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RUSSIAN SELF-INITIATED EXPATRIATES IN FINLAND: EXPATRIATION SUCCESS FACTORS

Master's Thesis in
International Business

Vaasa 2019

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Anonymous application procedures
AE	Assigned expatriation / expatriate
CAE	Company-assigned expatriation / expatriate
CE	Corporate expatriation / expatriate
CEO	Chief executive officer
DE	Drawn expatriation / expatriate
EU	European Union
EVR	Employee value proposition
FLS	A foreign language specialist
GD	A global domestic
HCN	Host-country nationals
HR	Human resource
HRM	Human resource management
IBT	Frequent international business travellers
LOF	Liability of foreignness
LOL	Liability of localness
LON	Liability of newness
MNC	A multi-national corporation
MNE	A multi-national enterprise
NDA	A non-disclosure agreement
SIE	Self-initiated expatriation / expatriate
SIELO	Self-initiated expatriate in a local organisation
SIEFO	Self-initiated expatriate in a foreign organisation
TCN	A third country national
USA	United States of America
vs.	versus
y.o	years old

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Topic of the thesis:	Russian self-initiated expatriates in Finland: Expatriation success factors
Degree:	Master of Science in Economics and Business Administration
Master's Programme:	International Business
Supervisor:	Olivier Wurtz
Year of entering the University:	2013
Year of completing the thesis:	2019 **Pages:** 192

ABSTRACT

This study investigates expatriation success factors for Russian self-initiated expatriates in Finland. This study may become a guidebook for Finnish managers and Russian professionals to find a better approach to each other. The better employees are adjusted, the better they perform. This study helps Finnish managers to understand the nature and the thought process of their Russian employees better. The employees would benefit from this study by understanding expectations of their Finnish managers. The study concludes with two separate sections with practical implications for managers and expatriates.

The study defines the success factors through three dimensions: the adjustment between Russian and Finnish living and working environments, the liability of foreignness when equally competing with Finnish job seekers on the job market and understanding the difference between both managerial approaches.

There was no similar analysis done before. Global careers became more common with recent years, and a gap in research on management challenges with Russian professionals in Finland emerged. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine English- and Finnish-speaking Russian specialists and one worker. The practical implication for managers is that support with adjustment and clarity of tasks contribute into the expatriation success the best. The practical implication for expatriates is that carefully defined expatriation strategy and immersion into the society produce fruitful results. A significant finding was that Finnish tertiary education and previous foreign work experience give better professional job opportunities than fluency in the Finnish language.

KEYWORDS: Expatriation success, Russian expatriate adjustment, Finnish managerial approach, liability of foreignness, employment discrimination.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the key spheres of International Business is cultural diversity. Those who do international operations have to keep in mind that care towards cultural diversity is a critical success driver of an international operation.

The researcher's interest in cultural diversity arose after her first employment in Finland, as an international student from Russia. She realised to what extent Russian and Finnish people are different. She believes that she is not the only person who have encountered such intercultural challenges. Her experience provides an example that there are many more who face such challenges in work life.

In this paper, the difference between Russian and Finnish management approaches is explored. Furthermore, the researcher wants to discover what expectations Russian professionals place on their Finnish employers. The researcher intends to provide Finnish managers with guidance on how to behave towards their Russian employees, considering their previous work experience and background.

This study investigates what makes Russians act the workplace as they do. The power distance in Finland is relatively low (33%) while in Russia, it is almost as high as the maximum (93%) (Hofstede 2017b, 2017a). That means that Russian employees are used to classic one-way top-to-down managerial approach. If the international managers will try to apply the Finnish way of management, there is a risk that the superiors may not be understood.

There are differences in management approaches. The Finnish management approach cares for employee comfort. It might make Russian employees question the authority. Communication and feedback are not common between a manager and a subordinate. Russian employees rarely receive feedback on their work. It is hard for them to tell about mistakes. Finnish managers value employee feedback, but Russian managers do not.

Therefore, the subordinates may feel embarrassed if a manager asks feedback from them. (Fey, Morgulis-Yakushev, Park & Björkman 2009).

As a result of scoring high in the power distance, managers in Russia expect employees to comply with orders coming from above. Defending a professional opinion against a supervisor's one may be considered as insubordination. To the mind of Russian managers, if all employees are acting alike and as one entity, it makes the company's operations more efficient. Western companies, on the other hand, think that this approach prevents companies from being in flow with market changes and, hence, being competitive on the market (Fey, Pavlovskaya & Tang 2004; Fey et al. 2009).

To find people capable of defending their own professional opinion, western companies in Russia either look for Russian people with Western experience or choose recent local graduates to shape them along with Western corporate needs through corporate education (Fey et al. 2009). Western education and work experience are capable of providing such qualities.

Russia is chosen as a target country because many Finnish companies are interested in the market. Russia is a neighbouring market of higher purchase power and amount population (Fey et al. 2004; The World Bank 2019) and different cultural values (Hofstede 2017b, 2017a). Finnish companies do not know how to enter the market and how to find suitable employees. It is the researcher's home country, and she had work experience there. She also studies Eastern European markets in depth. The researcher is aware of what challenges human resource (HR) managers may face there.

A study on the matter may be helpful for many parties. It may help those Finnish companies who want to hire a Russian in Finland and who wish to explore business opportunities in Russia. For example, it may be practical for Finnish employers who wish to minimise cultural challenges with their international employees.

Finnish companies are quite experienced in opening foreign offices because Finland is a small economy and therefore, opening overseas offices is their only way to reach the economy of scale (Luostarinen 1994). Thus, Finnish companies who wish to expand to Russia also may use this research.

When entering a new country, managers struggle with the language barrier, local business culture, or established practices of work. There is a case of a multi-national corporation (MNC) acquiring a local Slovakian factory. Neither of managers from both companies spoke a common language. Nevertheless, to raise the quality to the European standards, the MNC had to provide education for employees of the acquired company. To do this, first, they had to teach the local managing director to speak English. He knew the best all the local practices; therefore, he could not be replaced. (Ferencikova 1999; Ferencikova & Pucik 1999.)

1.1. Research gap

The overviewed literature has not indicated any research conducted on management challenges with Russian employees in Finland. The keywords were searched in English and Russian using multiple combinations of such keywords as ‘subordination,’ ‘leadership,’ ‘followship’ and ‘human resource’ with names of both of the countries.

There is much written about HR practices in both of the countries. Many of the studies are written from the managers’ perspective for other managers, especially other HR managers. Various studies have concentrated on finding how Finnish, Nordic or Western European companies can do business in Russia, for example, by examining and identifying factors related to efficiency and motivation (e.g. Fey et al. 2004, 2009), or employee expectations (EVR – Employee Value Proposition; Evans, Pucik, and Björkman (2011), or differences in management approaches (e.g. Jansson, Johanson & Ramström 2007). There was research also about adjustment of expatriates in general,

usually company-assigned (e.g. Shaffer, Harrison & Gilley 1999) and also some information on migrants (e.g. Perez-Batres 2012).

Nevertheless, there was no research done on what Russian self-initiated expatriates have to face in Finland and what they may struggle with, especially from the perspective of the employees themselves. This is not surprising because the concept of global careers is relatively new. Most of the papers attempting to define concept of self-initiated expatriates ()SIEs, to propose possible classification and to understand their motives to relocate appeared in 2012-2015 and offer from two to twenty types of global workers (e.g. Matsuo 2000; Shaffer, Kraimer, Chen & Bolino 2012; Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld & Dickmann 2014; Cerdin & Selmer 2014; Expat Insider 2014; Selmer, Lauring, Normann & Kubovcikova 2015).

Fey et al. (2009) told that a firm's performance is the principal organisational goal, and employees provide a competitive advantage. Therefore, understanding human resource management (HRM) practices across multi-national enterprise (MNE) subsidiaries are vital for studies in this field (Wright & McMahan 1992, in Fey et al. 2009). Authors suggest national culture is deeply inside people's minds; therefore, they are hard to change. To facilitate employee motivation in Finland, communication is vital. It is not so in Russia because leadership is authoritarian, and there is a small chance to input for employees. Fey et al. (2004) told that insecurity is a serious issue, and employees need continuous support. If a firm's core values are not set out clearly, employees need to assume acceptable behaviour whenever they encounter unpredictable circumstances. Corporate rules and clear responsibilities can help with employee empowerment, especially in Russia that does not have such a tradition. Fey et al. (2009) also mentioned other studies about how cultural differences influence HRM practices (e.g., Milliman, Nason, Von Glinow, Lowe & Gallagher 1998; Schuler & Rogovsky 1998).

This study addresses the research gap by investigating the subjectivistic (Kontkanen 2015) behavioural side of management over Russian professionals at home and abroad. This research complements the discussion of Eastern and Western managerial practices.

At the same time, from an empirical perspective, this study may become a guidebook for Finnish managers and for Russian professionals to find a better approach to each other.

1.2. Objectives of the thesis

The researcher wants to discover what Russians as professionals had to adjust in their approach to function successfully within the Finnish labour market. In the Finnish and Russian market, there are different needs for personality types among professionals. Finnish management is interested in independent professionals who can stand for their professional opinions. Contrastingly, the Russian management is interested in the ability of the subordinates to follow orders to keep the unity of the organisation.

In general, this topic belongs to the conversation about Eastern and Western managerial practices. Nevertheless, the researcher wants to focus on differences between Finland and Russia because these countries are neighbouring, and there is an increasing interest in business connections between both of them.

Russian work culture is very different from the Western one; therefore, Western MNCs in Russia tend to employ fresh graduates and then develop them through corporate education. The experienced professionals existing on the Russian market are usually not suitable for employment because their working attitudes have already been formed to fit only the Russian management needs. Changing the attitudes back is a challenging task for Western managers and very stressful for Russian employees (Fey et al. 2009). Therefore, it makes sense to employ either still flexible recent graduates or foreign Russian professionals.

Delimitations for this study are the following. Studying Western versus Eastern business practices would make the research broad and vague. Therefore, this study focuses on a comparison of work cultures of Russia versus Finland. There are many Russian professionals employed in Finland (Statistics Finland 2014); therefore, the results of this

study would be useful both for Finnish managers who hire Russians and for Russians working with Finnish managers. Studying only employed Russians, or those who were employed will bring the richest information about challenges they have faced during their life in expatriation: their desire to expatriate, adjustment to a new culture and experience of recruitment and employment within the Finnish work environment.

The researcher believes that the essence of Russian expatriates' experience in Finland lies between three dimensions. First, it is the expatriate adjustment process, meaning the ability to go through the transition between living and working environments of Russia and Finland. Second, it is the experience of the recruitment process as an international professional abroad, meaning competing with local applicants considering all advantages or liabilities caused by their foreign background and experience. Finally, it is their experience of Finnish and Russian management approaches, meaning understanding the difference in conduct and behavioural norms imposed by them.

Therefore, the research question is 'How can Russian professionals expatriate to Finland successfully?' To help to answer this question, the objectives of the research are the following: (1) to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process, (2) to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination and (3) to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.

1.3. The Structure of the thesis

The work consists of two parts: a literature review and empirical analysis. The researcher wants to find out about desire to expatriate, adjustment process, liability and advantages of foreignness, possible discrimination, and differences between Finnish and Russian management approaches. In the empirical part, she will conduct semi-structured qualitative interviews with several Russian employees.

As for the literature review, first, the researcher would like to study existing literature on three matters. They are (1) to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process, (2) to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination and (3) to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches. At the end of each section, conclusions are drawn.

Secondly, to verify the results, ten semi-structured qualitative interviews with Russian employees with work experience in Finland will be conducted. They will be able to provide the interviewer with experiences for all topics of the literature review. The target is to study their experience of the recruitment process and being under Russian and Finnish management, as well, as their adjustment process and other experiences. The researcher wants to find what, to their mind, made them fit their positions and be successful at them. She is also interested in their skills, qualities, education and other background information. The interviewees will have varied backgrounds and may share different perspectives on the same topic. If their experiences matched against each other (see section 3.6 ‘Reliability and validity’ for triangulation), the data would be proven valid. Finally, the researcher will conclude what factors make expatriation successful.

Finally, the research is concluded with practical implications both for Finnish managers and Russian professionals. It will list expatriation success factors, and hopefully, they will help Finnish managers to understand Russian employees’ nature and background deeper. These guidelines may allow other Russian professionals to expatriate successfully. The factors will enable both parties to find a better approach to each other. The study highlights what benefits international employees may bring and hope they will allow managers to reassess the value of Russian applicants.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, the researcher has reviewed the literature on several topics in line the three research objectives of this study. Section 2.1 ‘Types of expatriates’ tells about expats types mentioned in the further sections. Section 2.2 ‘Desire to expatriate’ and Section 2.3 ‘Expatriate adjustment’ review literature for the first research objective ‘to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process.’ Section 2.4 ‘Liability of foreignness of individuals’ and Section 2.5 ‘Discrimination in employment’ review literature for the second research objective ‘to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination.’ Section 2.6 ‘Comparison of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia’ reviews literature for the third research objective ‘to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.’

2.1. Types of expatriates

The terms ‘assigned expatriation’ (AE), ‘self-initiated expatriation’ (SIE) and ‘migration’ are overlapping in current literature research. Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld and Dickmann (2014) suggest that an expatriate is a person who has relocated to another country, changed a place of residence and do legal work there. Because of these legal statuses, an expatriate is a migrant. Current research provides a variety of categorisations and definitions.

Among expatriates, researchers (e.g. Matsuo 2000; Selmer et al. 2015) distinguish two main types: company-assigned expatriates (CAE) and self-initiated expatriates (SIE). CAEs go to new subsidiaries to manage roles and processes among employees, to provide them with the business practices of a parent company, and to watch assets of the firm (Matsuo 2000).

A self-initiated expatriate, in contrast to a company-assigned expatriate, (1) has relocated oneself only by own decision, (2) has regular employment or intentions; (3) plan to stay temporarily and (4) has professional qualifications. (Cerdin & Selmer 2014, in Selmer et al. 2015).

For example, Baruch, Dickmann, Altman and Bournois (2013, in Andresen et al. 2014) suggest seven dimensions to distinguish international work experiences: the length of the assignment, the intensity of international exposure, the broadness of interaction, the legal context, the party initiated the assignment, the cultural gap and the position). They tell that AEs spend less time abroad then SIEs. The employer sponsors AEs' stay abroad. Migrants spend longer time abroad then both of previous types in terms that expatriates may become a permanent resident by receiving a permanent residence permit or citizenship.

Al Ariss (2010, in Andresen et al. 2014) suggests four criteria: country of origin vs. destination, forced vs. chosen nature of the movement, length of stay abroad, and positive or negative connotations of the terminology. The author suggested that migrants, in comparison to SIEs usually move from less-developed to developed countries. They may be forced to move because of unemployment. SIEs in comparison to migrants stay lesser time but may become migrants when staying longer. 'Migrant' has a connotation of 'inferiority' in comparison to SIEs. Zikic, Bonache and Cerdin (2010) and Colic-Peisker (2010, both in Andresen et al. 2014) also introduced migrant subtypes such as 'qualified migrants' and 'transnational knowledge workers' who are not forced to move or to stay permanently.

Expat Insider (2014) defines ten types of expatriates: the foreign assignee, the career expat, the foreign recruitee, the (ex-)student, the travelling spouse, the romantic, the family expat, the single destination expat, the greener-pastures expat, and the globetrotter. Briscoe, Schuler and Claus (2009, in Andresen et al. 2014) suggested 20 types of international experiences. They suggested that SIEs are those who first travel abroad as tourists or students while seeking work, and then they are employed there.

Andresen et al. (2014) suggest distinguishing expatriates also by who initiated the foreign assignment. They identified Intra-SIEs, Inter-SIEs, AEs and the drawn expatriates (DEs). Intra-SIEs are those who applied to internal foreign assignments themselves (i.e. transferred themselves to a foreign location), Inter-SIEs allied to a foreign position to another company, AEs have been assigned to go abroad by their employer, and DEs have been offered a job or headhunted by a foreign firm.

Meanwhile, due to a new trend in MNCs to use shorter international assignment and conference calls for cost-saving reasons and comfort of employees, Shaffer, Kraimer, Chen and Bolino (2012) and Shaffer et al. (2016) suggest to include also following types of global careers. They are short-term assignees, flexpatriates, frequent international business travellers (IBT), global virtual team members and global domestics (GDs) who interact with foreign cultures but locate in the home country.

Due to the variety of classifications, below is a combination of the classifications (Figure 7) introduced by Andresen et al. (2014) in combination with other classifications mentioned above (Matsuo 2000; Shaffer et al. 2012; Cerdin & Selmer 2014; Expat Insider 2014; Selmer et al. 2015). If relocation takes place, then the person is a migrant. If not, then he is not a migrant. Among migrants, there are assigned expatriates and self-assigned expatriates. Among assigned expatriates, there are company-assigned expatriates, if the current employer has initiated the expatriation, and drawn expatriates (i.e. DEs) or foreign recruitees, if another employer invited them to work abroad. Among self-assigned expatriates, there are the career expats (Intra-SIEs and Inter-SIEs), the (ex-)student, the travelling spouse, the romantic, the family expat, the single destination expat, the greener-pastures expat, and the globetrotter. Among those for whom relocation did not take place, but they are still exposed to foreign cultures, there are travellers (i.e. IBTs, flexpatriates, short-term assignees and self-initiated travellers) and stationary employees (i.e. global virtual team members and global domestics). IBTs, flexpatriates and short-term assignees are employees whose job require to move across the borders a lot, and they agreed on these terms when signed the contract. Their roles differ with length. IBTs travel for weeks, flexpatriates travel for months, and short-term assignees travel anytime under one year. Self-initiated travellers do not have a requirement for travelling at work, but they

initiated travelling themselves. Global virtual team members do not have to relocate physically, but they may belong to an international team. Global domestics (GDs) have responsibilities to interact with other nationalities.

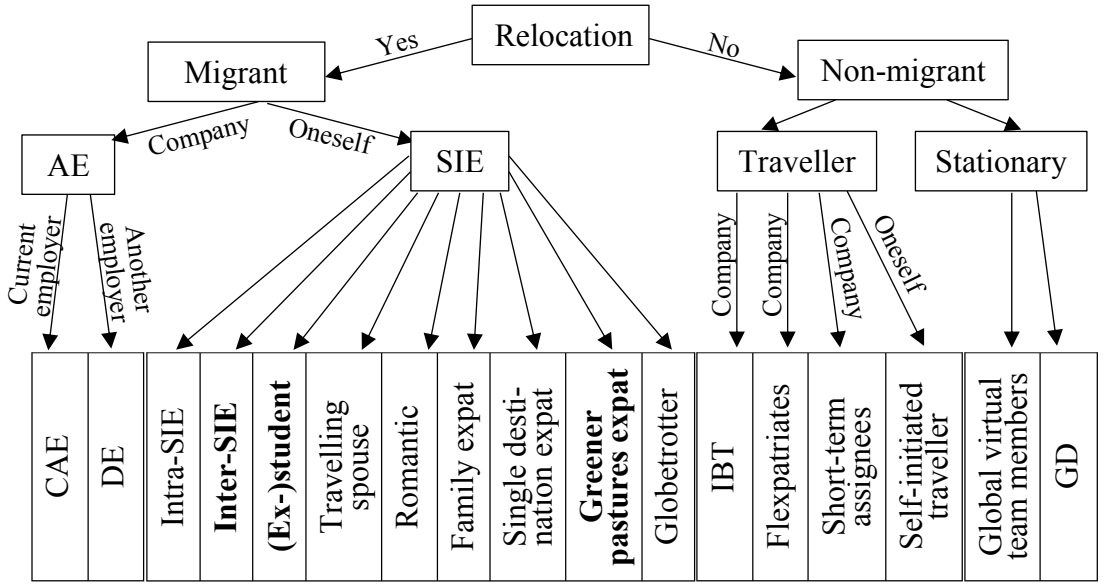

Figure 1. Global experiences classification (combined from Matsuo 2000; Shaffer et al. 2012; Andresen et al. 2014; Cerdin & Selmer 2014; Expat Insider 2014; Selmer et al. 2015).

Below are descriptions of the ten types of expatriates by Expat Insider (2014, Appendix 1) in a combination of the categorisation mentioned above by other researchers (Matsuo 2000; Shaffer et al. 2012; Cerdin & Selmer 2014; Expat Insider 2014; Selmer et al. 2015). The foreign assignee, or the AE (Andresen et al. 2014), the CAE (Matsuo 2000; Selmer et al. 2015) or CE (i.e. a corporate expatriate; Shaffer et al. 2016) was sent to another country by his/her employer. 61% of them are men, and 39% are women. On average, they work 46.4 hours per week. 59% got their income improved by relocating. 59% find job security very satisfying. 62% are in a relationship, and 38% are single. 50% does not speak the local language. 63% find new friends in expat clubs and events. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in India, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Senegal, and Nigeria.

The career expat or the Inter- and Intra-SIE (Andresen et al. 2014) has found a job abroad on his own. 53% of them are men, and 47% are women. On average, they work 43.6 hours per week. 59% got their income improved by relocating. 13% of them have PhDs. 55% are in a relationship, and 45% are single. 51% does not speak the local language. 46% have most of their friends among other expats. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Belgium, Luxembourg, Bahrain, Kenya, Oman.

The foreign recruitee or the DE (Andresen et al. 2014) was invited to work for a local employer. 63% are men, and 37% are women. On average, they work 44.9 hours per week. 61% got their income improved by relocating. 60% are in a relationship, and 40% are single. 84% find new friends at work. 54% does not speak the local language. 37% find learning it difficult. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Bahrain.

The (ex-)student (also the SIE, according to Briscoe et al. (2009) has moved abroad to study, e.g. in a university or a school. 40% are men, and 60% are women. 79% believe that foreign education has enhanced their career possibilities. 47% are in a relationship, and 53% are single. 44% have most of their friends from different countries. 14% know 5 or more languages. 25% does not speak the local language. 44% do speak it. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in the USA, UK, Denmark, Japan and South Korea.

Types below from the Expat Insider (2014) depending on the residence type or length of stay can be considered SIEs or migrants (Andresen et al. 2014). The travelling spouse (an SIE or a migrant) has moved abroad for his/her partner's education or job. 14% are men, and 86% are women. 93% are in a relationship, and 7% are single. 23% take care of home or children. 42% got their income improved by relocating. 33% got their income decreased. 47% does not speak the local language. 48% believe that making friends among locals is difficult. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Indonesia, Hong Kong, Kazakhstan, Singapore and Switzerland.

The romantic (a migrant) has moved abroad for love. 36% are men, and 64% are women. 85% are in a relationship, and 15% are single. On average, they work 37.3 hours per

week. 35% got their income improved by relocating. 44% got their income decreased. 44% have friends mainly among local colleagues. 31% does not speak the local language. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Argentina, Norway, Ireland, Sweden and Greece.

The family expat (a migrant) has moved abroad for family reasons. 47% are men, and 53% are women. 61% are in a relationship, and 39% are single. On average, they work 39.3 hours per week. 43% got their income improved by relocating. 32% got their income decreased. 29% does not speak the local language. 35% have been living in the chosen country for more than ten years. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Canada, Israel, New Zealand, Kuwait and Greece.

The "single destination" expat (a migrant) wanted to move to a specific country. One has found a job there by oneself. 46% are men, and 54% are women. 51% are in a relationship, and 49% are single. On average, they work 41.2 hours per week. 43% got their income improved by relocating. 34% got their income decreased. 31% does not speak the local language. 57% feel at home in the local culture. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Spain, New Zealand, Australia, Israel and Japan.

The "Greener pastures" expat (an SIE or a migrant) has moved because he or she likes to be abroad and live the quality life. 53% are men, and 47% are women. 59% are in a relationship, and 41% are single. On average, they work 40.5 hours per week. 43% got their income improved by relocating. 8% are retired. 47% does not speak the local language. 79% believe in the importance of friendliness to foreigners. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Thailand, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Cyprus and Panama.

The globetrotter (an SIE) has moved because he or she likes to be abroad and enjoy travelling. 41% are men, and 59% are women. 57% are in a relationship, and 43% are single. On average, they work 38.8 hours per week. 16% are academic staff or teachers. 44% got their income improved by relocating. 31% got their income decreased. 51% does not speak the local language. Usually, this type of expatriates resides in Costa Rica, Thailand, Argentina, Panama and Uganda.

In this work, Russian (ex-)students studying(ed) in Finnish universities, the career expats (the Inter-SIEs, in particular) and the 'Greener pastures' expatriates were interviewed. The choice was random because the interviewees' types were defined at the analysis stage past the interviews. (Figure 7).

The next section will tell more about the desire to expatriate. The following section 2.2 and section 2.3 'Expatriate adjustment' aim to review the first research objective 'to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process.'

2.2. Desire to expatriate

The desire to expatriate consists of the expatriation willingness and expectations on the expatriation – the following two sections devoted to that. Section 2.2.1 tells about the expatriation willingness, and section 2.2.2 discusses expatriation expectations. The conclusion (2.2.3) follows after that.

2.2.1. Expatriation willingness

Research has shown that to expatriate successfully job applicants have to have a nature for that (Froese, Jommersbach & Klautzsch 2013) and reasons to do so (Ho 2010).

A study by Froese et al. (2013) explores the antecedents of expatriation willingness. For a successful global manager, cosmopolitanism is an essential personality trait and a powerful antecedent for expatriation willingness (Froese et al. 2013). Successful expatriate managers have a combination of a global mindset, clear job understanding and formal competence to execute the job (Bird & Osland 2004, in Froese et al. 2013). There is an increasing need for skilled expatriates with an ability to succeed in their international assignment (Tung 1998; Mol, Born, Willemsen, van der Molen & Derous 2009; Peltokorpi & Froese 2012; in Froese et al. 2013).

According to a study by Mol et al. (2009, in Froese et al. 2013), international exposure affects expatriation willingness directly. Examples of international exposure are foreign contacts, foreign travel and language skills.

According to Froese (2010, in Froese et al. 2013), international exposure, cosmopolitanism and expatriation willingness were higher in Germany than Korea. It means that Koreans are less globally oriented then Germans. Korea is stronger secluded and more homogenous. Travelling and living abroad rises cosmopolitanism among Germans, but there is no effect for Koreans (Froese et al. 2013). In contrast, expatriation willingness among Koreans can be defined by their English proficiency. Germans take English for granted, while in Korea, the English language can be the key criterion for candidate selection. For many MNCs in Korea, English proficiency is the primary employment criterion (Kang 2011, in Froese et al. 2013).

Germans want to adjust to the culture of the host country and communicate with the local people (Froese et al. 2013). Koreans, in contrast, usually avoid assimilation and prefer to connect only with other Koreans (see also Light & Bhachu 2004, in Froese et al. 2013). Limiting themselves to Korean communities overseas and isolating from locals, Koreans find their experiences abroad unpleasant, refrain from overseas opportunities in the future and, hence, have lower expatriation willingness (Froese et al. 2013).

Koreans' tendency for isolation is based on in-group values and collectivism. To avoid this tendency, nationals or foreign nationals have to engage in immersion programmes. (Froese et al. 2013). Such programmes encourage people to seek contacts actively with foreign people and vice versa.

The researcher believes that there are similar traits between Korea and Russia. Russians are homogeneous. Russia is big; hence, travelling outside requires financial resources and time. Due to a lack of language practise with other nationalities, English knowledge among Russian is low. MCNs in Russia also consider fluency in English as a prerequisite for cosmopolitanism and ability to adjust to communication with foreigners.

There is research by Ho (2010) studies issues of the migration policy of China in the course of former citizens who is willing to come back to reside in China. This article also lists the reasons why they chose to emigrate in the first place. For them obtaining another citizenship is a way to protect themselves against political uncertainties and benefit from freedom of moving around the world. It also gives better educational possibilities for their children and other citizen's benefits. (Waters 2003; Preston, Kobayashi & Man 2006; in Ho 2010). They believe it would improve their family's quality of life (Ho 2010). The researcher believes that China is close to Russia in development; therefore, people may have similar reasons to emigrate.

According to Statistics Finland (2014), half of the foreign population in Finland moved here for family reasons: love or marriage. 20% moved here for work, 10% moved here to study, 10% moved as refugees. Among those who moved here for work, the majority was from Europe or North America. Foreigners form around 6% of all employed population. 75% of foreigners have at least intermediate Finnish language skills. 45% considered their skills to be advanced or native. As for education, 40% of foreigners in Finland have a higher education. It is almost the same as Finns have.

The next section will tell more about expatriation expectations. This section told about the expatriation willingness. The conclusion about the desire to expatriate (2.2.3) follows after that.

2.2.2. Expatriation expectations

In a new cultural environment, social and human capital does not always match with the situation an individual was used to in the homeland (Statistics Finland 2014). According to Andresen, Bergdolt, Margenfeld and Dickmann (2014), SIEs may have experience of being underemployed and having less attractive contracts then CEs. SIEs usually take new roles in new companies; and they put stronger effort on their new positions (Lobel & St. Clair 1992, in Shaffer et al. 2016). Thus, SIEs have higher expectations towards their overseas jobs in contrast to CE whom the employer required to go (Biemann & Andresen 2010). Expatriates may expect interesting tasks, personal goal achievement and

career advancement (Borg 1988; Stahl, Miller & Tung 2002; in Biemann & Andresen 2010).

Harvey's study (1997) reports the highest dissatisfaction was created by lack of performance at work, i.e. meeting organisational and personal goals, lack of preparation for the assignment and family dissatisfaction. Moreover, Statistics Finland (2014) suggest that mental well-being is based on levels of security, trust, involvement and availability of help with everyday situations. They report that, on average, the mental stress was equally common among foreigners in Finland and Finns. Nevertheless, among North African and Middle Eastern population, psychological problems were diagnosed more frequent.

Therefore, it is important to form expectations correctly. According to Statistics Finland (2014), foreigners and Finns were employed in the same occupational fields, but foreigners held a much lesser number of expert positions and were overrepresented in service and worker occupations. The majority felt treated equally and being supported at work by colleagues and supervisors, except those with African and Middle East backgrounds. Finnish language skills are vital for employment and education. Employment rate was the same for Finns and Finnish-speaking foreigners. Unemployed foreigners stated lack of language as the main reason for difficulties in finding a job. Higher education was significant in finding employment. The higher qualification was, the easier it was to find a job. Nevertheless, 20% of foreigners with higher education were in worker occupations, in contrast to Finns for whom the number was only several per cents. It suggests that foreign higher education is undervalued on the Finnish labour market. Unemployment was twice as common for foreigners then Finns; it was about 16%. Unemployed foreigners used various methods of searching for work. Networking and reply to job postings were the most useful.

The next section is the conclusion. The previous two sections explained the desire to expatriate in detail. Section 2.2.1 told about the expatriation willingness, and section 2.2.2 discussed expatriation expectations.

