

Female High-Skill Migration in the 21st Century - The Challenge of the Recession

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‘When I was packing for Greece, I thought that my MBA from Harvard would allow me to easily find a good job in Athens, something like the chief executive officer or, at least, the project manager in a large firm’. Georgia, who is now 47, moved from Boston to Greece in the mid 1990s, following her Greek husband. Since then, she has been helping her father-in-law with their family poultry business in a small Greek city, switching between the duties of their family-owned shop assistant and the housewife. Her conational Vicky, who had grown up in Washington DC and received the law degree from the UCLA, also moved to Southern Europe as a marriage-migrant to reunite with her Italian husband in Rome in the late 1990s and to discover eventually that she ‘has always been no more than a housewife’ there. Like Georgia, she admits, ‘It was not only the new language that I had to master. It was everything: the children, the in-laws, the local economy and the growing corruption. Many doors were closed for me from the very beginning’. A former business executive from Miami Odette, who arrived in Greece only five years ago and who has been unemployed all this time, concludes, ‘It is both very funny and sad to see that our American degrees have not been really demanded here’.

The career-failure stories of these women-migrants are not exceptional. According to the Eurostat release from 2011, almost 30 % of all tertiary educated migrants in Europe (which is around 10 million) are over-qualified and de-scaled women of the active working age. How does it happen that highly educated, professional women like Vickie, Georgia and Odette enthusiastically engage in a migration project yet end up under-employed and de-skilled in their destination countries? Feminist scholarship shows that for them, there are indeed many factors that may adversely affect integration and future professional development in the new country. Understanding this, Odette confesses that she sees no future for herself in Greece in the milieu of the global financial crisis and seeks to persuade her Greek husband to relocate back to the United States. Studies conducted by feminist scholars indicate that Odette is far from unique in her pessimism, especially when it comes to the effect of the crisis upon both women and skilled migrants.

The impact of the global financial crisis of the new millennium and related economic austerity measures on high-skill migration (HSM) is frequently mentioned in the scholarly literatures and policy texts (Arslan 2014; Bettio 2012; Cerna 2010; Cerna & Hynes 2009; Ghosh 2013; Kofman 2013; Kuptsch 2012). Generally speaking, HSM remains an under-

developed area of research, particularly when applied to *women as high-skill migrants* (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Kofman 2012, 2013; Mahroum 2004; Morokvasic 1984; Piper 2008; Rubin et al. 2008). In this reference, Kofman (2013), however, notes that similar to the overall HSM scholarship, which has largely ignored the gender dimension, studies of the relationship between the current economic recession and HSM flows have been persistently gender-blind. In fact, many scholars tend to neglect the dynamics within the progression of highly qualified women-migrants and the impact of the austerity measures upon them. There are so far many unclear issues - especially given that the crisis is a relatively new social force affecting global HSM patterns. What particular socio-economic needs do women like Odette, Vicky and Georgia have when facing the crisis? What strategies of economic integration and res-killing can they develop in such conditions? How does their ability to survive through or surrender to the crisis interact with the social structures of the family and community? To what extent is the European policy responsive to their problems while focussing on the post-crisis recovery?

Seeking the answers, our book explores the complex relationship between gender and high-skill migration in general and with a special focus on the impact of the current economic crisis on highly skilled female migrants. The purpose of the book is to produce new interdisciplinary knowledge bringing together these three areas of research – *gender studies*, *recession scholarship* and *studies of high-skill migration* - that have so far developed in isolation. The proposed volume focuses specifically on the impact of the crisis on the high-skill migration of women - an impact that is difficult to measure. It looks not only at typically gendered labour-market sectors (such as nurses) but also at engineers, entrepreneurs or academics, with a special focus on the crisis-afflicted Euro-zone (which consists of Ireland and the four South-European countries of Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal). Our findings lead to construction of a relevant research agenda on female HSM.

