

Harnessing Knowledge on the Migration of Highly Skilled Women



International Organization for Migration (IOM)



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Expert Group Meeting on

Harnessing Knowledge on the Migration of Highly Skilled Women

3–4 April 2014, Geneva



International Organization for Migration (IOM)



Acronyms

DIOC	Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries
EOI	Expression of interest
GBA	Gender-based analysis
GIIDS	Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies
ICT	Information and communications technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOE	International Organisation of Employers
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IZA	Institute for the Study of Labour
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index

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Table of Contents

Acronyms.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	5
Executive Summary.....	9
1. Introduction.....	13
2. Session Summaries.....	15
2.1. Session 1 – Setting the scene: Data on and profiles of highly skilled migrant women.....	15
2.2. Session 2 – Determinants and conditions of the migration of highly skilled women.....	18
2.3. Session 3 – Experiences of highly skilled migrant women in destination countries.....	23
2.4. Session 4 – Perspectives of home countries on the migration of highly skilled women.....	27
2.5. Session 5 – Knowledge gaps regarding the migration of highly skilled women.....	32
3. Conclusions.....	39
4. Recommendations.....	43
5. Annex.....	45
Contribution 1: “ <i>Mobilités au féminin</i> ”: A general context for introducing highly skilled mobility.....	45
Contribution 2: Female migrants in OECD countries, with a focus on the highly skilled.....	50
Contribution 3: Migration patterns of highly skilled women.....	57
Contribution 4: Gendering skilled immigration policies across the OECD: The GenderImmi Dataset.....	62
Contribution 5: The relationship between discriminatory norms and female South–South migration.....	68
Contribution 6: Institutionalized inequality and female brain drain.....	75
Contribution 7: Highly skilled migrant women: Dual career households, family considerations and gender roles.....	78
Contribution 8: How do highly skilled migrant women integrate in host countries? Evidence from the European Union.....	86
Contribution 9: Gendered skilled migration and gender-segregated labour markets.....	91
Contribution 10: Addressing the skills paradox: Deskilling migrant women in Canada.....	97

Table of Contents

Contribution 11: The psychosocial cost of deskilling: Perspectives from an empirical study	102
Contribution 12: The mobility of health professionals: Overview of research findings	107
Contribution 13: Impact of skilled return migration on India's development	113
Contribution 14: The gender dimension of skilled migration and return intentions: Implications for home countries.....	117
Contribution 15: Knowledge about the migration of highly skilled women	126
References	131
Agenda	151

Executive Summary

The migration of highly skilled women is a phenomenon of growing significance for most countries. Between 2000 and 2011, the number of tertiary-educated migrant women in OECD countries rose by 80 per cent. This increase not only represented a twofold growth in the number of tertiary-educated, native-born women, but also exceeded the 60 per cent increase in the number of tertiary-educated migrant men (DIOC 2000 and DIOC 2011). Moreover, according to data from the DIOC 2000/01, the emigration rate from sending countries was 4 per cent higher for tertiary-educated women than it is for tertiary-educated men (13.9% as compared to 9.7%). In Africa, the average emigration rates of tertiary-educated women are considerably higher than those of tertiary-educated men (27.7% and 17.1%, respectively); this phenomenon is also seen in Latin America, where the rates are 21.1 per cent for women and 17.9 per cent for men. In terms of the global distribution of highly skilled migrant women, one-third (34%) of tertiary-educated migrant women residing in OECD countries come from Asia – primarily, the Philippines, China and India – while the four leading destination countries for tertiary-educated migrant women are Canada, Israel, the United States and the United Kingdom (DIOC, 2005/06).

Despite the significant level of social and human capital that they bring, highly skilled migrant women remain underrepresented among economic migrants. While some of these women migrate independently, most are pushed to do so by a combination of economic, institutional and personal factors, including reasons related to marriage, family reunification or accompaniment, and international protection.

Despite the rise in the number of highly skilled migrant women, policymakers and scholars still lack a solid understanding of this migrant group's outcomes. In particular, experts point to the need to improve evidence in this field by collecting and providing additional data on characteristics for cross-tabulations, providing access to public data, and splitting admission data according to type to allow for greater specificity when researching migration determinants and outcomes.

Many migration policies targeting the highly skilled are inadequate as regards their level of gender sensitivity. Admission programmes, for example, are often biased towards occupations that are traditionally held by men. A new data set (GenderImmi)¹ reveals important differences across countries with respect to how they promote the migration of highly skilled women. Canada, for instance, stands out as having a highly gender-sensitive approach to skilled immigration policy. Through its engagement in gender auditing, the country accounts for differences in the life courses of men and women, while employing a more

gender-sensitive definition of “skill.” The OECD Development Centre’s Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) also suggests that discriminatory social norms and institutions play a key role in shaping the migration decisions of women within the South. Gender-based discrimination in countries of origin is a major reason that women emigrate, but there is a limit to which it influences the decision of women to leave their home countries. The reason for this seems to be that when high levels of discrimination exist, emigration becomes difficult and sometimes impossible.¹ Levels of discrimination in destination countries are also an important pull factor, as women tend to migrate to countries where they can enjoy greater freedom and rights (Ferrant and Tuccio, 2014).