2.2.3. Conclusion

Results suggest that to expatriate successfully job applicants need to have a nature for that and reasons to do so. Cosmopolitanism is essential for a global manager. They also need to have a combination of a global mindset, clear job understanding and formal competence to execute the job. Previous international exposure affects expatriation willingness directly, e.g. foreign contacts, foreign travel and language skills. To expatriate successfully, people have to adjust to the culture of the host country and communicate with the local people. Immersion and integration programmes can help with this process. Doing instead, e.g. limiting themselves to national communities overseas and isolating from locals, may limit the experience and make an expatriate refrain from future overseas opportunities. People from collectivist countries have an exceptionally high tendency to isolation. This feature is also applicable to Russia.

Research shows that those who decided to relocate may do it for several reasons: for obtaining another citizenship that will give freedom to move around the globe and protection against political uncertainties. It also offers better educational possibilities for their children and other citizen's benefits and improves quality of life. For example, foreigners in Finland have moved here for love, work, studies and better quality of life.

In new cultural circumstances, the professional environment does not always match with the situation the person was used to in the home country. SIEs may get an experience of being underemployed and having less attractive contracts then CEs. SIEs are usually employed in a new organisation in contrast to CEs; therefore, the trial period is complicated with cultural adjustment, also. Expatriates may expect interesting tasks, personal goal achievement and career advancement, but these expectations may not be met. An expatriate has to be mentally ready for such a possibility. Low performance at work creates the highest assignment dissatisfaction. Inability to achieve organisational and personal goals, lack of preparation for the assignment and family dissatisfaction cause a decrease in performance. Nevertheless, high levels of security, trust, involvement and availability of help with everyday situations mitigate these effects. Therefore, it is

recommended to expand the network to increase the degree of these factors, in case if, at work, they are not available.

Therefore, forming expectations correctly is crucial. For example, in Finland, foreigners held a much lesser number of expert positions and were overrepresented in service and worker occupations. Finnish language skills are vital for employment. Unemployed foreigners stated lack of Finnish language as the main reason for difficulties in finding a job. The higher educational qualification was, the easier it was to find a job. Nevertheless, 20% of foreigners with higher education were in worker occupations. It suggests that foreign higher education is undervalued on the Finnish labour market. Unemployment was twice as common for foreigners then Finns; it was about 16%. Networking and reply to job postings were the most useful. Among those who were employed, the majority felt treated equally and being supported at work by colleagues and supervisors.

The next section will tell more about the expatriate adjustment. This section 'Desire to expatriate' (2.2) and the following section 2.3 aim to review the first research objective 'to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process.'

2.3. Expatriate adjustment

Expatriate adjustment predicts employee performance, meaning that the better an employee is adjusted, the better he or she performs (Takeuchi, Wang & Marinova 2005, in Puck, Holtbrügge & Raupp 2017).

The following two sections explain expatriate adjustment in detail. Section 2.3.1 tells about the model of international adjustment, and section 2.3.2 discusses the adjustment process facilitation. The conclusion (2.3.3) follows after that.

2.3.1. The model of international adjustment

Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991, in Shaffer et al. 1999) proposed a model of international adjustment. According to them and Puck et al. (2017), expatriate adjustment consists of adjustment to the situation at work, to interaction with nationals and to the general environment. There are four factors affecting expatriation adjustment. They are job factors (i.e. role clarity, role discretion, role conflict and role novelty), organisational factors (i.e. supervisor support, co-worker support and logistical support), non-work factors (i.e. culture novelty and spouse adjustment) and individual factors (i.e. achievement self-efficacy and social self-efficacy). There are also two moderating factors. They are positional factors (i.e. hierarchical level, the functional area and the assignment vector) and individual factors (i.e. previous assignments and language fluency).

Role clarity is when an employee knows what exactly is expected of him. Role discretion is the amount of autonomy is there in the job. Role conflict is when an employee receives conflicting requests from several people. Role novelty is a degree to which this job is different from the previous one. The assignment vector is whether the expatriate is a parent-country, host-country or third-country national. (Shaffer et al. 1999). Self-efficacy is a set of expectations with new situations developed through experiences of success and failure in previous situations (Sherer et al. 1982, in Shaffer et al. 1999).

Shaffer et al. (1999) focused on the analysis of the moderating factors of the adjustment process: individual adjustment factors (i.e. previous assignments and language fluency) and positional characteristics (i.e. hierarchical level, the functional area and the assignment vector). The authors have found out that all factors, except functional area, are critical for patterns of the adjustment process. Shaffer et al. (2016) focused on three adjust dimensions among different type of global workers: (1) physical mobility, (2) cross-cultural adjustment and (3) personal life disruption. They tell that SIEs and CEs roles are equally challenging across these dimensions. Other studies suggest the same (Peltokorpi & Froese 2009; Froese & Peltokorpi 2013; in Shaffer et al. 2016).

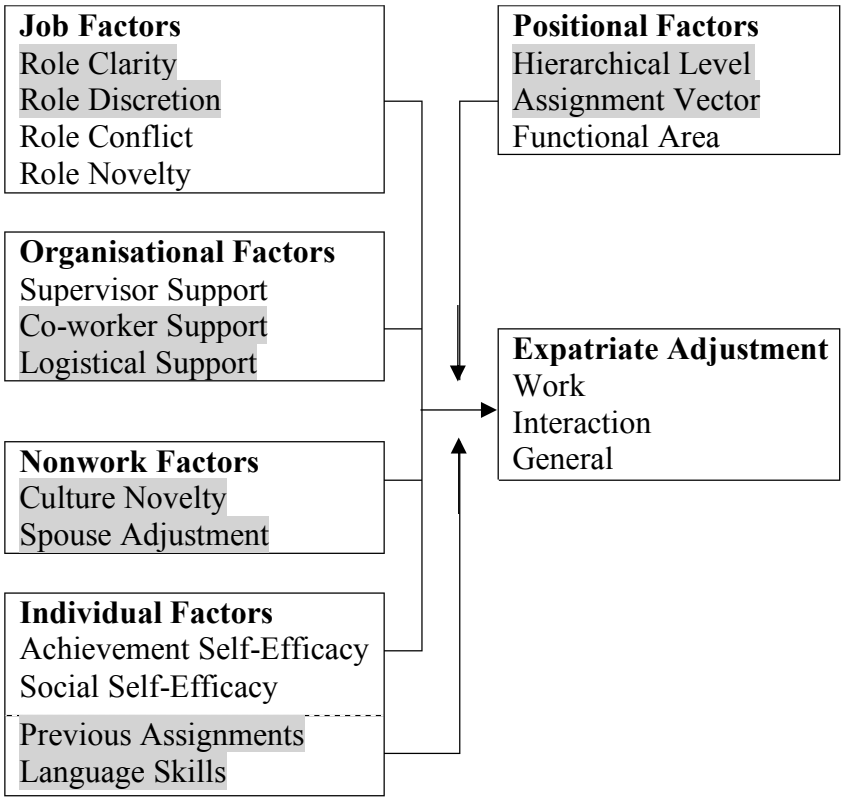

Figure 2. Determinants of adjustment to international assignments (Black et al. 1991, in Shaffer et al. 1999).[1]

There are also differences in SIE adjustment patterns in terms of whether a local or foreign-owned organisation employs them. SIEs in local organisations (SIELO) adjust better to the general environment and interaction with locals. SIEs in foreign organisations (SIEFO) adapt to the situation at work better though adjustment to the general climate, whereas SIELOs adapt better though interactional adjustment. However, SIELOs and SIEFOs work in different environments. Adjustment either to interaction with nationals or the general environment influence in different ways and release a different amount of cognitive capacity for them. (Selmer et al. 2015).

Most job-related factors (i.e., role clarity, role discretion, role conflict and role novelty) were also significant. Results suggest that MNCs should enable greater clarity and autonomy of the global positions. It means that job design is essential for international

[1] Grey colour highlights significant factors.

assignment success. Meanwhile, differing results were for the role novelty and the role conflict. For those who expect high role novelty, more intensive pre-departure training is necessary. (Shaffer et al. 1999). Nevertheless, SIEs do not have this option.

In contrast to CEs who usually have similar roles in the same organisations, SIEs take new jobs in new places. SIEs may have been underemployed and had less attractive contracts then CEs (Andresen et al. 2014), meaning that these jobs offered less autonomy. Organisations provide lesser resources to SIEs than CEs. SIEs face lower role clarity but stronger role overload (Nicholson 1984; Ashforth 2001; Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo & Tucker 2007). This deters the adjustment process.

As for organisational factors, logistical and co-worker support was significant for adjustment success. It means that firms should promote a supportive corporate culture. The supervisor's support yielded differing results, depending on expatriation experience. First-timers tend to rely on the home office – the supervisor's support affected negatively all three expatriation dimensions. The opposite results were for more experienced expatriates who tend to rely on on-site management. (Shaffer et al. 1999). SIEs can rely only on on-site management and their network.

As for non-work factors, spouse adjustment and culture novelty were significant for expatriate adjustment, especially on interaction adjustment and adjustment to the general environment (Shaffer et al. 1999). First-degree family members normally follow expatriates; therefore, they encounter non-work disruptions because the family also have to adjust to the new location (Shaffer et al. 2012).

Hence, it is recommended that MNCs provide help with adjustment not only to expatriates but their spouses also, including assistance with employment, considering that the number of dual-career couples has increased. Results also suggested that these factors impact performance universally regardless of expatriate's position, experience or language fluency. (Shaffer et al. 1999).

SIEs choose their destination, often, together with the family members. Therefore, SIEs receive more prominent support from their families, as the members have a stronger motivation for adjustment (Doherty 2013, in Shaffer et al. 2016). CEs do not have an option to choose the location. Hence, CEs' families adjust harder, and CEs' non-work disruptions are higher (Shaffer et al. 2012).

SIEs tailor their careers and, hence, feel responsible for them, in contrast, to CEs who move to carry out corporate goals (Baruch et al. 2013). SIEs put stronger effort into their new role, hence, have fewer resources to dedicate to families. Since they initiated the relocation, they also feel responsible for their family well-being. This may raise tension (Sieber 1974; Lobel & St. Clair 1992). Nevertheless, SIEs achieve higher family adjustment because they are driven to succeed with expatriation to, perhaps, stay permanently (Suutari & Brewster 2000; Al Ariss & Özbilgin 2010). Nevertheless, CEs need stronger family support because their embeddedness into the host community is lower. (Shaffer et al. 2016).

SIEs develop stronger ties to the community because they have to rely only on themselves (von Borell de Araujo, Teixeira, da Cruz & Malini 2014). For example, SIEs start to build networks already before they relocate (Baruch et al. 2013) and keep expanding them after they arrive (Tharenou 2013). According to von Borell de Araujo et al. (2014), CEs and SIEs take different approaches to adjustment. SIEs rely on the local norms, accept local business practises, utilise them to their advantage, try to mimic local behaviours and develop relationships with host-country nationals. (Shaffer et al. 2016). CEs, in contrast, prefer to solve problems with the support of the employer, and they isolate themselves from the local society.

As for individual factors, moderate host-country language fluency and previous international experience were significant for interaction adjustment. Social and achievement self-efficacy had mixed results. (Shaffer et al. 1999).

Previous international experience was a strong moderator of experience adjustment in connection with co-worker and supervisor support. As mentioned above, those who did

not have international experience relied lesser on co-workers and on-site management than those who had longer international experience. (Shaffer et al. 1999).

As for language fluency, interesting results emerged. The effects of the role conflict were much more significant for fluent host-country language speakers. Shaffer et al. (1999) suggest that, perhaps, those who have intermediate knowledge of the national language do not notice conflicting signals between demands imposed by the host-country nationals and employees of the parent company. In other words, the better one speaks the language, the better one understands the meaning between the lines; hence, the worse the expatriate adjusts.

Nevertheless, previous studies suggest that the ability to understand and to speak the host-country language affects expatriates positively and provides better chances to find employment in Finland (Statistics Finland 2014). Therefore, it seems that not knowing it at all and knowing it fluently have negative effects on adjustment (e.g. Shaffer & Harrison 1998; Selmer 2006; Lauring 2008; Selmer & Lauring 2015; in Selmer et al. 2015).

Shaffer et al. (2016) told that the effects of self-efficacy differed for SIEs and CEs. Self-efficacy stronger affected CEs then SIEs. They suggest that SIEs decide when and where to relocate, hence, stronger believe in their skills and ability to succeed at work and with family adjustment. In that case, self-efficacy is more prominent adjustment resource.

As for the hierarchical level, the previous international experience had positive effects for middle-level managers. Meanwhile, senior-level expatriate results were the opposite. According to Karasek (1979, in Shaffer et al. 1999), employees adjust better if role control and discretion are matching with job demands. Previous negative international experience has implications on selection and training decisions.

As for the assignment vector, nationals of the parent and third countries adjusted similarly with a difference that culture novelty has affected more negatively nationals of the parent country and has not affected third country nationals (TCNs). This suggests that TCNs are

more empathetic and culturally sensitive (Michael G. Harvey 1996, in Shaffer et al. 1999). Shaffer et al. (1999) also mentioned that co-worker support and role clarity were essential for all dimensions of inpatriate adjustment, while two other groups were not affected entirely by it.

Functional areas effects were the weakest of all moderators with one difference for language fluency. Technical expatriates needed host-country language fluency more than managerial expatriates. Authors suggested that it relates to knowledge transfer to the nationals of the host country.

Portes and Bach (1985) suggest that the immigrant population that already reside in the country can help other fellow countrymen to solve problems they face. The wider the immigrant population is, the lesser adjustment hazards newcomers face, including discrimination and interaction problems with locals (Zaheer 1995, both in Perez-Batres 2012).

The next section will tell more about the adjustment process facilitation. This section told about the model of international adjustment. The conclusion about expatriate adjustment (2.3.3) follows after that.

2.3.2. Adjustment process facilitation

Minorities at work are not comfortable telling about themselves. This hesitation leads to the inability to build deep relationships with colleagues, unhappiness and dissatisfaction with work. Opening oneself demands trust and risk-taking. This notion applies not only to minorities but to any group of people who feel that they stand apart from the rest of employees: e.g. elder among young, conservatives among liberals and working mothers among other employees. (Phillips, Dumas & Rothbard 2018).

Homophily is a phenomenon characterising a tendency to bond with alike ones (Kleinedler 2016). In other words, similarity attracts. There are decades of research

supporting this idea. In practice, it means that to create social connections successfully; one has to be transparent and reveal elements of personal life and be true oneself to let others know more about him or her. (Phillips et al. 2018).

In contrast, interviewees of Phillips's et al. study (2018) shared that they are afraid that such information will draw attention to their race and strengthen stereotypes that may bring bias into the performance reviews and impede advancing towards leadership roles.

> *"I don't feel safe sharing information that might later be used against me."* (Phillips et al. 2018: 135).

Organisations have to be aware of such challenges. If they are interested in allowing employees from different demographic groups to engage easier with each other, in widening diversity and offering promotion opportunities to racial minorities, the organisations may benefit from knowing how to address this issue.

Boundaries brought up by racial differences undoubtedly are an obstacle. Diversity research shows that being exposed to something unfamiliar creates an environment in which individuals and organisations develop innovative thinking. Open curiosity towards choices of others lessens the fear among people to be judged for their tastes and preferences. It has to be demonstrated that being different is valuable. It brings fresh ideas into the established environment and creates competitive advantage. (See also Section 2.4 'Liability of foreignness of individuals'). In an environment where it feels natural to be open, minorities will be more eager to disclose themselves. It will help them to relate with others better.

To ease the process of self-disclosure for employees, organisations may consider creating an informal mentorship or buddy system. More experienced employees may mentor new hires. It will simplify creating social connections with other rest of employees. It is especially vital for members of minorities who feel like outsiders. Providing them mentors, sponsors and coaches will help to even out the ground and facilitate creating social connections across cultural differences. This role should include feedback. Such

experience will give a manager an ability to review the social behaviour of minority subordinates without an inclination towards cultural biases.

In the case of a corporate party, companies may use orderly ice-breaking games to create purpose, lower the necessity for navigation alone and lessen the stress from meeting many new people. Everyone has at least their workplace in common.

To avoid subjective remarks when discussing subordinates' performance, a company may appoint an observer to attend. The best performance reviews are descriptive and specific and aimed at work-related behaviours and actions. When reviewing social behaviour, the criticisms have to be business-oriented and concrete instead of vague and personal. In the latter case, they may be biased because of cultural misunderstandings.

Discussing differences across racial boundaries makes people uncomfortable. The behaviours described above are difficult to develop even within a homogeneous group. Organisations have to be reasonable and thoughtful with facilitating self-discloser. Nevertheless, sharing an excessive amount of information may be harmful to minority individuals. Sharing has to be done with support and focus on early small achievements.

Colour blindness is not practical for solving challenges related to racial differences. Instead, the research shows that they should be acknowledged and highlighted. Making colleagues more comfortable with each other across racial differences makes workers happier and more productive. Employees have to be intentional about leaving comfort zones to create connections across differences. (Phillips et al. 2018).

Perez-Batres (2012) mentioned that information that unskilled labourers receive is highly asymmetric. It also may mean that qualified migrants can face this problem in a lesser degree. Some may not know things that other their countrymen know. When companies decide to facilitate adjustment problem, it perhaps would be better to use wide sources of information instead of sharing it in smaller circles hoping that news would spread out.

For example, Fey, Pavlovskaya and Tang (2004) suggest that Russians believe that information is power and telling it to others would make you lose it.

The next section is the conclusion. The previous two sections explained expatriate adjustment in detail. Section 2.3.1 told about the model of international adjustment, while section 2.3.2 discussed the adjustment process facilitation.

2.3.3. Conclusion

Results suggest that the better an employee is adjusted, the better he or she performs. The expatriate adjustment consists of adjustment to the situation at work, to interaction with nationals and to the general environment. Studies suggest that SIEs and CEs roles are equally challenging across these dimensions. Additionally, other researches mentioned that SIEs in local organisations (SIELO) adjust better to the general environment and interaction with locals. Among factors affecting expatriate adjustment, six were significant: role clarity, role discretion (i.e. autonomy), co-worker support, logistical support, culture novelty and spouse adjustment were significant. It means that job design is essential for international assignment success and has to be focused on clarity and autonomy. Firms should promote a supportive corporate culture. MNCs should provide help with adjustment not only to expatriates but their spouses also, including assistance with employment, considering that the number of dual-career couples has increased. First-timers tend to rely on the home office. More experienced expatriates rely on on-site management. Studies have shown that SIEs' jobs offered less autonomy than CEs'. SIEs face lower role clarity but stronger role overload. This deters the adjustment process.

SIEs can rely only on on-site management and their network. SIEs choose their destination, often, together with the family members. Therefore, SIEs receive more prominent support from their families, as the members have a stronger motivation for adjustment. SIEs achieve higher adjustment because they are driven to succeed with expatriation. SIEs develop stronger ties to the community because they have to rely only on themselves. SIEs rely on the local norms, accept local business practises, utilise them to their advantage, try to mimic local behaviours and develop relationships with host-

country nationals. Meanwhile, role conflict, role novelty, supervisor support and self-efficacy either were not significant or did not yield any definite results.

As for moderating factors, previous assignments, moderate language skills, assignment vector and hierarchical level were significant; while, the functional area was not. Previous international experience was a strong moderator of experience adjustment. As mentioned above, those who did not have international experience relied lesser on co-workers and on-site management than those who had longer international experience. As for language fluency, the effects of the role conflict were much more significant for fluent host-country language speakers. Perhaps, the better one speaks the language, the better one understands the meaning between the lines; hence, the worse the expatriate adjusts. Nevertheless, previous studies suggest that the ability to understand and to speak the host-country language affects expatriates positively and provides better chances to find employment in Finland. Therefore, it seems that not knowing it at all and knowing it fluently have negative effects on adjustment. There was a remark that technical personnel have to know the national language because they have to transfer knowledge to local specialists.

The previous international experience had positive effects for middle-level managers. Meanwhile, senior-level expatriate results were the opposite because employees adjust better if role control and discretion are matching with job demands. As for the assignment vector, nationals of the parent and third countries adjusted similarly with a difference to culture novelty. It means that third country nationals (TCNs) are more empathetic and culturally sensitive. The immigrant population that already reside in the country can help other fellow countrymen to solve problems they face. The wider the immigrant population is, the lesser adjustment hazards newcomers face.

Concerning the adjustment process facilitation, minorities at work are not comfortable telling about themselves. This hesitation leads to the inability to build deep relationships with colleagues, unhappiness and dissatisfaction with work. Opening oneself demands trust and risk-taking. Homophily is a phenomenon characterising a tendency to bond with similar people. In other words, similarity attracts. In practice, it means that to create social connections successfully; one has to be transparent and reveal elements of personal life

and be true oneself to let others know more about him or her. Nevertheless, minorities are afraid that this will draw attention to their nature and bring bias in interaction with superiors and colleagues, and also impede advancing towards leadership roles. Organisations have to be aware of such challenges if they are interested in widening diversity.

Diversity research shows that being exposed to something unfamiliar creates an environment in which individuals and organisations develop innovative thinking. Open curiosity towards choices of others lessens the fear among people to be judged for their tastes and preferences. Organisations may consider using ice-breaking games and creating an informal mentorship or buddy system. This role should include feedback. Such experience will give a manager an ability to review the social behaviour of minority subordinates without an inclination towards cultural biases. To avoid subjective remarks when discussing subordinates' performance, a company may appoint an observer to attend. The best performance reviews are descriptive and specific and aimed at work-related behaviours and actions.

Discussing differences across racial boundaries makes people uncomfortable. The behaviours described above are difficult to develop even within a homogeneous group. Colour blindness is not practical for solving challenges related to racial differences. Instead, the research shows that they should be acknowledged and highlighted. Another study suggests that information that unskilled labourers receive is highly asymmetric and that qualified migrants can face this problem in a lesser degree, also. Companies have to use wide channels of information instead of sharing it in smaller circles hoping that news would spread out.

The next section will tell more about the liability of foreignness of individuals. The following section 2.4 and section 2.5 'Discrimination in employment' aim to review the second research objective 'to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination.'

2.4. Liability of foreignness of individuals

The number of self-initiated expatriates (SIE) has grown (Tharenou 2013, in Selmer et al. 2015). Attracting highly competent and qualified personnel is critical for obtaining competitive advantage (Holtbrügge & Kreppel 2015). In this section, the researcher would like to understand whether foreignness is a liability or an advantage. Depending on whether employers see it as a liability or a benefit; the SIE have to adjust their behaviour or highlight their benefits to make themselves as competitive for employment as host-country nationals (HCN). In this section, the study overviews the pros and cons of being a foreign applicant, i.e. the researcher would like to speak about the liability of foreignness of individuals.

The liability of foreignness (LOF) is an insight that foreign firms face economic and social costs when operating abroad (Gaur, Sarathy & Kumar 2011). Nowadays, this term is used both for companies and individuals. According to Matsuo (2000), foreign companies face a liability of foreignness because of different economic, cultural, and political features of the host country (Dunning 1977; Caves 1982; Kogut & Singh 1988; Zaheer 1995; in Matsuo 2000). There are three primary sources of the liability of foreignness for multi-national corporations (MNC): (1) difficulty to set up operations while struggling with culture and language of the host country; (2) lack of familiarity with laws, regulations and policies of the new market; and (3) inefficiency in communication because of time differences and geographical distance with headquarters.

There is a concept of the liability of newness (LON) which includes liability of foreignness inside itself. In comparison to LOF that occurs only to new foreign companies, LON occurs to everything new, for example, to newly established domestic organisations. (Schoonhoven 2006). National customers prefer to use services of proved brands. Therefore, a new domestic company would experience the liability of newness. Since a foreign company is new to nationals of the host country, the company would experience a type of LON, the LOF, particularly.

Company-assigned expatriates (CAE) go to new subsidiaries to manage roles and processes among employees, to provide them with business practices of a parent company, and to watch assets of the firm (Matsuo 2000). To reduce the liability of newness, the management group has to be culturally aware of both host and home countries regarding norms, values and routines in business, and accurately manage them (Stinchcombe 1965; Pfeffer & Salancik 1978; in Matsuo 2000). Scientists (e.g. Dunning 1977; Caves 1982; Jain 1990; Barney 1991; Nelson 1991; in Matsuo 2000) suggest that providing informational, financial and human resources firm-specific advantages to foreign subsidiaries allow overcoming the liability of foreignness better.

A self-initiated expatriate, in contrast to a company-assigned expatriate, (1) has relocated oneself only by own decision, (2) has regular employment or intentions; (3) plan to stay temporarily and (4) has professional qualifications. (Cerdin & Selmer 2014, in Selmer et al. 2015)

Individuals also suffer from LOF, according to Mezias and Mezias (2007) and Millar and Choi (2008). It is expressed in lower salary raise in comparison to their national colleagues, due to a lack of understanding of cultural and societal norms (Mezias & Mezias 2007); and it is expressed in isolation and exclusion from a community formed by nationals due to their bias against foreignness and under-appreciation of expatriates' identities, despite their professional characteristics (Millar & Choi 2008).

There is a subtle line dividing expatriates' professional liability of foreignness and employment discrimination. Liability of foreignness appears from a factual context: pros and cons of foreignness and professional characteristics of a foreigner (e.g. Matsuo 2000). For example, these are the fluent mother tongue, ability to speak the host country language or knowledge of business practices of the home country.

Workplace discrimination emerges from an emotional context, for example, from homophily (Edo, Jacquemet & Yannelis 2013), social closure (Roscigno, Garcia & Bobbitt-Zeher 2007) or prejudice towards foreigners (Krings & Olivares 2007; Anttonen

2008; Louis, Lalonde & Esses 2010; Åslund & Skans 2012; Koivunen, Ylöstalo & Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta 2015).

Homophily and social closure are sociologic concepts. Homophily is a theory that people prefer to form relationships with individuals of similar beliefs, values, attitudes or socioeconomic status (Kleinedler 2016), while the social closure is a practice of restricting access of other people to certain privileges, resources or rewards, for example, excluding women from male networks or forbidding marriages outside of a privileged group (Crossman 2017).

Same as companies, individuals also suffer from liability of foreignness, losing the competition to nationals when applying for a job. It is not always due to discrimination. First-generation immigrants frequently face challenges when getting into their new life abroad, especially when looking for a job (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Perhoniemi 2007).

In this section, the study answers a question about what makes recruiter choose a domestic professional over a self-initiated expatriate. The research covers both those who are applying for a job abroad or being already abroad; considering, as well, whether the employer is a foreign subsidiary or a local firm. The researcher would like to find out that if so happens, what foreign job candidates have to adjust in themselves to be as competitive as national candidates.

The following four sections explain the liability of foreignness of individuals in detail. Section 2.4.1 compares self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates. Section 2.4.2 compares self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals. Section 2.4.3 describes the concept of the liability of localness. Finally, section 2.4.4 explains the effects imposed by the image of the country of origin. The conclusion (2.4.5) follows after that.

2.4.1. Self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates

Within MNCs, self-initiated expatriates are not suitable for tasks requiring firm-specific competencies, e.g. control and execution of foreign operations, subsidiary management and knowledge transfer from headquarters to the local subsidiary; only company-assigned expatriates can do that. Nevertheless, self-initiated expatriates are suitable for middle management or lower positions, as well, as technical jobs requiring generic or specialist competencies. They can manage tasks within the subsidiary, including ones requiring responding to the local environment and requiring cross-cultural or host location-specific competencies. (Tharenou 2013).

It was studied that estimated first-year costs of a company-assigned expatriate on a foreign assignment are three times or more the base salaries of their home-country national colleagues (Shaffer et al. 1999, in Puck, Holtbrügge & Rausch 2008).

The cognitive processing capacity of the human brain is limited. Research has revealed that due to this feature, a person may not be able to process all intellectually challenging areas of life equally. (Baddeley 2003, in Selmer et al. 2015). Cultural adaptation for an expatriate is vital. If he or she would be able to get used first to the established societal norms, then it will redeem the cognitive resources to focus on work tasks (Selmer et al. 2015). It means that CAEs may work less efficiently then SIEs. CAEs, when arrive, have to adjust to the local culture and work simultaneously. Same time SIEs have an opportunity to adapt while looking for employment and being in the country or study the culture of the chosen country before moving there.

The next section will tell more about self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals. As for the topic of the liability of foreignness of individuals, this section told about self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates. The following sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 explain the liability of localness and image of the country of origin effects, accordingly. The conclusion (2.4.5) follows after that.

2.4.2. Self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals

As for self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals, Tharenou (2013) mentions that both SIEs and HCNs are suitable to replace CAEs to oversee the host country's culture in a subsidiary and manage local market and environment. SIEs of the home country, due to their intercultural competences, would adjust them better than HCNs. SIEs possess cost-reducing capabilities minimising cultural friction, containing global competencies and cross-cultural skills, both home- and host-country specific competencies and dual host-home business understanding.

Local employees, on the other hand, have better market-specific knowledge and a stronger connection to local networks. They are closer affiliated to the local market and possess better language skills. Therefore, they interact better with other nationals. Nevertheless, they do not possess useful competencies such as managerial and cross-cultural skills, knowledge of international business and firm-specific advantages. It results in higher costs.

A lack of cross-cultural knowledge among national employees leads to transaction costs, for example, legal, informational or communication costs. Transaction costs are connected to overcoming imperfections of the market and adjusting the product to the market requirements effectively. For example, legal fees could become higher due to a lack of knowledge of home country legislation among HCNs and their inability to combine the legal requirements for the imported product. Informational or communication costs could become higher due to a need to find the right price point or other local market requirements (BusinessDictionary.com 2017). (Tharenou 2013).

Evidence from above suggests that a company benefits from employing SIEs of the country of interest in the company's home country, as well. They are useful, for example, before entering the country of interest because they also possess all the knowledge and connections as HCNs of this country even being abroad.

In connection with this idea, there is research about higher export success when employing HCNs possessing the ability of foreign languages, i.e. the foreign language specialists (FLS). There was a positive relationship between the success of export operations and possessing of foreign language skills among employees. The research also tells that to be successful, the specialists should have not only language skills but overseas experience or functional knowledge as well: e.g. about product development, marketing or international trade. (Enderwick & Akoorie 1994). In comparison to the FLSs, SIEs know not only foreign languages but local business practices of countries where they come from or have worked before. But they do not always speak the language of the host country, and HR managers find this to be an obstacle (Nachum 2010).

The next section will tell more about the concept of the liability of localness. As for the topic of the liability of foreignness of individuals, this section told about self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals. The previous section 2.4.1 compared self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates. The section following the next (2.4.4) explains effects related to the image of the country of origin. The conclusion (2.4.5) follows after that.

2.4.3. Liability of localness

According to Perez-Batres (2012), globalisation transformed local markets. In markets without entry barriers, local firms have to be more innovative with their products to compete with foreign firms effectively (Vernon 1966; Porter 1990; in Perez-Batres 2012; Un 2016). This concept is called liability of localness (LOL). It is a ‘regulatory shock’ occurring from sudden market liberalisation due to opening a market for foreign competitors (Perez-Batres & Eden 2008).