Gender and crisis

In general terms, the relationship between recession and gender is rather controversial while women are portrayed as both victims and gainers in the milieu of austerity measures. The effect of an economic crisis upon female labour force participation (LFP) is not understood completely as there are various forces at play while directing women's labour-market activity at such times (Ghosh 2013; Khitarishvili 2013; Kofman 2012, 2013). Specifically in relation to the global financial crisis of 2008, there is a frequent false assumption – an epistemological illusion – that women have been lesser victims of the current recession and downsizing than men. This assumption has been contributed by public and scholarly ignorance about such main aspects of the crisis as its cyclical nature and inadequacy of its control (or inconsistency of public policy and austerity measures).

The initial failure to recognise the changing dynamics of the recession – as well the intrinsically gendered division of the labour-market into the male-dominant economic sector [e.g.: construction] versus the female-dominant non-economic sectors [e.g.: public spheres, service sector] have shaped the overall scholarly and public understanding that women might have experienced less damage from the recession than men and therefore should not be placed at heart of the anti-crisis policy concern (Bettio 2012; UN 2014). The majority of

studies have fallen insofar into the methodological trap of making speedy assumptions based entirely on the outcomes of the first stage of the crisis – the time shift of 2008-2010 (ibid; Khitarishvili 2013). This first wave of the crisis had hit the most severely the economic sector [e.g.: the field of construction], known for traditional over-representation of men. Therefore, the pre-2010 reports on the crisis tend to conceptualize it as the “*he*-cession” and associate its adverse effect and related recovery policy entirely with men (Macken 2009; Rampell 2009; Salam 2009).

During the consequent two years, the second wave of the recession hit, however, the non-economic sphere of production. The 2010-2012 time shift has thus caused the unrecognised – yet severe - damage to women, who have been traditionally employed in the public/service domain. Therefore, the post-2010 studies and reports are making emergency calls for incorporating the gender aspect into the post-crisis recovery politics (Khitarishvili 2013; Rodino-Colocino 2014).

If to realistically assess the socio-economic suffering of women in Europe over the last five-seven years, the recession has made **a triple negative effect** upon their wellbeing. In addition to the unavoidable job losses within the de facto feminized public sector in 2010-2012; the unemployment of women has been caused by the inappropriate policy planning, at the heart of which has been the reduction of the public sector. Third, the post-crisis recovery – with its emphasis on the economic production – is now gathering momentum much faster for men, whose unemployment has shown the 0.7% decline over the last three years while that of women has been marked by the 0.5% increase (UN 2014). As a result of this compound effect on the European labour market, the historically man-favouring gender gap in employment has been persistently widening, having already reached the level higher than that before the crisis (ibid; Kofman 2012; Rodino-Colocino 2014).

The overall economic activity of women during austerity times is another complex issue. Many studies note on the “discouraged worker effect”, associated with high unemployment rates during any recession and consequent uneasy transition back to the labour market as a result of such prolonged inactivity (Bettio 2012; Khitarishvili 2013; UN 2014). It means that women, who have been downsized and jobless over the last few years, may eventually feel *discouraged* because de-skilled and therefore not competitive enough to resume their job search after the crisis. This is what is happening to Odette at the moment when she confesses having no future in Greece.

At the same time, scholars note on the frequently increased LFP of women across time-shifts and nation-state contexts at such austerity moments. For example, the largest female LFP was observed in 1993-1995 in Buenos Aires during the Mexican Peso Crisis of the 1990s (Cerrutti 2000; Skoufias & Parker 2005). Scholars often attribute such growth to the “added worker effect” of the crisis, meaning that women enter the job market temporarily to compensate for temporal unemployment of their husbands and thus turn into “additional workers” or men’s “substitutes” (ibid; Khitarishvili 2013). There is an implication here that such LFP success is short-term and cyclical as related to a particular phase of a crisis rather than to women’s

ability to resist the crisis. Scholars also admit that during such times, employers often welcome the cyclical “buffering” of women: as temporary employees, they are usually paid much less than men and may not demand improvement of working conditions.

It can be assumed from the discussion above that, regardless of imposed austerity measures, women are always subjected to gender discrimination in employment. Even the added-worker effect, which seems to welcome women to the job market while men are jobless, is very deeply gender-constructed as women, from the very beginning, are assumed to be bound to their households and active only on the temporary – substitute – grounds. Thus from the very beginning, women seem to be constructed as outsiders to the high-skill professional category. The political interest in saving and raising the national economy on the basis of women-buffers’ lesser salaries is another confirmation of the extremely gendered imagination of the public and the state, through which various forms of gender discrimination against women and inappropriate employment conditions for them are constantly reproduced.

