Luna estaba embarazada, y como ya conocíamos Campinas sabíamos que podía funcionar bien la cosa. (Lorenzo)

> Estábamos pensando la posibilidad de tener un segundo hijo, y eso era o antes de hacer el doctorado, pero implica irme con otro niño, o después de hacer el doctorado y ya estoy en el límite de edad para encargar, entonces la única posibilidad era allá y tocaría pensar un lugar que pueda ser amable para esa posibilidad. (Alana)

En el interés de poder articular familia-estudio las personas analizaron con detenimiento los asuntos económicos, intentando buscar formas de sostenimiento que a pesar de ser concebidas por las instituciones como individuales, fueran viables para el sostenimiento de la familia al articularlas con el costo de vida del país y la ciudad. Esta fue una razón de peso para elegir Brasil como destino.

> Comenzamos a escuchar muchas cosas, buenas becas pero la plata no alcanza en Europa y Estados Unidos, la gente dice, llegue y estoy sin plata, les tocaba durísimo. (Jorge)

En una conversación informal una Colombiana estudiante del doctorado en ingeniera me comento "varios amigos que habían llegado de hacer el doctorado, me decían piénselo bien, haga cuentas, hay países con doctorados muy buenos en Europa y Estados Unidos pero con unos costos de vida altísimos para nosotros los colombianos, a varios les toca buscarse trabajos adicionales por allá o endeudarse más… y aunque Barão Geraldo no es barato, da para vivir por las similitudes del valor en las monedas" (Noviembre 2014)

Las condiciones de vida de la ciudad, específicamente de Barao Geraldo fue otro factor central en decidirse por la Universidad Estadual de Campinas. En las conversaciones informales que he tenido con 30 personas colombinas sobre el tema, todas han coincidido en expresar que uno de los criterios de selección fue el haber tenido referencia de Barão Geraldo como un buen lugar para vivir en familia, especialmente con niños/as, conozco alrededor de 20 parejas colombianas con hijos/as estudiando en dicha universidad.

> Hay ciudades que solo son una universidad y una tienda y otras que son así como dementes como cuatro Bogotá y con niños no podíamos ir a una ciudad muy grande difícil de manejar, ese tipo de cosas nos pusieron a pensar, pues por que no sabíamos a que nos íbamos a enfrentar. Finalmente unos doctorados con unos niveles académicos muy buenos pero con una condiciones de vida muy dura y eso no era lo que queríamos definitivamente. (Jorge)

Comúnmente el binomio familia — doctorado es concebido en el mundo académico como incompatible, especialmente cuando se realiza la formación dentro del contexto de movilidad académica. Este grupo de personas han optado por no elegir entre su formación profesional y sus vínculos. Ahora bien, es interesante observar que no todos los migrantes calificados tienen tal presión, por ejemplo en los proyectos migratorios de personas altamente calificadas acogidos a un programa de recepción de un país o los asociados a redes empresariales es común encontrar que estos programas contemplan la movilidad familiar a corto o mediano plazo (Bermúdez, 2015).

Es evidente que estas diferencias entre los tipos de grupos de migrantes calificados presentan como telón de fondo los diversos intereses políticos y económicos que los moviliza, aspecto que no pretendo desarrollar en este documento, pero que expongo para dimensionar la complejidad del escenario a nivel macro.

Ahora bien, la invisibilidad de los proyectos migratorios familiares dentro de la movilidad académica de larga duración, lleva a preguntarse ¿Cuál es el lugar que ocupan los afectos y los vínculos en las políticas de movilidad académica? ¿Cómo ubicar los afectos dentro del imaginario del sujeto que en las políticas científicas denominan "capital humano altamente calificado"? ¿Cuáles son los marcadores sociales de diferencia que están a la base de estas políticas? ¿Cuáles son los perfiles en clave de género, generación y clase que son privilegiados?, en últimas, ¿Cuál es el sujeto que está a la base de estas políticas?

Un primer intento por articular políticas científicas y afectos: negociando afectos, dinero y carrera profesional.

Las políticas científicas de gobierno colombiano y las políticas institucionales en las universidades, generan las condiciones de posibilidad de movilidad académicas de personas colombianas en diferentes ámbitos. Analizando concretamente lo concerniente a la beca y a la carrera profesional entran a viabilizar o limitar, presionar o facilitar los procesos migratorios de algunas personas que no desean emprender la movilidad académica de larga duración solos, ni elegir entre su proyecto familiar y profesional. Es en este tipo de elecciones donde entran en escena los afectos. Intentando comprender estas relaciones entre lo macro y lo micro, me voy a centrar en las negociaciones entre dinero, afectos y carrera profesional que estas parejas utilizaron para conseguir trasladarse juntos en un proyecto de movilidad humana visto institucionalmente como individual y por el otro lado las decisiones estratégicas que están utilizando para sostener los vínculos que envuelven asuntos económicos.

Hay un sin número de elementos en juego que está detrás de estos proyectos migratorios, donde se mezclan intereses personales, profesionales y familiares, lo que demanda un intenso trabajo en las relaciones para tomar decisiones estratégicas que permitan sacar adelante la idea de hacer un doctorado con la pareja/familia. Las parejas entrevistadas, planearon por años este viaje. Un primer elemento donde se articulan afectos con carrera profesional fue negociar el momento vital indicado, académica y laboralmente para cada uno,(es tan o tal? como lo expresan Alana y Jorge:

> …No teníamos el mismo ritmos… no coincidíamos frente al momento en que queríamos hacerlo. Yo empecé mucho tiempo antes con la idea de hacer el doctorado, ya había hecho la maestría y tenía presión en la universidad para comenzar con el doctorado" pero la idea si era negociarlo conjuntamente. (Alana)