According to Un (2016), low levels of multiculturalism among employees is a cause of liability of localness of the firm and low levels of product innovativeness. In comparison, employees of subsidiaries of foreign companies are exposed to multiculturalism better. The multiculturalism allows transfer and integration of broad, diversified knowledge. The knowledge, in turn, supports the innovation of products.

It is difficult for employees of domestic firms to compete against foreign MNCs in innovation. They do not have access to the other company-specific know-how developed in other subsidiaries across different countries. Domestic firms are better integrated locally and know better the local market than foreign subsidiaries. Nevertheless, the in-depth knowledge of the local market may grow into a source of liability of localness. The employees are not exposed to the diversity of ideas and knowledge that is available in other foreign markets.

To decrease the liability of localness and enhance innovativeness, Un (2016) offers some solutions. For example, domestic firms can develop intercultural capabilities among their employees through training or exporting. Language training increases employees' intercultural abilities to identify and apply global knowledge to the local environment. It allows not only to communicate across the world but challenges the employees' mindset to interpret assumptions of their language. Hence, it assists their innovative thinking.

Abovementioned research on the export success of firm possessing FLSs (Enderwick & Akoorie 1994) proves this. Knowledge of one or more foreign languages has shown a direct positive impact on cosmopolitanism in employees. Cosmopolitanism is an openness to different cultural experiences. Nowadays, it is an essential characteristic of a global manager. (Froese et al. 2013).

Exporting is another tool to develop intercultural capabilities among employees, proposed by Un (2016). Exporting allows employees to acquire multicultural competencies as their attention shifts to different needs of foreign customers, as well, as solutions offered by competitors abroad. Experience in exports enhances the ability to explore and transfer innovative foreign knowledge on product development.

Employing SIEs in local firms may enhance the competitiveness of the firm, for example, if there is no need in going abroad yet. Expatriates employed by domestic firms give local personnel access to the multicultural environment. Although HR managers see foreign employees as a communication or effectiveness obstacle (Nachum 2010); they yet may be useful for developing innovative thinking among national employees.

The next section will tell more about country image and country-of-origin effects. As for the topic of liability of foreignness of individuals, this section told about the concept of the liability of localness. The previous sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 compared self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates and host-country nationals, accordingly. The conclusion (2.4.5) follows after the next section.

2.4.4. Country image and country-of-origin effects

When employing foreigners, human HR managers do not always construct their decisions only by a need for cross-cultural expertise. There are also other criteria. Below are examples from literature about other countries. If they are happening across the world, these cases may also take place in Finland. All researches below were conducted in developed countries (UN 2016): Australia, Canada, France and Germany.

Australian research (Kostenko, Harris & Zhao 2012) has shown that host-country language skills are crucial for immigrants for obtaining professional or clerk jobs, as well, as keeping them from slipping into labourer jobs. Vocational and higher education is necessary for professional jobs and job in the trade. Foreign experience is valuable in professional jobs.

The same study reveals varying degrees of difficulties in gaining employment for job seekers of different origin. Non-Western migrants appeared to be more disadvantaged in comparison to Western applicants and had a higher risk to fall lower within the occupational scale. The retention rate of Western professionals was 17% higher than of their non-Western counterparts. The research has shown that non-Western applicants will try to enter the Australian labour market from inferior job positions then Western applicants.

There is bias against internationally-trained engineers in Canada, namely, distrust in their foreign training. For new immigrants, the location of the educational institution was identified to be a strong predictor of the possibility to find a job in engineering. Whereas

for engineers trained locally, finding job required less effort. (George & Chaze 2014). Results of this study correlate with Australian research above on the employment of new immigrants (Kostenko et al. 2012).

Same as previous research (George & Chaze 2014), in Canada also there is bias against foreign-trained or foreign-born doctors and medical students. Foreign-born applicants were assessed more negatively than native-born applicants. The findings show discounting of credentials of foreign-born doctors. Nevertheless, medical education received in the First World has raised evaluations and reduced nationality bias. The data has an interaction of nationality and education location. Institutional recognition and high-quality training of the First World education has a positive effect in Canada.

Bias about foreigners covers not only medical employers but patients as well. Lack of trust leads to delayed health care access and harmed health. (Louis et al. 2010). Nevertheless, patients' behaviour is not typical customer behaviour. The medical field alone is not representative enough to be a sample of typical customer behaviour; therefore, the results only partially generalizable.

There are studies on employers' perception of foreign applicants' employability in connection to host country language skills (e.g. Edo et al. 2013; Koivunen et al. 2015). Research of Koivunen et al. (2015) shows that ideal candidate, according to Finnish HR managers, speaks excellent Finnish, despite a need of it at work. The research shows that managers of employment agencies translate customers' requirements flexibly. For example, a manager from a developed country does not have to speak Finnish, but it is a must for a customer service employee from a developing country. Meanwhile, French research (Edo et al. 2013) shows similar results. Language skills mentioned in the application directly correlated with the number of interview call-backs.

Alternatively, there was research about the perception of Chinese products in Germany (Kreppel & Holtbrügge 2012). The results have shown that younger and less educated customers are more open to Chinese products. Therefore, if producers want to achieve success in markets similar to Germany, they have to target a similar audience there.

Equivalently, job seekers from developing countries should target younger companies or companies with younger personnel because the employees may be more open towards foreign colleagues.

The next section is the conclusion. The previous four sections explained the liability of foreignness of individuals in detail. Section 2.4.1 compared self-initiated versus company-assigned expatriates. Section 2.4.2 compared self-initiated expatriates versus host-country nationals. Section 2.4.3 explained the concept of the liability of localness. Finally, section 2.4.4 explained the effects imposed by the image of the country of origin.

2.4.5. Conclusion

In this section, the study is focused on the employability of self-initiated expatriates (SIE). The researcher studied whether there is a need for SIEs to adjust their behaviour and credentials to fit employment market of the host country. This section has covered what is the liability of foreignness (LOF), the liability of newness (LON) and the liability of localness (LOL), a difference between liability of foreignness and employment discrimination, a difference between company-assigned expatriates (CAE), self-initiated expatriates and foreign language specialists (FLS), and are there country image and country-of-origin effects.

Foreign subsidiaries need SIEs to support operations on middle and lower management levels. There are tasks that upper management CAEs or lower level HCNs do not have the ability or competence to do. The duties include, for example, rendering home country culture for national employees and adjusting foreign products to the local market with a deeper understanding of in what circumstances the product was created.

Local firms need SIEs for various tasks, as well. If they what to start exporting to a particular country, SIEs can share their knowledge of business practices used in their home country. They can, for example, help to portray local target customers with a purpose to make preliminary product adjustments. Research has shown that knowledge

of the language of the target country increased export success. If a company already have export operations, then SIEs can help to maintain them. SIEs can render the culture of the company's home country for foreign offices.

If a domestic firm does not yet wish to establish foreign operations but only seeks a competitive advantage against foreign companies in the home market, SIEs will help to avoid the liability of localness. SIEs can provide solutions and business practices in similar situations from foreign markets. SIEs demonstrate novel approaches to daily situations with their regular habits cultivated in another culture. Besides, they place other employees into a need to think and communicate using another language syntax. It makes them become a tool for developing innovative thinking among HCNs.

Sometimes an image of the country where education was received (usually same to the country of origin) can have a negative or positive impact on the employability of SIEs. Employers or customers of some developed countries, e.g. Canada and Australia, distrust education, received in developing countries. Hence, they discount the credentials of such applicants. Nevertheless, education received in developed countries has raised evaluations and reduced nationality bias, caused by country-of-origin effects. There was advice by George and Chaze (2014: 17) for Canadian international students and, especially, visible minority students – they have to secure employment by building their professional social networks.

The next section will tell more about discrimination in employment. This section 'Liability of foreignness of individuals' (2.4) and the following section 2.5 aim to review the second research objective 'to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination.'

2.5. Discrimination in employment

Discrimination is when an organisation or individuals treat someone differently from others because they do not respect something in them (ReachOut 2017). This section focuses on discrimination based on gender, race, national origin and religion. Studies show that such discrimination exists in Finland, as well (Koivunen et al. 2015). Issues such as bias against the quality of foreign training or recognition of foreign certification (Louis et al. 2010) and fluency requirements for host-country language in recruitment processes have been covered in the previous section 2.4.4 on Country Image and Country-of-Origin Effects. In the academic sense, they do not belong to discrimination because an applicant has the power to affect them.

The following three sections explain discrimination in employment in detail. Section 2.5.1 tells about the origins of discrimination. Section 2.5.2 discusses the informal practices of inequality in Finland. Finally, section 2.5.3 explains the effects of discrimination on Eastern-European immigrants in Finland. The conclusion (2.5.4) follows after that.

2.5.1. Origins of discrimination

Discrimination is disrespect of certain qualities of a candidate that usually he or she has no power to affect, e.g. race or gender. In comparison, quality of education or the ability for the language of the host country are something that a candidate can affect; therefore, being disadvantaged in this in comparison to other candidates is not considered to be discrimination. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that complete language fluency or locally received education is not always necessary for certain jobs. Choosing candidates according to what is customary within this organisation but not to a real need may be considered as discrimination – for example, rejecting an English-speaking IT specialist because English is not native for the national employees.

Respect is a social and emotional concept (Blumenfeld 2011). The results have shown that discrimination at work appears from, for example, homophily (Edo et al. 2013), social closure (Roscigno et al. 2007) or prejudice (Krings & Olivares 2007; Anttonen 2008; Louis et al. 2010; Åslund & Skans 2012; Koivunen et al. 2015).

Homophily is a sociologic theory proposing that people prefer to form relationships with similar individuals (Kleinedler 2016). There is a French study (Edo et al. 2013) that investigates ethnic homophily in recruitment discrimination. Recruiters with European names preferred to call back applicants with French names. While female HR managers likely called back women. They mentioned that highlighting the language ability in the non-French application decreased employment discrimination. The authors offer to implement a certification system of sufficient language skills to modify employers' perceptions of candidates. There was similar research conducted in Finland. Finnish and Russian applicants had identical applications, but employers preferred to call-back to those who had Finnish surname. (TEM 2012)

Other research on a similar topic by Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) conducted in the USA points out that foreign applicants with Japanese accent were preferred less than applicants with a French accent. It is mentioned that French-accented candidates were preferred even more than those who had a Standard American English accent. These results were especially visible for jobs with high communication needs.

To reduce recruiters' bias on applicants' foreign accents, Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) offer to use structured interviews over unstructured to ensure the quality of evaluations (e.g. Campion, Palmer & Campion 1997; Huffcutt, Conway, Roth & Stone 2001). The second strategy is focused on the quality of interviewers and their evaluations. Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) refer to an article by Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes and Ferris (2006). It offers to train interviewers, to have a group of interviewers, and to prefer interviewers with international experience. Finally, the last strategy is to provide extensive information on the applicant. Research by Locksley, Borgida, Brekke and Hepburn (1980, in Hosoda & Stone-Romero 2010) tells that even a little amount of information on the applicant has reduced stereotypes about foreign accents.

Social closure is another systematic disfavouring. It is a practice of limiting access to certain privileges available only to the insiders (Crossman 2017). There is research by Roscigno et al. (2007) conducted in the USA about impacts of social closure on employment access, harassment and discriminatory exclusion at the job. The results show that all of the abovementioned processes take place there. The findings also suggest that the gatekeeping actors use the human agency when deciding on who fits best and who is best for promotion. Stereotypes about applicants do not work favourably for them. Nevertheless, supervisors use discriminatory criteria only as much as organisational procedures, rules and structures allow them to do so.

Meanwhile, the actors in organisational environments filter daily interactions through predetermined cultural attitudes formed not in their workplace but through the culture and history of the society. Therefore, every actor has to take personal consideration that his or her behaviour does not contribute to daily practices of inequality.

Results of another study conducted in the USA demonstrate lower organisational citizenship for foreign employees, differences in performance evaluations versus local employees, as well as foreign workers' own lower impression of distributive justice (Ang, Dyne & Begley 2003). If such things happen in the USA, this also may take place in Finland.

As for prejudice, there were several reports (see Krings & Olivares 2007; Anttonen 2008; Åslund & Skans 2012) on the matter. The findings of the first study (Krings & Olivares 2007) conducted in Switzerland show that ethnic discrimination and bias against foreign applicants are confirmed only on the jobs that demand high interpersonal abilities and only when recruiters are prejudiced. Nevertheless, the indicators were not strong for jobs with high technical skills. Discrimination targeted only certain ethnicities (viz. nationalities outside of the EU). If such things happen in Switzerland, this also may be true in Finland.

The findings of the second study (Anttonen 2008) conducted in Finland suggest that building trust with interest groups is the best approach to lessen prejudices. Nevertheless, building the relationship is impossible without a mutual will to accept multiculturalism.

The findings of the third study (Åslund & Skans 2012) conducted in Sweden suggest that anonymous application procedures (AAP) increase the possibility for women and non-Western individuals to get invited for an interview and get a job offer. The results show that recruiters choose interviewees based on ethnicity and gender, and also that ethnic and racial discrimination is harder than gender one.

The next section will tell more about the informal practices of inequality in Finland. As for the topic of discrimination in employment, this section told about the origins of discrimination. The section following the next (2.5.3) explains the effects of discrimination on Eastern-European immigrants in Finland. The conclusion (2.5.4) follows after that.

2.5.2. The informal practices of inequality in Finland

Research has shown that discrimination does take place in Finland. The findings suggest that informal practices of inequality appear when the idea of treating equally is used for other purposes than promoting equal opportunities as such, e.g. for avoiding penalties or for benefiting the business. The findings show that although laws against discrimination in employment exist, HR managers follow them only to avoid litigation and instead of supporting equality. (Koivunen et al. 2015).

HR managers are focused on finding suitable candidates for specific jobs. Requirements and qualifications differ from one position to another. Nevertheless, every opening implies a concept of an ideal employee. Apart from required qualifications, the concept, as well, contains ideal social divisions where the worker would belong. The ideal employee, in the minds of HR managers, does have a certain age, gender and nationality. (Tienari, Quack & Theobald 2002, in Koivunen et al. 2015).

It is reported that in Finland discrimination by age, gender and ethnicity has a place. According to Larja et al. (2012) and Koivunen et al. (2015), age discrimination is reported to be common, although HR managers disagree. The results show that usually, the ideal employee is under forty years. As for gender preference, Finnish HR managers admit that some positions are seen to be better for men and some for women, but female ones are lower in the hierarchy, lower paid and simpler (Johansson 1998; Koivunen et al. 2015). Ethnicity preference is usually hidden behind language fluency. Nevertheless, it was seen fine to employ a Swedish professional without any knowledge of Finnish, but it was a career obstacle for an Iraqi individual. (Koivunen et al. 2015).

There are three types of the informal practices of inequality: (1) recruitment by the book, (2) relocation of responsibility, and (3) recruiting by addressing the difference (Koivunen et al. 2015). Recruitment by the book is a practice of selective interpretation of anti-discrimination legislation. HR managers try their best to follow the legislation. Nevertheless, their or client's views about the ideal candidate are sometimes conflicting with the legislation. In Finland, the legislation is built on voluntary practices and recommendations then prohibitions. The circumstances allow managers to interpret the law selectively in the benefit of views on the ideal employee. (Kantola 2010; Koivunen et al. 2015).

Relocation of responsibility is a practice of shifting responsibility for recruitment equality on somebody else. Recruiters have moved it either on an applicant who has to obtain particular skills or the requiting organisation that has to change requirements so that the recruiting managers could make an equal choice. Shifting responsibility lets them go on with such practices, meanwhile promoting equality. (Koivunen et al. 2015)

Recruiting by addressing the difference is a practice of applying diversity for the benefit of the business. Koivunen et al. (2015) report HR managers found diversity positive and valuable for the business. Recruiters saw the difference in people as a source of diversity of ideas which would serve better different business needs, e.g. enable better competitiveness via innovation (see Un 2016). However, seeing diversity a benefit for business does not follow the goal of legislation of promoting equality as such because

this sometimes might lead to the informal inequality treatment. For example, hiring immigrants for positions low in hierarchy because it is less expected from them, but they deliver more results than Finns.

When discussing discrimination, recruiting by addressing the difference is seen negatively as HR managers do not promote equality as it is. Nevertheless, if discrimination is higher on a labour market then one can cope with, and legislation does not help, immigrants still can use this as an opportunity to promote themselves as a tool for diversity on a workplace. In-depth discussion of benefits of diversity at work was held in the previous section 2.4.3 on Liability of localness.

Koivunen et al. (2015) find it negative when equality is used for other purposes, e.g. for benefiting the business. Although the equality legislation was introduced with an idea of promoting equality as such, having a positive approach to foreignness at least in some fields of recruiting is a positive sign. The authors tell that it is hard to fight these practices alone, and they propose that there should be some authority or organisation to help to eliminate such practices.

According to Statistics Finland (2014), 10 to 13% of foreign nationals experienced discrimination or unfair treatment from the Employment and Economic Development Offices, the social service office, the Social Insurance Institution of Finland or the police.

The next section will tell more about the effects of discrimination on Eastern-European immigrants in Finland. As for the topic of discrimination in employment, this section told about the informal practices of inequality in Finland. The previous section 2.5.1 discussed the origins of discrimination. The conclusion (2.5.4) follows after the next section.

2.5.3. Effects of discrimination on Eastern-European immigrants in Finland

Research has shown that scientists across different countries are worried about the health of immigrants and their well-being when they perceive discrimination. For example,

research of George and Chaze (2014) conducted in Canada shows that discrimination does affect the health and well-being of immigrants (Dean & Wilson 2009; Este & Tachble 2009). It shows life dissatisfaction among immigrants (George, Chaze, Fuller-Thomson & Brennenstuhl 2012), decreased job performance (Naff 1995; Ensher, Grant-Vallone & Donaldson 2001; Pavalko, Mossakowski & Hamilton 2003), and it is also noted that Canada would have a potential economic loss if the immigrants left the country (Reitz 2001; Ho 2010).

In this section, the research is focused on a study by Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Perhoniemi (2007) conducted in Finland about the health and well-being of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Estonia and Russia. For immigrants coming from this region, an idea of being in control of their chances to find employment has a significant influence on their well-being. The results show that especially low health had those immigrants who were unemployed but believed in their effort and skills to get employed.

The findings of the study show the same results as previous research in this field. They suggest that discrimination negatively affects health status (Krieger & Sidney 1996; Finch, Hummer, Kol & Vega 2001) and psychological well-being of immigrants (Pernice & Brook 1996; Verkuyten 1998; Kessler, Mickelson & Williams 1999; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou & Rummens 1999; Finch, Kolody & Vega 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000; Brown 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Vesala 2002). Weak belief in control of own chances for employment directly affects health and psychological well-being (Erez, Johnson & Judge 1995; Phinney, Santos & Madden 1996; Phinney, Madden & Santos 1998; Nesdale, Rooney & Smith 1997; Verkuyten & Nekuee 1999; Garcia, Garcia & Jariego 2002). Though beliefs of control influence perception of the environment, the sense of control would be low when discrimination is apparent (Verkuyten 1998).

The results of the study (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2007) also suggest that a combination of inefficacy find a job with a strong immigrant's belief in own ability to find it leads to higher perceived discrimination. It affects health and well-being. It means that if an immigrant from a country of the former Soviet Union believes that he or she has sufficient

skills to find and maintain work in Finland but cannot find it despite fluency in Finnish, there would be a conflict of perceptions. The immigrant would feel vulnerable; and therefore, the perception of discrimination would be less positive.

It is suggested that the lesser an unemployed immigrant follows the beliefs of his group on perceived employment discrimination, the more his perceived employment situation is coherent with confidence in his ability to control his employment situation. The self-rated health status is poorer among those who believe in lack of control in their immigrant group over a possibility to influence their labour situation in Finland.

The results suggest that unemployment, perceived discrimination, immigrants' well-being and group-level control beliefs form a complex relationship. There is a higher risk for lowered health status and psychological symptoms among those immigrants perceiving discrimination who are unemployed but still believe in their skills to find employment. A belief in an ability to control possibilities for employment had a positive effect on immigrant physical and psychological well-being, but in combination with perceived discrimination and both immigrant and unemployment statuses, these beliefs impacted negatively on well-being. Consequently, continued unemployment affects negatively on immigrants' group perceptions of discrimination and simultaneously their subjective health status. Therefore, immigrant employment and tolerance at work towards cultural diversity are important not only for immigrants' subjective well-being, but it also affects their group expectations in control over their employment. Although high expectations enhance personal diligence and well-being, a discrepancy between expectations and reality decrease them.

The researchers provided recommendations not only for employers but also for the immigrants themselves. They recommend employers to avoid ethnic discrimination. They advise immigrants to believe in personal efficacy even if they notice that their co-ethnics experience work discrimination.

The next section is the conclusion. The previous three sections explained discrimination in employment in detail. Section 2.5.1 told about the origins of discrimination. Section

2.5.2 discussed the informal practices of inequality in Finland. Finally, section 2.5.3 explained the effects of discrimination on Eastern-European immigrants in Finland.

2.5.4. Conclusion

Discrimination is disrespect of certain qualities of an individual that he has no power to affect, e.g. gender, race, national origin or religion. It appears from homophily, social closure and prejudice (Krings & Olivares 2007; Roscigno et al. 2007; Anttonen 2008; Louis et al. 2010; Åslund & Skans 2012; Edo et al. 2013; Koivunen et al. 2015).

Homophily is when relationships are formed only with similar individuals. In the work context, for example, female recruiters would prefer to call back women (Edo et al. 2013; Kleinedler 2016). Social closure is when insiders limit access to certain privileges for outsiders. For example, when managers use the human agency when making decisions who is best for promotion. (Roscigno et al. 2007; Crossman 2017). Prejudice is when stereotypes on applicants' nationalities do not work in favour of them. For example, foreign accents, despite complete language fluency, may be an obstacle to getting a job that demands high commination skills (Krings & Olivares 2007).

Åslund and Skans (2012) propose that anonymous application procedures (AAP) increase the possibility for women and non-Western individuals to get invited for an interview and get a job offer. Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) offer several strategies to reduce recruiters' bias: using structured interviews, training interviewers, interviewing in a group and preferring those HR managers who have international experience. Roscigno et al. note (2007) that organisational procedures, rules and structures impede supervisors to be discriminatory.

Anttonen (2008) suggests that building mutual trust will lessen prejudices. Meanwhile, Roscigno et al. (2007) note that everyone is filtering daily interactions through cultural attitudes formed by culture and history of the society; therefore, everyone has to take personal consideration if their behaviour does not contribute to inequality.

There are some informal practices of inequality exist in Finland. It is practices of misusing the idea of equality for some other purpose, e.g. benefiting business. There are three types of the informal practices of inequality: (1) recruitment by the book, (2) relocation of responsibility, and (3) recruiting by addressing the difference. Recruitment by the book is a practice of selective interpretation of anti-discrimination legislation. In Finland, the legislation is built on voluntary practices and recommendations instead of prohibitions. This allows managers to interpret the legislation selectively. Relocation of responsibility is a practice of shifting responsibility for recruitment equality on somebody else. Recruiters usually move it either on an applicant who does not have particular skills or on the organisation that has to change requirements so that the recruiting managers could make an equal choice. Recruiting by addressing the difference is a practice of applying diversity for the benefit of the business. For example, HR managers see the difference in people as a source of diversity of ideas which may enable innovation and, hence, competitiveness (see Un 2016 for competitiveness via innovation). The authors propose that there should be some authority or organisation to help to eliminate the practices. (Koivunen et al. 2015)

There is an article by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2007) about the effects of discrimination on immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Estonia and Russia living in Finland. According to George and Chaze (2014), discrimination affects health, well-being, life satisfaction and job performance of immigrants negatively. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2007) note that an idea of being in control of own chances to find employment has a significant influence on the well-being of these immigrants. The results of the study also suggest that a combination of inefficacy to find a job with a strong immigrant's confidence in own ability to find it leads to higher perceived discrimination. If immigrants believe that they have sufficient skills to find and maintain work in Finland but cannot find it despite fluency in Finnish, there would be a conflict of perceptions.

It is suggested that the lesser an unemployed immigrant follows the beliefs of his group on perceived employment discrimination, the more his perceived employment situation is coherent with confidence in own ability to control his employment situation. The self-

rated health status is poorer among those who believe in lack of control in their immigrant group over a possibility to influence their labour situation in Finland.

Unemployment, perceived discrimination, immigrants' well-being and group-level control beliefs form a complicated relationship. A belief in an ability to control possibilities for employment had a positive effect on immigrant physical and psychological well-being, but in combination with perceived discrimination and both immigrant and unemployment statuses, these beliefs impacted negatively on well-being. Long unemployment affects both a perception of discrimination and health status negatively.

Immigrant employment and tolerance at work towards cultural diversity are important not only for immigrants' subjective well-being, but it also affects their group expectations in control over their employment. The researchers recommend employers to avoid ethnic discrimination. They advise immigrants to believe in personal efficacy even if they notice that their co-ethnics experience work discrimination.

The next section will tell more about differences in managerial approaches in Finland and Russia. The following section 2.6 aims to review the third research objective 'to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.'

2.6. Comparison of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia

The following three sections explain differences between managerial approaches in Finland and Russia in detail. Section 2.6.1 tells about cultural differences in Finland and Russia. Section 2.6.2 describes the model of business networks and institutions. Finally, section 2.6.3 discusses business networks and institutions in Western and Russian markets. The conclusion (2.6.4) follows after that.

2.6.1. Culture differences in Finland and Russia

The cultures of Russia and Finland vary a lot. Finland is an individualist society; the score is of 63. Individuals have to take care of just of themselves and their close family. Russia is a collectivist society; the score is of 39. Family and friends are critical to getting along everyday life. As for the power distance, Finland is low on it; the score is of 33. Hierarchy is for convenience only, and a leader is coaching. Power is decentralised, and managers account on the experience of their subordinates. Russia is oppositely high on power distance; the score is of 93. There is a high contrast between roles, as well, as, the less and the more powerful people within the society. The roles set particular behaviour that reflects in all aspects of business relations. The approach is top-down and requires providing precise tasks. (Hofstede 1980, 2017b, 2017a; Elenkov 1997; Fey et al. 2009).

For example, research of Fey et al. (2009) is concerned with HRM practices in Russia, Finland and the USA. They systematically compared relationships of ability and motivation with culture and institutional structure of these countries. They told that a firm's performance is the principal organisational goal, and employees provide a competitive advantage. Therefore, understanding HRM practices across MNE subsidiaries are vital for studies in this field. (Wright & McMahan 1992, in Fey et al. 2009). Authors suggest national culture is deeply inside people's minds; therefore, they are hard to change. To facilitate employee motivation in Finland, communication is vital. It is not so in Russia because leadership is authoritarian, and there is a small chance to input for employees. Training is essential for Russian employees because of a change in demand for professions for which they were not trained due to the transition of Russia to a market economy from communism. Fey et al. (2009) also mentioned other studies about how cultural differences influence HRM practices (e.g., Milliman et al. 1998; Schuler & Rogovsky 1998).

The next section will describe the model of business networks and institutions. As for the topic of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia, this section told about cultural differences in Finland and Russia. The section following the next (2.6.3) discusses

business networks and institutions in Western and Russian markets. The conclusion (2.6.4) follows after that.

2.6.2. The model of business networks and institutions

According to Jansson et al. (2007), business networks are not similar in West European, Chinese and Russian markets. Networks can be seen as institutions. They have a certain stability, patterns and behaviour. They suggest that institutions influence business in five different ways: longitude, strength, function, basis for decision-making and personal interactions in business relationships.

Longitude can be short-term, mid-term or long-term. Companies always apply this perspective on relationships. There is a versatile number of rationales to establish, develop and terminate a relationship. The relationship strength is defined by whether it easy or hard to leave or enter and whether they are comprehensible for outsiders. Difficulty to leave or enter is a result of the costliness of investments, adjustments and other commitment made. The function is a role in the network. The relationships may have been established for cost reduction and value or other broader reason. If the value is the case, then failing relationships have to be terminated. Nevertheless, if relationships are established for other broader purpose, then they can be maintained. Depending on the reason, firms may build up an identity in a network. The basis for decision-making is either rational calculation or emotions. How decisions are made is critical for daily operations. Strategies are developed based on corporate needs and the network around. The need to control partners in the network depends on the perception of trustworthiness. Personal interactions are a degree of social interaction in a business relationship. Business activities do not happen in isolation; it requires social interaction. Social interaction can have different forms and value levels.

Jansson et al. (2007) categorise the difference in the business networks along with institutional substances: cognitive, regulative and normative. Each of them has its aspects. The cognitive substance is characterised with self, causality and time. The normative substance is described with achieved against ascribed status, universalism against

particularism, the inner against the outer direction, and trust. The regulative substance is explored through authority and sanctions. Such a variety of features demand a variety of strategies to operate in these markets. Below (Figure 3) is the model of business networks and institutions.

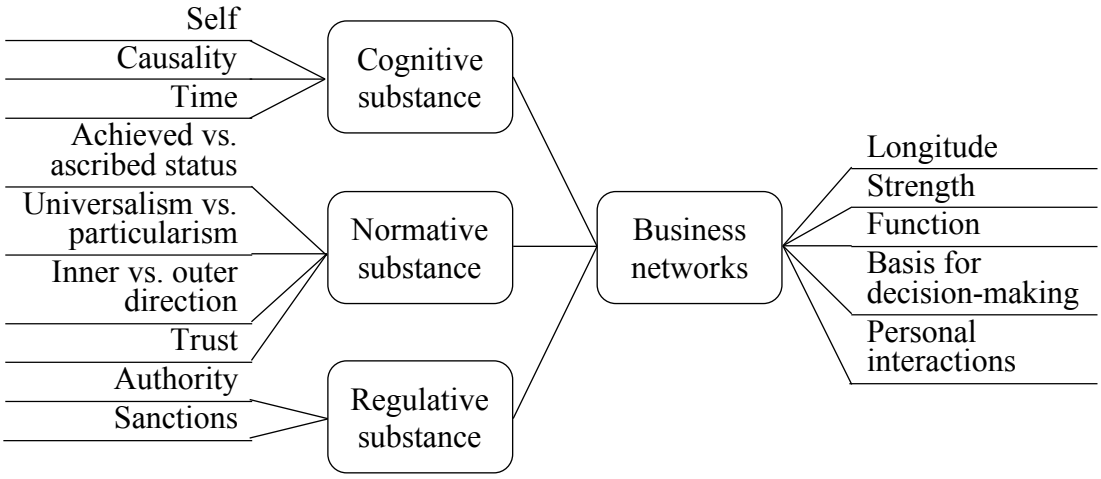

Figure 3. The model of business networks and institutions (based on Jansson et al. 2007)

Culture is a collection of informal rules. Hence, theories of culture and institutions are interconnected. Business practices are different across markets, and institutions affect them. Companies across different markets function by different principles and do not have similar internal business practices. It means that different institutions govern business networks differently.

