

Skilled female labour migration

Women migrants now constitute almost half (49.6% in 2005) of all international migrants.¹ This proportion has gone up from 46.6% in 1960. Although the percentage difference is small, the increase in female labour migration, i.e. of women moving in search of jobs, has caught the imagination of academics, the media and international and national policy makers across the globe. However, much of this attention has focused on migrant women who enter the lesser skilled sectors of the labour market, especially in work that is dangerous, dirty and low-paid. Academic research on, and media stories of, migrant women's employment usually focuses on sex work or domestic work. But this focus ignores the many other sectors of the labour market where women are also present, including the more skilled sectors.

In this policy brief we aim to address this gap by highlighting the presence of skilled² migrant women within migration streams.³ In the next section we provide a brief overview of some patterns and trends within migration, especially female migration, in the past decade. We then explore why skilled female migration has been ignored in the literature thus far, by analyzing the perception that female labour migrants are mostly unskilled. The third section shows how, contrary to this perception, women form an important part of skilled migratory streams. The fourth section looks at some of the factors influencing female skilled migration, particularly the gender discriminatory processes that shape migration policy and the issue of skills recognition in destination countries. The conclusion outlines some suggestions for further research and for policy intervention.

Migrants in the labour market

Patterns and trends

During the past decade, patterns of migration (countries of origin, types of migration, duration of residence) have become increasingly diversified. The geographical flows have increased from the global South⁴ to the North and from East to West as people move to more developed economies to improve their economic chances. There has been growth in migration both amongst those with low skills and those with high skills. Another notable pattern in the last few years has been the global increase in the number of female migrants, who in 2005 numbered an estimated 94.5 million (or 49.6%) migrants. The share of women among migrants in Southern countries was about

38.9 million (51%) in that same year, compared to 46.2 million (51%) in the high-income countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and 8.7 million (40%) in the high-income, non-OECD countries.⁵

Migrants in the labour force (both male and female) may have entered their host country through a variety of routes, ranging from temporary and long-term labour migration to family-related migration (reunification, formation and as accompanying family members of labour migrants), student migration, and asylum and refugee programmes. In a number of European countries, such as the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Denmark and Portugal, more than 40% of total inflows in 2005 were made up of people admitted explicitly for the purpose of work. For female migrants, family-related migration is the most significant mode of entry into many countries but many family migrants do, however, enter the labour market.

It is worth stating that although there are significant proportions of migrant women in the labour market, evidence suggests that they face many difficulties in accessing jobs.⁶ In a number of the OECD countries foreign-born women appear to have a lower labour force participation rates than either foreign-born men or native-born women. The difference in the employment rate of foreign-born and native-born women exceeds 12% in most Nordic countries. In New Zealand, Australia and the United States, the employment rate of foreign-born women is 10 to 13% lower than that of the native-born (6% difference in Canada).⁷ Yet this pattern is not uniform. For instance, foreign-born women tend to have a higher employment rate than the native-born in southern European countries. Moreover, these aggregate figures also hide important variations by country of birth. Race and nationality act alongside gender to affect which women have access to which kinds of jobs.

The employment of migrant women also shows some sectoral patterns. As Table 1 makes clear, there is a significant concentration of migrant women in some occupational sectors such as service sector work and especially within personal and social services. In all countries with the exception of Turkey and the Czech Republic, more than 40% of all employed migrant women are working in these sectors. Although these are sectors where native-born women also tend to be concentrated, there is often a significant overrepresentation of migrant women. This is particularly apparent in Turkey (+17% compared to the native-born), Greece (+16%), Spain (+13%), Mexico (+8%), Portugal (+8%) and Italy (+7%). This is to a large degree attributable to a particularly strong concentration in a number of specific

Table 1: Female employment by sector and place of birth for Women aged 15-64, 2003-2004, data pooled over EU countries⁸