> Para mí el doctorado no era una prioridad, en lo más mínimo. Yo acabe la maestría en el 2011. Estaba sintiendo que apenas estaba saliendo de la maestría y que se comenzaban a concretar las cosas en mi trabajo"…. "el asunto en un primer momento fue difícil, ósea, yo podía querer pero sentía dificultad interna por el esfuerzo que implica hacer un doctorado. Planear un doctorado, organizarlo, concretarlo tanto los papeleos como los proyectos todo es supremamente demandante, el trabajo mío como te contaba estaba supremamente demandante, entonces había un cierto rechazo corporal a montarme en todo… digamos que se fue convirtiendo en una prioridad en la medida en que pudimos negociar (no sin dificultad también) la necesidad de hacer el doctorado"... luego me puse a pensar… yo me voy solo como acompañante de Alana y puedo hacer cosas divertidas pero no me imaginaba retornando, volviendo descapitalizado profesionalmente, con menos contactos, las redes deterioradas. Entonces fui cambiando mi escenario y diciendo, bueno será este escenario yo voy a ponerlo como prioridad, le voy a dar sentido, entonces comencé a buscar, comenzamos a discutir los lugares, comenzamos a escuchar cosas, a mirar experiencias de parejas con hijos en ese mismo plan. (Jorge)

Lo que está a la base de esta negociación es la articulación de una demanda profesional para ascenso laboral sin condiciones de posibilidad clara para los dos miembros de la pareja, situación expuesta por varias de las personas participantes que tenían vínculos laborales con universidades colombianas o que aspiran a realizar carrera académica. Lo que inicialmente podría pensarse como decisiones del ámbito las relaciones íntimas comienzan a mostrar nuevos matices cuando en las trayectorias migratorias las personas relatan presiones como: límite de edad para solicitar apoyo de estudios, imposibilidad de ascenso o condicionamientos en sus labores investigativas existentes.

> Yo era la única profesora de planta solo con maestría, yo no sé por qué a mí me dejaron entrar solo con la maestría, yo fui la última, de resto todos tienen doctorado, entonces había presión bastante fuerte que se refleja en la imposibilidad de ascenso salarial y además comenzaron a ponerme límites para poder investigar, yo no podía presentar una propuesta de investigación sola, entonces me tocó asociarme a veces con otros colegas que no necesariamente iban en la misma línea mía y perdía la autonomía en términos investigativos. (Alana)

> Yo llevaba varios años trabajando como profesor de cátedra y como investigador en consultorías, llego un momento en que para mí era claro que si no hacía el doctorado nunca iba a obtener un puesto fijo en una universidad, Colciencias milagrosamente abrió una convocatoria sin límite de edad a la que apliqué y pasé… afortunadamente, porque Tamara por su trabajo en la universidad tenía el compromiso de hacer el doctorado y duramos como tres años intentado articular todo para que las cosas se dieran para los dos. (Amaru)

> Lorenzo estaba en el límite de edad para entrar en el plan de formación docente, entonces tocaba tomar una decisión. Yo no tenía afán, ni presión, sin embargo apliqué a la maestría Y(este me creo que sobra) gané una beca CAPES y arrancamos. (Luna)

Es así como se va haciendo cada vez más clara la relación entre afectos, carrera profesional y políticas institucionales o científicas, al evidenciarse las tensiones que las políticas van generando en las personas para sostener y avanzar en su carrera profesional, sin tener en cuenta los proyectos afectivos y familiares que estas personas tienen y que optan por intentar conciliar, en contravía de los beneficios planteados por las políticas como por ejemplo: (1) no permitir adquirir un plan de salud familiar; (2) no suministrar una licencia remunerada de maternidad para una mujer que queda embarazada mientras realiza sus estudios doctorales, al respecto lo que se nombra en los términos de referencia es la opción de la suspensión temporal del contrato por 6 y 12 meses.[12] (3) Poner límites de edad[13] (38 años), como requisito para participar en las convocatorias, condición que fue eliminada a partir del año 2012 por Colciencias pero que continúa en los reglamentos de algunas universidades (entre 35 y 48 años aproximadamente) para acceder al apoyo económico por licencia de estudios.[14]

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12 Reglamento de operación. Doctorados en el exterior Colciencias 2012

13 Términos de referencia convocatoria doctorados en el exterior 2012. rehttp://www.colciencias.gov.co/sites/default/files/upload/documents/tdr_doctorados_exterior.pdf

14 El plan de mejoramiento o desarrollo docente es un programa institucional ofrecido a los profesores/as de planta para poder acceder a la licencia de estudios no remunerada y adquirir el apoyo económico a través de un crédito condonable con la universidad para cofinanciar parte de su permanencia fuera del país. Para la adquisición del crédito condonable, en algunas universidades el profesor/a debe tener codeudores y finca raíz que den soporte a la deuda. La deuda podrá ser condonada en su totalidad por trabajar para la institución a partir de la emisión del diploma de Doctorado, según las condiciones que estipulen el reglamento docente o el convenio firmado.

> Escribí al operador administrativo de Colciencias para explorar la posibilidad de adquirir un plan de salud familiar que no excediera el valor que ellos me adjudicaron para mi seguro personal y mira el e-mail con la respuesta: "El seguro médico es beneficio exclusivo al estudiante. Sin embargo, si decide adquirir un seguro familiar, Colciencias sólo asumiría la porción individual, teniendo que asumir la diferencia el mismo beneficiario. (mensaje de correo electrónico, 30 de enero de 2015. Conversación con Laura. Notas de campo)

Seguro de salud, tiquetes, trámites migratorios, gastos de instalación, de sostenimiento y demás asuntos económicos también entran dentro de las negociaciones estratégicas que las personas hacen con sus parejas y con las condiciones de posibilidad económica que brindan las políticas para generar, sostener o transformar sus vínculos (Zelizer 2009) en medio de sacar adelante un proyecto de movilidad académica de larga duración.