Deterioration of working conditions for women is another critical issue related to their economic activity during the times of crisis. Especially now, more and more qualified women are being placed in insecure [e.g.: short-term contracts, low salaries, unsalaried/informal work, etc.] and even dangerous conditions [e.g.: illegal work] (Arslan 2014; Bettio 2012; Cuban 2013; Kofman 2012, 2013).

The persistent gender bias in employment and the cyclical nature of career success for women also add to key attributes of their international mobility. The de-scaling of women-migrants is a common feature of their migration, which has become extremely acute during the current recession. It has been generally noted that many highly educated women (including nurses and doctors) may work within the lower-level employment sector such as domestic work in emigration (Cuban 2013; Marchetti 2014; Tkach 2011). In this reference, studies prove that, more than ever before, women-migrants now suffer from the labour-market double disadvantage, or unfair treatment on the job market and/or in employment compared both local women and foreign men (Cuban 2013; Ghosh 2013; Khitarishvili 2013; King & Sweetman 2010; Kuptsch 2012; Kofman 2012, 2013; Rubin et al. 2008; Solimano 2008). Moreover, due to the currently restricted work-permit quotas in destination countries and stricter return programmes (specifically in Europe), highly skilled female migrants are the first to be fired and therefore the first to forcefully return and/or enter illegal work (Arslan 2014; OECD 2012).

There are thus unnoticed points of intersection between the flows of high-skill migration and low-skill migration while women’s migratory trajectories in the current milieu are especially illuminative of this trend. The complexity is compounded by the unconventionality of their migration biographies, which is added by the current recession and related uncertainty of their social status: for instance, foreign women may enter the EU as students or work-permit professionals but convert to family migrants (upon marriage) only to re-convert to low-skill or de-scaled migrants when their marriage breaks down and they experience de-skilling

(Isaakyan 2015; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou 2014). In the light of all this, it seems reasonable to ask: “Who is actually the high-skill migrant?” How should we understand this category?

Beyond the HSM definition: Who and how many?

Chaloff and Lemaitre (2009) note how difficult it is to operationalize the definition of a high-skill migrant. There are many definitions of HSM, which vary across nation-states and EU Member States. The three basic criteria for assigning to the HSM category are: (1) educational level; (2) professional experience or qualification; and (3) salary (ibid; Batalova & Lowell 2007; Cerna 2010; Iredale 1994). The educational criterion is associated with a university degree, appropriate qualifications relate to a range of so-called short-list occupations (with an accent on engineering and managerial occupations), while the financial threshold should be equivalent to or higher than the average national salary in the host country.

The definitional tensions relate to the problems with measurement. While earnings can be precisely measured in concrete - although constantly state-modified – numbers, professional experience is usually the hardest to evaluate, especially when it comes to the assessment of soft skills [e.g.: team work, creativity, innovation, ability to learn, etc.]. In this connection, it is important to remember that salaries and skills are gender-constructed in most cases. Women are often paid less than men and more often become the bearers of soft skills related to the feminized sectors of public services (Andall 2002; Kofman 2012, 2013). This means that they are, from the very beginning epistemologically excluded from the economically privileged category of the high-skill migrant as they intrinsically have fewer chances to be appropriately evaluated on the qualification-and-income scale of entry, especially in times of economic austerity.

Depending on their economic and political prerogatives, different countries may place different emphasis on each of the above-mentioned criteria (Cerna & Czaika 2015). While there is a delicate balance between education and qualifications, the majority of OECD countries base their HSM definitions on the criterion of education, and high-skill migrants are usually associated with tertiary-educated people (Lowell 2011; Batalova & Lowell 2007; Wiesbrock & Hercog 2010).

In this reference, Arslan (2014) notes on the overall improvement of the educational level of OECD immigrants. Thus there are 35 million tertiary educated foreign nationals in the EU, which is an unprecedented increase of 70% over the last ten years. 30% of these people are comprised of university-educated women of the active working age. Moreover, their number grows rapidly and now shows the 80% increase of the last ten years, which is 17% higher than the increase of tertiary-educated male immigrants.