	Foreign-born		Native-born	
	Share of total employment of foreign-born women (%)	Over-represented	Share of total employment of native-born women (%)	Over-represented
Agriculture and fishing	1.1	No	3.3	No
Mining, manufacturing and energy	12.1	No	12.8	No
Construction	1.0	No	1.5	No
Wholesale and retail trade	12.6	–	15.6	Yes
Hotels and restaurants	8.1	Yes	4.4	Yes
Education	8.1	Yes	11.2	Yes
Health and other community services	17.0	Yes	16.5	Yes
Households	6.2	Yes	1.6	Yes
Administration and extraterritorial organizations (e.g. EU and UN offices)	4.7	No	7.5	–
Other services	23.2	–	21.2	–

Sources: European Community Labour Force Survey (data provided by Eurostat)

sectors such as domestic work, hotels and restaurants. Unfortunately, the diversity of female migrants' labour market experiences is not accorded due attention in academic research, which, we argue below, has focused on domestic work and sex work.

Dominant perceptions – female migrants as unskilled migrants

Most research on migrant women's employment is concentrated on just two areas of employment: domestic work (cleaning and care) and the sex industry. Thus academics inadvertently emphasise migrant women who work in the lesser skilled sectors of the labour market.

Employment in the domestic work sector rose sharply in the 1990s, especially in Southern Europe but also in countries of the global North.⁹ It has also risen in sex work, where it is estimated that 80% of trafficked women are employed.¹⁰ The 1990s saw an increase in sex trafficking, especially from Eastern and South Eastern Europe, which has to a great extent replaced flows from Latin America and Asia. This is related to the globalization of the sex trade, which has become a lucrative business, fuelled by the growing demand in destination countries for foreign and exotic prostitutes. Thus it is estimated that between 200,000 and 500,000 women are working illegally, and sometimes involuntarily, as sex workers within the European Union alone.

Theoretical discussions of female migration have revolved strongly around these sectors of the labour market, particularly domestic employment. For instance, Saskia Sassen suggests that demand for labour in the marginalised, flexible and devalued sectors of production and services in global cities is often being met by migrants, especially migrant women. In particular,

the rising labour market participation of women in the global North, alongside an increase in the ageing population, has resulted in substantial labour shortages in unpaid informal care that women had often provided, intensifying demand for paid care-givers. She suggests that women from the global South, faced with a poor economic situation in their home country, migrate to fill this demand in wealthier countries. This recognition of the significant presence of poorly paid migrant women workers in the privileged centres of global power provides an antidote to the emphasis in much of the migration literature on prestigious (largely male) financial and scientific experts and managers who are seen as the drivers of globalisation. Sassen insists that migrant women too form part of the globalisation process, albeit in a less celebrated role.

The process through which this migration of women is arranged, and the effects of such migration, are both clearly elaborated by Arlie Hochschild. She points out that when women move from the South to the North to care for a child or an elderly person in a wealthier country they leave behind families who themselves need care. She suggests that the emigration of woman thus results in her own family needing to bring in someone from a poorer area to look after her children and parents. Sometimes another member of her family, such as a sister, may be remunerated to do the caring. This creates a chain of migration, which is commonly called the global care chain. This is defined "as a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring."¹¹ Global care chains represent how the interdependencies between different places are created through migration at a household level.

Both Sassen and Hochschild have contributed much to theorising the migration of women. However, they lay women's inputs to the new global economy firmly within certain commodified or paid forms of household work, such as in the clean-

ing and caring industries. This refrain is echoed in the literature on global labour where much of the writing on gendered migrations allocates women lowly occupations “as exotic, subservient or victimised, or relegated to playing supporting roles”¹² and as homemakers. They provide necessary physical and emotional labour in homes in the global North.¹³ While the dominance of workers in the two key service sectors of domestic and sex work¹⁴ means that this focus is undoubtedly justified, we have to be careful to make sure that it does not obscure other forms of work, including skilled occupations, that migrant women engage in or other contributions they make to receiving economies.