> Como a Alana le salió la carta de aceptación en Julio, alcanzó a presentarse a la beca PEC-PG y solicitó el apoyo de la universidad. Yo en cambio me presente en el Doctorado en Octubre y como salió en Diciembre la carta de aceptación, entonces yo no alcancé a presentarme a ninguna beca".... "En este momento estamos con ahorros y con la beca de Alana y el dinero de la universidad, yo estoy ahora preparando el proyecto para FAPESP y COLCIENCIAS, aplicando para todo lado, para lo que salga. La decisión fue venirnos incluso sin PEC-PG, hicimos un cuadro de EXCEL con el presupuesto lo más ajustado posible, pensado si solo con nuestros ahorros y con la plata que nos daba la universidad ¿cómo vivimos? Super apretados. Hicimos un presupuesto por escenarios, si sale lo de PEC-PG, si sale lo mío y así… (Jorge, 2014)

> A mí la ayuda de la universidad me duró 2 años, yo me vine con eso y Colfuturo, eso dió para organizar la casa, estamos con niños, con ellos no podemos tener una vida de estudiantes, ósea toca volver a "fundar el hogar" y eso nos costó muchísimo. Cuando se acabó ese apoyo, yo conseguí una beca brasilera que es la que tengo actualmente que va hasta el final del doctorado. (Lorenzo)

En estas parejas se evidencia los usos estratégicos que las personas están realizando de las transacciones económicas que las becas y créditos de los dos países les ofrece para conseguir articular familia-estudio. Lo preocupante es la cantidad de deudas adquiridas con las entidades colombianas públicas y privadas encargadas de regular, administrar y ejecutar las políticas científicas para poder sacar adelante la carrera académica y que generan diversas inquietudes con respecto al retorno y a las estrategias utilizadas por las políticas científicas colombinas para retener su capital humano altamente calificado, como se evidencia a continuación:

> Luna y Lorenzo, ambos colombianos, ella se gana la beca PEC-PG para hacer la maestría en Brasil, él obtiene el cupo en un doctorado en la misma universidad, él es profesor de planta en una universidad privada en Bogotá y tiene presión institucional por el límite de edad (38 años) para iniciar sus estudios doctorales, así que decide adquirir dos créditos uno con Colfuturo[15] parcialmente condonable y otro con la universidad para la que trabaja totalmente condonable. Luego de dos años la financiación se acaba y él obtiene una beca FAPESP[16] hasta finalizar el doctorado. Luego de tres años Luna terminó sus estudios de Maestría, ella decide continuar con el Doctorado, esta vez financiada por Colfuturo los primeros dos años, a partir del tercero consigue el crédito beca con Colciencias que va hasta finalizar los estudios. (Notas diario de campo)

> Alana y Jorge, colombianos, ella se gana la beca PEC-PG para hacer el doctorado en Brasil, ella es profesora de planta en una universidad privada en Bogotá, él trabajaba en una entidad pública como investigador. Al Alana ganarse la beca, deciden migrar junto con su hija. Ella hubiera preferido renunciar y viajar sin compromisos de retorno con la Universidad a través de crédito condonable pero no lo hace por dos motivos. (1) Jorge no consiguió aplicar a la beca, así que el solo cuenta con sus ahorros personales. (2) Lucia previamente realizo estudios de idiomas que fueron financiados por la institución y la comprometen a trabajar el doble de tiempo que recibió este beneficio o pagar el costo de estos estudios más intereses. A partir del segundo año ambos obtienen el crédito beca de Colciencias y Alana renuncia a la beca PEC-PPG, porque la mensualidad de sostenimiento es mayor a pesar de que la obliga a retornar. (Notas diario de campo)

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15 COLFUTURO es una entidad Colombina privada que trabaja con fondos mixtos publico-privados financiado estudios de postgrado en el exterior. Los estudiantes pueden solicitar hasta USD 25.000 por año, máximo por dos años; es decir, hasta un tope de USD 50.000. Es un préstamo en dólares americanos que requiere dos codeudores. Si el estudiante regresa a Colombia en el tiempo establecido después de obtener el título que COLFUTURO le ayudó a financiar y permanece en el país de 3 a 5 años, podrá obtener el 50% de condonación sobre el monto desembolsado y 10 % adicional si el beneficiario se vincula laboralmente, durante un año de tiempo completo, a una entidad pública, académica o de investigación. El excedente del crédito debe pagado en dólares. http://www.colfuturo.org/financiacion-para-posgrados-en-el-exterior#sthash.21Gh1ORH.dpuf

16 Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo é uma das principais agências de fomento à pesquisa científica e tecnológica do Brasil. Com um orçamento anual correspondente a 1% do total da receita tributária do Estado, a FAPESP apoia a pesquisa e financia a investigação, o intercâmbio e a divulgação da ciência e da tecnologia produzida em São Paulo. http://www.fapesp.br/

La condonación de las deudas está sujeta al retorno, en donde también entran en juego los afectos, así como intentaron hacer coincidir todas las piezas para migrar juntos, ahora hay que hacer la gestión para volver juntos, lo que ha exigido para parejas como Luna y Lorenzo no solo un intensa negociación entre ellos sino con las instituciones con las que adquirieron los créditos condonables:

> En la actualidad Luna está en su segundo año de doctorado y Lorenzo en el cuarto, frente a este panorama. Lorenzo viaja a Bogotá para negociar con la universidad una extensión de tiempo, manifestando su interés en hacer el post-doctorado, intentado ser acogido por una excepción en el reglamento[17] docente; en caso de una negativa, solicitaría una licencia no remunerada. En este caso Lorenzo no solicita apoyo económico, solo tiempo, para retornar junto con su esposa, hijos e hijas, sin perder su trabajo y que le sean cobradas las deudas adquiridas para sacar adelante su proyecto de cualificación profesional. (Notas de campo)

Estas historias reflejan las complejas relaciones que se están tejiendo entre afectos, dinero y carrera profesional en el marco de las políticas científicas e institucionales, que están afrontando estas parejas. En este contexto, quisiera señalar algunas decisiones estratégicas donde se articulan y ponen en tensión los asuntos económicos y los intereses personales y profesionales.