Policy dynamics

Thinking about global migrations of highly skilled people, an interesting observation can be made about dynamics of immigration law and vulnerability of their status, especially during the times of crisis. Whenever a crisis expands, migrants feel the most unprotected as

subjected to downsizing and also to public xenophobia, which often act in coupe. On the one hand, immigrants are discursively constructed as scapegoats responsibly for the economic downfall and unemployment in the host country (Ghosh 2013; Iokimidou 2013; Kofman 2012). On the other hand, they are often employed in the “boom-and-bust” sectors of construction and public service and therefore often become the first to be fired or placed in other types of discriminatory conditions such as reduced payment or increased work hours (Khitarihvili 2013; UN 2014). In response to the deteriorating economy and the raising migrantophobia, governments often impose bans on immigration and make the restricted immigration part of their overall public policy (Johnson 2013; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou 2013; Soames & Field 2013). Immigration in general and high-skill immigration in particular have been historically impaired by economic crises, which can be illuminated by the immigration policy dynamics during the main three crises of the modern history: (1) the 1929 Great Depression; (2) the 1973 Oil Crisis; and (3) the current global financial crisis.

In the aftermath of the huge post-WW1 immigration wave to America and Europe, the Great Depression in 1929 immediately led to the restriction of entry to such countries as the United States and Germany (Kofman 2013; Wennersten 2013). Following the no less global immigration wave within the post-WW2 context, the 1973 oil crisis then drastically changed the world economy and caused a new series of immigration law restrictions (Kubat 1993). Thus in 1974, the formerly immigrant-friendly France enacted an immigration stop due to the raising unemployment in the country, while Germany introduced a ban on the recruitment of skilled workers around the same time (Hammar 1985; Hollifield 2004).

In the 1990s, leading world economies were competing for international leadership and prestige and made HSM a strong toll for constructing competitive national knowledge-economies (Ghosh 2013; Kofman 2013; Martin 2012). Attraction of skilled immigrants was especially important for European countries such as the UK, Germany and France; which soon became the global rivals of the USA in their war over the international talent and innovation. Even new immigrants states such as Greece and Italy started to attract HSM and attempt to develop their immigration laws.

That HSM-friendly environment was distorted during the years following 2008. The 2008 global financial crisis has the most devastating – in the modern history – socio-economic effect upon the world, turning leading HSM-magnets into quite restrictive hosts (De Witte 2013; Ghosh 2013; Isaakyan & Tirandafyllidou 2013; Kofman 2013). For example, in response to the crisis and to the immigrant application backlog, the traditionally renowned immigrant state of Canada modified – or severely restricted, to be more precise – its Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) for HSM on 4 May 2013 (Boyd 2013; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou). The FSWP is, nevertheless, probably one of the very few OECD schemes that try to keep the balance between the restriction and naturalization of its immigrants. Thus by showing maximum respect to the Canadian experience, the FSWP makes the transition from the student-status to the HSM-status automatic, which is in sharp contrast with Europe.

An interesting case of an OECD country that over less than ten years has converted from the international talent magnet to a closed labour-market and an extremely restrictive HSM host is the UK. In 2008, the country introduced a rather flexible HSM policy associated with Tier 1 or points-based system of entry. However, in 2010 the number of high-skill migrants became much higher than projected (255,000) and the new government started closing the doors to third-country nationals by imposing a very low cap on the number of permits for the non-EU workers, which in reality is equivalent to almost null entry. As a result, the net high-skill immigration in 2012 was 163,000 (Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou 2013; Martin 2012; Soames & Field 2013).

Adopted as the chief instrument for monitoring labour migration, the HSM control in the UK includes: (1) complete erasure of Tier 1 (and consequently a more obstructed entry for new professionals); (2) establishment of persistently raised caps on HSM to non-EU nationals; and (3) incessant reconsideration of the shortlist occupational list (Soames & Field 2013). Moreover, the latter two principles significantly limit the traditional work-permit entry to skilled migrants. Such over-nationalization of the British job-market is under the with direct influence from the prevailing negative public opinion on high-skill immigrants as “asylum seekers” and “job stealers”, which is observed more and more frequently throughout the OECD (ibid). Thus even in the “promised land” of the USA, the H1B scheme for HSM is represented in mass media and perceived by the general tertiary-educated public as ‘a national abuse’ and ‘American middle class destruction’ (Johnson 2013; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou).