While, in this analysis, women are seen as contributing to lesser skilled sectors of the labour market, in countries where family migration is the dominant mode of migration female migration is largely seen as a social issue, not an economic one. Women, who dominate family migration streams, are therefore not necessarily analysed in terms of their labour market participation, but may rather be seen as recipients of welfare. Moreover, even when female family migrants’ labour market participation is considered, they are rarely seen as having skills needed to contribute meaningfully to the knowledge economy.¹⁵ The economic benefits of migration are often only analysed in the context of occupations in knowledge-based industries such as finance and science and technology, in which men usually dominate. But as we argue below, the dichotomy of skilled male and unskilled female migration needs to be reconsidered.

Shedding light on skilled female labour migration

Data Problems

That skilled female labour migrants remain a relatively understudied group has in part been due with the fact that little data is available, especially in European states. In traditional countries of immigration, on the other hand, even if there are not a large number of studies, gendered immigration data are readily available. For example, Citizenship and Immigration Canada publishes facts and figures on skilled migration disaggregated by gender on a yearly basis. In European states where large-scale skilled immigration exists, as in the UK, gender disaggregated data has to be requested. The OECD has begun to address the issue of data deficiency in relation to skilled migrants and labour markets¹⁶ and the gender brain drain¹⁷, but country SOPEMI reports do not contain sufficiently disaggregated data to enable further analysis of labour market outcomes for skilled female migrants. The European Migration Network¹⁸ has undertaken studies of skilled migration and health professionals but only a few country studies, such as the Swedish on health professionals, include any gendered data. The lack of data is part of a general lack of recognition and interest by academics and policy makers in skilled female migrants.

Skill Levels

As mentioned previously, family-related, not labour-related, admission categories are the most important means of entry for female migrants. As mainly family migrants, women are not

necessarily presumed to possess the skills needed to contribute meaningfully to the labour market. However, statistics suggest that this presumed link between skill level and admission categories may not be so clear. The share of women immigrants holding a tertiary degree in OECD countries is only three percentage points below that of men. In Australia it is almost equal. Among all permanent residents over 15 years of age entering Canada in all entrance categories in 2007 (total 188,480), the number of skilled men and women were almost equal. 13% of men had a BA, 6% an MA and 1% a PhD. In comparison, 16% of women had a BA, 5% an MA and 0.8% a PhD.¹⁹

Table 2: Percentage of women (15-64) in highly skilled occupations by origin, 2004

	Native-born	Foreign-born	Foreign-born non-OECD
Austria	38.2	25.3	18.6
Belgium	42.9	41.6	42.5
Denmark	43.3	38.6	33.9
Finland	42.8	32.5	21.9
France	37.7	30.5	31.1
Germany	46.0	30.5	..
Greece	36.6	13.5	6.8
Hungary	40.8	42.7	40.8
Ireland	40.0	47.9	-
Italy	43.9	29.2	20.4
Luxembourg	51.3	38.5	26.3
Norway	42.2	38.9	23.8
Portugal	25.7	33.6	31.3
Spain	36.2	21.6	12.3
Sweden	45.4	38.3	25.7
Switzerland	44.1	38.0	29.2
United Kingdom	36.2	43.7	39.8

“-” indicates that figure is not significant
“..” no explanation

Source: Table I.15. SOPEMI 2006

Table 3: Main origin countries for highly skilled immigrants in OECD countries by gender, 2000

Country of Birth	Female	Total	%
Philippines	562,215	887,477	63.3
United Kingdom	509,887	1,075,160	47.4
Former USSR	506,999	930,150	54.5
Germany	440,991	856,679	51.5
India	429,547	999,566	43.0
China	400,495	816,966	49.0
Poland	235,147	446,496	52.7
Mexico	234,781	474,072	49.5
Canada	217,106	422,167	51.4
United States	205,847	391,448	52.6
France	199,630	365,814	54.6

Source: Dumont et al. (2007:11)

Moreover, in some countries there is an equal or even higher proportion of foreign-born non-OECD female migrants in skilled occupations than native-born. This is the case in the UK and Portugal. In Belgium the proportions are almost the same. At the other extreme, there are markedly lower proportions of migrant women in skilled occupations in most Southern European countries, which tend to be countries with high levels of de-skilling and a concentration of female migrants in less skilled sectors.