> Luna no está segura de continuar una carrera académica a futuro, la decisión de realizar sus estudios doctorales fue una estrategia tanto afectiva como económica. Afectiva para prolongar el tiempo que Lorenzo requiere para terminar sus estudios y conseguir regresar a Colombia juntos. Económica al reconocer que sin su ingreso es imposible el sostenimiento de la familia. (Notas de campo)

> Rocío trabajaba como profesora de cátedra en varias universidades y Camilo en su propia empresa en Colombia, ambos vienen a estudiar, solo que Roció viene becada por PEC-PG y Camilo continúa trabajando en la empresa a distancia para garantizar su aporte sin el cual sería imposible sostenerse en Brasil. (Notas diario de campo)

Viviana Zelizer (2009) brinda algunos elementos interesantes para comprender como el dinero cohabita regularmente con la intimidad, e

17 El reglamento docente de esta universidad dice que solo apoya la formación postdoctoral después de 2 años de haber regresado y trabajado para la institución una vez culminado el doctorado.

incluso la sustenta. Las personas creamos *vidas conectadas* al crear lazos sociales, diferenciarlos y establecer límites entre éstos a través de prácticas cotidianas, sustentándolos por medio de diversas actividades conjuntas, que incluyen actividades económicas, pero negociando de una manera constante el contenido exacto de esos lazos sociales.

Sin duda, las decisiones estratégicas tomadas por las parejas, expuestas a lo largo del documento ha implicado un gran esfuerzo para intentar crear y sostener las vidas conectas. Ese esfuerzo permanente que se refleja en sus trayectorias de movilidad académica por articular afectos, carrera profesional y sostenimiento económico. Es lo que Zelizer (2009) llama trabajo relacional, que requiere entre otras cosas: distinguir las diferentes relaciones, señalar sus límites, negociar sus significados, derechos, obligaciones y crear los medios apropiados para su reconocimiento.

Aproximarse a la movilidad académica de larga duración, poniendo el foco en los afectos, implica poner en debate varios asuntos:

1. La ambigüedad de ser proyectos migratorios transitorios con el argumento de ser con fines de cualificación académica pero desconociendo las extensas temporalidades, lo que conllevan una reorganización vital de las personas que los encarnan.

2. La manera de resolver esta ambigüedad, ha quedado en el plano de las negociaciones íntimas de las personas, decisiones que están directamente imbricadas con las políticas científicas de gobierno y las políticas institucionales universitarias.

3. Por medio de un intenso trabajo relacional (Zelizer, 2009) las parejas toman decisiones estratégicas para conectar sus proyectos afectivos y profesionales, desobedeciendo vitalmente a los perfiles de sujeto "idóneos" que están detrás de las políticas científicas.

Finalmente, estas experiencias reflejan las complejas relaciones que se están tejiendo entre afectos, dinero y carrera profesional en el marco de las políticas científicas e institucionales, que están afrontando estas parejas colombianas e invitan a reflexionar sobre el sentido de nutrir los estudios migratorios con los asuntos vinculares y afectivos ya que estos dan nuevos elementos pendientes por estudiar y cuestionan miradas naturalizadas dentro del campo de estudio.

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Chapter 10

A educação Superior como um ativo econômico global

Os casos da Austrália, Canadá, Nova Zelândia e Reino Unido

Sonia Pereira Laus

Resumo O artigo analisa a circulação internacional de estudantes a partir dos anos 2000 e como seu crescimento motivou países provedores de educação internacional a considerarem a educação superior um ativo econômico e um produto chave de exportação em suas políticas e estratégias nacionais . Foram analisados os casos da Austrália, Canadá , Nova Zelândia e Reino Unido e ainda como mecanismos como os *rankings* acadêmicos contribuem para complementar este cenário, estabelecendo uma disputa internacional pela categoria de "**universidade de classe mundial**".

Palavras chave educação internacional, internacionalização da educación superior, *rankings* acadêmicos, mobilidade acadêmica .

Abstract The paper analyzes the international mobility of students since the 2000s and how its growth has motivated some countries perceived as main providers of international education to consider higher education an economic asset and a key export product in their national policies and strategies. Cases in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and UK were analyzed. The text also highlights as mechanisms such as academic rankings are contributing to complement this scenario, establishing an international dispute at the category of "**world-class university**."

Keywords international education, internationalization of higher education, academic rankings, academic mobility,

Introdução

A mobilidade de estudantes continua sendo um dos fatores mais importantes no processo de internacionalização da educação superior e inspira as políticas e práticas desenvolvidas, tanto a nível nacional como institucional, no que se refere à certificação da qualidade e credenciamento, bem como aos aspectos acadêmicos, curriculares e culturais (De Wit, 2008). Não obstante, nos últimos anos observa-se um crescente interesse de alguns países na oferta de vagas a estudantes estrangeiros que possam pagar as altas taxas cobradas por suas universidades e assim contribuir para a dinamização de suas economias ao pagarem por sua manutenção enquanto cumprem seus períodos de estudos. Agentes da alta demanda internacional por educação, conhecimento e, principalmente, por preparação qualificada para empregos no mundo global, estes passam a ser objeto de estratégias de países que veem a educação superior como um ativo econômico e também como um produto chave de exportação. Partindo deste contexto, a educação superior passou a ser gradativamente considerada como fator relevante nas políticas estabelecidas por alguns dos principais países provedores de educação internacional e mecanismos como os *rankings* acadêmicos passaram, a partir dos anos 2000, a complementar este cenário, estabelecendo uma disputa internacional pelo que se classifica como "**universidades de classe mundial**". Entendidas como aquelas cuja produção científica seja reconhecida mundialmente como significativa e de alto impacto, estas se inserem como mais um dos mecanismos pelos quais os referidos *rankings* parecem buscar homogeneizar sistemas de educação superior que, por suas características regionais e institucionais, não são e não podem ser homogêneos.