Although the current financial crisis is said to bloc low-skill migration to a much greater extent, HSM flows have been significantly affected while the economically desirable balance between restricting and sustaining international high-skill labour has not been successfully managed in Europe.

In this connection, it is important to remember that the EU is losing its best brains not only because it keeps obstructing the entry of new immigrants from the outside but also because there is a counter-flow of HSM from its Euro-crisis zone to other continents. Thus amidst the European economies, the most severely damaged by the global financial crisis have been those of Portugal, Ireland and Greece – obligated respectively by the debt of 90%, 117% and 125% (De Witte 2013; Ghosh 2013). Moreover, the Portuguese debt has shown a 20% increase over the last year while the Irish debt has tripled. As a result, these countries have rapidly growing unemployment rates among their tertiary-educated populations - constituting 14% for Ireland, 16% for Portugal and 27% for Greece in 2013. Consequently, the crisis has caused new global migration patterns, particularly illuminated by the 98,000 high-skill professionals from Portugal have left for the oil-rich Angola; 330,000 their co-nationals – for the construction-sector-welcoming Brazil; while 75,000 tertiary-educated people from Ireland and 25,000 high-skill Greeks have moved to the economically booming welfare state of Australia (Phillips 2013; Pidd 2013). The presence of high-skill labour force is strategically important for planning the post-crisis recovery in Europe while there is extremely limited knowledge about the dynamics of such migration patterns and their impact upon the EU.

Knowledge crisis: What is the book about?

Thinking about current HSM flows and policies across the crisis-stricken Europe, Kofman (2013: 116), notes that, although women migrate more often than men, the European policy does not specifically respond to their needs and remains highly gendered in its general construction of the high-skill migrant. The long-standing gender differences in salaries and the traditionally gendered economic division of labour cannot be appropriately reflected in existing HSM definitions. Bettio (2012) concludes that, despite recognizing the importance of gender equality in both employment and immigration policy, policy-makers are unable to find solutions based on the gender balance and therefore fail to design gender-sensitive policies on either high-skill labour force or HSM.

The problem is that the impact of the current financial crisis on female high-skill migration is particularly difficult to pin down. One challenge is of methodological nature. HSM is generally hard to measure due to the absence of reliable databases (Arslan 2014; Chaloff and Lemaitre 2009; Lowell 2001; Haas 2012). Highly skilled women-migrants are especially difficult to study because of their frequent “irregular-migrant” status and because of the above-mentioned instability of their professional situation (Cuban 2013; Kofman 2012).

The complexity is added by the difficulty of evaluating the immediate effect of the global economic crisis as researchers do not manage to follow the rapidly changing labour market situation and the related developments in migration law (Ghosh 2013). Even the most recently published studies of HSM [for example, Cuban (2013), Labrianidis (2010) and Halkias et al. (2010)] are actually based on fieldwork and/or desk research conducted, in the majority of cases, either before or at the very beginning of the crisis. That is why it has been so far very problematic to find answers to a number of strategically important questions. **In what ways has female high-skill migration been affected by the crisis? To what extent is the European policy responsive to the current reality of HSM in Europe? How can scholar contribute to improvement of policy-making on HSM?**

Inviting to think about these questions, our book explores the complex relationship between high-skill migration at times of recession while particularly addressing the gender dimension and the European context. The purpose of the book is to produce new inter-disciplinary knowledge about:

- **the gendered features of high skill migration (HSM)**, for instance its overlaps with family related migration as well as its connections with atypical forms of mobility like au pair work;
- **the dynamics of highly skilled female migration in sectors that are typically male dominated** (e.g. engineering) **vs sectors where women play a leading role** (e.g. medical jobs and paramedics, or academics); and
- **the impact of the global crisis on female high skill migration** in a variety of labour market areas.