In destination countries, a major integration challenge faced by highly skilled migrant women is consistent unemployment (and, therefore, general deskilling), despite the increased emphasis on educational attainment in the migration selection policies of many States. A better system for assessing educational credentials – alongside gender-specific support programmes that can facilitate women’s entry into the labour market, such as daycares – is a way to begin addressing this issue.

While migrants are a potential source of change and development for their home countries, highly skilled women are often less likely to return to their home countries than men due to factors such as reintegration obstacles in their origin countries and the negative environments to which they return. There is thus a need to foster diaspora networks, with a view to promoting the engagement of female migrants in the development of origin countries, particularly through the transfer of social and human capital. At the same time, there is little evidence on the usefulness of remittances and social and human capital accumulated by highly skilled migrant women in home countries.

Continuing dialogue on the global governance of highly skilled migration – along with the involvement of more actors in migration-related policymaking – is critical to identifying issues and fostering cooperation around international migration. Furthermore, employers, who show a growing interest in migration policies and programmes, have a crucial role in enabling and harnessing the potential of highly skilled women through their unique capacity to foster a labour market environment in which diversity, meritocracy and equal opportunity are promoted.

To encourage the discussion about how to tackle these challenges, IOM and the OECD Development Centre held a two-day expert meeting in Geneva on 3 and 4 April 2014. This summary report of the meeting, which includes written

¹ This indicator provides detailed information on 37 migrant visas in 12 OECD immigrant-receiving countries. More information can be found in: Boucher, “Gendering skilled immigration policies across the OECD: The GenderImmi Dataset,” in *Harnessing Knowledge on the Migration of Highly Skilled Women* (IOM and OECD Development Centre, Geneva), forthcoming.

contributions from expert participants, aims to promote greater dialogue with and raise awareness among key researchers. While the report is not exhaustive, it can serve as a useful point of departure for identifying and addressing research gaps related to the challenges and opportunities arising from the migration of highly skilled women.

1 Introduction

More than 50 per cent of all new migrants in the OECD region are women (OECD, 2008a). Over the years, the body of knowledge on highly skilled migrant women has increased, particularly around admissions systems, the difficulties these skilled migrant women face in the labour market, and how careers are prioritized within migrant couples. Despite this growth in knowledge, research on the links between highly skilled migration, gender equality, integration and development is still scattered over several disciplines. As a result, highly skilled migrant women, as a group, have largely been neglected by both policymakers and multilateral organizations.

The two-day expert group meeting, which took place on 3 and 4 April 2014 and was co-organized by IOM and the OECD Development Centre, brought together representatives and experts from governments, international organizations and academia to achieve the following objectives:

- a. Review evidence on the nature, scope and impact of highly skilled migrant women in countries of origin and destination.
- b. Share good practices related to conceptual frameworks, practical tools and resources to increase the quality and coverage of programmes that aim to maximize the potential of highly skilled migrant women.
- c. Examine the monitoring, evaluation and implementation of policies that aim to facilitate highly skilled migrant women's successful social and economic integration.
- d. Highlight the challenges and barriers related to the implementation and scale-up of methods for preventing brain waste and deskilling.
- e. Identify practical solutions, entry points, catalysts and pathways that can help overcome these identified challenges and barriers.

Various stakeholders, particularly governments and private sector actors, have acknowledged that human capital is one of the most important assets in the modern economy and can be a catalyst for innovation and economic growth (WEF, 2009 and 2013). Yet OECD data reveals that highly skilled migrant women continue to experience high levels of unemployment compared to their native-born counterparts. Addressing this challenge, among others, is not only important for promoting the well-being of highly skilled migrant women, but is also crucial to maximizing their positive development impact. In places around the world, from Silicon Valley to London – home to many health-care professionals, financial experts and managers – it is already possible to observe

the important contributions that highly skilled migrant women can make to the socioeconomic development of their host societies. Nevertheless, perceptions of highly skilled migrant women as a “privileged class” can make this group “invisible” to researchers, policymakers and other important stakeholders working on international migration.