A circulação internacional de estudantes

Para que se entenda a amplitude que vem ganhando a circulação internacional de estudantes e a inserção dos países não centrais nesse processo, temos que no ano de 2007, principalmente como uma consequência das mudanças recentes na África, mas também devido ao crescimento no número de estudantes de nível superior na América Latina e na Ásia, o número destes estudantes no mundo alcançou 152.5 milhões, o que significa um aumento substancial desde o ano 2000, quando haviam 100.8 milhões. Frente a estes números, pode-se inferir claramente o interesse dos organismos internacionais na regulação da educação, principalmente da educação superior. Somente na América Latina, existiam em 2007 mais de vinte e três milhões de estudantes nesse nível de ensino, sendo a metade localizada em países como Brasil, Argentina e México.

De acordo com o Instituto de Estatísticas da UNESCO (2009), tal crecimiento se deu na seguinte proporção: para cada cem estudantes

Quadro 10.1 Crescimento do número de estudantes de educação superior no mundo

Ano	Totais (milhões de estudantes)
1975	40
1995	80
2000	100.8
2007	152.5

Fonte: UNESCO (2009).

de nível superior existentes no ano de 2000, haviam cento e cinquenta em 2007, e, deste total, 2.8 milhões escolheram estudar no exterior, representando um aumento de 53% desde 1999. Estima-se que se chegue, no ano de 2050, a uma cifra de oito milhões de estudantes internacionais.[1] Dados do ano de 2010 assinalavam que mais de três milhões de estudantes estudavam fora de seus países de origem (REDDEN, 2010; *Institute of International Education*, 2010).

Do total dos 2.8 milhões de alunos que estudavam no exterior em 2007, a maioria era da China, seguida numericamente pela Índia, República da Coreia, Alemanha, Japão, França, Estados Unidos da América (EUA), Malasia, Canadá e a Federação Russa, perfazendo um total de 35% dos estudantes internacionais no mundo.

Tais números refletem o significativo desenvolvimento alcançado por países como a China, Índia, Coreia do Sul e Malasia, e seu crescente investimento na formação de profissionais em centros academicamente mais avançados para dar suporte ao seu processo de crescimento e inserção internacional.

Como países anfitriões, a novidade apontada nos últimos anos pela UNESCO (2009) foi que, ainda que os EUA continuassem a ser o país que mais recebia estudantes internacionais -seguido pelo Reino Unido, França, Australia e Alemanha-, também o Japão, África do Sul, Federação Russa e Itália permaneciam entre os dez maiores receptores, com crescimento numérico de suas taxas de estudantes estrangeiros. Estes dez países recebiam conjuntamente 71% dos estudantes internacionais do mundo em 2007, sendo que 62% estavam concentrados nos seis primeiros.

1 A UNESCO entende como estudante internacional aquele matriculado em um programa de educação de um país, sem ter a condição de residente permanente.

Quadro 10.2 Principais países que enviam estudantes ao exterior (2007)

País	Totais em milhões de estudantes
China	421 100
Índia	153 300
República da Corea	105 300
Alemanha	77 500
Japão	54 500
França	54 000
EUA	50 300
Malasia	46 500
Canadá	43 900
Federação Russa	42 900
Total de estudantes no exterior	2.8 milhões

Fonte: UNESCO (2009).

As mudanças globais e uma tendência já identificada nas estatísticas citadas anteriormente mostram que, desde fins dos anos 1990, existe uma tendência de que os estudantes internacionais vindos de alguns países não centrais permaneçam em suas regiões geográficas de origem, principalmente por questões linguísticas e de custos. Tais mudanças trouxeram novos integrantes ao grupo dos países anfitriões e, portanto, China, República da Coreia e Nova Zelândia passaram a ser grandes receptores de estudantes em suas regiões geográficas, o que também aconteceu com a África do Sul e a Federação Russa. Isto corrobora a visão de Weiss (1997) e Lind (1992), sobre o papel dos chamados "estados catalíticos" no crescimento dos polos econômicos regionais.

Com base nesta crescente mobilidade, dados do ano de 2008 da Organização para a Cooperação e Desenvolvimento Econômico (OCDE, 2008) demonstravam o crescimento de um mercado internacional para os serviços de educação superior e pesquisa acadêmica, facilitado pela massificação dos transportes e dos meios de comunicação, pela crescente migração de pessoas e pelo aumento do financiamento e oferta privada deste nível de educação . Neste contexto, a educação transfronteiriça passou a ser encarada como um ativo econômico, já que somente a mobilidade de estudantes estimulou a circulação de aproximadamente quarenta bilhões de dólares o que também corrobora o interesse por sua regulamentação internacional ou abertura para a exploração mercantil.

Quadro 10.3 Principais países anfitriões de estudantes internacionais no ano de 2007

País	Número de estudantes internacionais
EUA	595 000
Reino Unido	351 500
França	246 600
Australia	211 500
Alemanha	206 900
Japão	125 900
Canadá	68 500
África do Sul	60 600
Federação Russa	60 300
Itália	57 300

Fonte: UNESCO (2009).