Women's employment in the health sector, in particular, has significantly contributed to altering the gender balance in skilled migration. Throughout the 1960s, the UK depended on Caribbean and Irish female nurse migration. Canada, too imported female nurses from countries in the global South to cut costs and even out fluctuating shortages in the 1980s.²⁰ Large numbers of Filipina nurses went to the US through the 1970s and 80s. Since the late 1990s, reduced investment in states like Australia, Canada and the UK in doctor, nurse and teacher training has led to significant shortages in the education, health and social work sectors which cannot be met locally, forcing these and other states to recruit (often female) workers abroad. In particular Throughout the 1960s, the UK depended on Caribbean and Irish female nurse migration. Canada, too imported female nurses from Third World countries to cut costs and even out fluctuating shortages in the 1980s (Stasiulis and Bakan 2003:107). Large numbers of Filipina nurses went to the US through the 1970s and 80s. Since the late 1990s, reduced investment in states like Australia, Canada and the UK in doctor, nurse and teacher training has led to significant shortages in the education, health and social work sectors which cannot be met locally, forcing these and other states to recruit (often female) workers abroad. Over 90% of migrants in the nursing sector are women, and in many countries this constitutes the largest single health profession.²¹ In the UK the number of female migrant nurses rose by 49,000 or 92% from 1997 to 2004 compared to an increase of 1% among non-migrant nurses. Male migrant nurses displayed an even higher percentage rise of 184% (15,000) during this period²², but the proportion of male nurses to female nurses still remains small. A significant number of migrant doctors in the UK – about 54% of new full registrants to the General Medical Council in 2002 – are women.²³ In England in 2000 40.2% of EEA doctors, 36.75% of UK qualified doctors and 26.2% of non-EEA doctors were women.²⁴ As such, it was the EEA qualified medical migrant workforce that was the most feminised.

Women also form a small but significant minority amongst migrant Information and Communication Technology (ICT) professionals entering any of the major countries of immigration in any year.²⁵ In Australia in 2005, between one-quarter and one-third of the total number of computing professionals entering through the major skilled migration streams, or as family migrants, were women. In Canada, between 1998 and 2000, about 20% of all computer programmers and systems analysts entering as principal applicants within the skilled stream, and about 10% of computer engineers within the same period, were women. Even though these proportions seem small, they must be set within the context of large total (and in most countries, until recently, rapidly rising) numbers entering through this cat-

egory. For instance, in the UK, between 1995 and 2002 there was a rapid growth in migrant ICT professionals and ICT formed the seventh largest industry, even among female work permit holders.²⁶

Issues facing skilled female migrants

Gender shapes the migration process in many different ways. In countries of origin gender discrimination in access to education can mean that fewer women than men have the ability to acquire the skills that are necessary to migrate under immigration schemes that favour skilled workers. On the other hand, gender discriminatory employment practices in origin countries can encourage some women to migrate in search of better prospects abroad. In this section we focus on two specific issues that face skilled migrant women: the impact of immigration regulations on entry, and the extent to which skilled migrant women are actually able to use their skills in the labour market after entering the destination country.

Immigration Regulation Frameworks

Immigration regulations have considerable influence on skilled women's ability to migrate. The classic states of immigration (Australia, Canada, USA) and the UK began to position themselves as from the late 1990s in the global competition for skilled labour, altering their immigration regulations to facilitate the entry of skilled migrants. However, the particular criteria adopted for filtering in people with skills have varied across different countries and have influenced migrant women differently.