Our volume brings together research at the forefront of labour market developments, focusing (a) on specific labour market sectors (nurses/doctors, engineers, academics and entrepreneurs, see chapter outline below for details); (b) on specific sets of countries (notably female HSM between OECD countries, and also emigration from the crisis-ridden countries of the EU (southern Europe and Ireland). The book has a double focus: it discusses female high-skill migration and its dynamics in specific sectors and geographical areas, takes a sector specific approach and also particularly concentrates on the impact of the crisis on specific job sectors

From the empirical point of view, the book lays a particular stress on the case of the crisis-afflicted Euro-zone, which consists of Ireland and the South-European countries of Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain. Frequently labelled by economists and mass media as “PIIGS”, these five countries are characterized by the highest in the EU and increasingly uncontrollable levels of public and private debt (De Witte 2013; Ghosh 2013). This is added by the highest in the EU rates of labour-market disadvantage for (migrant) women particularly in the mentioned South-European states albeit their consolidated democracies (Rubin et al. 2008). With regard to Europe we thus look particularly at emigration of highly skilled women from the most crisis-afflicted countries (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Spain).

While placing emphasis on European immigration and drawing the most recent empirical data from the crisis-afflicted Euro-zone, the book also touches upon the transatlantic aspect of female high-skill migration looking at North American women in Southern Europe, at foreign female students and researchers in the UK and Germany, and at the problem of skill waste of highly skilled women employed in the domestic work sector in the UK, with a view to highlighting the complex transcontinental dynamics of high skill female migration into and out of developed countries.

The book adopts an **inter-disciplinary and multi-methodological perspective** combining quantitative policy studies (sociology, political science, human geography), with qualitative research (social anthropology, sociology) and legal studies (European and national migration law). It also brings in insights from the more compartmentalised research sectors of health professions and health policy, education, and business. Our findings lead to a **new research agenda** on the intersection between female migration and high skill migration studies.

The structure of the book

The book is organised into three parts. **Part 1** offers an overview of female high-skill migration during the global financial crisis by looking at a broader picture, introducing basic definitions and concepts, and discussing policy developments (chapter 2) and regional trends between Southern, Central Eastern and Western Europe (chapters 3 and 4).

Chapter 2 chapter provides a comparative overview of various national and supra-national high-skill migration policy initiatives that have been implemented across Europe over the last two decades, with a particular focus on the recent years after the global financial and

economic crisis. In addition, Cerna and Czaika look at how these policies may affect disadvantaged (highly skilled) female migrants, for instance, by implementing certain salary threshold levels or by providing preferential access to male-dominated occupations such as IT, science, or engineering. The chapter offers a new perspective on high-skilled migration policies during the crisis and their impact on the gender composition of high-skilled migration.

Chapter 3 moves the focus from the comparative policy analysis to the comparative macro-sociological analysis by studying patterns of emigration of highly skilled women from southern Europe and Ireland in the last five years notably from 2007 till 2013, based on both quantitative and qualitative data from a large scale e-survey conducted in these countries. The analysed dataset comes from an e-survey conducted in the five countries (Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain) in 2013. Comparing the socio-demographic profiles of men and women, Triandafyllidou and Gonzalez-Enriquez examine specific motivations and experiences that characterise female high-skill mobility. The authors investigate which socio-demographic features influence the emigration project of highly skilled migrant women (choice of destination country) and its success (employment situation, level of income, prospects for the future) and show that, along with gender, it is the professional sector that often determines the woman's migration trajectory, type of work contract and level of income.

The patterns of female high-skill migration are further explored in chapter 4, which compares the current intra-European emigration flows from Eastern and Southern Europe. Specifically looking at novel patterns of the post-enlargement mobility in the EU, Kaczmarczyk and Stanek seek to assess the scale, dynamics and structure of migration from Poland and Spain in the post-2008 period and also to analyze how migrants from these countries – particularly those well-endowed with human capital – responded to changing economic conditions. The authors argue that significant differences in the post-crisis migration patterns of Poles and Spaniards are attributable mostly to the labour market dynamics in the countries of origin and, specifically, absorptive capacities with regard to well-educated and younger part of the population.