Entre os muitos fatores que explicam porque os estudantes decidem estudar no exterior, destacam-se a oportunidade de ampliar seus horizontes culturais e intelectuais, a fuga das universidades de seus países natais com recursos insuficientes e que, portanto, os impedem de desenvolver um bom programa acadêmico e/ou um campo específico de estudos e o atendimento à demanda global por elevados níveis de qualificação para trabalhar com novas tecnologias e na resolução de problemas postos pelos novos desafios globais como a produção de energia, água, saúde e alimentos. Por outro lado, existem fatores que incidem em sua escolha do país de destino, tais como o prestigio das instituições acadêmicas e as estratégias de países que buscam captar e reter imigrantes altamente qualificados, ao lado de outros que os afugentam, como a cobrança de taxas muito altas aos estudantes estrangeiros.

Frente a estas constatações, trataremos de apresentar a nova dinâmica acadêmica no mundo global e como ela vem provocando superposições ou desvios ao conceito de internacionalização da educação superior estudado por autores como Knight (2003 e 2004), que a entende como uma reação do meio acadêmico à globalização e a caracteriza como "o processo de integrar uma dimensão internacional, intercultural ou global no propósito, funções e oferta da educação pós-secundária", visando o fortalecimento da educação e da pesquisa. Tal conceito vem sendo corroborado por estudiosos do tema como De Wit (2008 e 2010) que reage à sua utilização em atendimento a diferentes contextos nacionais e institucionais e sua

Quadro 10.4 Volume do comércio internacional da educação superior do ano 2005 a 2007

Ano	Valor em USD medido pelo fluxo de estudantes
2005	30 bilhões
2007	40 bilhões

Fonte: OCDE (2008).

gradativa descaracterização, pela prevalência dos valores de mercado nas políticas nacionais de educação superior de alguns países.

Veremos a seguir alguns indicadores desta prevalência em países como Australia, Canadá, Nova Zelândia e Reino Unido, com suas políticas em grande parte apoiadas na busca de ganhos econômicos e no recrutamento de talentos.

A educação superior como um ativo econômico

Um destes indicadores foram as mudanças estabelecidas pelo governo da Austrália em suas políticas para a educação internacional a partir de julho de 2010, quando a educação superior passa a estar inserida no setor de promoção e *marketing* da educação internacional da Comissão de Comércio Australiana (AUSTRADE), que é a agência governamental responsável pelo desenvolvimento do comércio e investimentos do Departamento de Relações Externas e de Comércio daquele país.[2] Seguindo essa linha de ação , tendo em vista que a educação internacional é atualmente a quarta maior indústria de exportação daquele país, com um número recorde de 589.860 alunos matriculados em cursos regulares pagantes em 2014, foi realizada uma série de consultas públicas governamentais, no início do ano de 2015, visando a elaboração de sua nova Estratégia Nacional de Educação Internacional. Tais consultas resultaram na escolha da pesquisa, do aumento do número de estudantes internacionais e da expansão da presença do país no exterior como os elementos fundamentais que permitirão a Australia permanecer como um dos cinco principais sistemas de educação superior no mundo.

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2 Até aquela data, a promoção da educação internacional na Austrália estava sob a responsabilidade da *Australian Education International* (AEI), que era a divisão internacional do Ministério da Educação, Emprego e Relações de Trabalho.

A referida estratégia tem seu foco principalmente na Ásia, já que somente a China contribuiu com 115.311 matrículas no começo do ano de 2015, ou aproximadamente 27,9% do número total de estrangeiros matriculados, mas também na América Latina e Oriente Médio como regiões de crescente potencial para a expansão de projetos conjuntos e mobilidade acadêmica. Ela se propõe a ampliar os fundos e consequentemente as estruturas nacionais para a pesquisa, buscando a facilitação das relações entre pesquisadores e indústria, já que entende esse avanço como crucial para que o país se posicione como um dos melhores provedores de educação superior no mundo. Uma de suas ações de médio prazo para a consecução destes planos é a facilitação dos trâmites para a obtenção de vistos para estudantes estrangeiros, visando sua ampliação numérica no país, tendo em vista que, depois de um forte descenso desde 2009, seu crescimento propiciou, no ano de 2014, uma contribuição de AU$16.3 bilhões à economia daquele país (Governo da Austrália, 2015).

Outro indicador importante são os estudos realizados pelo Governo do Canadá com referência aos impactos da educação internacional naquele país. No ano de 2009, o Ministério de Relações Exteriores e do Comércio Internacional encomendou à empresa *Roslyn Kunin & Associates* (RKA) uma pesquisa pioneira na atribuição de um valor monetário ao impacto representado pelos estudantes internacionais, intitulado "Impacto Econômico da Educação Internacional no Canadá" (Governo do Canadá, 2009). Os resultados mostraram os seguintes resultados: o número daqueles estudantes no país chegou a mais que o dobro desde o ano de 1998, atingindo a cifra de 178 000 no ano de 2009, sua presença havia gerado empregos para mais de 83 000 canadenses e contribuído com mais de 6.5 bilhões de dólares canadenses à sua economia no ano de 2008, ou seja, 14,97% de seu PIB de CAD$43 420 bilhões para o mesmo ano.

Tais números impulsionaram o compromisso do governo canadense com a educação internacional em sua estratégia comercial. Esta, além de atrair estudantes, começou a facilitar-lhes a emissão de vistos em mercados estratégicos como a China e a Índia e estabeleceu políticas e programas de estágios remunerados "que ajudavam a satisfazer as necessidades de qualificação e de trabalho de empregadores canadenses", afirmava o ministro de comércio internacional no documento acima citado. A recém lançada Estratégia para Educação Internacional do Canadá (Governo do Canadá, 2014) mostra que estudantes de mais de cento e oitenta países estudaram no Canadá no ano de 2012, o que poderia explicar, segundo o mesmo documento, as numerosas vantagens do país como destino para aqueles interessados nas *universidades de classe mundial*, por características como: ser um país seguro, multicultural e que recebe bem aos estrangeiros; ser um centro global de inovação, pesquisa e desenvolvimento; ser um bom parceiro para pesquisas; possuir excelentes infraestruturas para pesquisas; e ser um líder mundial em desenvolvimento de competências avançadas para o emprego.