How people think, what ways they prefer to do things, what they talk, their common thinking and decision-making patterns and actions is the cognitive substance. This substance also includes shared knowledge, stereotypes and schemata, cultural frames, belief systems, routines and learning processes. Therefore, the cognitive substance is a basis for the identity system. According to Hofstede (2001), people from a particular culture think and act the same.

Three aspects explain the cognitive dimension are self, causality and time. Self is how individuals in a company see themselves concerning other employees and other companies. This aspect is similar to the individualism-collectivism dimension by Hofstede (1980). Causality includes thought style (i.e. abstract or non-abstract), logical connections and way of how things are explained (i.e. whether the explanations are linear or sequential). Causality is about how causes and effects are seen and how the results of actions and decisions are perceived. The time aspect is about how time, actions and relationships are perceived and whether they are seen as linear or circular. Companies see it as a limited resource.

The normative substance is the norms and values of society and desired behaviour; it is about how companies establish relationships and exchange resources. It empowers actors and their activities, provides resources and guidelines. Values may include business values, also: self-discipline, honesty, personal achievement and common goals. Corporate norms are expectations, practices and behaviours accepted by the decision makers.

The normative substance is described with four aspects: achieved against ascribed status, universalism against particularism, the inner against the outer direction, and trust. Status can be achieved with performance and merits of the individual, or it can be ascribed by a background of the person, e.g. clan or family. Universalism against particularism is what rules in what groups are valid and to what degree they general, formal, open and rational. If the value is universal, then everybody supports it instead of only one group. If some rules are particularistic, then they may override the general rules. Inner or outer direction explains where values are located in the network. For example, Asian cultures contain a concept of ‘shame’ which outer by nature; while Western cultures contain a concept of ‘guilt’ which inner in nature. As for trust, if a company is trusted, then some expectations are placed on it. For example, a trustworthy seller would always produce reliable products, and the buyer will act in a particular way. Trust can be mutual also.

The regulative substance is the sanctions imposed if expectations of normative substance are not met. The substance is about rewards and punishments, supervision, assessment and order enforcement. Enforcement can be formal, e.g. salary adjustments, or informal,

e.g. shaming and exclusion. Formal rules are imposed by special intuitions, e.g. courts and police. This substance ascertains violations and punishment severity.

Two critical aspects of the regulative substance are sanction and authority systems. The sanction system is a combination of measures, customs and laws, rewards or punishments in this network. It includes both formal legislation and informal sanctioning practises. It aims to mitigate non-acceptable behaviour and boost the acceptable one.

The authority system is about who gets the right to supervise and enforce. Powerful actors can dictate their will to others, provide stimuli to ensure compliance and employ authority with legitimised coercive power where norms constrain and support the use of power. The authority system decides on how relationships are arranged. The difference between contemporary Western authority system and the old paternalistic system is that in the latter one, customs define the ruler's status, and people obey because of respect to traditions. (Jansson et al. 2007).

The next section will discuss business networks and institutions in Western and Russian markets. As for the topic of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia, this section described the model of business networks and institutions. The previous section 2.6.1 discussed cultural differences in Finland and Russia. The conclusion (2.6.4) follows after the next section.

2.6.3. Business networks and institutions in Western and Russian markets

Currently, Russia is in the transition from the planned to the market economy. The Russian economy is going through plenty of changes in institutions and networks. (Peng & Luo 2000; Jansson 2007b). Organisational governance is also changing from state to a combination of private, state and foreign ownership (Jansson et al. 2007). Institutions previously stable have grown unpredictable and turbulent (Roth & Kostova 2003). Some institutions in Russia are not yet established. Companies cannot trust formal institutions to resolve problems; hence, they have to resolve them through the informal ones. Contrary

to Russia, Western European formal institutions are more stable, transparent and stronger (Koopman 1991). Since existing formal institutions cannot support business activities effectively, companies can only hope on the informal institutions (Kostova & Roth 2002) and have to perform these functions themselves (Khanna & Palepy 1999; Peng & Luo 2000).

As for the 'self' aspect, networks in West Europe, including Northern Europe, focused on the network units. Firms develop an identity, and interaction with other companies emerges from presenting the company's interests and itself. (Jansson et al. 2007). Russian informal networks are established in times of the planned economy (Berliner 1952; Ledeneva 1998). Russia's transformation towards the Western model leaves firms faceless and anonymous (Salmi 1996; Johanson 2004). A company's operations define the face of the firm. Some employees are personally connected to the external actors. Hence, they are vital for identity building. In Russian and Western networks, firms are connected through autonomous actors within these firms. The relationships are based on logical and rational calculations and voluntary action.

Regarding causality, West European companies see the network as a source of growth and profitability. Rational strategy development prevails. West European cultures are oriented toward performance. It means that every relationship is established and maintained only when performing well, i.e. brings value, and if not viable, then terminated. Emotions and feelings are essential in the business culture of Russia. The business networks are developed and maintained often on the personal or emotional basis, i.e. trust, especially if companies have some experience of working with each other. Nevertheless, rational calculation and planning are in use due to the high risk of cheating. A high degree of uncertainty avoidance is a feature of business networks in Russia. Russian managers are occupied with maintaining control and power (Holt, Ralston & Terpstra 1994; in Jansson et al. 2007).

Concerning the time aspect, long-term relationships, in West European networks, are established only after first transactions have shown to be successful. Relationships themselves are important but secondary to the value the relationships produce.

Relationships are mid-term long, meaning that they are relatively long but not life-long, e.g. as in China. (Håkansson & Johanson 1993). Northern Europeans are very time conscious and believe it is a limited commodity (R. Kumar & Worm 2003). Parties are not afraid to risk as long it improves the value of the relationship. Relationships are dynamic within and have space for technology and product development.

Russian relationships are managed daily, hence, short-term oriented. The transition makes future unpredictable, and companies have to adjust momentarily. They give no space for future planning, and there is no time for developing trust and (Gurkov 1996; Peng & Heath 1996; Blanchard & Kremer 1997). Hence, they are reluctant to invest in relationships and instead prefer to terminate them (Davis, Patterson & Grazin 1996; Gurkov 1996; Hallén & Johanson 2004; Johanson 2004). In times of the transition, knowledge of how to do business outdates fast, and companies have to look for other ways, includes finding new suppliers and customers (Johanson 2004; Johanson & Johanson 2006).

As for achieved against ascribed status, the value in Russian networks is based on ascribed status, while mutuality in Western networks is based on achieved status. Business networks in West Europe are built on mutual agreements (Jansson & Ramström 2005). Russian blat system is based on gifts, favours and strong emotional connections that make the status ascribed.

Blat is the informal system of barter developed in times of the central planning where good and services were exchanged for favours (Michailova & Worm 2003). With the transition, blat system also transformed from friendship to money corruption. The ascribed status previously based on moral considerations nowadays rests on clear expression of wealth. Blat is illegal by nature, and companies involved keep it in secret from outsiders. Blat system is based on trust, long-term in character and implies emotional and personal bonds with whom one chooses to exchange favours, usually family, friends, colleagues or neighbours. Personal relationships are vital for business; also, as public institutions are weak (Michailova & Worm 2003).

Regarding universalism against particularism, West European business networks rest more on universal principles. Transactions and networks are anonymous, impersonal and formal (Koopman 1991; Whitley 1992; Lindell & Arvonen 1996). Contracts and transactions based on individual, opportunistic and idiosyncratic (Lasserre & Schutte 1995). A mixture of universalism versus particularism is found in Russian networks. There is a desire for order and formalisation to decrease uncertainty and increase transparency. Businesses use contracts, but they know no one would follow them (Bridgewater 1999; Salmi 2000; Johanson 2004).

Concerning inner against the outer direction, business networks in Western Europe are characterised by inner direction, e.g. Christian guilt. Networks there are developed around efficiency, and if efficiency is lacking, individuals guide their actions by guilt. Business networks in Russia are characterised by strong outer direction (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000), e.g. blaming others and using contingency and chance more skilful than others. Such outer approach of moving fault on others may lead to conflicts in relationships and affect performance negatively (Fey & Beamish 2000).

As for trust, following formal agreements is critical for professional and organizational trustworthiness in business networks of West Europe (Jansson 2007a). Employers and employees enter as buyers and sellers, i.e. they have professional roles in employment relationships. Trust is vital for relationship success in collectivist cultures (R. Kumar & Worm 2003). In Russia, trust and relationships are more valuable than contracts. Nevertheless, any relationship starts with suspicion because individuals expect to be cheated (Johanson 2008). After decades of planned governance, the trust may exist only when actors are strongly interconnected within the same network, and they find cheating consequences more severe than trustworthiness rewards. Trust in Russia is a rare commodity and hard to develop; hence, companies have to rely on other exchange modes (Blanchard & Kremer 1997).

Regarding the sanction system, in Western Europe, it is formal, while in Russia, it is a mix of formal and informal ones. Russians would choose one, depending on whether an agreement was breached in blat or corporate environment. Russia is a collectivist society

where people prefer to stay in groups. This feature creates a risk to employees being punished for initiatives (Hofstede 1994). Monitoring and controlling partners are essential features of doing business in Russia.

Responsibility in Western European business relationships is well defined and often in text form. Sanctions are formal and defined by developed legal systems where rules a same to everyone. Written contracts are preferred to oral, following is binding by law – breach results in sanctions (Buuri & Ratschinsky 2000). Firm's operations are built on and protected by law. There is no need for informal sanctions as in Russia, where the law is still developing (Redding 1995).

Concerning authority, there are two distinct systems: modern Western and traditional paternalistic ones. In the paternalistic one, emotional bonds are low, and supervision of subordination is high. Status is legitimised by hierarchy, ideology or culture, e.g. family authority. The superior's power is much higher in comparison to modern Western authority system. Paternalistic authority comes from previous family-centred pre-industrial society. Traditional ruler's status makes people obey.

Authority pattern in Russia is paternalistic. The planned economy did not allow firms to compete legally (Mattsson 1993). Intuitions did not support the development of any exchange or adaptation relationships. All market relations were governed through state planning system (Johanson 2004). Nevertheless, business managers do not trust formal institutions and prefer to solve problems through personal networks (Hendley 1997; all in Jansson et al. 2007).

Gurkov's study (2016) shows that there a 'dominant archetype' of HRM in Russian companies. Authoritarian leadership is dominating, and decision-making is concentrated at the hierarchical top. Employees' rights are protected poorly because of unionisation is low. Employee performance assessment is not formalised. Therefore, for employees to keep their employment, good personal relationships with ultimate superiors are vitally necessary.

West European companies employ formal authority. It is based on formal procedures and rules and delegated down the hierarchal layers. It rests on impersonal and rational rules and laws and restricted to the competence areas. Competence is not considered as family property as in traditional societies. Personal competence defines it, and it is evaluated justly and fair. The competence includes the ability to act in a considered upright manner, according to impersonal and invariant rules. Both emotional bounds and supervision of subordination are low in this authority system. Not obedience but personal initiative defines social interaction in this authority pattern. (Jansson et al. 2007).

Finland employs Western European management approach. The description above matching with culture description from Section 2.6.1 ‘Culture differences in Finland and Russia’ that hierarchy in Finland is for convenience only, and a leader is coaching, and that the approach in Russia is top-down and requires providing precise tasks.

The next section is the conclusion. The previous three sections explained the differences between managerial approaches in Finland and Russia in detail. Section 2.6.1 told about cultural differences in Finland and Russia. Section 2.6.2 described the model of business networks and institutions. Finally, section 2.6.3 discussed business networks and institutions in Western and Russian markets.

2.6.4. Conclusion

Three substances institutionalise relationships between individuals and firm in business networks. The normative substance makes actors take roles towards each other. The cognitive substance defines social reality through shared beliefs and understanding. The regulative substance secures that results meet expectations imposed by various norms of this network.

Table 1. The relative importance of three aspects of strategy (based on Jansson et al. 2007).

	West European business network	Russian business network
Patience	Medium	Low
Suspicion	Low	High
Performance	High	Medium

Relationship longitude and patience for results vary across cultures. Strength of uncertainty directly affects them. Desire to stay loyal under challenging times defines the longitude. In Western Europe, patience and longitude are medium-long. Positive outcomes reduce uncertainty. Nevertheless, Northern Europeans are very time conscious and believe it is a limited commodity. In Russia, this dimension is low. In transition, there is no time to wait. Results should be produced instantly. Trust between partners exists only when they belong to the same network.

Suspicion is a feeling that something unwanted may happen, e.g. being cheated. It leads to reluctance to invest in relationships. West European business relationships assume partners to be honest and to show commitment, competence and support. A 'honeymoon' period is allowed. Formal institutions contribute to trusting relationships. Employers and employees enter as buyers and sellers, i.e. they have professional roles in employment relationships. Russian business relationships expect partners may cheat; therefore, the suspicion is constant at any stage of relationships. Russian companies try to dominate and control relationships. Suspicion applies not only to business relationships. Trust is vital for collectivist cultures. Russian professionals in Finland may have a strong need for trusting relationships. It may become an obstacle for the adjustment process. Establishing genuine relationships between Finnish management and Russian employees can become a key to the development of trust.

Performance is conducted operations and activities in the relationships. How they are performed, e.g. quality and competent, affects the perception of relationship success. Western European networks establish relationships to conduct business. Hence, performance is valued highly there. Relationships have space for dynamic development. Relationships are evaluated continuously throughout the relationship and, if not profitable in a mid-term perspective, have to be terminated. In Russia, performance is of an average value. Russian networks appreciate stability, but often they end relationships when expectations are not met, e.g. there are no immediate results or suspicion of cheating.

Regarding the sanction system, in Western Europe, it is formal, while in Russia, it is a mix of formal and informal ones. Responsibility in Western European business relationships is well defined and often in text form. Written contracts are preferred to oral; following is binding by law – breach results in sanctions.

Networks there are developed around efficiency, and if efficiency is lacking, individuals guide their actions by guilt. Guilt is characterised by inner direction. In Russian business networks, blaming others is very common. Blaming has a strong outer direction.

As for the authority system, there are two types. Western Europe uses the formal authority system, while Russia uses the paternalistic authority system. Western European authority rests on impersonal and rational rules and laws and restricted to the competence areas. The competence includes the ability to act in a considered upright manner, according to impersonal and invariant rules. Supervision of subordination is low. (Jansson et al. 2007).

Russian authoritarian leadership is dominating, and decision-making is concentrated at the hierarchical top. Supervision of subordination is high. Status is legitimised by hierarchy, ideology or culture. Good personal relationships with ultimate superiors are vitally necessary for employees to keep their employment. Low unionisation protects employees' rights poorly; hence, it enables authoritarian leaders to act even more fierce. See Table 1. (Jansson et al. 2007; Gurkov 2016).

3. METHOD

This section introduces methodological choices of the research. Such topics as research design and strategy, data collection and structure of the interviews, time horizon and reliability and validity are discussed. Moreover, Information about respondents is presented in detail. The ethics of the research are also covered here.

3.1. Research design

Research design, according to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009: 136 – 137), is a "general plan" of how a researcher is going to answer the research questions. Hakim (2012: 1) thinks of an academic study as an architectural project. First, ideas come on "shape, style and character of the building, while taking into account functions, purpose" of it. At the same time, Maylor (2016: 104, 387) proposes that research design is "a process and method" a researcher "can use to acquire the knowledge". It will help the person to "gather the data, analyse it, and interpret findings".

The main objectives of the thesis are: (1) to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process, (2) to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination and (3) to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches. According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), and Saunders et al. (2009), the research design is not just a research plan but rather a 'multi-layered' system of research decisions. It covers issues such as clarity of objectives, good methodological choices, realistic approaches and access to data sources, and time allocation.

The research question 'How can Russian professionals expatriate to Finland successfully?' is explanatory because success is a consequence, and particular causes lead to it. Research questions may be of two types: descriptive or explanatory. Descriptive

questions suit such descriptive research designs – the 'what?' questions; while explanatory questions explore causes and consequences. (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008.)

The research applies the deductive research method. There are two methods to approach an academic study: deductive and inductive (see Figure 4). Deductive approach lays on the idea that theory is "the first source of knowledge", therefore when using a deductive approach, first theory (or hypothesis) is formulated then tested by developed research strategy. The inductive method is the opposite: first, data (evidence) is collected, then the theory is developed (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008: 21 – 23.) According to Saunders et al. (2009), a Master's thesis as an academic project involves the use of theory. They say that the extent to which the theory is clear at the beginning of the research defines the type of the method. Interviews as primary data (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008) were conducted to support the research.

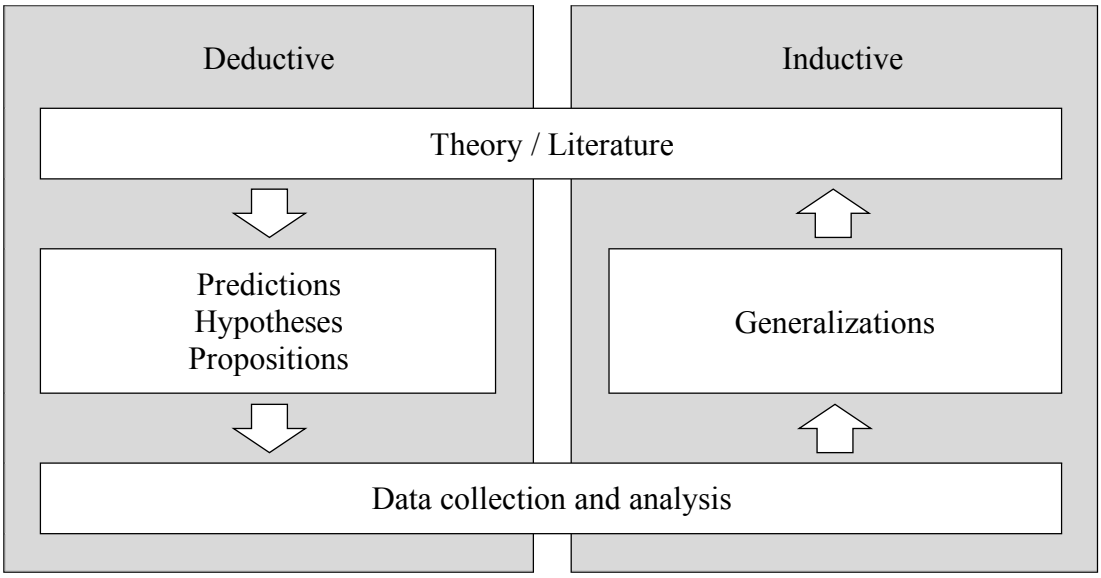

Figure 4. Research approaches (Saunders et al. 2009; Kontkanen 2015).

The following Figure 5 explains well research in general: first, previous studies in the field reviewed then research question alongside with concept are developed, then hypotheses are decided, and data collected, then, analysis is done. Finally, conclusions are made. This work follows this research structure.

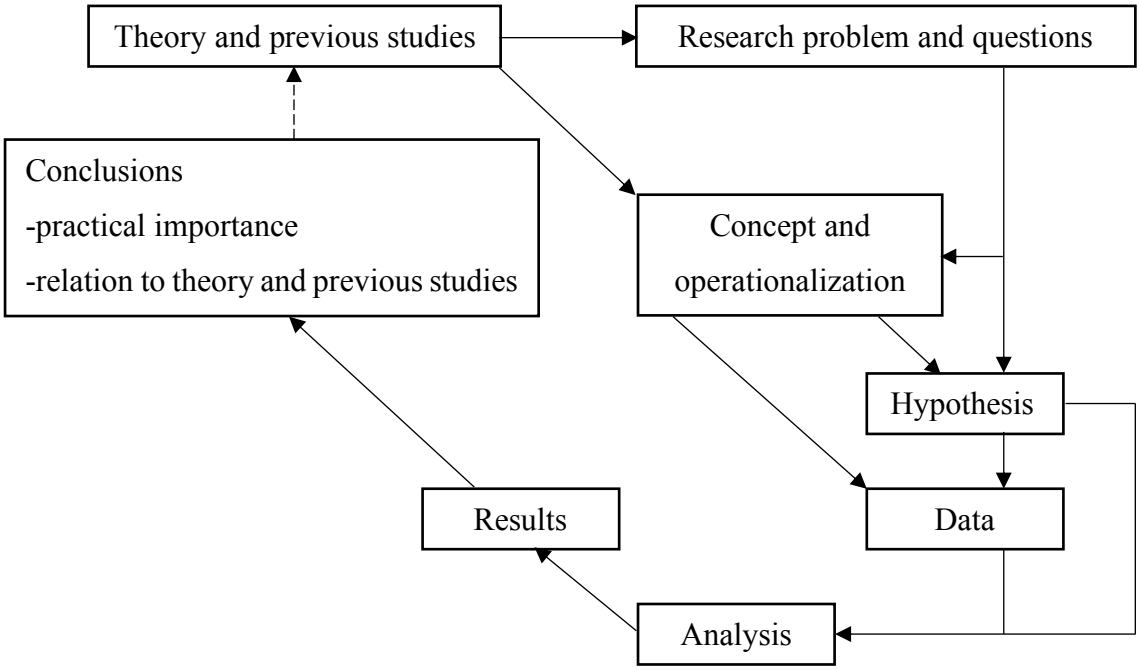

Figure 5. The process of quantitative research (Tanskanen 2015).

3.2. Research strategy

There are several research strategies available. As stated by Saunders et al. (2009), they are an experiment, a survey, a case study, action research, a grounded theory, ethnography and archival research.

In this paper, this paper combines the survey strategy with the case study strategy. Semi-structured interviews were conducted on the same matters with all interviewees in highly controlled context of knowing already beforehand their origin and some of their experience. Moreover, Saunders et al. (2009: 141, 146) advise using the survey strategy

as part of a case study because the strategies are not mutually exclusive, and it is challenging to "construct neat boxes in which to categorise approaches".

The semi-structured interview method used in this paper falls into both strategies of the case study research and the survey. They both can give answers to questions 'what?' and 'how?' (Saunders et al. 2009). Saunders et al. (2009: 146) and Yin (2009: 18, 2011: 4) highlight that within a case study research "the boundaries between the phenomenon being studied and the context within which it is being studied are not evident". It differs from the survey strategy where the exploration is undertaken in a highly controlled context and limited by variables.

Semi-structured interviews are used in the form of a combination of the survey and case study strategies. The case study strategy is typically used in exploratory and explanatory research. At the same time, a survey is used in descriptive and exploratory research. (Saunders et al. 2009.) The interviews fit the descriptive nature of the research question (see Section 3.1), while the exploratory feature of this combination supports the choice.

Furthermore, this research employs the semi-structured interviews method because Saunders et al. (2009: 144 – 145) posit that surveys are usually used to collect a large amount of data. The data is collected in "a highly economical way" using a standardised questionnaire. It allows comparison of data collected. It helps to explain and understand the findings. The survey strategy gives the researcher more control over the research process by selecting representatives. Nevertheless, it requires ensuring that the sample is representative, e.g. using triangulation (see section 3.6 'Reliability and validity'). The standardised questions do not have to be only in the form of a questionnaire: the structured observation and the structured interviews also fall into this group.

This work employs semi-structured interviews with the purpose of understanding relationships between concepts and variables mentioned by interviewees; therefore, the inferential survey is used. Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson (2013) define three types of surveys: factual, inferential and exploratory surveys. Factual surveys are usually used for market research and opinion polls. They are made to collect facts. Postal

questionnaires, structured interviews, survey feedbacks belong to this category. For example, anonymous employee feedback on management or communications is considered to be a factual survey. Inferential surveys are used by management researchers to establish relationships between variables and concepts. Exploratory surveys are used, for instance, to develop a behavioural model or a cultural model. The authors have given an example of Geert Hofstede's study of 1980-1984 (2017c) on national cultural differences. The research includes several variables same for each country, against which their cultures were measured.

In terms of data collection, there are many different ways to compile the sample. For this thesis, stratified sampling is chosen because candidates were studied before inviting them for the interviews. An equal amount of man and women were invited to ensure equal gender distribution. There several types. Simple random sampling is when a researcher picks cases completely randomly, for example, by publishing an invitation in a nation-wide newspaper. In this case, anyone can participate. Systematic sampling is when potential members are picked from a list with equal intervals, for example, every fifth or tenth by calling every 20th person in a phone book of a city. Stratified sampling is when a researcher pays attention to equal propositions of the population to ensure that, for instance, gender distribution or age groups are distributed evenly. Cluster sampling is relative to random sampling, but groups of respondents are selected not individual respondents, for example, school classes. This method is used because it is easier to complete a random section, but also it helps when a researcher is interested in the similarity of the respondents. (Saunders et al. 2009, in Tanskanen 2015.)

Case study, in accordance to Robson (2009: 178), is a "strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence". Yin (2009) defines a 2×2 matrix of case study types (Table 2): single-case and multiple-case designs against holistic and embedded designs. They may appear in any combination:

Table 2. Case study design types (Yin 2009).

Single-case study design	Multiple-case study design
Holistic design	Embedded design

Saunders et al. (2009) explain the design types along the dimensions. The first dimension is the single-case study versus a multiple-case study design. A single case is used when it represents an extreme or unique case. Multiple case study incorporates several cases: the findings of one case have to occur in other cases and hence can be generalised. Yin's (2009) second dimension of holistic versus embedded design is about a unit of analysis. If the research is concerned about the situation or organisation in general, then it is a holistic case study. If several sub-units are analysed, then it is an embedded case study.

This study uses a combination of multiple-case study and embedded designs because some interviewees' experiences would occur in other interviewees' experiences; therefore, it is a multiple-case study. At the same time, certain other experiences were compared versus each other according to managerial approaches; consequently, it is an embedded design because there are several sub-units analysed.

The research question of this work is explanatory; therefore, it is an explanatory case study. Yin (2009) defines three different types of case studies: (a) exploratory, (b) descriptive, (c) explanatory case studies. Zainal (2007: 3) explains Yin's (2009) types as following: exploratory are used "to open up the door for further examination:" a researcher may be interested in preset questions like 'Does he likes corporate education? If yes, then how well does he do the homework?'. Descriptive case studies are used to characterise a phenomenon. For example, 'what courses has he attended?' or 'How does he benefit from them?'. At the same time, explanatory case studies investigate the data even closer: for instance, the researcher may be interested 'why does he like corporate education?'.

A well-defined case may provide a ground for new research questions. Saunders et al. (2009) believe the method may be a good way to study existing theory. A well-defined case may even challenge the theory, though, at first, a case study may give an impression of being non-scientific.

The 'phenomenon being studied' (Saunders et al. 2009; Yin 2009, 2011) in this paper is the behaviour of Russian employees in different subordination circumstances. Therefore, this study uses a combination of the survey and case strategies. The interview survey helped to receive data in a similar style that would be easy to compare. The data collected in a soft form of a case study provided a possibility to listen to a narrative of interviewees and make them not feel like under investigation.

In summary, the methodology of this paper is a combination of the inferential interview survey research, and the explanatory embedded multiple-case study research, using stratified sampling.

3.3. Data collection

As for the literature review, to find relevant literature multiple combinations of such keywords as 'subordination', 'leadership', 'followship' and 'human resource' in English and Russian were used with names of the countries in question: Russia and Finland, separately and together.

Only primary data alongside with literature review was collected for this work. Primary data is collected in the form of semi-structured thematic in-depth interviews. The justification for such a method is that it helps the interviewees to speak about subjects related to the research topic. The interviewees are the key informants in the case of the work. This method allows the researcher to cover all necessary issues is a flexible form according to the need of the interview following along researcher's list of topics. In case if interesting information arises, the researcher can explore further. The in-depth

interviews will give a possibility to the researcher investigate all meanings behind the responses of an interviewee. This approach decreases bias. (Saunders et al. 2009.)

3.4. Structure of the interviews

Ten qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted. The researcher looked for people from Russia who have had work experience both in Russia and Finland. They had to move to Finland by own decision in adulthood. She aimed to find out what they feel made them fit their positions and be successful in them. The researcher asked questions such as why they moved, what management differences they found, and how they think Finnish companies benefit from employing foreigners. Answers to these questions are reviewed in detail in Section 4'Findings.'

Before agreeing on the interviews, the researcher used a cloud-based online questionnaire form to collect basic data about participants: name, contact information, the age when they moved to Finland, and a little about themselves. The introduction page of the online form provided them with preliminary information in Russian about the topic of the study, and that the expected length of the interviews will be about one hour. There the researcher introduced herself, the purpose of the study, and what qualities she wanted to find in participants. She notified that interviews would be recorded, data will be held confidentially, and the paper will be published. The researcher also left her contact information in case of possible questions about the study before submitting the participant form. Though this questionnaire, six people agreed to participate, and four others have been found through other sources. To let participants express themselves naturally, the researcher has not sent them any interview questions in advance.

Ten qualitative semi-structured interviews have been conducted with five men and five women. All moved to Finland by own decision in adulthood, and all have work experience both in Russia and Finland. Interviews were conducted throughout April, November and December 2018 via Skype and in person; and all were recorded. The

length of interviews varied from 28 to 75 minutes, with a mean length of 42 minutes. Notes were taken during interviews to follow up information during the further interview. When analysing the data, the researcher was interested in the concepts that emerge from the data. She chose to code the interviews straight when transcribing them. Interview extracts were separated alongside the list questions to find what precisely interviewees have answered to each of them. The transcriptions were made in de-naturalistic fashion, meaning that all involuntary vocalisations and utterance details were omitted. (Easterby-Smith et al. 2013.)

The researcher started all interviews from an introduction, where she described the purpose of the study. The researcher ensured that the data collected is held confidentially and only available to the thesis supervisor and herself. All participants were notified that interviews are recorded, and all gave consent for recording. After the introduction, the interviewer asked primary information about them such as age, place of birth, how long they lived in Finland, what languages they speak, their work experience in Russia and Finland, and based on what grounds they moved to Finland. After that, they were interviewed along with the research questions (Appendix 2). During the interviews, if questions asked were not clear, the interviewer redefined them. When transcribing the interviews, the identities of the informants were protected by generalising information by professions or the expatriation types and by not revealing their real names in direct quotations.

All of the interviews were done in Russian: in the interviewer's and the key informants' native language. Speaking the native language eliminates possible misunderstandings in comparison to interviews conducted in a non-native language. This increases research validity and can be seen as an advantage.

In the interviews, respondents were asked the following questions: (1) why they chose Finland as a place to move, (2) why they wanted to move from Russia, (3) why they nonetheless have stayed in Finland, (4) whether it was difficult for them to find their first job, (5) whether they felt that their habits and behaviour are different from ones of their Finnish colleagues and whether they felt that they needed to change them to adjust to the

Finnish work environment, (6) whether they felt that their supervisors managed them somehow differently in Finland than in Russia, and what the differences were, (7) how the corporate culture in Russia is different, and how Russian colleagues have treated them, (8) whether it was easier to work in Russia or Finland, (9) how, to their mind, Finnish companies benefit from hiring foreigners, (10) whether they noticed that their Russian education is disregarded or not valued or valued less if they have received Finnish or European education, and (11) whether they felt that they encountered discrimination based on factors that they cannot influence. The precise list of interview questions can be found in Appendix 2.