In countries where the selection of migrants favours *occupations*, such as ICT, in which more males than females are generally trained and employed, a heavily masculinised skilled migration results. As a recent analysis of gender and skilled migration in New Zealand commented, "gendered migration may be more connected with the type of occupation the migrant is coming to New Zealand to work in rather than with the source country."²⁷

In Europe, the recruitment of skilled labour has been far more limited but most countries have had a similar *sectoral bias* towards ICT, thus implicitly favouring men. The actual routes that have opened to these professionals vary. Some countries, such as Austria, Estonia, Greece, Italy and Latvia, impose quotas.²⁸ In others, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden, labour demand drives recruitment. In many instances, schemes are largely aimed at the fields of ICT, engineering and research, as has been the case in Germany and France. In the Netherlands, a scheme to attract knowledge workers has also seen many of the permits being taken up by ICT workers. Sectoral bias in defining skills, therefore, remains a key issue influencing female skilled migration.

In Canada, education and language attainment reflecting *human capital* has replaced occupation as a filter for migration, and lead to an increase in the proportion of females in the skilled worker class migration category. This was particularly seen in the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), which came into force in 2002. Amongst skilled workers, 32% were women in 2007 compared to 24% in 2000. It appears

that although women are still a minority amongst skilled worker principal applicants, this shift to a broader human capital approach is likely to be less disadvantageous to women as their educational qualifications increase and with continuing shortages in sectors such as care-work and nursing.

Amongst some of the European states with routes for the highly skilled, such as the UK, *earnings prior to entry* are important in deciding entry. *Earnings in the destination country* too are assessed for offering continuation of stay as in the British points based system. This criterion becomes relevant when gender-pay gaps are taken into consideration. Globally, the pay-gap between men and women averages 16%. In other words, women tend to earn, on average, 16% less than men with an equivalent job. In high-income countries such as the United States and Canada, the gap is often higher. In the UK, it has been shown that the gender pay gap increases as a person's level of education increases and is higher in female-dominated occupations. Thus it is likely that women will be negatively influenced by the use of earnings as a criterion in admitting skilled migrants. These issues also affect countries such as Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands, where earnings are also used in defining highly skilled migrants. Besides the pay gap generally faced by women, skilled female migrants are to be found to a greater extent in the highly regulated and lesser remunerated sectors such as nursing, teaching and social work, which places them at an even greater disadvantage.

The only country that has begun to recognize the inherent gender-selectivity involved in skilled migration programmes is Canada. It has instituted a gender-based analysis (GBA) of immigration policy (as well as settlement and integration programmes), which is described as: "a process that assesses the differential impact of proposed and/or existing policies, programs and legislation on women and men. It makes it possible for policy to be undertaken with an appreciation of gender differences, of the nature of relationships between women and men and of their different social realities, life expectations and economic circumstances."²⁹

Analyzing the gendered effects and outcomes of immigration policies requires full data sets and intensive qualitative research so that the effects of education, income, sectoral employment patterns and age, for instance, can be considered as they operate alongside gender. For instance, do women who take career breaks due to child-bearing and rearing find it harder to enter as skilled migrants, as work experience in the years prior to immigration is evaluated? The number of skilled female migrants can also vary according to nationality. For instance, there are more women in migrants streams from India than China but this can only be understood by studying gender and nationality simultaneously. Moreover, longitudinal data could help us understand the effect of economic factors in sending and receiving states on female skilled migration.

Skills recognition

Another significant factor influencing the experiences of skilled migrants is the framework for recognising skills. Although deskilling is a common experience among all migrants, women face a particularly high level of deskilling. One study³⁰ on migrant women in OECD countries clearly demonstrates

that women were more likely to be overqualified for their jobs than men. In some countries, particularly in Southern Europe, this is likely due to shortages in less skilled sectors, especially domestic labour, highly protected skilled sectors and non-recognition of non-EU qualifications.