Based on the insofar provided background information and facilitated by the discussion from the above, **Part 2** adopts a sectorial approach looking at doctors and paramedics (chapter 5), engineers (chapters 6 and 7) and academic staff (chapters 8 and 9). Their mobility is explored against different host-country settings: the overall context of Europe and, more specifically, the South-European region, illuminated by Italy and Greece and compared with such West-European countries and leading global talent magnets as the UK and Germany. In this part, chapters 5-7 concentrate on two different sectors: doctors and nurses, a sector where the female presence is strong; and the engineering sector, one where women are clearly a numerical minority.

Chapter 5 focuses on the migration of female nurses and physicians to, within and out of EU/EFTA countries in terms of volume and direction of migratory flows and of reasons to migrate. Dussault and colleagues argue that nurses are the largest group of migrants who they tend to be young and single. The reasons for migration tend to be the same for men and

women. Reportedly, it is more difficult for migrating nurses than for physicians to have their qualifications recognized, but this appears to relate to variations training modalities rather than gender. Nurses also have a greater probability than doctors to work at a level below their qualifications. The authors conclude that it is unclear whether the current economic crisis has a more negative impact on migrating female doctors and nurses.

Chapter 6 moves to the analysis of the engineering workforce and the context of migration of engineers and technicians. Dixon explains factors that create barriers to the international mobility of professional engineers and technicians, and the measures undertaken, by both inter-governmental co-operation and the profession itself, to tackle these barriers within Europe and beyond. He examines the economic aspects of the migration of engineers, and then presents evidence on what is known about the gender make up within different countries of key Engineering occupations as well as of relevant Tertiary education. The chapter summarizes factors that affect the gender dimension of engineering migration and prepares the epistemological background for the discussion later provided in chapter 7.

In chapter 7, Gropas and Bartolini specifically look at high-skilled migrant women from Greece, Spain and Portugal with university degrees in engineering and IT. The authors use new quantitative and qualitative data from an e-survey to explore where they are migrating to, the characteristics of their migratory experience, and whether their employment situation (form and type of employment, career development and prospects) has changed through their migration. Gropas and Bartolini examine the impact of the crisis and the extent to which these women are satisfied with their current situation.

Chapters 8 and 9 then look at the issue of academic mobility in the UK and Germany, which at the moment have adopted quite different immigration policies. In chapter 8, Moskal examines students' migration, frequently synonymous to highly skilled mobility, constitutes the largest category of migration to the UK during the current economic downturn. The requirements of the globally integrated economy (the global competitiveness of the education sector) are currently at odds with the UK policy on immigration, which aims at reducing the numbers of international students and slowing down their progression in the UK. The chapter draws on a longitudinal study that investigates drivers and resources of students' international mobility to the UK's universities and challenges they confront upon graduation. Moskal explores the role of mobility for education as an integrated part of individual life projects, and the future opportunities linked to these projects. She stresses the gender-differentiated nature of experiences of international postgraduate students in relation to socio-economic barriers and opportunities they encounter in the UK in the milieu of the global financial crisis.

Developing the theme of academic mobility further, chapter 9 aims to unravel gendered career strategies of high-skill migrants in the financial and academic sectors in German universities. Such careers are being developed not only in tandem but also in interaction with gender relations in the family. Drawing on the methods of participant observation and semi-structured interview, Shinozaki shows that the terrains of work and family are closely interrelated in building skilled migrant workers' career pathways. The analysis of experiences dual-career couples shows that their transnational career strategies, developed and applied in time of the current global financial crisis, have a strong bearing on the fine balancing act and

negotiation of intra-family gender relations, which are neither pre-given nor fixed. The chapter analyses distinctions between the experiences of men and women.

In a summative note, the three chapters presented in **Part 3** engage in a discussion about basic problems around female high-skill migration and explore ways towards their solution. Chapter 10 addresses the persistent and intersecting problems of gender discrimination, de-skilling and consequent under-employment. Looking at the experiences of highly- skilled US-national women in Italy and Greece, Chapter 11 relates to their survival strategies such as re-skilling and ethnic entrepreneurship (the latter developing as a strong counter-flow to the European crisis).