These interview questions were designed in line with the three research objectives of this study. Questions 1 – 3 are meant to verify findings from Section 2.2 'Desire to expatriate,' and Question 5 is meant for findings from Section 2.3 'Expatriate adjustment.' In these two sections, literature was reviewed for the first research objective 'to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process.' Questions 4, 9 and 10 are meant to verify findings from Section 2.4 'Liability of foreignness of individuals,' and Question 11 is for findings from Section 2.5 'Discrimination in employment.' In these two sections, literature was reviewed for the second research objective 'to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination.' Questions 6 – 8 are meant to verify findings from Section 2.6 'Comparison of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia.' In this section, literature was reviewed for the third research objective 'to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.'

As expected in semi-structured interviews, these questions were used as a guideline (Saunders et al. 2009). Order and wording of questions varied from an interview to an interview. Depending on the flow of the interview and direction where the discussion has been developing, the researcher also asked some additional questions to clarify some information or reasons for actions.

3.5. Time Horizon

This Master's thesis is a cross-sectional study because the author is interested is interviewees' experiences of subordination and not interested, for example, in the change of an attitude towards it over some time. Cross-sectional and longitudinal studies define the time horizon in academic studies. According to Payne and Payne (2004), longitudinal studies collected from the same group of people more than one time, usually with the same method periodically. For example, a survey of employee attitude on the new benefits system where the data collected several times is instead considered as a longitudinal study. While cross-sectional studies are those studies that collect and analyse data once.

3.6. Reliability and validity

Objectivity is vital for good research. Reliability and validity are used to assess objectivity (Saunders et al. 2009). Construct validity is about establishing correct measures for investigated concepts. Internal validity detects whether relationships among concepts are real or spurious. External validity defines an area where research findings can be generalised. (Yin 2013). Meanwhile, reliability tells whether data collection and analysis techniques produce consistent results (Saunders et al. 2009).

In this research, construct validity was is proven by Sections 3.1 – 3.4 that describe research design, research strategy, data collection and structure of interviews. Internal validity is verified by triangulation. Interviewees mentioned the same concepts in different occasions. This makes these statements true. Moreover, when reporting findings, construct validity was further protected by illustrating the direct raw quotes from the interviews. According to Patton (1990: 430), direct quotations should be included in the findings review as it would "allow the reader to enter into the situation and thoughts of people represented in the report". Ten, the total number of interviewees, assures

reliability. Findings of this research also include advice for employers and applicants drawn on the findings. This proves external validity.

The triangulation is key to data validation. It aims at integrating multiple sources to obtain a deep understanding of the investigated phenomenon (Ghauri 2004). The idea is based on that none of the data sources is entirely trustworthy. By adding multiple sources of data into research, the one source weaknesses are compensated with the strengths of another source (Jick 1979, in Ghauri 2004). Triangulation reduces measurement errors (N. Kumar, Stern & Anderson 1993, in Ghauri 2004). It provides a method for analysing a phenomenon from different sides (Yeung 1995, in Ghauri 2004). Data validation makes finding accurate. This study uses triangulation in the empirical part to test interviewee statements against each other, as well, as to test statements from the literature review. The interview data were gathered from several Russian professionals who have work experience both in Finland and Russia, but they all have different backgrounds, professions and reasons to move to Finland. Respondents have been interviewed individually; therefore, if their statements support each other, then their statements are valid. Thus, the interviewee triangulation was employed.

3.7. Respondents

This section tells more about who was interviewed. The respondents followed two requirements: all moved to Finland by own decision in adulthood and have work experience both in Russia and Finland. The researcher picked even amount of men and women. Therefore, other outcomes, such as average age and place of birth are random. Ten interviews were conducted. All tables and figures can be found in Appendix 3.

Interviews were conducted with five men and five women. From the gender perspective, data is symmetric. The age varied from 24 to 46; the average age of interviewees was 33 years old, and the median age was 31,5. Therefore, the data distribution is asymmetric towards a younger age. Age-gender distribution was following: two man and two women

were below 30 years old, two men and two women were aged between 30 and 40 years, and one man and one woman were older than 40. From the age perspective, distribution is 40%, 40% and 20% for those who are below 30, those who are aged 30 to 40, and those who are above 40, accordingly (Table 5; Figure **4**).

As follows from Table 8, five of the respondents (50%) were from Saint-Petersburg, two more (20%) from the Republic of Karelia, and other three (30%) from other regions of Russia. Therefore, most of the respondents are from the North-Western region of Russia (Saint-Petersburg and Republic of Karelia together is 70%). The group is relatively homogeneous.

Four of the respondents (40%) had both Finnish and Russian citizenship, and six of them (60%) had only Russian; therefore, most of them had only Russian citizenship (Table 4). Table 6 and Figure 7 show that the average length of residence in Finland for them was 5,5 years, while the median duration was 6. Therefore, data tended towards those who lived longer. One person (10%) has lived only one year, three respondents (30%) have lived in Finland two to five years, five of interviewees (50%) have lived here from five to ten years, and one person (10%) lived here for over ten years. Most of the respondents have lived here for a relatively long time (60% have lived here for more than five years).

3.8. Ethics of the research

When conducting research, the researcher should take into consideration possible ethical concerns during the whole research process. When conducting research, the validity of ethical matters has to be considered. Especially many of them are in qualitative research. The researcher is morally responsible for doing research and reporting results accurately and honestly. Strengths and weaknesses of methods, models and findings have to be described frankly. In this way, the readers are not misled at any point of the study. The leading ethical principle of doing research is that respondents are not exposed to any harm or shame regarding their answers. (Ghauri & Grønhaug 2005; Saunders et al. 2009). The

topic of this research called interviewees to discuss uneasy matters such as discrimination at work or life in expatriation. Therefore, identities of interviewees and confidentiality of answers have to be respected. When using direct quotations, only general interviewee roles were cited at the end of quotations, e.g. ‘A marketer’ or ‘A career expat’, to tie the quotation to the context, so that the identities remain anonymous.

Saunders et al. (2009) suggest that the interviewer has power over question formulation. The way in which the questions are asked may affect interviewee’s answers. It may compromise research reliability. To avoid this problem, the interviewer prepared the questions carefully and made a pilot interview to test whether questions are composed correctly. Furthermore, when interviewing respondents on the uneasy topics, the researcher deliberately asked only relevant information. For example, the interviewer asked the field where the interviewee is employed but did not ask the name of the employer. Asking such questions, even for developing a conversation, can make interviewees feel dubious about the real purpose of the research. To avoid this issue, the researcher informed respondents about the topic of the study once before the interviews and then at the beginning of each of them. Saunders et al. (2009) note that respondents and companies can ask for anonymity in the interviews. The researcher offered anonymity in the introduction page of the electronic online form where interview candidates have applied for participation. It was important to mention this to them because the topic of the research is about professional and personal experiences, and the interviewer had to assure interviewees of no consequences for participation in such research.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. Findings from the basic data collected

This section tells more about findings gathered from the basic information asked from interviewees at the beginning of each interview. All tables and figures can be found in Appendix 3.

From Table 6 and Figure 7 it is seen that all four interviewees (40%) who have both Russian and Finnish citizenships fall into the category of those who lived here for over five years. Therefore, among those who lived here long, those who have both Russian and Finnish citizenships compose 66% (60% among those who lived five to ten years, and 100% among those lived over ten).

The most common type of expatriation among interviewees was an (ex-)student. There are ten types of expatriates (Expat Insider 2014; Section 2.1). Table 9 and Figure 8 tells among the respondents there were seven students and ex-students of Finnish universities (70%), meaning that they moved to Finland because they entered a university here and stayed after graduation; one career expat (10%), who found job here by oneself and holds an expert position now; and two "Greener pastures" expats (20%), who moved here for better quality of life. The information above suggests that the most common way to expatriate to Finland is through studies.

Expatriate types fully matched with interviewees' first role in Finland (the migration grounds of entering Finland). Seven (ex-)students (70%) moved initially to Finland because of their studies. The only career expat (10%) moved to Finland as an expert, meaning that he moved to Finland because of expert work. While two "Greener pastures" expats (20%) moved here as Ingrian returnees, meaning that their ancestors were a Finns, and this allowed to them to move to Finland and receive Finnish citizenship on these grounds. (Maahanmuuttovirasto 2019).

Table 9 and Figure 8 also shows distribution on what roles currently the respondents hold in comparison to their initial grounds. Among seven ex-students and students (70% of all interviewees) there is one who has not graduated yet (14%), four specialists (58%), one worker (14%), and one entrepreneur (14%). Among those who graduated, most of them became specialists – 67%. The only career expat holds the specialist position (100%). Among those seven respondents who received European education (70% of all interviewees: six Finnish ex-students and one career expat who received education elsewhere), five (72%) hold a specialist position (58% for those who received education in Finland and 14% among those who graduated in the European Union), and one of them became a worker (14%) and one became an entrepreneur (14%). Most of them became specialists. While among the "Greener pastures" expats who do not have European education both of them are specialists (100%).

Interviewees' work experience in Russia is shown in Table 10. Six of the interviewees (50%) held a specialist position before moving to Finland, two (17%) were designers, one (8%) was a manager (at a leadership position), one (8%) was a researcher, and two (17%) were workers. Therefore, there was one who grew in hierarchy (10%: one worker became a specialist), six stayed at the same level (60%: five specialists – 50%, and one worker – 10%), one dropped in hierarchy (10%: one manager became a specialist), and two started business (20%: one specialist – 10%, and one researcher – 10%); while designers do not work in design anymore (0%). (Table 11 and Figure 9).

Table 12 provides us with information on languages spoken among interviewees. Three of them (30%) speak Russian, Finnish and English, other three of them (30%) speak only Russian and Finnish, and four of them (40%) speak Russian, English and no Finnish. Distribution of languages spoken against the type of expatriation (Table 13 and Figure 10) was following: among seven (ex-)students (70% of all interviewees), three of them spoke Russian, Finnish and English (43%); three spoke Russian, English, and no Finnish (43%); and one spoke only Russian and Finnish (14%). Among two "Greener pastures" expats, both spoke only Russian and Finnish (100%). The only career expat spoke only Russian and English (100%).

The information above suggests that among (ex-)students 57% spoke the local language, in comparison to data of the Expat Insider (2014; Section 2.1) where is it mentioned that 75% of (ex-)students speak the local language. The finding of 57% is relatively close to 75% from the literature review. In smaller quantities of respondents, 75% means that most of (ex-)students would speak the local language. Most of the respondents among (ex-)students spoke the local language. Therefore, the finding supports the theory. Both "Greener pastures" expats spoke the local language; hence it is 100%, in comparison to the Expat Insider (2014) where the number was 69%. 69% means that most of them would speak the local language. Therefore, the finding supports the theory. The career expat did not speak the local language; hence it is 0%, in comparison to the Expat Insider (2014) where the number was 49%. The 49% means that most of them would not speak the local language. Therefore, the finding supports the theory. All the findings on the distribution of languages spoken against the type of expatriation support the theory.

Table 14 shows the interviewees' current role. Among the interviewees, there were six specialists (60%), one worker (10%), two entrepreneurs (20%) and one student with work experience (10%). Table 15 and Figure 11 shows that among specialists, one (16%) spoke all the three languages (Russian, Finnish and English), two (34%) spoke only Russian and Finnish, and three (50%) spoke only Russian and English. It means that 50% of specialists spoke Finnish. Table 7 shows that two of the specialists who speak only Russian and English (67%) had other long-term international experience than Finland. The fact of other international experience may explain such a quantity of specialists without the Finnish language. Prior international experience and only moderate host country language skills allow better work adjustment (Shaffer et al. 1999). The fact of so many specialists with low Finnish knowledge suggests that Finnish is not necessary for the Finnish work environment. Expressing ideas and sharing of knowledge is possible in English. Table 15 and Figure 11 shows that one worker spoke only Russian and Finnish (100%). Also, Table 28 tells that among those who had non-professional experience before finding a job in their field all speak Finnish. It suggests that in worker jobs Finnish fluency is more important than in specialist jobs. Perhaps because workers need to interact with their local colleagues, and teamwork is not possible without Finnish. Among entrepreneurs one (50%) spoke all the three languages (Russian, Finnish and English),

one (50%) spoke only Russian and English. This suggests that running a business is equally possible with or without Finnish. The student with work experience spoke Russian, Finnish and English (100%).

In conclusion, 40% of the respondents had both Russian and Finnish citizenship. Yet, among those who lived in Finland for over 5 years, they are 66%. The most common type of expats interviewed were (ex-)students – 70%. This fact suggests that the most common way to move to Finland is through studies. Most of Finnish ex-students became specialists in Finland after graduation – 67%. Among those who received European education (including Finnish), most of them became specialists in Finland – 72%. Comparing their work experience in Russia and in Finland, no one grew in the hierarchy, 70% stayed at the same level, 10% dropped in the hierarchy, and 20% started a business. While among the "Greener pastures" expats who do not have European education there one specialist (50%) and one worker (50%).

As for the languages, 57% of (ex-)students and 100% of "Greener pastures" expats spoke the local language, and 100% of career expats did not speak the local language. Therefore, all the findings on the distribution of languages spoken against the type of expatriation support the literature (Expat Insider 2014). As for the current roles, 40% of specialists spoke Finnish. This quantity suggests that Finnish is not necessary for the Finnish work environment. Expressing ideas and sharing of knowledge is possible in English. Among workers, 100% spoke Finnish. It suggests that in worker jobs Finnish fluency is more important than in specialist jobs. Perhaps because workers need to interact with their local colleagues, and teamwork is not possible without Finnish. Among entrepreneurs, there was 50% who speak Finnish and 50% who does not. This suggests that running a business is equally possible with or without Finnish.

4.2. General findings from topic questions

This section is focused on analysing and describing the data received in the interviews in detail. It is aligned with three research objectives: (1) to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process, (2) to find out advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination and (3) to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.

4.2.1. The first dimension: Expatriate adjustment process

Questions 1 – 3 and 5 were used to verify findings from the literature review for the first research objective. Questions (1) 'why they chose Finland as a place to move', (2) 'why they wanted to move from Russia' and (3) 'why they nonetheless have stayed in Finland' are meant to verify findings from Section 2.2 'Desire to expatriate'. Question (5) 'whether they felt that their habits and behaviour are different from ones of their Finnish colleagues and whether they felt that they needed to change them to adjust to Finnish work environment' is meant to verify findings from Section 2.3 'Expatriate adjustment'. (Appendix 2).

Concerning the reasons why they chose Finland as a place to move (Question 1), an interesting outcome arose. There are reasons to move to Finland that are specific only to one type of expatriates, and there are those reasons that are shared between all types of expats interviewed: the (ex-)students, the career expats and the 'Greener pastures' expats. (Tables 16 – 18, Appendix 4).

As for those reasons that are shared between all types (Table 16), the location of Finland near Russia was the most important factor. Five expatriates (50%) have pointed this out: two (ex-)students, one career expatriate and two 'Greener pastures' expats. The second most important reason was that all of them wanted to try out something new or to experience another culture. Three expatriates (30%) have pointed this out: one (ex-)student, one career expatriate and one 'Greener pastures' expat.

There are also reasons shared only between two of three types of expatriates (Table 16). One (ex-)student and one career expatriate have mentioned that they have relatives close by, in Saint Petersburg. Each of the following reasons was mentioned by one (ex-)student and one 'Greener pastures' expat: a possibility to move through Ingrian ancestor connections to Finland, more profound knowledge of Finland than other countries, and previous travelling here.

Among expat-type-specific reasons (Table 17), the most (ex-)students have mentioned the absence of tuition fee. Four of them (57%) have pointed this out. Three of them (43%) just wanted to study abroad. The third most important reason was the quality of education, mentioned by two of them (29%). Among other reasons mentioned, there were also availability of education in English, the appeal of the programme content, and practicality of the content for work and career.

There were reasons mentioned only by the (ex-)students, but the type of expatriation has not caused them (Table 18). Four (ex-)students (57%) have told that they had come to Finland because they liked the culture, the social structure, people, and Finland, in general, and understand its culture. Two (29%) have relatives in Finland. One has followed the spouse who had moved to Finland first. One wanted to move back to Finland after experiencing it once already. One has found living abroad to be a way to reassess life values and decide what career and where the one wants. One wanted to move to Finland purposefully, and entering a Finnish university was the solution. One studied Finnish before. Lastly, one likes that there are career possibilities for international professionals.

> *"I like it from childhood. I wanted to move here purposefully. I started to study Finnish already in school. So, I really wanted to move here. I even changed university in Russia because of this".* (An (ex-)student.)

Both 'Greener pastures' expats have mentioned the availability of social benefits as an important factor if suddenly one becomes without means for living (but only when times are bad). One of them has mentioned stability as an essential factor. One said that expatriation to Finland is easy because the Finnish government provides a full package

for expatriation: financial support, Finnish language courses and integration courses. The career expat has moved here because of getting a job here. (Table 17).

> *"If you would not be able to earn by yourself and if you do not have a husband to support you, at least the state would not abandon you. You would have a roof over your head and a tidy home".* (A 'Greener pastures' expat.)

Therefore, among shared reasons why they chose Finland as a place to move, the close location of Finland near Russia and the possibility to experience another culture were the most important reasons to move to Finland. Among expat-type-specific reasons, for the (ex-)students, the absence of tuition fees, quality of education and possibility to study abroad were the most essential. For the 'Greener pastures' expats, the availability of social benefits was a crucial factor. The career expat has moved here because of the job. Among reasons not caused by the expatriation type, the (ex-)students have mentioned liking Finnish culture and that their relatives are also in Finland as the most important factors of choosing Finland as a place to live.

Regarding motivation why they wanted to move from Russia (Question 2), there are also reasons common for several types of interviewees, and ones that are specific only to one kind of expatriates. (Tables 19 – 21, Appendix 4).

As for those reasons that are shared between several types (Table 19), four interviewees (40%) have told that they had moved from Russia seeking for better living conditions and assurance in future: e.g. higher salaries and better quality of life. Among them, there were two (ex-)students and two 'Greener pastures' expats. For three respondents (30%), living conditions in Russia were not important or not the main reason. They have moved because such opportunity had appeared: two students and one 'Greener pastures' expat. One has moved because the spouse had moved first, another because they were qualified for the Ingrian repatriation programme and another one was accepted to a university. Two informants (20%) have moved here to work: one career expat because he already has got a job here, and one (ex-)student because university degree would give a possibility to work here.

Among expat-type-specific reasons (Table 20), three (ex-)students (43%) have moved here to continue education towards the Master's degree: two of them were particularly interested in European education, and one wanted to challenge oneself with education in a second language.

There were reasons mentioned only by the (ex-)students, but the type of expatriation has not caused them (Table 21). Three of them (43%) has moved from Russia because, to their mind, political and social situation was bad when they have expatriated.

> *"I do not feel assured that if I get a good job with a high salary, no one would fire me, deprive the pension or benefits, and that it is a good place for my children to grow up. I do not want my children to grow up there. I disagree with politics, and I do not like the economic and social situation."* (An (ex-)student.)

Therefore, among shared reasons why they wanted to move from Russia, the most popular motive was to move from Russia was seeking for better living conditions and assurance in future. The second most popular one was not due to living conditions, but because an opportunity to move abroad has appeared. The third most popular one was a job abroad. Among expat-type-specific reasons, several (ex-)students have moved to continue education towards the Master's degree. Among reasons not caused by the expatriation type, several (ex-)students have mentioned a bad political and social situation when they had expatriated.

As for desire nonetheless to stay or to return to Finland (Question 3), there are reasons common for all types of interviewees, and there are also ones that are specific only to one kind of expatriates. (Tables 22 and 23, Appendix 4).

As for those reasons that are shared between all types (Table 22), seven interviewees (70%) have told that they had chosen to stay because they liked it here: they either got used to living here, or they do not plan to move back, or they are certain about their choice of the country. Among them, there were four (ex-)students, one career expat and two 'Greener pastures' expats. One (ex-)student has mentioned that once one crosses a border

permanently, it is not difficult to move elsewhere. One career expat is open for new destinations if there a higher salary is offered.

> *"Everything is so open here! Very flexible! Once you move, everything else seems so easy. . . . I do not set for myself any strict borders anymore: here, there, or elsewhere."* (An (ex-)student.)

There were reasons mentioned only by the (ex-)students and only by the 'Greener pastures' expats, but the type of expatriation has not caused them (Table 23). Five (ex-)students have stayed in Finland because they got a job (71%), three of them have stayed because they got a partner or a family (43%), two have mentioned (29%) that the quality of life is high, one has mentioned that got more friends, one has told there is no one left in Russia he would know, and one has relatives in Finland (14% each). Among the 'Greener pastures' expats, one has liked the city of residence, and one has known the country for a while (50% each).

Therefore, among shared reasons nonetheless to stay in Finland, the most popular reason was liking the country and finding themselves comfortable here. As for reasons mentioned only by one type of expatriates, for students, the most shared reason was getting a job, the second most common was finding a partner or establishing a family, and the third most popular was the quality of life. The 'Greener pastures' expats mentioned liking the location and familiarity with the country as their reasons to stay.

Question 5 was about differences in behaviour and a need to adjust it. Interviewees helped to discover differences in Finnish behaviour in comparison to Russian, what some other had to change in themselves if they needed to adjust and why some of them have not a need to adjust, and also why it was not possible to adjust for some of them. (Tables 24 – 27, Appendix 4).

Interviewees have mentioned many differences (Table 24). Three respondents (30%) have said that Finnish people are little colder, more reserved, lesser show feelings and are not talkative. Two (ex-)students and one 'Greener pastures' expat have pointed that out.

Among them, one of the (ex-)students mentioned that it might vary from a field to field, e.g. Finnish IT professionals would be even less talkative, on average because intensive communication is not required from them, while marketing field requires it, therefore, Finnish marketing professionals would appear more talkative. Another (ex-)student has mentioned that although Finnish people seem to be colder then Russians, close people, e.g. colleagues from the same team and friends appear warm and nice. Therefore, the general cold attitude disappears, as soon, as people know each other better.

The interviewees have noticed also other differences (Table 24). One 'Greener pastures' expat has mentioned that Finns have different jokes, discussion topics and interests. One (ex-)student have mentioned that he does not imagine giving presents to superiors or bribes to authorities possible. Another (ex-)student has noticed much kinder treatment at work by superiors. One other has noticed that sometimes it is not clear when they give a task, or when they talk with you, although this may vary depending on a company or a superior. One other has mentioned that if one does not understand something in a lecture, one should ask from the teacher, not a course mate, same as work: should ask from the superior, not a colleague. Also, Finnish society is very individualistic; hence, if someone makes a mistake, others will not stand for him or protect before a superior or an authority. Finns do not need a supervisor; they supervise each other, and report. Everyone follows the law. Others have noticed that Finnish colleagues do not normally celebrate birthdays, do no handshake probably due to larger personal space, or ask how someone's weekend was. Others have noticed that it is not common to make work or sales calls after 4 p.m. and that Finns have a different style of clothes.

> *"It is so strange for me, and I do not imagine at all a situation in which I would give a present to a Finnish supervisor. Such a thing would never come to my mind. Try to give money to a policeman so that he would not give you a fine!"* (An (ex-)student.)

> *"Here business calling is not in a habit after 4-5 p.m. I do not even mention sales calls. . . . In Russia, people would call until midnight about work, and this was normal, and they did call."* (An (ex-)student.)

Respondents also have mentioned things that helped them to adjust (Table 25) if they felt that they need to adjust. Three interviewees (30%) have indicated that learning Finnish has allowed them to adjust to Finland better, although in total six interviewees spoke Finnish. Two (ex-)students and one 'Greener pastures' expat have pointed that out. One (ex-)student and one 'Greener pastures' expat have told that poor Finnish does not allow a deep conversation, and translating to English changes the original meaning. Another (ex-)student have told that Finnish-speaking programme in university gave better career opportunities.

In terms of the adjustment process, other things have been mentioned (Table 25). Interviewees told that they try to earn trust by doing work quality. They stopped handshaking because, to their mind, Finns have wider personal space. They had reassessed their expectations from people when they realised that Finnish people act differently. They have changed the speed of life and clothes style and have got different habits and behaviour. They also realised that they had changed unconsciously. University studies helped them to dive into the culture.

Five interviewees told that they have not had to adjust (Table 26) in terms of behaviour (50%): three (ex-)students, one career expat and one 'Greener pastures' expat. Among them, one (ex-)student has explained that he does not feel himself to be different and did not find Finns acting differently. One (ex-)student and one career expat have told that they have had already previous experience of living abroad; therefore, they expected that the culture would be different. Another (ex-)student has explained he did not work in Russia too long; therefore, he was not surprised with Finnish culture. One 'Greener pastures' expat has told that as an Ingrian repatriate he has been aware of cultural differences; therefore, he was not surprised with Finnish culture either. One career expat and one 'Greener pastures' expat have mentioned that they understand Finnish nature, that they have no problem in working with Finnish colleagues, and they can exchange experience and knowledge with them.

> *"I have had long enough experience of living abroad. I always understand that culture affects, and we all are different. . . . Surely, I understand that this is another country, and there is another mentality. I would not say that something has shocked me."* (An (ex-)student.)

Respondents also mentioned why it was not possible to adjust to Finnish culture for some of them (Table 27). Two interviewees (20%) have said that it is hard to make friends at such an age. Both of them are 40+ years old. The (ex-)student has told that he did not study the differences and the 'Greener pastures' expat has suggested that Russians and Finns are very different people. It is doubtful that they can become friends, that she tried but did not manage to become friend with a Finn. Finns have different jokes, discussion topics and interests. The expat has never purposefully sought for friendship with Finns and believes that do not have a need them; and, to her mind, only after a very long time in Finland it is possible to become friends with Finns. The expat feels that there is no mutual understanding or solidarity and finds having only Russian friends satisfactory. She does not feel isolated because she speaks Finnish fluently. If she has a question about the law or right approach from a cultural viewpoint, then she would ask Finnish colleagues or a friend's Finnish spouse. She has told that as an Ingrian repatriate she understands Finnish nature. Although in the text above, another Ingrian repatriate has said that he finds himself similar to Finns and, hence, did not need adjustment; apparently, age eliminates this effect and this 40+ years old Ingrian repatriate understands their nature but cannot adjust.

> *"I was not so young when I moved to Finland. It is hard to change myself entirely. I am what I am." (An (ex-)student.)*

Therefore, regarding differences in behaviour and a need to adjust it. Several respondents pointed out that that Finnish people are more reserved and are not talkative, but warm when one gets to know them better. Others pointed out that it is not a norm to give presents to superiors, and that they are treated much kinder at work by superiors. Finnish society is very individualistic: people will not cover another if the person makes a mistake, and they supervise each other. It is not common to have business calls in after working hours. Finns do not handshake as much as in Russia. Three respondents (30%) needed to adjust. Learning Finnish helped to some of them. Others told that university studies allowed them

to dive into Finnish culture. They also try to work quality, they stopped handshaking, changed the speed of life and clothes style, and they have reassessed their expectations from people. Half of the interviewees (50%) told that did not need to adjust because either did not feel themselves different, or they have experience of living abroad, or they did not work in Russia long, or they are used to Finnish culture because they have Finnish ancestors. Two interviewees (20%) that it was not possible to adjust because of the age. The age also eliminated effects of being exposed to Finnish culture in childhood: they lived in Russia too long time. They think Russians and Finns are just very different people and they are satisfied with having only Russian friends.

In conclusion to the first research objective 'to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process,' the following results have been revealed. Respondents wanted to move from Russia to look for better living conditions and better social and political situation, to explore an opportunity to move abroad, to work, and to continue education towards the Master's degree. Interviewees have moved to Finland because Finland is near Russia, and some have relatives here already. They wanted to experience another culture, and they liked Finnish culture. They wanted to explore an opportunity to study abroad, and they liked the quality of education and the absence of tuition fees. Others found the availability of social benefits crucial. Respondents wanted to stay in Finland because they find themselves comfortable here because the quality of life is good, they have got a job or a family, and they liked the city where they reside. Interviewees found Finns to be reserved, but friendly after getting to know them better. Finnish society is individualistic: they supervise each other, they do not accept bribery, and superiors do not accept presents. Superiors are kind to subordinates. Finns have a wider personal space. 30% of respondents have needed to adjust. Learning Finnish helped to some of them. They try to work quality, they stopped handshaking, and they have reassessed their expectations from people. 50% of the interviewees have not need to adjust because they have experience of living abroad, or they did not work in Russia long, or they are used to Finnish culture due to Finnish grandparents. 20% have not adjusted because of age. They think Russians and Finns are different people and they are satisfied with Russian friends only.

4.2.2. The second dimension: Liability of foreignness

Questions 4 and 9 – 11 were used to verify findings from the literature review for the second research objective 'to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination.' Questions (4) 'whether it was difficult for them to find their first job', (9) 'how, to their mind, Finnish companies benefit from hiring foreigners' and (10) 'whether they noticed that their Russian education is disregarded or not valued or valued less if they have received Finnish or European education' are meant to verify findings from Section 2.4 'Liability of foreignness of individuals'. Question (11) 'whether they felt that they encountered discrimination based on factors that they cannot influence' is for findings from Section 2.5 'Discrimination in employment'. (Appendix 2).

As for the difficulty for interviewees to find their first job (Question 4), there are plenty of variables. Some purposefully wanted their first work experience to be in their field and kept looking until they found it. Others felt that they do not have enough work experience to look for a job in their field; therefore, they had a non-professional job first. Others did not want to have a non-professional job and chose to open a company in Finland or go back to Russia during their studies to have a professional job there. Other variables were language skills, e.g. whether they speak well enough Finnish to use at work, or do they speak only Russian and English; where the latest degree was received, e.g. in Russia, Finland or the EU; and professional field in which they are employed.

Results show a separation of half and half of those whose first work experience was in their field in Finland and those who got a job in their field through other ways. Five interviewees have got their first work in their field: three specialists in marketing or sales, one in IT and one worker. All of them have Finnish or European education. There are two Finnish speakers and three non-Finnish speakers among those who have got their first work experience in their field. Two marketers and the IT specialist speak English at work. Five interviewees have not got their first work in their field: two specialists in marketing or sales and one in finance (all three have Finnish education); and two expats who do not have Finnish education: one specialist in geology and one in history. All except one

marketer speak Finnish. Results suggest that there is a more significant possibility to get the first job in the field when having Finnish or European education while knowing Finnish is not necessarily important. (Table 29).

Among those who have got a job in their field, a specialist in IT has mentioned that his position was permanent from the beginning. He has got European degree, then worked in Russia for several years, then has got a job a Finland. He does not speak Finnish at work. Three interviewees have got their job first as an internship, then they were offered to stay permanently: one worker with Finnish education and who speaks Finnish at work, one specialist in history with Russian education and who also speaks Finnish at work, and one specialist in marketing or sales who has Finnish education but speaks English at work. One Finnish-speaking student in Finland has got a job in her field as an internship but was not offered to stay. One specialist in marketing or sales who has Finnish education and speaks English at work has mentioned that she worked in Russia in an internationally known corporation during her studies in Finland. Later on, she participated in an internship programme where employers offered a professional job only to international students. Another such specialist has mentioned that he had to work in Russia for the Finnish employer, then he was offered to be transferred to Finland within the same company. Results suggest the most common way to stay in a Finnish company was through receiving an internship first. Most of those who kept employment speak English at work. (Table 28).