Table 4: Percentage of women (15-64) in jobs for which they are overqualified by birth status 2003-2004

	Native-born	Foreign-born	Foreign-born non-OECD
Austria	9.3	24.8	32.8
Belgium	17.7	24.6	27.2
Czech Republic	6.6	12.8	22.0
Denmark	10.5	19.7	31.0
Finland	18.8	26.2	38.0
France	14.2	18.8	19.8
Germany	9.9	23.6	32.3
Greece	9.0	53.4	62.0
Hungary	7.3	10.5	8.9
Ireland	15.6	23.9	38.2
Italy	7.1	27.4	34.0
Luxembourg	3.2	14.1	31.0
Norway	10.6	25.1	35.9
Portugal	8.9	16.2	18.7
Spain	24.4	47.6	56.7
Sweden	7.2	15.3	23.2
Switzerland	7.6	13.8	19.8
United Kingdom	14.9	17.0	18.7

Source: Table I.16 SOPEMI 2006

Moreover, the level of 'brain-waste', i.e. under-use of the qualifications that migrants possess, is higher for women who migrated from non-OECD countries than for those who migrated within the OECD (see Table 4). Within Europe, women migrants from the Eastern European accession countries were also affected by deskilling - the bulk of migrants since 2004 have filled low skilled jobs in old EU countries. They are now covered by EU regulations concerning the recognition of qualifications but it is not yet clear to what extent, as they improve their language skills and settle in, they will be able to move into more qualified employment reflecting their educational level.

This deskilling is particularly apparent in the highly feminised sector of nursing. A study of international nurse recruits in the UK, mainly from Europe, Australia, Africa and Philippines, found that many nurses felt that their skills were not appreciated or respected and that they faced racism and xenophobia.³¹ Nurses also experienced a considerable degree of downgrading of their skills as they entered the labour market at levels well below that which they occupied before migration. Furthermore their experiences varied considerably depending on whether they worked in the private or public sector. Those employed in the UK National Health Service had more positive experiences than those who entered the private independent sector where, though entering as skilled migrants, they were frequently used as care assistants.

Deskilling also affects doctors. In the UK this deskilling is institutionalised through the creation of a cadre of posts where doctors work in hospitals in a range of sub-consultant posts, where they have large service commitments but few career prospects. Overseas qualified doctors dominate in these grades. However, the level of deskilling is higher among migrant women who qualified outside the EEA. Thus, in 2001 in England, 42% of all non-EEA qualified doctors in this category of posts were women, while only 22% of EEA doctors in this category were women.³²

Some of the factors that lead to the deskilling of migrants are common to both men and women. A project on skilled migrants commissioned by the European Commission³³ in four European countries (Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK) developed a typology which reflected the degree to which migrants were able to find employment commensurate to their qualifications and educational level. The study found that individual, informal and institutional factors play their part. It concludes that qualified migrants living in EU countries are an underused resource for the labour market. The process of recognition of qualifications for non-EU countries is estimated by this research to be the major problem for labour integration and it is considered to be too complex, lengthy, costly and discouraging for qualified immigrants. Successful and effective formal channels for information about and access to employment are also lacking. Moreover, even professional women find that racist stereotyping influenced their ability to gain employment. The lack of support structures for newly arrived qualified immigrant forces them to rely on informal networks. The study also identified a lack of affordable, accessible and appropriate professional language courses for qualified immigrants. Qualified immigrants were found to have difficulties in finding proper housing, which produces problems of access to the labour market and fuels discrimination and social exclusion.

However, some of these factors influence women more than men. For instance, the ability to attend professional language courses may be more limited for women who have childcare responsibilities. The loss of social networks, personal and professional, after women migrate can be worse for women if family responsibilities prevent them from accessing new networks. Women's need to re-skill or to get accreditation may also be given less priority by families when there is gender hierarchy within households. Eventually, lengthy periods out of the labour market and under-employment harm the self-esteem of such migrants and increase deskilling.

Conclusion

The emphasis on migrant women in less skilled sectors of the labour market has obscured the significant presence of skilled migrant women in the labour market. As the majority of immigration receiving countries encourage and facilitate the flow of skilled migrants, it is important that we begin to pay more attention to female skilled migrants. In this policy brief we have begun this task. We have laid out some patterns of skilled female migration and outlined some of the issues facing skilled migrant women, both in terms of entry (effect of current immi-

gration policies) and the ability to find jobs commensurate with their skills (effect of difficulty in validating their skills).