Com referencia ao impacto no crescimento global da economia, dados do ano de 2012 no mesmo documento mostram que 265 400 estudantes internacionais gastaram um total de CAD$ 8.4 bilhões no Canadá, contribuindo para que 85.570 empregos se mantivessem. Adicionalmente, suas atividades ajudaram a gerar mais de CAD$ 455 bilhões em impostos provinciais e federais, o que justificaria o lançamento da Estratégia Canadense para a Educação Internacional, voltada à atração de estudantes originários de economias emergentes ou em processo de desenvolvimento como o Brasil, China, Índia, México, África do Norte, Oriente Médio e Vietnam. Esta estratégia, ajustada ao Plano de Ação para Mercados Globais (Governo de Canadá, 2013) se propõe a ampliar a marca Canadá, mas de uma maneira flexível que se ajuste às tendências globais e às oportunidades emergentes, com vistas à criação de novos empregos e oportunidades para os canadenses. Seu ponto chave está baseado no fato que atrair mais que 450.000 estudantes internacionais ao Canadá até o ano de 2022 fará com que pelo menos 86.500 novos postos de trabalho sejam criados (de um total de 173.100 novos postos mantidos no país pela educação internacional), aumentará os gastos dos estudantes internacionais em mais de CAD$ 16.1 bilhões, promoverá um impulso anual na economia do país de, pelo menos, CAD$ 10 bilhões, e gerará aproximadamente CAD$ 910 milhões em pagamentos de impostos.

Nos esforços para seu lançamento e implementação, o Governo espera ter a participação equitativa de suas províncias e territórios, das instituições e associações de educação, bem como do setor industrial.

Também a Nova Zelândia apresentou em dezembro de 2011, a sua Declaração de Liderança para a Educação Internacional (New Zealand, 2011*)*, com a intenção de incorporar a educação internacional como um importante instrumento para fortalecer seus laços econômicos, culturais e sociais com o mundo . Com base em um projeto ambicioso que se propunha a criar uma agencia governamental para a educação internacional, a *Crown Agency for International Education* ou *Education New Zealand*, vinculada à *New Zealand Inc.*, o documento tem como objetivo fortalecer o sistema nacional de educação, a pesquisa e a inovação, mas também o comércio e o turismo, mediante a atração de imigrantes qualificados e o fortalecimento de laços com seus maiores parceiros comerciais da Ásia, Europa e o Pacífico, e também com regiões como o Oriente Médio e a América Latina.

Entendendo a educação internacional como "um setor de grande potencial para o crescimento dos ganhos com as exportações, para contribuir com a expansão dos objetivos do comércio, da inovação e da pesquisa, bem como a expansão do turismo e das conexões internacionais" (New Zealand, 2011, p.3), o país apresentou sua intenção de participar mais ativamente da concorrência por estudantes internacionais, desencadeada principalmente pelos países de língua inglesa, mas também, segundo o documento, pela Holanda, Singapura e Malásia. Fazendo clara referencia à sua indústria de exportação de educação, o documento estabelece que a dimensão global destas atividades terá que converter-se na parte central do planejamento e oferta da educação superior, principalmente pela perspectiva de que as matrículas domésticas continuarão diminuindo até o ano de 2025, tornando as oportunidades internacionais estratégicas para que as IES ampliem seus ganhos e fortaleçam suas capacidades.

Nesse sentido, observa-se claramente que a busca de um valor de mercado entrou em vigor no meio acadêmico internacional, onde, mais que a internacionalização da educação superior e seus valores agregados de multiculturalismo e preparação dos estudantes para sua interação em uma sociedade "global", o que está sobre a mesa são os interesses econômicos dos países envolvidos.

É certo que a excelência, a reputação, o reconhecimento, a fama, a marca e a imagem são conceitos que têm um valor mais simbólico que material, principalmente quando são aplicados à educação superior e às funções que ela desempenha na sociedade, mas existe ampla evidência de que tais características são levadas em conta no momento da escolha de uma IES, tanto de maneira individual — pelos estudantes e suas famílias —, como pelas instancias financiadoras nacionais e internacionais. Frente a isto, pode-se observar que um dos pilares de todas as políticas analisadas é a ideia de que os sistemas acadêmicos nacionais continuem sendo ou conquistem a ambicionada posição de provedores de *universidades de classe mundial*. Isto se observa inclusive nos sistemas de educação superior tradicionalmente reconhecidos na escala de valores simbólicos da opinião acadêmica internacional, como será analisado em seguida.

Um dos exemplos mais claros desta nova realidade vem sendo observado, desde os anos 1990, quando, frente à crise provocada pela restrição dos fundos públicos e em obediência à lógica do mercado, as IES britânicas aumentaram os preços de seus cursos[3] e começaram a buscar nos estudantes internacionais o suporte para garantir a rentabilidade de sua reputação. Estes, em sua maioria originários de famílias ricas de países emergentes, escolhem as universidades dos países anglófonos, principalmente Estados Unidos, Reino Unido e Australia, quase sempre pelas relações custo-benefício estabelecidas pelos *rankings* acadêmicos que são criados a partir dos anos 2000. Consequentemente, com o pagamento das taxas cobradas pelas instituições e os custos de suas permanências, geram empregos e impulsionam a economia dos países, como já analisamos anteriormente. Trata-se da lógica de mercado amplamente disseminada nos sistemas de ensino superior e cristalizada pela adoção dos referidos *rankings*.

Ocorre que tais processos são dinâmicos e podem também atuar como fator de desestabilização do equilíbrio socioeconômico de alguns dos países ou regiões envolvidas no processo. Ao mesmo tempo em que a mobilidade acadêmica internacional é vista pelos estudiosos como um dos mais importantes fatores no processo de internacionalização da educação superior, ela passou a ser compreendida por distintos países como o principal motor para a circulação de um novo produto chave de exportação — a educação superior.