As for those who have not got a job in their field straight away, four have mentioned that they had to do a non-professional job first: a specialist in marketing or sales, a specialist in finance, a specialist in the history and a specialist in geology. All are Finnish-speakers. A specialist in history and a specialist in geology do not have Finnish education. After getting some non-professional job, they were able to find employment in their field. One of them told that non-professional jobs allow them to integrate. One other specialist in marketing or sales chose to establish a company. He said that work in his field been offered to him through his business contacts. Results suggest that the most common way to get a job in your field if there is not enough work experience is to have some non-

professional job first. Having business is another solution to get a job in your field. (Table 28).

> *"I wanted to work precisely in Finland. I did not have enough work experience to work in my professional field. I wanted to earn, and I wanted to integrate into society. I came [to a recruitment company], and they offered to work in vegetable packing. Later on, I washed dishes in a restaurant."* (A Finnish-speaking finance specialist)

As for non-professional jobs, one interviewee has mentioned that it is easy to find one if you speak intermediate Finnish. There are plenty of positions, and employers especially like students because they are responsible. Another has mentioned that it is possible to find a job also by networking. Others told that it is hard to find one if Finnish skills are not good enough to use at work. It took four months to find the first non-professional job for one of the interviewees. Results suggest that knowing Finnish is essential for finding non-professional jobs; while the non-professional experience is essential if there is not enough work experience in the professional field. (Table 28).

> *"When I came to a recruitment company, I told them that I need a student work. They gave me such a list! Then they kept calling me. When I told that I am already interested in something from my professional field, they answered 'Really?.."* (A Finnish-speaking finance specialist)

Interviewees have shared their experiences of looking for a job in their field. A specialist in marketing or sales has mentioned that it took 50-55 applications to be invited for two interviews. It was her first job in Finland. She had work experience in the field in Russia. She is studying at a Finnish university and speaks Finnish. A specialist in finance has mentioned that it took 100 applications to be invited for twenty interviews. She also has indicated that she chose to study this field because there is a demand. She has a Finnish degree and speaks Finnish. When looking for professional work, she already had non-professional experience in Finland.

A specialist in IT has mentioned that he sent one application and went for one interview to find a job. He has long work experience in the field in Russia, he has a European

education, and he speaks English at work. A specialist in geology has mentioned that he sent two applications and went for one interview to find a job. He has long work experience in the field in Russia, he has Russian engineering education, and he speaks Finnish at work. Results suggest that to succeed in the job search, sending plenty of applications is essential. Interviewees who speak Finnish sent 50 to 100 applications. They told if there is a low demand in the field, then 4% of employers may invite for an interview. If there is a high demand, then 20% of employers may invite for an interview. English-speaking interviewees did not share any number, except an IT specialist who is career expat. Also, if a field is very niche with a limited number of available professionals, then they can be employed without a Finnish degree, or even headhunted from other countries. (Table 29).

> *"I applied for a vacant position [on a recruitment website]. A Russian recruiter has contacted me. The recruitment company has offices in Helsinki and St. Petersburg. They recruited from everywhere, including Russia."* (An English-speaking IT specialist)

Interviewees also have shared how much time looking for a job in their field took for them. A Finnish-speaking specialist in geology has mentioned that it took three months to find a job after integration courses and one internship. He has long work experience in the field in Russia. A Finnish-speaking master's student in marketing or sales has mentioned that it took four months to find a job. She has work experience in the field in Russia. An English-speaking specialist in marketing or sales has said that it took seven months to find a job in a Finnish company but with relocation to Russia. Another such specialist has mentioned that it took 1,5 years to find a job in Finland. Not to be unemployed this long time, she chose to work in Russia in an internationally known corporation during her studies in Finland. She found that job in Finland through an internship programme where employers offered a professional job only to international students. She also has mentioned that competition is very high in the field: there are many students with knowledge of Russian and English, and with higher Finnish education. A Finnish-speaking specialist in history has mentioned that took four years to find a job in the field. She had managerial experience in Russia, not this field. She had to network and do plenty of voluntary work prior to finding employment in her field in Finland. Results

suggest that looking for the job in the interviewees' professional field may take from three months to four years depending on demand in the field. There was no consistent information about whether knowledge of Finnish has shortened this period.

Abovementioned suggests that finding employment in marketing or sales may take from four months to 1,5 years. For a Finnish-speaker it was four months, while for English-speakers it took from seven months to 1,5 years: both of them had to work in Russia in the field during or after their studies in Finland before they got a job in Finland. Looking for the job in geology may take three months. Looking for the job in history may take up to four years. (Table 29).

If it is not possible to find a job in a professional field, five solutions were offered above. One interviewee chose to work in the home country, Russia, in an international corporation. Another went to work in Russia for a Finnish company; then he was transferred. Others chose to stay in Finland and have a non-professional job first to get some experience of working in Finland. One other has started a business in Finland, and the position in his field was offered to him through his business contacts. Another possibility to find a professional job was through an internship programme where employers offered a professional job only to international students. (Table 29).

Therefore, the difficulty for interviewees to find a job in Finland depends on many variables. Some wanted it to be straight in their field, for others it was not important. Finnish language skills, country of where the degree is received, and the field where they are employed also mattered. Results suggest that there is a more significant possibility to get the first job in the professional field when education is received in Finland or the EU. Previous work experience was valued. The most common way to get a permanent position was through receiving an internship first. Knowing Finnish is not necessarily significant. If there not enough work experience to look for a job in the professional field, the most popular solution was to have some non-professional experience first. Knowing Finnish is essential for finding non-professional jobs. If interviewees wanted to have only professional experience, then some worked for Finnish or international company from Russia, then came back. Another has established a company. And it was also possible to

find a professional job in Finland was through an internship programme where employers offered a job only to international students. Results also suggest that to succeed in the professional job search, it is crucial to send many applications. Finnish-speaking interviewees sent 50 to 100 applications to find a job in their field. Depending on the demand in the field, 4 to 20% of employers would invite for an interview. If a field is a niche, then Finnish education or language is not important, while the experience is. Also, depending on the demand in the field, interviewees looked for a professional job from three months to four years. There were no consistent results whether knowledge of Finnish had shortened this period; the demand has played a more prominent role.

Regarding benefits from hiring foreigners (Question 9), interviewees have mentioned several main reasons: supply (i.e. the number of available professionals on the market), performance, diversity, and attitude to work (Table 30, Appendix 4). As for the supply, interviewees have mentioned that they were employed because either there is a lack of personnel in the field, or no skilled enough staff to do the job they are doing, or Finns do not want to do jobs in the field. Specialists in finance and IT and a worker has mentioned that there is a lack of personnel in their fields. Specialists in marketing and sales, history and IT have said that there are no skilled enough staff to do the job they are employed to do: e.g. marketing in Russian for Finnish companies, history of Russia in a Finnish museum and business intelligence. A welding worker has mentioned that Finns do not want to do jobs in the field.

> *"If a vacancy does not require Finnish skills and a foreigner definitely performs better, then I believe that they have to employ a foreigner. In that case, it is not important whether it is a Finn or a foreigner. I believe they have to choose the one who is the best. I do not like this idea 'Now we need diversity, so let's employ foreigners urgently!"* (A marketer)

> *"It is very simple: if a foreigner brings more money, why to employ a Finn? . . . Usually, the companies who care about preserving the Finnish language [at the workplace] do not live long. I believe that if a Russian, Ukrainian or Estonian candidate is better, then he has to be employed. Nevertheless, it is clear that if skills are equal, then it makes sense to employ a Finn. In that case, language, mentality and other things play a role."* (A marketer)

Concerning performance, interviewees think that they were employed because they are the best, the most well prepared and the most experienced professionals. They suggested that if a company is looking for a new employee, then they have to choose the one who would perform better if language skills do not matter for this position, and experience and education are more vital. Two marketing and sales specialists have mentioned this. Interviewees believe that employing a better-qualified person is profitable for the company and also better for the market position. If an employer would choose, e.g. a national specialist because it feels more comfortable to work with him, but with worse skills and experience, then the foreign professional may find employment in a competing company. A specialist in IT suggests that in technical fields, skills and experience are more important than language abilities. One specialist in marketing suggested that employing foreign professionals is not a new thing in Finland. Nevertheless, another specialist in marketing believes that if skills are equal between a foreign and a national professional, then it makes sense to employ a national because Russian specialists may be very different in mentality and require adaptation. Also, hiring from abroad/non-EU is a difficult and effortful process.

Other interviewees have suggested that, when there is a strong demand, employing foreign professionals gives employers a well prepared or experienced specialist who can do the job straight away. It may be a better solution than waiting until a national specialist gains enough knowledge to work in the field. Specialists in marketing and sales, history, IT and geology believe so. A specialist in history has suggested that nationals of a country employed in a museum about the country give such benefits as an understanding of culture, history and languages of the country in depth because they are born there. They also understand proto-languages because they are native speakers. This is especially important in the field of history because books and descriptions may use older Russian.

> *"We work in an unusual place. We indeed need a Russian-speaker. Not just a Russian-speaker because it is a museum, we have plenty of texts written in the Church Slavonic. The whole museum collection is based on Russian materials, in general. Everything that was handcrafted, produced or written in Russia in 16-19th centuries. I believe this place cannot function without a Russian employee."* (A historian)

Interviewees also think that employing foreigners brings diversity. Employers get international talents with an outside perspective. Diversity in backgrounds is a basis for alternative ideas and alternative solutions for problems. A foreign specialist can teach and introduce new things. Three specialists in marketing or sales and one in IT think so. One more marketer also thinks that corporate culture becomes better. Motivation and the general mood of employees increase. Nevertheless, diversity in backgrounds is not useful in all fields, e.g. in IT – another marketer suggested. Specialists learn one particular coding method used in their country, and when they work abroad, they have to learn another method used there.

Regarding attitude to work, interviewees think that they were employed because employers liked their approach and attitude to work, as well, as assets or skills. They believe that Russian employees are more hardworking than Finns. E.g. middle-aged and senior Finns tend to do things only within their job responsibilities in contrast to Russians, who accept all tasks and finish them. Russians like to work quality and think big. They develop themselves continuously. Interviewees also mentioned that such people are valued especially in small companies. Specialists in marketing and sales, finance and history think so. A specialist in finance thinks that foreign employees are more open to trying out new things, more flexible and adjust to new conditions better.

> *"I do all possible tasks. I think it is some kind of Russian thing: "Die but finish it!" I noticed this in comparison with Finnish colleagues. They reject tasks sometimes because they believe they are not qualified to do the task, or they do not have certain education or else. We, Russians, fearlessly accept all tasks and do them to the end . . . They call me a multifunctional employee."*
> (A historian)

Interviewees also suggested that Finnish employers may need to pay attention to issues with Finnish education. Finnish universities may not teach some fields as deep as Russian ones. E.g. when employing a specialist in Russian history, Russian historical education may be more beneficial then such degree from a Finnish university. While a marketer suggested that a specialist with Russian bachelor's degree may be better prepared, then a Finnish graduate from a vocational university (a university of applied sciences).

If a company is interested in global expansion, they have to employ foreigners. Cultural diversity in a company teaches local personnel to deal with other cultures. A local person is necessary for entering foreign markets and maintain business connections. Foreigners may speak different languages. Three specialists in marketing think so. Meanwhile, one marketer has suggested that if a Russian company wants to enter Finland, it needs to employ Russians who speak Finnish instead of Finns. Diversity will not work if foreign language skills are low among employees.

Some interviewees think that foreign employees are less adamant about employment terms. They may agree on lower employment requirements and salary in exchange for stability and permanent work contract. Finnish employees are more demanding about working conditions. Three interviewees think so: one specialist in finance, one in marketing and a worker. Foreign employees are more loyal to the employer because of residence permit requirements. They are afraid to quit the company until they get the permanent residence permit. Two interviewees think so: a specialist in marketing or sales and one in finance.

To summarise, interviewees suggested that it makes sense to employ foreigners if there is a low supply of national specialists. Hiring a better-qualified person is more profitable, even if non-national. Employers also get a well prepared and experienced specialist who can do the job straight away. Diversity is a basis for an outside perspective and alternative ideas and solutions. Interviewees believe that Russian employees are more hardworking. They like to work quality and think big. They develop themselves continuously. Russians accept all tasks and finish them. They do not limit themselves to their job responsibilities. Foreign employees are more open to try out new things, more flexible and adjust to new conditions better. Finnish universities do not teach some fields as deep as Russian ones, e.g. Russian history. Russian bachelor's degree prepares better specialists than a bachelor's degree in Finnish universities of applied sciences. If companies are interested in international markets, host-country national is necessary for entering foreign markets and maintain business connections. Cultural diversity teaches national personnel to deal with other cultures. Nevertheless, if skills are equal, a Finnish professional is better. Russians are very different in mentality and need adaptation. Employing from abroad or

non-EU is difficult. Diversity is not useful in all fields, e.g. IT. Foreign employees are vulnerable because of residence permit requirements, e.g. are afraid to quit the company even if something there is not right. They can lower their salary requirements in return for stability and permanent contract.

Concerning the disregard of interviewees' Russian education (Question 10), two interviewees do not use Russian education at work; they changed profession when they moved to Finland and use only Finnish degree at work. Hence, below only eight interviewees are reviewed. (Table 32, Appendix 4).

Only one person thinks that her Russian education was disregarded. It is a Finnish-speaking specialist in marketing. She told that employers were not very interested in her while she had only Russian education. It was much harder to find a job when she was a student. She thinks that they do not even consider people with Russian education. Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian 'Specialist' degree[2]. She told that without Finnish education she would be able to do a non-professional job only. A historian commented that her Russian education was not disregarded, but she thinks that she would not be chosen if her vacancy would be a public, and not only upon request by an open application.

> *"I have a five-year ['specialist'] degree, and no one could understand whether this is an unfinished master's or is it a bachelor's already. I had to equate it to the bachelor's degree."* (A marketer)

Six specialists think that their education was not disregarded. Three specialists in marketing, one in IT, one in history and one in Geology think so. A specialist in marketing commented that he was treated as one who has an education, as a young specialist. A specialist in IT commented that IT is an applied field. It is clear straight away if a person is sharp in this field. Technical education and IT field are standardised across countries. E.g. there are plenty of Russian professors teaching technical sciences in the world. It

[2] 'Specialist' degree is a university five-year programme. One can enter Doctoral studies after graduation from it. It can be equated to a Master's degree.

means that there no need to verify Russian IT education in Finland. The six specialists also mentioned that they use Russian education at work. Three marketers and IT specialist told that they use both Russian and Finnish/European education. History specialist also mentioned that she did not need to verify her education; nevertheless, the geology specialist told that he had to verify his technical degree. A marketer has suggested that in Finland, employers respect education much stronger. Her Finnish education gave her some overall understanding of the field and vision of a bigger picture. But at work, a new specialist still has to learn a lot about the processes and practices used within a company.

> *"IT is unified worldwide. . . . It is not medicine and its diversity of approaches. For example, there is different medicine used in poor and rich countries. Hence, doctors have to verify their education when they move to another country."* (An IT specialist).

Three specialists believe that they were chosen rather for their skills than for their education. Two marketers and one IT specialist think so. The IT specialist has commented that he has found his niche, and he is an expert in the niche. He can teach and consult others. He also mentioned that in several years after graduation, employers are interested in an applicant's experience rather than education. IT and history specialists have commented that they keep their knowledge up-to-date.

Three marketers and IT specialist told that their employers do not worry that some of their education is Russian. The IT specialist mentioned that he does not feel pressurised that he may have insufficient education. There is plenty of Russian specialists in the IT field who finds their Russian education sufficient. One marketer told that Finnish studies overshadowed the Russian degree, and no one asked about it.

Results suggest that foreign education is valued differently in different fields, but also, interviewees' personal experience varied within the same field. Six said that their education was not disregarded. One told that her Russian education was disregarded. Three believe that hat they were chosen rather for their skills than for their education, and four think that their employers do not worry that some of their education is Russian. Among those whose education was not disregarded, there are specialists in marketing, IT,

history and geology. They mentioned that they all use Russian education at work. They are treated as specialists. There was no need to verify Russian IT education because the field is standardised across countries. There is no need to verify a degree in Russian history either. Employers respect education much stronger. Among those whose education was disregarded, there was a specialist in marketing. Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian five-year 'Specialist' degree. She told that without Finnish education she would be able to do a non-professional job only. Among those who were chosen for their experience were specialists in marketing and IT. It is vital to keep your knowledge up-to-date.

The results for discrimination based on factors that interviewees cannot influence (Question 11) are separated in five categories: whether interviewees experienced discrimination during the job search, or at work by superiors, by colleagues, by customers and in private life. Some of them told that they have experienced it, or they have not, or that they are not certain. (Table 32, Appendix 4).

Three interviewees were not certain that they have experienced discrimination during the job search. One was certain that she was discriminated during the job search. Among those who were not certain, all were specialists. One of them uses English at work, and two use Finnish. They told they do not know whether they were discriminated for their origin because they do not know the internal processes of the recruiting company. They said that if they were not chosen, then they receive polite reject letters. Employers cannot say discriminating things in written feedback. Neither anyone told them such things personally. Some feel certain about their skills. The employer might have indeed found a better-qualified person; that is why they were rejected. One specialist has commented that she was able to find specialist jobs. She has had several employments already. Interviewees they told that from what they experienced, discrimination was not revealed.

One Finnish-speaking specialist was certain that she was discriminated during the job search. She told that she was rejected from the last selection stage because of funding requirements for the position. Normally, employers should know the funding requirements from the beginning of the recruitment process. They needed a fluent Finnish

speaker. She was overqualified, but a non-native speaker, and instead of reasoning the reject with this, the employer chose to explain it with funding requirements.

> *"I have suited to all requirements; I would say I even was overqualified, while they looked for someone who is very basic. I was selected for the last round. But, as they told, I fit better for this position in term of skills, but they cannot choose me because it is a government organization and funded by the government, and it has agreed to pay only to those whose Finnish is native and who a Finn."* (A Finnish-speaking specialist)

Five interviewees told that superiors did not discriminate them. One interviewee said that she was discriminated by a superior. And two interviewees were not certain whether they have experienced discrimination by a superior.

Four specialists and one worker told that superiors did not discriminate them. Two specialists spoke Finnish. One said that discrimination at her workplace is prohibited and that an employee can complain to the managing director. Others told that superiors do not discriminate because they have higher education, that if a superior has experience of employing foreigners, then he will not discriminate. Helsinki is more transparent. Employers understand that all have to be judged the same. Others told that this is because of the field. Marketing is a progressive field. Two interviewees told that they were not discriminated, but they have heard stories by others of being discriminated. E.g. there was discrimination research: Finnish and Russian applicants had the same CV. Employers responded fast to those with Finnish surname, but those with Russian were not invited for an interview (TEM 2012).

> *"There was one shop that did not want to employ a second Russian. They believed that if they hire the second Russian, then they would collaborate to steal something. Two Russian employees are a dangerous thing. They would steal, and no one would notice."* (An English-speaking specialist)

Other interesting results were revealed regarding interaction with superiors. Some interviewees have commented that they do not find following things discriminating. One specialist told that she could wilfully lower her salary request in exchange for a permanent contract. She thinks that different people have different priorities. This arrangement

would help her to get a permanent residence permit in future. Another interviewee told that he is a sole private entrepreneur. Hence one of his customers chose not to employ him as a regular employee but sign him as a subcontractor. He told that works the same as all other employees and has a supervisor but, for example, he is not invited for corporate parties and has limited rights. Another specialist has mentioned that she had a nine-month-long internship. The law says that the trial period cannot be longer than six months. It cannot be repeated after the first contract. (Finland Employment Contracts Act (55/2001). Interviewees could tolerate some cases of discrimination or would not consider them to be as discrimination.

One Finnish-speaking interviewee told that she did experience discrimination because of her non-native language skills. Her supervisor did not trust her language skills in communication with customers.

> *"At first, my supervisor offered that she would write all emails regarding explaining something to customers instead of me. Later on, I understood that I do not like that. In Russia, they would say: "This is your job, so do it." Here, she offered this to simplify my responsibilities. But in this case, I would not learn anything. So, at some point, I told her that I want to do it myself."* (A Finnish-speaking specialist)

Two specialists told that they are not certain whether they experienced discrimination by a superior. For example, one specialist said that he does know what salary exactly a Finn would get on this position. Therefore, he cannot tell if he is discriminated. Another specialist said that she does not feel comfortable discussing discrimination. She does not want to believe that she is discriminated. Nevertheless, she has mentioned that she has had several short-term contracts, the same as her other Russian colleague, while all Finnish employees have permanent. The law says that if a job is of a continuous nature, the contract cannot be temporary. Availability of external funding is not a justifiable ground (Finland Employment Contracts Act (55/2001). After two or more successive short-term contracts, a case can be submitted to the Labour Court (TTL 2019). Another interviewee, a worker, told that Russians are afraid of being demanding at work. They feared being fired for that. Abovementioned examples suggest that there is no easily accessible information for foreigners to help to define whether they are discriminated.

They have mentioned some cases where employers may have broken the law, but employees think that it is normal and they did not earn it yet with their performance.

> *"I still do not have a permanent contract. It is extended every half a year. They cannot give me a permanent contract because there are not enough resources, they say. Hence, I try to prove myself all the time. But usually, when it is time to sign a new contract, nothing changes. Last time when I got my temporary contract, I did not even ask anymore. They promise to give me a permanent contract after one old permanent employee goes to the pension in two years. We know about this law. But we are afraid to request the justification."* (A Finnish-speaking specialist).

Five interviewees told that colleagues did not discriminate them. And one has mentioned that they did. Among these five interviewees who were not discriminated by colleagues, all are specialists, and three speak Finnish. One specialist told that it is because discrimination at the workplace is prohibited. That they do not discriminate because they have an education. One has commented that he works for an international company, and there is a high level of diversity. Another believes that this is so because marketing is a progressive field. Nevertheless, one worker has mentioned that colleagues did discriminate him, but this is normal. He told that he does not even speak fluent Finnish.

> *"Some worker colleagues are clearly racists. They do not greet you; they turn their face away when walking past you."* (A Finnish-speaking worker)

There are some examples that interviewees have mentioned that they do not find discriminating in interaction with colleagues. Two specialists have suggested that they have harmless cross-cultural or gender jokes. One of them works in a Finnish-speaking environment and one in English speaking. Nevertheless, one interviewee from Finnish-speaking environment has mentioned a case of age discrimination, but she did not qualify it as discrimination. Her older colleague did not want to teach her how to do her work because she was afraid that the younger new employee may be more efficient and would replace her.

One Finnish-speaking specialist has mentioned that foreign customers discriminated her at work. One customer was aggressive about Russia's political actions. Another specialist

has mentioned that he experienced discrimination in private life: his Finnish roommate was aggressive about Russia's political activities. One specialist has told that he has not experienced discrimination in private life, but there is always a chance to meet someone aggressive.

In conclusion, as for discrimination during the job search, most of them were not certain whether companies have some unrevealed discriminating requirements. One example was a rejection from later stages of selection with preselection requirements. As for discrimination at work, the most were not discriminated by superiors or colleagues. Others could tolerate some cases of discrimination, e.g. distrust in the language skills for external communication, successive short-term contracts for continuous work among non-nationals and ignorance by national colleagues. Interviewees suggested that if superiors or colleagues have higher education, experience of employing or working with foreigners, then they would not discriminate. If discrimination at the workplace is prohibited, neither superiors nor colleagues would discriminate. Results suggest that there is no easily accessible information for foreigners to help to define whether they are discriminated. Some interviewees mentioned some aggression in private life or with customers.

To summarise the second research objective 'to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination,' interviewees believe that hiring a better-qualified person is more profitable. A foreign specialist often can do the job straight away due to experience. Diversity is a basis for alternative ideas and solutions. A foreign national is necessary for entering foreign markets and maintaining business connections. Nevertheless, if skills are equal, a Finnish professional is better. Russians are different in mentality and need adaptation.

As for the difficulty to find a professional job, it is easier to get the first job in the professional field when education is received in Finland or the EU. Foreign professional experience was valued. Knowing Finnish is not necessary for professional employment. If there is not enough foreign professional experience, Finnish non-professional experience was valued. Knowing Finnish is essential for finding non-professional jobs.

Others launched a business in Finland or worked in Russia during their studies in Finland, before finding a professional job in Finland. Some employers offered internships only among international students. Sending many applications is crucial. Depending on the demand, the interviewees sent up to 100 applications – 4 to 20% of employers invited for an interview. Interviewees looked for a professional job from three months to four years.

As for the value of foreign education, most of the interviewees told that their education was not disregarded. They mentioned that they all use Russian education at work. Others believe that they were chosen for their skills. It is not necessary to verify education in some fields, e.g. IT or Russian history, but it is vital to keep knowledge up-to-date. Some mentioned that Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian five-year 'Specialist' degree.

As for discrimination during the job search or at work, most of the interviewees were not discriminated. Others had examples or could tolerate some cases of discrimination. Interviewees suggested that if superiors or colleagues have higher education, experience of employing or working with foreigners, then they would not discriminate. If discrimination at the workplace is prohibited, neither superiors nor colleagues will discriminate. Results suggest that there is no easily accessible information for foreigners to help to define whether they are discriminated. Foreign employees are vulnerable because of residence permits, e.g. they can lower their demands in return for stability.

4.2.3. The third dimension: Finnish and Russian managerial approaches

Questions 6 – 8 were used to verify findings from the literature review for the third research objective 'to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches.' Section (2.6) 'Comparison of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia' is the only section devoted to this objective. Questions (6) 'whether they felt that their supervisors managed them somehow differently in Finland than in Russia, and what the differences were', (7) 'how the corporate culture in Russia is different, and how Russian colleagues have treated them' and (8) 'whether it was easier to work in Russia or Finland' are meant to verify findings from this section (2.6). (Appendix 2).

Interviewees have mentioned some differences in behaviour between Russian and Finnish managers (Table 33, Appendix 4). The differences were noticed in managers' positioning themselves, i.e. differences in power distance and how it is expressed. Others have noticed a distinction in approaches to subordinates and how people generally behave at work. There were also differences in how formal institutions work and what effects this gives.

Results suggest that in terms of positioning, managers in Finland are low-key, easy-going and accessible and that managers in Russia are not. Instead, they prefer respect and admiration when employees speak to them. As for approaches to employees, Finnish managers are more patient and understanding. Managers in Russia do not position themselves so. The power distance is much stronger. Interviewees believe that legal institutions work in Finland. As for Russia, results differed: the majority thought that they do not work, some others thought that they do. Interviewees also observed that people in Finland work at work harder.

According to interviewees, managers in Finland position themselves low-key, easy-going and accessible, also online (six interviewees agreed about this – 60%). Managers are selected by competence. They are never rude, and they are friendly (two interviewees suggested). Managers control their expression of emotions (e.g. do not shout if not happy with someone's performance). Managers expect feedback and suggestions (two interviewees agreed) – an employee can propose an idea from down to up. All managers are very rational. Managers delegate decision-making, and employees can make some decisions (two interviewees suggested). For example, they can choose the necessary equipment in a shop, and the costs will be covered. Employees feel valued are trusted (two interviewees agreed). For example, employees fill their timecard themselves (if they use one at work). Managers genuinely care about phycological comfort: an employee does everything at work as supposed but also with pleasure. Managers also manage the atmosphere in the team. Teambuilding culture is developed (two interviewees suggested). Most companies are small, so there is a lesser number of layers. An employee can access superior's superior or a CEO if necessary, e.g. to get some resources for one's project or solve a more significant problem (three interviewees agreed). There are lesser

unnecessary meetings. The supervisor's supervisor also cares about lower level employees. They also noticed that if a manager walks by, other employees do not pay attention to him. One may not notice a difference between a CEO and a cleaning lady when does not know who is who – they act as equals. Communication is more informal: people do not use names in written communication. Instead, they start an email with 'Hi!' Nevertheless, young people with cross-cultural experience and employees in international corporations sometimes do use names. Support services personnel are also friendly. These observations match with Section 2.6.1.

> *"Two team members were in a personal conflict. They ignored and did not want to work with each other. He [the supervisor] spoke to each them separately, then he asked each of us, the team members, how we think we should solve the problem. Eventually, they could work with each other."* (A marketing specialist)

Managers in Russia do not position themselves low-key and easy-going (eight interviewees agreed about this – 80%). Managers do not accept feedback (two interviewees suggested). The approach to task assignment is top to down (three interviewees agreed). Supervisors have extreme power. They expect respect and admiration. They want assignments completed, like in an army, without questions or hesitation (two interviewees suggested). They do not bother to do anything about someone's suggestion or feedback, or an employee may get fired for this (two interviewees suggested). Nevertheless, one mentioned that when she worked for a Finnish company, Russian partners had to listen to her opinion. Everyone's career wish is to become a supervisor. The distance between layers is significant. Some managers work rude and allow themselves to shout (three interviewees agreed). Managers do not explain their decisions. They do not delegate decision-making (two interviewees suggested), for example, a foreman or supervisor fills the timecard. Managers do not manage the atmosphere in the team. An employee cannot access the superior's superior or a CEO if necessary. Supervisor's supervisor does not care about lower-level employees or cares very little. Speaking to lower-level employees is below their status. Also, others mentioned that the better the relationship with your supervisor, the higher the salary an employee has. Moscow management style is even fiercer than one in St. Petersburg. Communication is formal; for example, people use names in written communication.

There are many layers in an organisation usually, and it is bureaucratical. For example, one told that his supervisor was not allowed to decide on many things. There is a need to make plenty of papers and have many unnecessary meetings. An employee cannot solve a problem with one meeting session. He also has mentioned that he had to go with his supervisor to support the supervisor's ideas before his supervisor. These observations match with Section 2.6.1.

> *"A group of Russian managers visited our plant. At the time, I was only Russian working there. When the CEO was giving a tour around the plant, he felt that he needs to amaze guests somehow and called for me to show them that he has a Russian. The guests got such facial expressions… as if they do not understand why the CEO shows them this lower-level worker."* (A worker)

As for approaches to employees, Finnish managers are patient and understanding (four interviewees agreed about this – 40%). An employee is allowed to make mistakes (also during testing or training period) – 2 interviewees agreed. For example, a task deadline can be extended. A possibility of making mistakes matches with the concept of 'honeymoon' in business relationships and means that Finnish management is rather mid-term oriented (Jansson et al. 2007). When managers give a task, they offer it. Interviewees told that sometimes it is unclear even whether they talk to you or give an assignment. One told that she keeps asking the supervisor to be more explicit. This solution matches with advice about being open with your background by Phillips et al. (2018) from Section 2.3.2. Managers will not punish an employee if the employee does not do the task. They told that they are not afraid to ask work-related questions straight from the supervisor (two interviewees suggested). An employee does not feel pressured if he or she do not comply with progress requirements. Managers do not drop all tasks on an employee straight on the day one of employment; instead, they give it piece by piece. Managers observe and re-assess an employee's actions continuously. Managers evaluate whether an employee has the potential for more challenging tasks. They mentioned that it is okay to say "I don't know" at work. It is supported if it is not your competence field (Jansson et al. (2007). Managers rely on subordinate competence; they do not always know everything from the subordinate's field, so they have to trust. Others observed that managers do not give much feedback, probably because they do not want to say bad things

personally. Teachers and managers do not evaluate better if relationships with the person assessed are good.