However, in order to identify policies to address these issues, we argue that we first need more information on:

- skilled migrant women and their experiences the world over;
- the kinds of immigration policies which are most gender equitable; and
- how the effect of gender is also affected by factors such as race, nationality, age and religion in influencing skilled migration

Within a policy context we suggest the need to address the inherent gender bias in some countries' immigration regulations. We suggest that income may be an inappropriate way of assessing skills, while more broad based methods, that include language skills and knowledge in determining skills, could be less gender-discriminatory. We also outlined the Canadian example of gender-based analysis of migration regulations as an example of good practice and suggest that this be considered by other countries.

Finally, we have emphasized the need to improve the way in which women's skills are accredited. Some of this may involve helping women to re-skill by providing them with more help with childcare, improved access to language classes and greater formal support to access the labour market. The assessment of skills should also become less dependent on gender-biased criteria such as earnings. We believe that these are important first steps in improving the experience of skilled women migrants globally.

Endnotes

- ¹ See Morrison et al. (2007).
- ² The definition of skills is an important issue in discussing the migration of skilled workers. There are no clear definitions at present but most researchers treat migrants with a tertiary education as skilled. They also often distinguish between those who are skilled (nurses and teachers) and those who are highly skilled (ICT workers, scientists and doctors).
- ³ In this brief we largely focus on migration into the OECD countries and into Europe, especially of migrants from non-OECD countries. This is only part of the overall scope of migration but space does not permit a broader analysis.
- ⁴ The term global South has come to replace other terminology such as 'developing countries' amongst academics. The North is the term used for industrialised countries of the Northern Hemisphere.
- ⁵ See Ratha and Shaw (2007).
- ⁶ See SOPEMI (2007).
- ⁷ See SOPEMI (2007).
- ⁸ Notes: Columns do not sum to 100 because not all employed women indicate their sector of activity. Over-representation occurs when the share of foreign- or native-born women in one particular sector is more important than their share in total employment.
Sectoral over-representation is supposed to be undetermined (Ind.) if the share of foreign-or native-born women in the employment divided by their share in total employment is higher than 0.9 and lower than 1.1.
- ⁹ See Anderson (2000).
- ¹⁰ See Agustin (2007).
- ¹¹ See Hochschild (2000: 131).
- ¹² See Pratt and Yeoh (2003).
- ¹³ See Hochschild (2000).
- ¹⁴ See Anderson (2000); Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003); Parreñas (2001).
- ¹⁵ See Dumont et al. (2007).
- ¹⁶ See SOPEMI (2007).
- ¹⁷ See Dumont et al. (2007).
- ¹⁸ See EMN (2007a,b).
- ¹⁹ See CIC (2008).
- ²⁰ See Stasiulis and Bakan (2003:107).
- ²¹ Many other associate health and welfare professionals, such as physiotherapists and social workers, are also largely staffed by women, though not to the same extent as nursing and midwifery.
- ²² See EMN (2007b).
- ²³ See Kofman et al. (2005).
- ²⁴ See Raghuram and Kofman (2002).
- ²⁵ See Raghuram (2008).
- ²⁶ See Raghuram (2004).
- ²⁷ See Badkar et al. (2007).
- ²⁸ See EMN (2007a).
- ²⁹ See Kofman et al. (2005: 35-6).
- ³⁰ See Dumont and Liebig (2005).
- ³¹ See Allan and Aggergaard Larsen (2003).
- ³² See Raghuram and Kofman (2002).
- ³³ See Jubany (2004).

About the authors:

Dr. Eleonore Kofman is Professor of Gender, Migration and Citizenship and Co-Director of the Social Policy Research Centre at Middlesex University, UK. She has published articles on gender and skilled migration and family migrations in Europe.

E-mail: E.Kofman@mdx.ac.uk

Dr. Parvati Raghuram is Lecturer in Geography at the Open University. She has published a number of articles on gender and skilled migration in the UK, including several on the experiences of Asian medical migrants and IT workers.

E-mail: P.Raghuram@open.ac.uk

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