The latest OECD (2014) report shows that 30% of tertiary educated migrants in OECD countries are found to be overqualified in their current jobs, while the wide-spread practice of recruiting highly skilled migrant women for care work has been a major strategy for the new global care industry. In this reference, chapter 10 discusses the ways the domestic care sector in the UK incorporates the labour of highly skilled migrant women. Cuban explores the reasons for why professional women migrated for jobs for which they were overqualified and what strategies they used to manage both their decisions and disappointments. According to OECD (2014), there are at the moment 25 million and 27 million migrants from Asia and Latin America respectively – the regions the majority of tertiary educated migrants originate from. Based on narrative interviews with 60 women who migrated to the UK from selective care labour exporting countries of Asia and Latin America [e.g.: India, Philippines], Cuban's research challenges notions of upward mobility of transnationals and the highly skilled as a privileged group. The author shows that although these women initially migrated for opportunities they lost ground in the process of becoming care assistants and were paralyzed to move forward in their careers; the place that highly educated women took hold segmented their experiences in the host country.

The problem of surviving through under-scaling is further analysed in chapter 11 yet with the focus in success stories of non-traditional women-migrants. The chapter pays attention to the fact that amidst the global migration flows of the highly skilled, there is an under-researched – though not quite new – tendency of the reversed transatlantic migration intensified crisis-like contexts. To what extent can they be used as a source of competitive advantage for Europe, which is hardly surviving the current crisis? Seeking to answer this question, Isaakyan studies the experiences of economic integration and entrepreneurship of 50 US-national women who live in the Euro-crisis countries of Italy and Greece. The chapter invites to think about the interaction between such concepts as “entrepreneurship”, “ethnic niche”, “crisis” and “patriarchy”. Despite having come to Southern Europe not always on the high-skill work permit, the informants have managed to convert into successful – although unusual - “ethnic entrepreneurs” who can create their own labour-market niche and therefore resist the crisis.

The concluding chapter (chapter 12) provides an overview of female high-skill migration dynamics and trends, their interaction with policy developments overall and particularly under the current crisis, and develop a reconceptualization of the HSM phenomenon in the light of the new knowledge included in the book chapters. Triandafyllidou and Isaakyan invite to a critical reflection on *who a high skill migrant actually is* - particularly so when

thinking about *highly skilled women in emigration*. The authors stress the fact that real life situations are more complex and more fluid than static policy definitions and that applied social science research needs to provide for necessary evidence that can lead to appropriate (flexible and focused) policy measures that can make the most of (female) high skill migration for the benefit of migrants themselves, the countries of destination and if possible also the countries of origin. On a final note, the chapter outlines an inter-disciplinary research agenda for studies of female high-skill migration.

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CHAPTER OUTLINE

Part I. Female High Skill Migration: Concepts and Dynamics

Chapter 1: Introduction

Female High Skill Migration in the 21st Century: The challenge of Recession and Unanswered Questions

Anna Triandafyllidou and Irina Isaakyan

Chapter 2

The crisis and High Skill Migration policy changes: European policies to attract talent

Lucy Cerna and Mathias Czaika

Chapter 3

Female high skill emigration from Southern Europe and Ireland after the crisis

Anna Triandafyllidou and Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez

Chapter 4

Crisis and beyond: Intra-EU mobility of Polish and Spanish migrants in a comparative perspective

Pawel Kaczmarczyk and Mikolaj Stanek

Part II. Female High Skill Migration: A sector-specific approach

Chapter 5

Migration of nurses and doctors

Gilles Dussault, James Buchanan and Inês Fronteira

Chapter 6

Migration of Engineers: the Gender Dimension

Matthew Dixon

Chapter 7

Intra-EU migration of women employed in engineering

Ruby Gropas and Laura Bartolini

Chapter 8

International student mobility in the UK

Marta Moskal

Chapter 9

Academic mobility to Germany: Two case studies

Kyoko Shinozaki

Part III. Problems and Solutions: Towards a New Understanding of the Female High-Skill Migrant in Europe

Chapter 10

The problem of skill waste: Highly skilled female migrants in the UK domestic work sector

Sondra Cuban

Chapter 11

US women in Southern Europe: A new source of competitive advantage?

Irina Isaakyan

Chapter 12

Re-thinking the gender dimension of high-skill migration

Anna Triandafyllidou and Irina Isaakyan