Russian managers are not patient and understanding (five interviewees agreed about this – 50%). Jansson et al. (2007) suggest that this is because Russian managers have short-term orientation and expect immediate results. Managers control stronger (same mentioned by Gurkov (2016), having more frequent progress checks, e.g. once a week. An employee feels pressured if he or she do not comply with progress requirements. One told that he prefers to find a solution with colleagues, then propose it to the supervisor. If he can solve it with colleagues, he will not bother the supervisor (two interviewees agreed). Interviewees believe it is dangerous to ask questions from the supervisor (two interviewees suggested). Managers think that it is the employees' job to do the job, so they do not help or advice, and it is the supervisor's job to coordinate. It is not okay to say "I don't know" at work. An employee is considered as stupid then. Teachers and managers evaluate better if relationships with the person assessed are good.

> *"It is dangerous to ask questions from the supervisor! I don't remember I would ever discuss any problems with them. Only in extreme situations. Once we had a case. We received a large printing order, and I did not notice a flaw. It was a moment that I felt that that's it – I will die today." (A graphic ex-designer)*

As for the formal institutions in Finland, interviewees believe that legal institutions work (five interviewees agreed about this – 50%). Superiors do not have impossible performance expectations, e.g. to work overtime daily, when an employee is ill or when children are ill (two interviewees agreed). An employee can discuss working conditions with the supervisor, e.g. any family problems or personal problems or flexible working hours. Superiors do not track how much time precisely an employee spends at work. He or she may leave if all job is done for the day (two interviewees suggested). Managers respect your private time after work (two interviewees agreed). Managers genuinely want to follow legislation: e.g. to pay overtime. Everyone respects contracts entered in force, including ethical policies and non-disclosure agreements (NDAs). Managers are rational because of ethical codes. Interviewees believe that formal institutions and legislation

protect employee rights and work very well (two interviewees suggested). These observations match with Section 2.6.3.

> *"We have got an urgent request to stop an online campaign during a weekend. I opened the system and turned it off because it is just a one-click task. On Monday, I have got dressed down that we should not work on weekends."* (A marketing specialist).

As for Russia, some interviewees believe that legal institutions do not work (five interviewees agreed about this – 50%), and some believe that legal institutions do work (two interviewees agreed about this – 20%). Some interviewees believe that superiors have impossible performance expectations: to work overtime daily, when ill or when your children are ill (four interviewees agreed), and some believe that they do not, and you can discuss working conditions if necessary (two interviewees agreed). Others have mentioned that formal institutions and legislation do not work very well. No one respects contracts placed in force. Equipment is not ensured; hence, an employee needs to explain himself if something is broken and, perhaps, get costs subtracted from the salary (two interviewees agreed). There are more applicants available on the Russian market; therefore, so employers do not care about employee turnover, they always can employ more. Also, superiors or a special department will track your time at work precisely. Companies use strong information security: checking of your belongings by security personnel and ID cards. These observations match with Section 2.6.3.

Interviewees also observed that people in Finland work at work harder (three interviewees agreed about this – 30%). They believe that this is because employees are morally responsible for their work (two interviewees agreed). Employees do not waste time with small breaks; then they have more personal time after work. One cannot solve any work question after 4-5 pm. For example, in Russia, a person can solve any work question until midnight. They think that this is such a mentality. Interviewees observed about themselves and colleagues that they feel guilty when they find their work was evaluated below then accepted quality (two interviewees agreed). According to Jansson et al. (2007), this is the European inner perspective to blame yourself instead of others. This notion may suggest a successful adjustment factor: interviewees not only act as Europeans

but also feel so inside. In contrast, interviewees observed that superiors in Russia tend to blame subordinates for his mistakes. This also matches with Jansson et al. (2007) that Russians usually have an outer perspective, e.g. somebody else is faulty. These observations match with Section 2.6.3.

Interviewees believed that, in Finland, they could access superior's superior or CEO because of marketing or IT fields, and that, in Russia, they did not feel the distance to superiors because they worked in a foreign company, or had young team members, the size of the company was small. As for their observation about Finland, the model of international adjustment (Black et al. 1991, in Shaffer et al. 1999) suggest that function has a weak role in the adjustment process. Therefore, their observation may be valid for any field.

In conclusion to the third research objective 'to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches,' results suggest that managers in Finland are low-key, easy-going and accessible. According to interviewees, managers are selected by competence. They are never rude, and they are friendly. Managers expect feedback and suggestions. They delegate decision-making, and they genuinely care about phycological comfort. Employees feel valued are trusted. They can access superior's superior or a CEO if necessary. Interviewees also observed that people in Finland work at work harder. They believe that this is because employees feel morally responsible for their work (the inner perspective on responsibility, according to Jansson et al. (2007). Interviewees observed the same feature about themselves. This may be a sign of adjustment. In contrast, managers in Russia do not position themselves low-key and easy-going. The approach to task assignment is top to down. Supervisors have extreme power. Managers expect respect and admiration. Managers do not explain their decisions. They do not accept feedback. Employees may get fired for suggestion or feedback. Assignments have to be done, like in an army without questions or hesitation. Some managers work rudely and allow themselves to shout at others. Supervisor's supervisor does not care about lower-level employees or cares very little.

As for approaches to employees, Finnish managers are patient and understanding. Employees are allowed to make mistakes, also during a trial or training period. They told that they are not afraid to ask work-related questions straight from the supervisor. Managers observe and re-assess an employee's actions continuously. Managers rely on subordinate competence. Being open about your background helps to solve misunderstandings. Saying "I don't know" is supported if it is not your competence field. Superiors do not track how much time precisely an employee spends at work. In contrast, Russian managers are not patient and understanding. Russian managers have short-term orientation and expect immediate results. Managers control stronger. An employee feels pressured if he or she do not comply with progress requirements. Superiors or a special department will track your time at work precisely. Employees try to find a solution with colleagues, then propose it to the supervisor. If he can solve it with colleagues, he will not bother the supervisor. Interviewees believe it is dangerous to ask questions from the supervisor.

As for the formal institutions in Finland, interviewees believe that legal institutions work. Superiors do not have impossible performance expectations. Managers respect your private time after work. Managers genuinely want to follow legislation. Everyone respects contracts entered in force, including ethical policies and NDAs. Managers are rational because of ethical codes. As for Russia, the majority interviewees believed that legal institutions do not work, and some believed that they do work. Some interviewees believe that superiors have impossible performance expectations, some do not. No one expects that contracts placed in force would be respected. These observations match with Sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.3.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This section has four goals. First, a general discussion of findings will take place. Then practical implications both for managers and expatriates will be drawn. Finally, limitations and suggestions for future research will be presented.

5.1. Discussion of findings

This study investigates expatriation success factors for Russian self-initiated expatriates in Finland. The research question of this study is 'How can Russian professionals expatriate to Finland successfully?'. Three research objectives help to answer this question: (1) to learn about the expatriation need and expectations and expatriate adjustment process, (2) to find out the advantages or liabilities of foreignness and possible employment discrimination and (3) to compare facilitating Finnish and directive Russian management approaches. Sections 2.2 'Desire to expatriate', 2.3 'Expatriate adjustment' and 4.2.1 'The first dimension: Expatriate adjustment process' help to answer the first research objective. Sections 2.4 'Liability of foreignness of individuals', 2.5 'Discrimination in employment' and 4.2.3 'The second dimension: Liability of foreignness' help to answer the second research objective. Finally, sections 2.6 'Comparison of managerial approaches in Finland and Russia' and 4.2.2 'The third dimension: Finnish and Russian managerial approaches' help to answer the third research objective. Below, the researcher joins findings gathered from the literature review and the empirical investigation of this research.

The research has revealed plenty of interesting and useful information for Russian expatriates and their Finnish managers. The better an employee is adjusted, the better he or she performs. The literature review has revealed that those who want to expatriate successfully need to have a particular mindset, ability to adjust to the local environment and formal skills for the job in the desired field. The expatriate needs to have competence for the career he or she wants to acquire. Global mindset, cosmopolitanism and empathy

are vital for successful expatriation. It is crucial to immerse into the society and expand the network both among locals and the expatriate's countrymen. This will help both with migration issues and getting used to a very different Finnish management style. Finnish tertiary education and previous work experience were valued. Correctly forming expatriation expectations is crucial when setting out personal performance goals. Isolation among Russian migrant group is not recommended. Learning the Finnish language gave mixed results. Russian expatriates have to beware of possible discrimination and keep believing in personal efficacy. Employers hiring expatriates also can help to adjust by designing global positions clearer.

Both the literature review and the empirical investigation of this research suggest that Russian people relocate to Finland mainly for family reasons, for career advancement, for better educational possibilities, and also because Finland is located nearby. Obtaining another citizenship gives freedom to move around the globe and protection against political uncertainties. Some found the availability of social benefits crucial.

Russian self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) are employed in Finland for a variety of reasons, both in professional and worker fields. A foreign specialist often can do the job straight away due to experience. Hiring a better-qualified person is always more profitable for a company, and background does not matter. Diversity is a basis for alternative ideas and solutions. SIEs can provide with solutions and business practices in similar situations from foreign markets. In professional fields, they are needed to run operations on middle and lower management levels for tasks that corporate expatriates (CEs) and host-country nationals (HCNs) cannot do. SIEs are necessary for entering foreign markets and maintaining business connections. Among SIEs interviewed for this study, English-speaking specialists were employed in marketing and IT, while Finnish-speaking specialists were in marketing, finance, history and geology. Among Finnish-speakers, there was also one worker who studied for his professional field.

Among factors affecting expatriate adjustment at work, role clarity, discretion and autonomy in the role, co-worker support, logistical support, culture novelty and spouse adjustment were significant for adjustment. Therefore, employers can provide clear job

design with discretionary responsibilities and low role overload, a supportive corporate culture and help with the spouse employment. Both the literature review and the empirical investigation suggest that foreigners receive highly asymmetric information; hence, companies have to use wide channels of information instead of sharing it in smaller circles hoping that news would spread out.

As for supportive corporate culture, minorities at work (especially visible minorities) are not comfortable telling about themselves because of possible bias. Meanwhile, people prefer to develop social bonds with those who are similar. In practice, it means that to create a comfortable environment at work, an individual has to be transparent and reveal elements of personal life and be true oneself to let others know more about him or her. The empirical investigation reveals similar results: if in a cross-cultural work environment, there is a misunderstanding, then parties have to discuss it openly instead of assuming their own perceptions. Ice-breaking games or an informal mentorship system may help with developing a comfortable atmosphere at work. Colour blindness is not practical for solving challenges related to racial differences. Instead, the research shows that they should be acknowledged and highlighted. Insecurity is a serious issue in a foreign environment; foreign employees are vulnerable because of residence permits, and they need continuous support.

SIEs achieve higher adjustment because they are driven to succeed with expatriation in contrast to corporate expatriates. SIEs develop stronger ties to the community because they have to rely only on themselves. They rely on the local norms, accept local business practises, utilise them to their advantage, try to mimic local behaviours and develop relationships with host-country nationals. The longer previous international experience is, the more empathic expatriates are, and the easier they rely on their local colleagues and managers. The literature review suggests that the functional area is not significant for adjustment. The empirical investigation supports this – respondents across a variety of fields did not experience problems in adjustment or acceptance. Interestingly, they felt lucky they chose their fields, as they expected a worse environment in other fields. SIEs' families usually adjust better, because they participate in selecting the destination country

in contrast to corporate expatriates. Hence, family members have a strong motivation for adjustment.

Developing strong ties to the local community is vital because SIEs have no one else to rely on except themselves and their families, in contrast to a corporate expatriate who expects their home office to solve their relocation-related problems including migration and accommodation issues. Friends and colleagues among host-country nationals can render local culture and help with some everyday problems: e.g. local norms, business practices and behavioural patterns. Having local friends increases the feeling of security, trust, involvement and satisfaction from the expatriation experience. It was mentioned that SIEs in local organisations adjust better. The immigrant population that already reside in the country can help other fellow countrymen to solve problems they face. The wider the immigrant population is, the lesser adjustment hazards newcomers face. Nevertheless, isolation of oneself only to the migrant community limits the expatriation experience and increases dissatisfaction about the decision to relocate. People coming from collectivist countries have an exceptionally high tendency to isolation, including Russians. If expatriates experience problems with finding a genuine connection to local people, then immersion and integration programmes can help with this process.

Interviewees found Finns to be reserved, but friendly after getting to know them better. Finnish society is individualistic: they supervise each other, and they do not accept bribery. Superiors do not take presents and are much kinder to subordinates than in Russia. A good personal relationship does not affect performance evaluations. Finns have a wider personal space. For those who felt that they need to adjust, learning Finnish has helped, others try to work quality, stopped handshaking and reassessed their expectations from people. As for those who felt that they do not need to adjust, they told that they had experience of living abroad, they have little work experience in Russia, or they had Finnish grandparents. Among those who were not able to adjust, they told that age is the issue.

As for the Finnish language, fluency in it was not always as beneficial as it may seem at first. Finnish statistics suggest that learning it makes job search easier and that

employment rate among foreign Finnish-speakers is at the same level as for Finnish nationals. Nevertheless, the empirical investigation of this study suggests that a Finnish tertiary education and previous work experience give better job opportunities when searching professional job then fluency in Finnish. Most English-speaking specialists with a Finnish or a European degree and long work experience in Russia reported that their first job in Finland was in their field and they never attempted to search for a non-professional job. Meanwhile, most Finnish-speaking Russians had a non-professional job before finding a job in their field (Tables 28 – 29, Appendix 4).

The research has shown that fluency in the Finnish language is vital for non-professional jobs but is not so important for a variety of specialist fields. Knowledge transfer and idea-sharing in the specialist environment is possible in English. Nevertheless, teamwork and communication in technical (except IT field) and worker professions are not possible without fluency in the Finnish language. Moreover, fluency in host-country language gives, interestingly, worse adjustment effects because expatriates understand everything that is meant between the lines as well; while those who had average skills would not notice anything (Shaffer, Harrison & Gilley 1999).

Correctly forming expatriation expectations is crucial. High expectations cause stress, dissatisfaction from expatriation experience and low performance at work. In new cultural circumstances, the professional and general environment does not always match with the situation the person was used to in the home country. Expatriates who move here for work may expect interesting tasks, personal goal achievement and career advancement, but these expectations may not be met. Expatriates may experience unemployment, underemployment or other work-related problems such as low role clarity and strong role overload.

Statistics also show that foreigners in Finland held a much lesser number of expert positions then Finns and were overrepresented in service and worker occupations. It was mentioned that the higher educational qualification was, the easier it was to find a job. Nevertheless, foreign higher education is undervalued on the Finnish labour market, and 20% of foreigners with higher education were in worker occupations. Respondents

mentioned that Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian 'Specialist' degree. The researcher speculates that Finnish employers, perhaps, perceive it as a vocational school or university degree; meanwhile, in Russia, it equals to the second stage of the tertiary education. Networking and replying to job postings were the most successful strategies to find a job. Empirical research suggests that to find a professional job in Finland, the interviewees sent up to 100 applications – 4 to 20% of employers invited for an interview. Some employers offered internships only among international students. Respondents looked for a professional job from three months to four years. Others launched a business in Finland or worked in Russia during their studies in Finland, before finding a professional job in Finland.

Employers or customers of some developed countries distrust education received in developing countries. Hence, they discount the credentials of such applicants. Nevertheless, education received in developed countries has raised evaluations and reduced nationality bias. The empirical investigation supports this statement. Most respondents with European education mentioned that their education was not disregarded. They also mentioned that they were chosen for their skills. Those respondents who did not have European education but found specialist jobs were in very narrow fields such as Russian history and geology and spoke Finnish.

As for discrimination in the workplace, both the literature review and the empirical investigation show that it does take place in Finland. According to Finnish HR managers, ideal candidate speaks excellent Finnish, despite a need of it at work. Managers interpret the anti-discrimination legislation flexibly or shift responsibility for recruitment equality on somebody else. The empirical investigation revealed some examples of discrimination during the job search and at work. Nevertheless, most interviewees told that they were not discriminated. The researcher has noticed that most of the examples are not mentioned in connection to discrimination. It may suggest that Russian have a high tolerance towards discrimination, and they do not notice it.

Research suggests that that organisational procedures, rules and structures impede supervisors to be discriminatory. Interviewees believe that if discrimination at the

workplace is prohibited, neither superiors nor colleagues will discriminate. Research also suggests that everyone is filtering daily interactions through cultural attitudes formed by culture and history of the society, and everyone has to take personal consideration if their behaviour does not contribute to inequality. Building mutual trust will lessen prejudices. Interviewees think that if superiors or colleagues have higher education, experience of employing or working with foreigners, then they would not discriminate. Research suggests that using anonymous application procedures and training interviewers reduce recruiters' bias.

Research recommends employers to avoid ethnic discrimination. Discrimination affects health, well-being, life satisfaction and job performance of immigrants negatively. For immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Estonia and Russia living in Finland, a belief in their ability to control possibilities for employment had a positive effect on well-being, but in combination with perceived discrimination, immigrant and unemployment statuses, these beliefs impacted negatively on well-being. Research advises immigrants to believe in personal efficacy even if they notice work discrimination towards their co-ethnics. The lesser an unemployed immigrant follows the beliefs of his group on discrimination, the higher the confidence in his or her ability to control the employment situation.

Research and the empirical investigation found some differences between Russian and Finnish management. Western European firms establish relationships to conduct business. Hence, performance is valued highly there. Relationships are re-evaluated continuously if not profitable in a mid-term perspective, have to be terminated. West European business relationships assume partners to be honest and to show commitment, competence and support. A 'honeymoon' period is allowed at the beginning of the relationships. Employers and employees enter as buyers and sellers, i.e. they have professional roles in employment relationships. Responsibility in Western European business relationships is well defined and often in text form. Contracts following is binding by law – breach results in sanctions. Meanwhile, trust is vital for collectivist cultures, as formal institutions do not work as well as in Western Europe. Russian business relationships expect partners may cheat; therefore, the suspicion is constant at any stage of relationships. Russian professionals may be suspicious of their foreign

employers. Establishing genuine relationships between Finnish management and Russian employees can become a key to the development of trust.

Western European authority rests on impersonal and rational rules and laws and restricted to the competence areas. The competence includes the ability to act in a considered upright manner, according to impersonal and invariant rules. Supervision of subordination is low. Russian authoritarian leadership is dominating, and decision-making is concentrated at the hierarchical top. Supervision of subordination is high. Good personal relationships with ultimate superiors are vitally necessary for employees to keep their employment. Low unionisation protects employees' rights poorly; hence, it enables authoritarian leaders to act even more fierce.

Respondents shared that managers in Finland are selected by competence. They are low-key, easy-going and accessible. They delegate decision-making. Managers expect feedback and suggestions, and they genuinely care about phycological comfort. Managers respect employee's private time after work. Employees can access the superior's superior or a CEO if necessary. Everyone respects contracts entered in force, including ethical policies and NDAs. In contrast, managers in Russia have extreme power. They expect respect and admiration. They do not accept feedback. Employees may get fired for sharing it. Managers do not explain their decisions. Assignments have to be done like in an army, without questions or hesitation. Some managers work rudely and may shout at subordinates. The supervisor's supervisor is not accessible and does not care about lower-level employees.

As for approaches to employees, Finnish managers are rational, patient and understanding. Employees are allowed to make mistakes, also during a trial or training period (as the concept of a 'honeymoon' mentioned above). Managers observe and reassess the employee's actions continuously. They rely on subordinate competence. Respondents told that they are not afraid to ask work-related questions from the supervisor. Being open about your background helps to solve misunderstandings (as the idea of personal transparency mentioned above). Saying "I don't know" is supported if it is not your competence field. In contrast, Russian managers have short-term orientation

and expect immediate results. A manager's control is stronger. Superiors or a special department will track the time you spend at work precisely. Employees try to find a solution with colleagues, then propose it to the supervisor. Interviewees believe it is dangerous to ask questions from the supervisor. Such entirely contrasting behavioural expectations may cause a conflict of perceptions. Therefore, the supervisor's patience and support are vital when employing a Russian expatriate in Finland.

5.2. Practical implications for managers

This study may become a guidebook for Finnish managers and Russian professionals to find a better approach to each other. Self-initiated expatriates are employed in Finland for various reasons. Hiring a best-qualified person is always profitable for a company. For example, experience allows foreign specialists to do a new job straight away. Expatriates are necessary for entering foreign markets and maintaining business connections. SIEs can provide with solutions from foreign markets. Moreover, diversity is a basis for alternative ideas and solutions.

It is known that the better an employee is adjusted, the better he or she performs. Apart from employee's effort, employers hiring expatriates also can help them to adjust by designing global positions clearer: e.g. with discretionary responsibilities and without role overload. They also may provide a supportive corporate culture and help with spouse employment. Research suggests that foreigners receive highly asymmetric information; hence, companies have to use wide channels of information among their foreign employees.

Managers in Russia have extreme power, and they expect immediate results. Tasks have to be done without questions or hesitation. It is dangerous to ask questions from the supervisor. Employees may get fired for sharing feedback. Employees usually try to find solutions with other colleagues. Such entirely contradictory behavioural demands may

cause a conflict of perceptions. Therefore, the supervisor's patience and support are vital when employing a Russian expatriate.

Minorities at work are not comfortable telling about themselves because of possible bias. To create a comfortable environment at work, individuals have to be transparent and reveal elements of personal life. The management has to support them. Meanwhile, people coming from collectivist countries have an exceptionally high tendency to isolation, including Russians. Ice-breaking games or an informal mentorship system may help with this process. If there is a misunderstanding, then parties have to discuss it openly instead of assuming.

Studies recommend employers to avoid ethnic discrimination. Discrimination affects health, well-being, life satisfaction and job performance of immigrants negatively. Filtering interactions through culture is natural; therefore, everyone has to take personal consideration if their behaviour is not discriminative. If superiors or colleagues have higher education and experience of employing foreigners, then they would not discriminate them. If organisational rules impede discrimination, neither superiors nor colleagues will discriminate. Research suggests that using anonymous applications reduce recruiters' bias.

5.3. Practical implications for expatriates

Those who want to expatriate successfully need to have a particular mindset, ability to adjust to the local environment and formal skills for the job in the desired field. Global mindset, cosmopolitanism and empathy are vital for successful expatriation. It is crucial to immerse into the society and expand the network both among locals and other migrant Russians. This will help with migration issues and getting used to the Finnish work environment. Isolation among Russian migrant group is not recommended. European tertiary education and previous work experience were valued. Learning the Finnish language gave mixed results. Correctly forming expatriation expectations is crucial when

setting out personal performance goals. Russian expatriates have to beware of possible discrimination and keep believing in personal efficacy.

Respondents found Finns to be reserved, but friendly after getting to know them better. Finns have a wider personal space. They supervise each other, and they do not accept bribery. Russians mentioned the following adjustments: working more quality, learning the Finnish language and not handshaking as much as accustomed in Russia. Age makes it harder or impossible to adjust.

Western European firms establish relationships to conduct business. Hence, performance is highly valued. It is assumed partners to be honest and to show commitment, competence and support. Contracts following is binding by law – breach results in sanctions. Employers and employees enter as buyers and sellers. Managers in Finland are rational, patient and understanding. Superiors are much kinder to subordinates than in Russia. They delegate decision-making and rely on subordinate competence. Managers expect feedback and suggestions. Employees can access the superior's superior or a CEO if necessary. Employees are allowed to make mistakes, also during a trial or training period. Managers observe and reassess the employee's actions continuously to find whether the relationships keep being valuable, and there is space for personal development. A good personal relationship does not affect work performance evaluation. Being open about your background helps to solve misunderstandings. Asking work-related questions from the supervisor and saying "I don't know" is supported.

Developing strong ties to the local community is vital because self-initiated expatriates have no one else to rely on except themselves and their families. Friends and colleagues among host-country nationals can render local culture and help with some everyday problems. The immigrant population that already reside in the country can help other fellow countrymen. Nevertheless, isolation of oneself only to the migrant community limits the expatriation experience and increases dissatisfaction. People coming from collectivist countries have an exceptionally high tendency to isolation, including Russians. SIEs' families usually adjust well, because they participate in selecting the destination country.

Developing a strategy of looking for a job involves plenty of considerations. Finnish statistics suggest that the employment rate among foreign Finnish-speakers is the same as for Finnish nationals. Nevertheless, the empirical investigation indicates that a Finnish tertiary education and previous work experience give better opportunities when searching professional job then fluency in the Finnish language. Most English-speaking specialists with a Finnish or a European degree and long work experience in Russia reported that their first job in Finland was in their field and they never attempted to search for a non-professional job. Knowledge transfer and idea-sharing in the specialist environment is possible in English. Foreign professional experience was valued when looking for a job in Finland, but if there is not enough such experience, Finnish non-professional experience was valued. Knowing Finnish is essential for finding non-professional jobs. Teamwork and communication in most worker professions are not possible without fluency in the Finnish language. If an individual does not have enough foreign professional experience but neither wants to do a non-professional job in Finland, other strategies looking for a job included internship programmes for international students, working in Russia while studies in Finland allow having a valid residence permit (preferably in an internationally recognised company) or establishing business in Finland.

Correctly forming expatriation expectations is crucial. High expectations cause stress, dissatisfaction from expatriation experience and low performance at work. Statistics also show that foreigners in Finland held a much lesser number of expert positions then Finns and were overrepresented in service and worker occupations. Higher education eased finding a job. Nevertheless, foreign higher education is undervalued on the Finnish labour market, and 20% of foreigners with higher education were in worker occupations. Respondents mentioned that Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian ‘Specialist’ degree. Education received in developed countries reduces nationality bias. Work discrimination does take place in Finland. Nevertheless, most interviewees told that they were not discriminated. Research advises immigrants to keep believing in personal efficacy even if they notice discrimination towards their co-ethnics. Networking and replying to job postings were the most successful strategies to find a job. Respondents sent up to 100 applications – 4 to 20% of employers invited for an interview.

5.4. Limitations

This study has certain limitations. It is focused only on Russian professionals in Finland. The size of the sample was small due to the nature of qualitative research. For the reason that this study analysed experiences of expatriates, only Russian professionals were interviewed for this work. Interviewees did not include any Finnish managers employing Russian expatriates; therefore, their views on the adjustment process were not reviewed.

The sample of Russian professionals was strongly asymmetric towards those who moved to Finland to study but include a little amount of those who moved here for other reasons, such as career advancement or better living conditions. Moreover, the data tends towards younger age of interviewees. There was little representation of those whose age is above 40 years. The majority of interviewees lived in Finland for longer than five years; therefore, their Russian experiences may be slightly outdated. There is a chance that the situation with Russian management might have converged towards Western practices nowadays. The interviewee group is quite homogeneous in term of origination from the North-Western region of Russia. The other regions of Russia were underrepresented. There was no data collected where interviewees chose to reside in Finland for anonymity reasons. There is speculation that levels of discrimination may be higher in those regions where homogeneity of local people is greater due to the lesser number of foreigners residing there. Some interviewees had experience of working for big companies in Russia but small in Finland. Others also changed profession when moving to Finland. Therefore, they could not adequately compare their experience and say with certainty that some of the observed differences are due to the location of the employer.

These issues make a negative impact on possible generalisation regarding motives of relocating from developing countries and challenges of residing in developed ones. Nevertheless, the focus on these particular countries could become a strength of this research because it makes it more specific to the context. Although this work is focused on expatriation success to Finland, which implies obtaining employment here as well, this work does not include any information regarding challenges related to obtaining the right

to work in this country. This relates to immigration laws of Finland and international regulations on trade and employment, which are beyond the scope of the work.

5.5. Suggestions for future research

The topic is relatively new and undiscovered; therefore, there is a long list of directions where the research can be developed. This study analysed experiences of expatriates. Investigating the same issues with the larger and more heterogeneous sample would be beneficial. Finnish managers' views on adjustment of Russian expatriates would be interesting to learn. The conflict of perceptions caused by management differences among unexperienced Russian expatriates and how to deal with it also can be discovered.

Experiences of other expatriates than ex-student can be discovered deeper. Adjustment challenges for those moved to Finland at an older age are also interesting to learn about. Russian current management trends can be studied more. Reasons to expatriate from Russia may evolve with time, and making longitude research may be an idea. This work does not include any information regarding challenges related to obtaining the right to work in Finland. There is nearly no research made for Russian repatriates, in case if these professionals would decide to move back to Russia. It would also be useful to compare experiences Russian professionals in other Western countries to generalise experiences of the western management approach.

Discrimination levels may vary among different regions of Finland due to the lesser number of foreigners residing there. Discovering this will give data where it is beat to move. A feature that Russians may have a high tolerance towards discrimination can be discovered because most inequality examples respondents have not mentioned in connection to discrimination. Perception of Russian education among Finnish employers could be studied, as some respondents indicated that Finnish employers do not understand the concept of the Russian 'Specialist' degree.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. Types of expatriates.

Table 3. 10 types of expats that roam the world (Expat Insider 2014).

The foreign assignee "I was sent here by my employer" Typical countries of residence: India, Senegal, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Nigeria • 61% • 39% • In a relationship: 62% / Single: 38% • Works on average 46.4 h per week • 59% have improved their income by relocating • 59% are very satisfied with their job security • 50% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 63% meet new people through expat events, clubs, or associations	**The career expat** "I found a job here on my own" Typical countries of residence: Bahrain, Belgium, Kenya, Luxembourg, Oman • 53% • 47% • In a relationship: 55% / Single: 45% • Works on average 43.6 h per week • 59% have improved their income by relocating • 13% have PhDs • 51% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 46% have mostly expat friends
The foreign recruitee "I was recruited by a local employer" Typical countries of residence: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain • 63% • 37% • In a relationship: 60% / Single: 40% • Works on average 44.9 h per week • 61% have improved their income by relocating • 84% meet new people at work • 54% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 37% consider learning it quite difficult	**The (ex-)student** "I moved here in order to go to school or university" Typical countries of residence: Denmark, South Korea, Japan, the USA, UK • 40% • 60% • In a relationship: 47% / Single: 53% • 79% agree that the move has improved their career prospects • 14% speak 5 or more languages • 25% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 44% speak it very well • 44% have mainly expat friends from other countries

Continued on the next page.

Table 3. 10 types of expats that roam the world (Expat Insider 2014), continued.