Com o agravamento da crise econômica iniciada nos EUA no ano de 2008 e que atingiu a Europa drasticamente em 2009/2010 aumentando o desemprego, os governos dos distintos países da União Europeia endureceram suas políticas de imigração. Um estudo realizado no primeiro mandato do governo conservador britânico de David Cameron, eleito por duas vezes com base em uma campanha de limitação da entrada de estrangeiros, apontava que 20% dos 180 000 estudantes

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3 O jornal inglês *Daily Telegraph*, de 26 de julho de 2007, mostrou que aproximadamente a metade da quantidade de pais que enviaram seus filhos para a universidade em 2002 não pode mais fazê-lo, já que desde aquele ano as taxas de matrículas aumentaram em média 41%. (apud CHARLE, 2007).

vindos do exterior que receberam vistos em 2004 não retornaram aos seus países de origem. Frente à referida crise e à constatação que entre 2009 e 2010 o Reino Unido concedeu 307 000 vistos para estudantes , instrumento também compreendido como o meio mais utilizado por estrangeiros para entrar em seu mercado de trabalho, o governo britânico anunciou o estabelecimento de novas quotas para o emprego de profissionais estrangeiros e novos critérios para a concessão de vistos a estudantes não europeus(Chade, 2010). O problema está em que tais medidas fazem com que os estudantes internacionais passem a buscar outros destinos, como a Australia, Canadá e Nova Zelândia -países que começaram, como já mencionamos, a por em prática suas políticas de atração e facilitação de permanência de estudantes —, bem como os EUA, que permanece como o campeão na atração dessa categoria de estudantes.

O informe *International Students in Higher Education: the UK and its Competition* (Universities UK, 2014), produzido pela Associação das Universidades Britânicas, revela que o Reino Unido recebe 12,6% dos estudantes internacionais do mundo , embora aponte uma importante queda na entrada de estudantes não europeus na região, principalmente os vindos da Índia e Paquistão, que começaram a escolher regiões com políticas mais amigáveis para a obtenção de vistos, permanência e possibilidades de trabalho. Mesmo sendo da Índia e da China o maior número de estudantes internacionais no Reino Unido, o documento revela a diminuição numérica daqueles vindos da Índia, um aumento dos que vêm da China, Malasia e Hong Kong e uma crescente boa perspectiva de aumento dos estudantes da Arábia Saudita, Brasil e Estados Unidos da América.

O documento aponta ainda que as cifras geradas pelo setor de educação superior permanecem significativas: 10,7 bilhões de libras esterlinas no período de 2011/2012 em ganhos de exportações, sendo que 30% destes vieram das taxas estudantis; os estudantes internacionais pagaram 3,4 bilhões de libras esterlinas em gastos de manutenção como aluguéis, alimentação, entretenimento e produtos de consumo, o que significa um total de mais de sete bilhões de libras esterlinas no período. Preocupado com a estagnação desta "indústria", onde o Reino Unido se sobressai tradicionalmente, o referido informe propôs as seguintes ações ao governo: criação de uma estratégia para o crescimento numérico dos estudantes internacionais; uma consistente mensagem dando-lhes as boas vindas; a exclusão dos estudantes de qualquer objetivo total de migração; e melhores oportunidades de trabalho para pós-graduados internacionais.

Considerações finais

A análise dessas variáveis pode ser explicada no contexto de uma economia política da educação superior e de sua íntima relação com os desequilíbrios geopolíticos gerados pela globalização. De acordo com a tese de Batista Jr. (1998), não existe uma relação automática entre crescimento e desenvolvimento e, como tal, o aumento da riqueza não conduz diretamente à redução da pobreza. A chamada globalização gera oportunidades econômicas, mas a repartição de seus benefícios não tem sido igualitária e seus efeitos se refletem também no âmbito global. Tal constatação observa-se pela exclusão de muitos países e/ou segmentos de suas populações do atual crescimento econômico, bem como por suas consequências desastrosas -exemplificadas pelos surtos de fome na África —, pelos efeitos devastadores dos fenômenos naturais causados pelo desequilíbrio ambiental em áreas pobres do planeta e pela consequente migração crescente em direção às regiões onde estão localizadas as economias mais ricas e dinâmicas. À estas regiões, num primeiro momento privilegiadas pelo processo, resta o ônus de fecharem-se ou engajarem-se em políticas que possam contribuir para a inclusão do conjunto dos países e regiões do planeta em uma globalização mais justa e inclusiva.

Trata-se de um processo dialético gerado no mundo global, para o qual ainda não existem políticas que deem conta de sua resolução. As varias manifestações antiglobalização que se iniciaram em Seattle, em dezembro de 1999, contra as reuniões da Organização Mundial do Comércio e que se estenderam à outras reuniões do Banco Mundial, do Fundo Monetário Internacional, do Fórum Econômico Mundial e do Fórum Social Mundial, assim como os recentes movimentos Occupy Wall Street e Sí Podemos, continuam representando o claro descontentamento dos que se sentem excluídos pelo processo de globalização, seja este real ou um mito criado pelo capital internacional.

No que se refere à educação superior, espera-se que seu papel como um importante fator para o rompimento das barreiras socioeconômicas que se interpõem entre os países do Norte e do Sul não seja cada vez mais ultrapassada pelo interesses econômicos. Mais que simples geradores de receita, os estudantes internacionais devem ser vistos como agentes de mudanças já que mais que sustentar economias, o papel da educação superior é o de ampliar o acesso ao conhecimento que contribua para a construção de uma sociedade global menos fragmentada no que se refere ao desenvolvimento de oportunidades que permitam a inclusão social para os cidadãos das distintas regiões do planeta.

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