The traveling spouse "I moved for my partner's job or education" Typical countries of residence: Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Switzerland, Kazakhstan • 14% • 86% • In a relationship: 93% / Single: 7% • 23% are homemakers or stay-at-home parents • 42% have improved their income by relocating • 33% are financially worse off • 47% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 48% find it difficult to make local friends	**The romantic** "I moved for love" Typical countries of residence: Greece, Sweden, Argentina, Ireland, Norway • 36% • 64% • In a relationship: 85% / Single: 15% • Works on average 37.3 h per week • 35% have improved their income by relocating • 44% are financially worse off • 44% have mostly local colleagues • 31% speak the local language only a little or not at all
The family expat "I moved for family reasons" Typical countries of residence: Greece, Kuwait, New Zealand, Canada, Israel • Men: 47% • Women: 53% • In a relationship: 61% / Single: 39% • Works on average 39.3 h per week • 43% have improved their income by relocating • 32% are financially worse off • 29% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 35% have already been living in their current country for more than 10 years	**The „single destination" expat** "I wanted to live in this particular country and I found a job here on my own" Typical countries of residence: Israel, New Zealand, Japan, Australia, Spain • Men: 46% • Women: 54% • In a relationship: 51% / Single: 49% • Works on average 41.2 h per week • 43% have improved their income by relocating • 34% are financially worse off • 31% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 57% feel very much at home in the local culture

Continued on the next page.

Table 3. 10 types of expats that roam the world (Expat Insider 2014), continued.

The "Greener pastures" expat "I moved for a better quality of life and simply enjoy living abroad" Typical countries of residence: Ecuador, Thailand, Cyprus, Costa Rica, Panama • Men: 53% • Women: 47% • In a relationship: 59% / Single: 41% • Works on average 40.5 h per week • 43% have improved their income by relocating • 8% are retirees 40 • 47% speak the local language only a little or not at all • 79% consider a friendly attitude towards foreigners very important	**The globetrotter** "I love traveling and simply enjoy living abroad" Typical countries of residence: Argentina, Costa Rica, Panama, Thailand, Uganda • Men: 41% • Women: 59% • In a relationship: 57% / Single: 43% • Works on average 38.8 h per week • 44% have improved their income by relocating • 31% are financially worse off • 16% are teachers / academic staff • 51% speak the local language only a little or not at all

APPENDIX 2. Interview questions

1. Why did you choose Finland as your country residence?
2. Why did you want to move from Russia?
3. Why have you nonetheless stayed in Finland?
4. Was it difficult for you to find the first job?
5. Did you feel that your habits and behaviour are different from the Finnish colleagues? Did you feel that you need to change your behaviour to adjust to Finnish work environment?
6. Did your supervisors managed you somehow differently in Finland than in Russia? What was the difference?
7. Could you tell me about the corporate culture in Russia? How did Russian colleagues have treated you?
8. Is it easier for you to work in Russia or Finland?
9. To your mind, when hiring foreigners, how do Finnish companies benefit from this?
10. Did you notice the fact that people valued your Russian education any less (before receiving Finnish one)?
11. Have you encountered discrimination based on factors that you cannot influence?

APPENDIX 3. Statistics on respondents

Table 4. Interviewees' citizenship.

Only Russian Federation	6	60%
Both Russia and Finland	4	40%
Total	10	

Table 5. Interviewees' gender vs. age.

	Men		Women	
<30 years old	2	20%	2	20%
30-40 years old	2	20%	2	20%
>40 years old	1	10%	1	10%
Total	5	50%	5	50%
Average:	33 y.o.			
Median:	31,5 y.o			

Table 6. Interviewees' length of residence in Finland vs. Finnish citizenship.

			Citizenship	
1 year	1	10%	0	0%
2-5 years	3	30%	0	0%
5-10 years	5	50%	3	60%
10+ years	1	10%	1	100%
Total	10			
Average:	5,5 years			
Median:	6 years			

Table 7. Other long-term international experience among interviewees.

Yes (all specialists; bit of Finnish)	2	20%
No, only Finland	8	80%
Total	10	

Figure 6. Interviewees' gender vs. age.

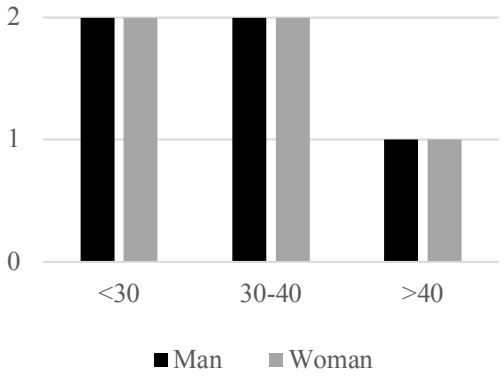


Figure 7. Length of residence in Finland vs. Finnish citizenship.

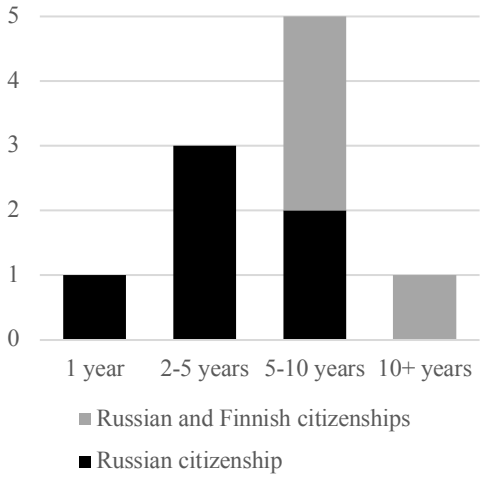


Table 8. Interviewees' place of birth.

Saint Petersburg	5	50%
Republic of Karelia	2	20%
Other	3	30%
Total	10	

Table 9. The expat type / grounds of moving vs. the current role.

Expat type	**Grounds**			**Sp.**[3]	**W.**[4]	**E.**[5]	**St.**[6]
The (ex-)student	Student	7	70%	4	1	1	1
The career expat	Expert (EU educ.)	1	10%	1	0	0	0
The "Greener pastures" expat	Ingrian returnee	2	20%	1	1	0	0
Total		10		10			

Table 10. Interviewees' work experience in Russia.

Specialist	6	50%
Designer	2	17%
Manager	1	8%
Researcher	1	8%
Worker	2	17%
Total	10[7]	

Figure 8. The expat type / grounds of moving vs. the current role.

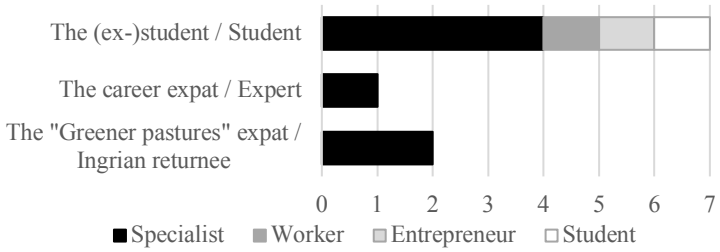
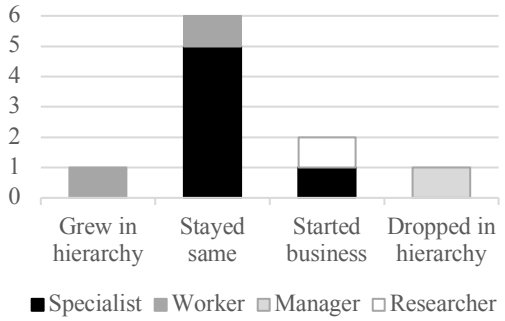


Table 11. Interviewees' career development.

Grew in hierarchy (1 W.[4] →Sp.[3])	1	10%
Stayed same (5 Sp.[3], 1 W.[4])	6	60%
Dropped in hierarchy (1 M.[8]→Sp.[3])	1	10%
Started business (1 Sp.[3], 1 R.[9])	2	20%
Total	10[10]	

Figure 9. Interviewees' career development.



[3] Specialist
[4] Worker
[5] Entrepreneur
[6] Student
[7] Some respondents had two professions.
[8] Manager
[9] Researcher
[10] Designers do not work in design anymore.

Table 12. Languages spoken among interviewees.

Russian, Finnish and English	3	30%
Russian and Finnish, no English	3	30%
Russian and English, bit of Finnish[11]	4	40%
Total	10	

Table 13. Languages vs. types of expats.

	R-F-E[12]	R-F[13]	R-E[14]
The (ex-)student	3	1	3
The "Greener pastures" expat	0	2	0
The career expat	0	0	1
Total	10		

Table 14. Interviewees' current role.

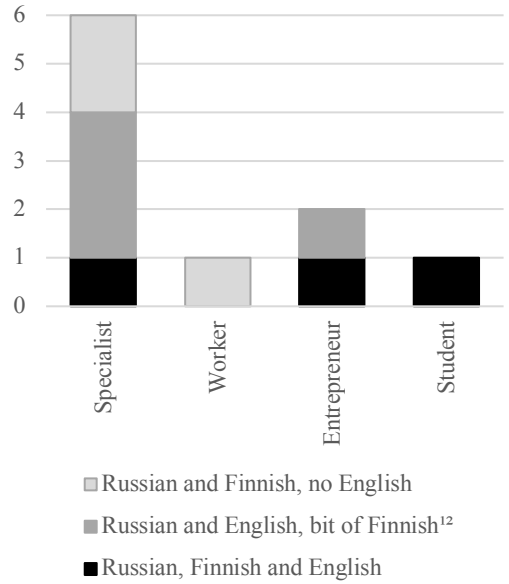
Specialist	6	60%
Worker	1	10%
Entrepreneur	2	20%
Student	1	10%
Total	10	

Table 15. Languages vs. the current role.

	R-F-E[12]	R-F[13]	R-E[14]
Specialist	1	2	3
Worker	0	1	0
Entrepreneur	1	0	1
Student	1	0	0
Total	10		

Figure 10. Languages vs. types of expats.

Figure 11. Languages vs. the current role.



[11] Not enough to be used at work.
[12] Russian, Finnish and English
[13] Russian and Finnish, no English
[14] Russian and English, bit of Finnish (not enough to be used at work)

APPENDIX 4. Statistics on interview answers

Table 16. Shared reasons to move to Finland among all types of interviewees

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
Russia is located closely	2	1	2
To try out something new / To experience another culture	1	1	1
Relatives in Saint Petersburg	1	1	
Possibility to move through Ingrian connections	1		1
Knew a lot about the country before	1		1
Travelled here a lot	1		1

Table 17. Expat-type-specific reasons to move to Finland, caused by the type

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
No tuition fee	4		
To study abroad	3		
Quality of education	2		
Education available in English	1		
The content of the programme is interesting	1		
The content of the programme useful for career, used at work	1		
I got job here		1	
Social benefits if suddenly one is without means for living[15]			2
Stability			1
Because it is easy to expatriate[16]			1

[15] Not living on social benefits the entire life but using them as means to support when times are bad.
[16] Finland provides a full package for expatriation: financial support and Finnish and integration courses.

Table 18. Expat type specific reasons to move to Finland, not caused by the type

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
I like Finland: culture, society structure, people.	4		
Relatives in Finland	2		
Followed the life partner	1		
Wanted to move back to Finland after experiencing it once	1		
A way to reassess life values[17]	1		
I wanted to move to Finland purposefully	1		
I studied Finnish before	1		
There are career possibilities	1		

Table 19. Shared reasons to move from Russia among all types of interviewees

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
For better conditions, assurance in future	2		2
Opportunity appeared	2		1
To work abroad	1	1	

[17] To decide what career and where the one wants.

Table 20. Expat type specific reasons to move from Russia, caused by the type

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
To continue education	3		
European education	2		
To challenge oneself	1		

Table 21. Expat type specific reasons to move from Russia, not caused by the type

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
Political, social situation was bad	3		

Table 22. Shared reasons to stay to Finland among all types of interviewees

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
I like it here	4	1	2
Open to move elsewhere	1	1	

Table 23. Expat type specific reasons to stay to Finland, not caused by the type

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
I found a job	5		
I got a partner or a family	3		
Quality of life is high	2		
I have got more friends	1		
I have no one left in Russia	1		
I have relatives in Finland	1		
I liked the town			1
The country is familiar a while			1

Table 24. Interviewees found following differences

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
Finnish people are more reserved then Russian.	2		1
People's talkativeness depends on the field.	1		
Friends and colleagues are warmer	1		
Jokes, discussion topics, interests are different			1
No presents to superiors; bribes to authorities	1		
Much kinder treatment at work by superiors	1		
If you do not understand something, ask from the superior, not a colleague	1		
Finns do not need a supervisor: they supervise each other	1		
Everyone follows the law	1		
Finns do not stand for each other, very individualistic society	1		
Finnish colleagues discuss less how the weekend was	1		
Finns do not celebrate birthdays	1		
It is not common to make sales/work calls after 4 pm	1		
Sometimes it is not clear when they tell a task, but depends on a superior/company	1		
No handshaking between Finnish colleagues	1		
Clothes style	1		

Table 25. What interviewees adjusted in themselves

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
Learned Finnish.	2		1
My not rich Finnish does not allow a deep conversation. Translation to English changes the initial meaning	1		1
I entered a Finnish-speaking programme to get better career opportunities	1		
I try to earn trust by doing my work quality	1		
I dived into the culture in the university	1		
I reassessed my expectations from people when I realised that Finns act differently	1		
I realised that I change unconsciously	1		
I got a different speed of life	1		
I have got different habits, behaviour	1		
I stopped handshake	1		
I have changed my clothes style	1		

Table 26. Reasons why interviewees did not need to adjust

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
I did not change my behaviour	3	1	1
I do not think I am different. Finns do not act differently	1		
I did not have an adaptation period because I lived in other countries before. I expected that this culture is different.	1	1	
I did not have an adaptation period because I did not work long in Russia. I was not surprised with Finnish culture	1		
I am Ingrian repatriate. I was not surprised with Finnish culture			1
Working with Finns is possible. We can exchange experience		1	1

Table 27. Reasons why people cannot adjust

	The (ex-)students	The career expats	The 'Greener pastures' expats
Total:	7	1	2
It is hard to make friends in such an age (40+)	1		1
I did not study differences	1		
We are very different people			1
It is doubtful to become friends with Finns			1
I tried but did not manage to become friend with a Finn			1
Jokes, discussion topics, interests are different			1
I never purposefully sought for friendship with Finns, I do not have a need			1
One can become friends with Finns only after a very long time in Finland			1
No mutual understanding, solidarity			1
I am satisfied with Russian friends I have			1
I do not feel isolated			1
If I have cultural/law questions, I would ask from colleagues or Finnish spouse of a friend			1
I am an Ingrian repatriate; I understand their nature			1

Table 28. Interviewees' first job in Finland.

Education	Finnish also				EU also	Russian	
Working language	Finnish			English	English	Finnish	
Expat type	(Ex-)students				Career	'Greener Pastures'	
Profession	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / Finance	Worker	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / IT	Specialist / History	Specialist / Geology
Total:	2	1	1	3	1	1	1
My first job in Finland was in my field	1		1	2	1		
The job in my field:							
It was permanent					1		
It was an internship, then permanent			1	1		1	
It was an internship only	1						
I had to work for my Finnish employer from Russia				1			
My first job in Finland was not in my field	1	1		1		1	1
I had to get non-professional work experience first	1	1				1	1
I started a company				1			
Non-professional jobs							
Easy to find if you speak intermediate Finnish		1					
Hard to find if you do not speak intermediate Finnish	1						
It took me 4 months to find first non-professional job	1						
I found first non-professional job in Finland by networking						1	

Table 29. Interviewees' job in their field in Finland.

Education	Finnish also				EU also	Russian	
Working language	Finnish			English	English	Finnish	
Expat type	(Ex-)students				Career	'Greener Pastures'	
Profession	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / Finance	Worker	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / IT	Specialist / History	Specialist / Geology
Total:	2	1	1	3	1	1	1
My first job in Finland							
was in my field	1		1	2	1		
was not in my field	1	1		1		1	1
To get job in my field:							
Applications:							
I sent 50-55 applications, I went for 2 interviews to find job.	1						
I sent 100 applications, I went for 20 interviews to find job.		1					
There is demand in my field		1					
I sent 2 applications, I went for 1 interview to find job,							1
I sent 1 application, I went for 1 interview to find job					1		
I was recruited from Russia by headhunters					1		
It is easy to find job in your field if you have long work experience					1		1

Continued on the next page.

Table 29. Interviewees' job in their field in Finland (continued).

Education	Finnish also				EU also	Russian	
Working language	Finnish			English	English	Finnish	
Expat type	(Ex-)students				Career	'Greener Pastures'	
Profession	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / Finance	Worker	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / IT	Specialist / History	Specialist / Geology
Total:	2	1	1	3	1	1	1
To get job in my field:							
Time:							
It took me 3 months to find job after integration courses and one internship.							1
It took me 4 months to find job in Finland	1						
It took me 7 months to find job for a Finnish employer in Russia				1			
It took me 1,5 years to find job in Finland				1			
It took me 4 years to find job in Finland						1	
Solutions:							
An internship programme only for international students				1			
I managed to find job only though connection created by my own business				1			
I went to Russia to work for a Finnish company				1			
I had to work in Russia for an international company during studies in Finland				1			
I had to do non-professional jobs first to get some experience in Finland.	1	1				1	1

Table 30. Interviewees opinions on why to employ foreigners

	Specialist					Worker
	Marketing, Sales	Finance	History	IT	Geology	
Total:	5	1	1	1	1	1
Availability for employment:						
There is a lack of personnel in the field		1		1		1
No skilled enough personnel to do this job	1		1	1		
Finns do not want to do jobs in the field						1
Performance:						
If a foreign professional performs better, then he has to be employed	2					
Employers get a well prepared/experienced specialist who can do the job straight away	1		1	1	1	
Local people know culture/history/languages including proto-languages of own homeland better: useful e.g. in History			1			
In some fields, experience and technical skills are more important than language abilities, e.g. IT				1		
Employing a better-qualified person is profitable for the company and better for market position	1					
If skills are equal, a Finn is better. Russian are very different in mentality and needs adaptation	1					
Diversity						
Employers get international talents with an outside perspective. Diversity in backgrounds is a basis for alternative ideas, alternative solutions for problems.	3			1		
Corporate culture becomes better. Motivation and general mood increase	1					
Diversity in backgrounds is not useful in all fields, e.g. IT	1					
Attitude to work:						
Interviewees' employers liked their approach/attitude to work and assets/skills. Russian employees are more hardworking. They develop themselves continuously. Russians bravely accept all tasks and finish them.	1	1	1			
Middle aged+ Finns do job only within their job responsibilities			1			
Foreign employees are more open to try out new things / more flexible / adjust to new conditions better		1				

Continued on the next page.

Table 30. Interviewees opinions on why to employ foreigners (continued).

	Specialist					Worker
	Marketing, Sales	Finance	History	IT	Geology	
Total:	5	1	1	1	1	1
Finnish education issues:						
Finnish universities do not teach some fields as deep as Russian ones			1			
Russian education is better than Finnish AMK universities; graduates are better prepared for employment.	1					
International markets						
If companies are interested in international markets, they have to employ foreigners. A local person is necessary for entering foreign markets / maintain business connections	3					
If a Russian company wants to enter Finland, it needs to hire a Russian who speaks Finnish. Diversity will not work if the language skills of employees are low.	1					
Foreign employees speak other languages.	2					
Lower employment requirements:						
Foreign employees are more loyal to the employer because of residence permit requirements. They are afraid to quit the company until they get the permanent residence permit	1	1				
Finnish employees are more demanding about working conditions. Foreign employees are less adamant about employment conditions		1				1
Foreign employees agree to work for a lower salary than the average on the market. They can lower their salary requirements in return for stability and other benefits.	1	1				

Table 31. Value of Russian education

Education:	Finnish also	EU also	Russian	
Expat type:	(Ex-)students	Career	'Greener Pastures'	
Profession:	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / IT	Specialist / History	Specialist / Geology
Total:	5	1	1	1
Yes, my Russian education was disregarded	1			
Employers were not very interested in me while had only Russian education	1			
It was much harder to find a job when I was a student	1			
They do not even consider people with Russian education	1			
Without Finnish education, I would be able to do a non-professional job only	1			
I do not think I would be chosen if I would apply for an open position instead of sending an open application.			1	
No, my Russian education was not disregarded	3	1	1	1
I have been treated as one who has an education, as a young specialist	1			
IT is an applied field. It is clear straight away if a person is sharp in this field.		1		
I use Russian education at work	3	1	1	1
I use both Russian and Finnish education at work	3			
I use both Russian and European education at work		1		
I did not even need to verify the field in which education is received			1	
I have verified my Russian education in Finland				1
Technical education / IT field is standardised across countries		1		
I have been chosen for my skills/experience	2	1		
I found my niche; I am an expert in my niche		1		
I upkeep my knowledge up-to-date		1	1	
I can teach others		1		
In 5 years after graduation, employers are interested in your experience rather than educational level.		1		
My employer does not worry that some of my education is Russian	3	1		
I do not feel pressurised that I may have insufficient education.		1		
Finnish studies overshadowed the Russian degree.	1			

Table 321. Value of Russian education	Education:	Finnish also	Russian		EU also
	Expat type:	(Ex-)students	'Greener Pastures'		Career
	Profession:	Specialist / Marketing, Sales	Specialist / History	Specialist / Geology	Specialist / IT
	Total:	1	1	1	1
Yes, my Russian education was disregarded		1			
Employers were not very interested in me while had only Russian education		1			
It was much harder to find job when I was a student		1			
They do not even consider people with Russian education		1			
Without Finnish education I would be able to do only non-professional job		1			
I do not think I would be chosen if I would apply for an open position instead of sending an open application.			1		
No, my Russian education was not disregarded		3	1	1	1
I have been treated as one who has education, as a young specialist		1			
IT is an applied field. It is clear straight away if person is sharp in this field: IT					1
I use Russian education at work		3	1	1	1
I use both Russian and Finnish education at work		3			
I use both Russian and European education at work					1
I did not even need to verify the field in with education is received			1		
I have verified my Russian education in Finland				1	
Technical education / IT field is scandalised across countries					1
I have been chosen for my skills/experience		2			1
I found my niche, I am an expert in my niche					1
I upkeep my knowledge up-to-date			1		1
I can teach others					1
In 5 years after graduation, employers are interested in your experience rather than educational level.					1
My employer does not worry that some of my education is Russian		3			1
I do not feel pressurised that I may have insufficient education.					1
Finnish studies overshadowed Russian degree		1			

Table 32. Interviewees' opinions on whether they experienced discrimination

Profession:	Specialists		Workers
Working language:	English	Finnish	Finnish
Total:	4	5	1
I am not certain that I have experienced discrimination during job search	2	2	
Based on my origin	1	2	
I have received polite reject letters.		2	
They cannot say discriminating things in written feedback		1	
No one told me such things into my face	1		
I am certain about my skills		1	
They might have indeed found a better-qualified person		1	
I was able to find specialist jobs. I have had several employments.	1		
I was discriminated during job search		1	
I was rejected from the last selection stage because of funding requirements for this position		1	

Continued on the next page.

Table 32. Interviewees' opinions on whether they experienced discrimination (continued).

Profession:	Specialists		Workers
Working language:	English	Finnish	Finnish
Total:	4	5	1
I am discriminated by superiors		1	
Language. They do not trust my language skills in communication with customers		1	
I am not discriminated by superiors	2	2	1
Discrimination at my work place is prohibited		1	
Because they have education		1	
If a superior has an experience of employing foreigners, then he will not discriminate	1		
Helsinki is more transparent.	1		
Marketing is progressive field.	1		
I expect discrimination in other regions	1		
I expect discrimination in other fields	1		
I have heard stories by others of being discriminated	1		1
I do not find following examples discriminating in interaction with superiors			
I can wilfully lower my salary request in exchange for permanent contract.		1	
I work in a company as a subcontractor. Hence, I have a limited employee rights.	1		
I have had internship lasting 9 months. [18]		1	
I am not certain that I have experienced discrimination by superiors	1	1	
I do not know what salary exactly a Finn would get on this position	1		
I do not feel comfortable discussing discrimination. I do not want to believe that I am discriminated.		1	
Origin discrimination: I have had several short-term contracts, while all Finnish employees have permanent.[19]		1	
Russians are afraid of being demanding. Fear of being fired for that.		1	1

Continued on the next page.

[18] Trial period cannot be longer then 6 months. It cannot be repeated after the first contract. (Finland Employment Contracts Act (55/2001)

[19] If the job is of continuous nature, the contract cannot be temporary. Available external finding is not a justifiable ground (Finland Employment Contracts Act (55/2001). After two or more successive short-term contracts, a case can be submitted to the Labour Court. (TTL 2019)

Table 32. Interviewees' opinions on whether they experienced discrimination (continued).

Profession:	Specialists		Workers
Working language:	English	Finnish	Finnish
Total:	4	5	1
I am discriminated by colleagues			1
But it is normal. I do not even speak fluent Finnish.			1
I am not discriminated by colleagues	2	3	
Discrimination at my work place is prohibited		1	
Because they have education		1	
I work for an international company. Diversity	1		
Marketing is progressive field.	1		
I expect discrimination may have place in other fields	1		
I do not find following examples discriminating in interaction with colleagues			
We have harmless cross-cultural/gender jokes	1	1	
Age discrimination: my older colleague did not want to teach me how to do my work because I may be more efficient		1	
I am discriminated by customers		1	
Origin: One non-Finnish customer was aggressive about Russia's political actions		1	
I have experienced discrimination in private life	1		
Origin: My roommate was aggressive about Russia's political actions.	1		
I have not experienced discrimination in private life	1		
But there is always a chance	1		

Table 33. Differences between Russian and Finnish managers by respondents

	Finland	Russia
Total interviewees:	10	10
Managers are low-key, easy-going, accessible (also online)	6	
Managers selected by competence	1	
Managers are never rude. They are friendly	2	
Support services personnel is friendly	1	
Managers expect feedback and suggestions	2	
You can propose your idea from down to up	1	
All my managers are very rational	1	
Managers genuinely care about phycological comfort	1	
Teambuilding culture developed	2	
Managers manage the atmosphere in the team	1	
If a manager walks by, no one pays attention to him	1	
You may not notice a difference between a CEO and a cleaning lady when you do not know who is who	1	
Managers control themselves	1	
Managers delegate decision-making.	2	
I feel valued	1	
I am trusted	2	
Most companies are small so lesser number of layers.	1	
You can access superior's superior or CEO if necessary	3	
Supervisor's supervisor also cares about you	1	
Lesser unnecessary meetings	1	
Informal: people do not use names in written communication	1	
Young people with cross-cultural experience and employees in international corporations use names sometimes	1	

Continued on the next page.

Table 33. Differences between Russian and Finnish managers by respondents, continued

	Finland	Russia
Total interviewees:	10	10
I do not imagine a manager to be low-key, easy-going		8
Managers do not accept feedback.		2
Top to down approach to task assignment		3
Supervisors have extreme power		1
Managers expect respect and admiration		1
Managers expect assignments completed like an army without questions or hesitation		2
Everyone wants to be a supervisor		1
Speaking to lower-level employees is below their status		1
Big distance between layers		1
You may get fired for feedback or suggestion		2
You cannot access superior's superior or CEO if necessary		1
I worked for a Finnish company, so Russian partners had to listen to my opinion		1
They do not bother to do anything about your suggestion.		1
Some managers work rude / allow themselves to shout		3
Supervisor's supervisor does not care/cares very little about you		1
Managers do not explain their decisions		1
Managers do not delegate decision-making		2
Managers do not manage the atmosphere in the team		1
Formal: people do use names in written communication		1
Bureaucratical. Plenty of papers to make.		1
My supervisor was not allowed to decide on many things		1
Too many unnecessary meetings		1
You cannot solve a problem with one meeting session		1
I had to go with my supervisor there to support his ideas before his supervisor		1
Moscow management style is fiercer than one in St. Petersburg		1
The better relationship with your supervisor, the higher salary you have		1

Continued on the next page.

Table 33. Differences between Russian and Finnish managers by respondents, continued

	Finland	Russia
Total interviewees:	10	10
Managers are more patient/understanding	4	
Managers offer to do a task	1	
Sometimes unclear whether talk to you or give a task	1	
I asked to be clearer	1	
Managers will not punish you if you do not do the task	1	
I am not afraid to ask work questions straight from my supervisor	2	
Task deadline can be extended	1	
I am allowed to make mistakes (also during testing/training period)	2	
You do not feel pressured if you do not comply with progress requirements	1	
Managers do not drop all your tasks on you straight on the first day but give it piece by piece	1	
Managers observe your actions, continuously re-assess	1	
Managers evaluate if you have a potential for a more challenging task	1	
It is okay to say "I don't know" at work. It is supported if it is not your competence field	1	
Managers rely on subordinate competence; they do not always know everything from the subordinate's field, so have to trust	1	
My supervisor and I had about the same knowledge level; just he is more experienced	1	
Managers do not give much feedback, probably because they do not want to say bad things personally	1	
Teachers/Managers do not evaluate better if relationships are good	1	

Continued on the next page.

Table 33. Differences between Russian and Finnish managers by respondents, continued

	Finland	Russia
Total interviewees:	10	10
Managers are not patient		5
Managers control more with more frequent progress checks		1
You feel pressured if you do not comply with progress requirements		1
I prefer to find a solution with colleagues, then propose to the supervisor. If I can solve it with colleagues, I will not bother the supervisor.	1	2
It is dangerous to ask questions from your supervisor		2
Managers think that it is the employees' job to do the job, so they do not help or advice		1
It is the supervisor's job to coordinate and help		1
It is not okay to say "I don't know" at work. You are considered stupid.		1
Teachers/Managers evaluate better if relationships are good		1
Legal institutions work	5	2
Superiors do not have impossible performance expectations	2	2
You can discuss working conditions with your supervisor	1	1
Superiors do not track how much time precisely you spend at work.	2	
Managers respect your private time after work	2	
Managers genuinely want to follow legislation	1	
Managers are rational because of ethical codes	1	
Everyone respects contracts in force	1	
Formal institutions/legislation protect employee rights and work very well	2	
All equipment is ensured, so no need to explain yourself if broken	1	

Continued on the next page.

Table 33. Differences between Russian and Finnish managers by respondents, continued

	Finland	Russia
Total interviewees:	10	10
Legal institutions do not work		5
Superiors have impossible performance expectations		4
Superiors or a special department will track your time at work		1
No one respects contracts in force. Companies employ strong information security		1
Formal institutions/legislation does not work very well		1
More applicants on the market, so employers do not care about employee turnover		1
Equipment is not ensured, so need to explain yourself if broken and perhaps subtracted from the salary		2
People work at work	3	
Employees are morally responsible for their work	2	
Employees do not waste time with small breaks	1	
They have more personal time after work	1	
You cannot solve any work question after 4-5 pm	1	
You can any work question until midnight		1
I feel guilty when I find my work was evaluated below accepted quality/ It is just such mentality	2	
Superiors blame subordinates for his mistakes		1