Over the course of the two-day meeting, experts discussed a broad range of issues, including data and research gaps, institutionalized gender inequalities and their impact on migration flows, the governance of labour migration, migrant well-being, deskilling and the psychological costs of highly skilled female migration. Covering this broad range of issues helped pave the way for identifying priority areas for the future interventions of different stakeholders involved in the migration processes of highly skilled women. Discussions also touched upon how the migration of highly skilled women could help generate win-win-win situations in which origin countries, destination countries and migrants themselves all benefit. The meeting consisted of the following seven sessions:

- Session 1: Setting the scene: Data on and profiles of highly skilled migrant women
- Session 2: Determinants and conditions of the migration of highly skilled women
- Session 3: Experiences of highly skilled migrant women in destination countries
- Session 4: Perspectives of home countries on the migration of highly skilled women
- Session 5: Knowledge gaps regarding the migration of highly skilled women
- Session 6: The way forward for the governance of highly skilled migration
- Session 7: Working groups on policy lessons

Throughout the different sessions, participants highlighted the need to direct further efforts to reduce gender differences in education, improve labour market integration services, and strengthen cooperation between organizations and migrants in academia and the private sector, and in countries of origin and destination. Moreover, a consensus among the participants emerged on the need to strengthen synergies and build a network among actors working on the migration of highly skilled women. Participants also emphasised the need to conduct more quantitative and qualitative studies in this area.

This report has been compiled based on the meeting proceedings and written contributions from numerous expert participants. The report is divided into four parts. This section introduces the report; Part 2 includes summaries of the seven meeting sessions; Part 3 contains the conclusions of the report; and Part 4 outlines lessons for policy. The written contributions from expert participants can be found in the annex.

2 Session Summaries

2.1. Session 1 – Setting the scene: Data on and profiles of highly skilled migrant women

Chair: Frank Laczko, International Organization for Migration

Session overview

From 2001 to 2011, the number of tertiary-educated migrant women migrating to OECD countries increased by 80 per cent (OECD, 2005). What do we know about these women? How many are they? Where are they? This section presents the latest data on the number, patterns and profiles of highly skilled migrant women. It presents an analysis of current data stocks; conceptual frameworks applied by scholars and policymakers; and an analysis of the discrepancy between the high levels of education of highly skilled women and their “de facto” inadequate outcomes in relation to employment and international migration opportunities.

This introductory session also highlighted a number of issues that demand to be addressed, including: (a) the need for a broader analysis, further information and gender-specific data on highly skilled migrant women ; (b) the need to consider the role of accompanying spouses endowed with human capital as contributors and a potential source of labour supply in countries of destination; (c) the ineffective transition of highly skilled migrant women into the labour market in countries of destination; and finally, (d) the need to increase the knowledge base on the movement and social outcomes of highly skilled migrant women, with a view to gaining a more holistic picture of their experiences.

The session featured presentations by Ms Natalia Ribas-Mateos, Ms Cansin Arslan and Ms Eleonor Kofman.

Summary of discussion

Session 1 focused primarily on questions concerning the broad knowledge and available data on the subject of highly skilled migrant women. Participants also considered the location of highly skilled migrant women within the global picture of international migration flows.

According to Ms Natalia Ribas-Mateos, from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and Philipps-Universität Marburg, globalization provides a background for understanding current migration flows. Elaborating on this, she stated that what is known about migrant women is mostly in reference to vulnerable

migrant groups and transnational family studies. She emphasised the need to carry out a mapping exercise to locate highly skilled migrant women within the broader socioeconomic and political context in which migratory processes take place; this includes the movement of capital, goods and services (i.e., labour) around the world, as well as global production and reproduction chains. Such a macro-exercise is needed when considering gender and international mobility and attempting to understand the complexities of transnational flows, marriage migration, circular migration and return. Moreover, stakeholders – including governments and international organizations – should also take into consideration new understandings of gender and mobility in relation to regional changes and the current financial crisis. Furthermore, she stressed that migrant categories are not static and clear-cut, but rather dynamic and subject to change.

When considering existing data on highly skilled migrants, the presentation of Ms Cansin Arslan of the OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs concluded that what is available, and therefore what is known at present, is mostly from OECD countries. The OECD’s Database on Immigrants in OECD countries (DIOC) shows the following trends:

- a. From 2001 to 2011, there was an 80 per cent increase in the number of tertiary-educated migrant women, a trend that is directly linked to the growing levels of women’s educational attainment. The relative share of highly skilled migrant women is higher in Canada, Israel, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States and New Zealand.
- b. Migrant women have higher educational levels compared to native-born women in many OECD countries of destination.
- c. Despite their high levels of education, highly skilled migrant women tend to have difficulties transitioning into the labour markets of most OECD destination countries. For example, OECD data points to high unemployment rates among highly skilled migrant women, particularly among those from African countries of origin. However, there are a number of destination countries where highly skilled migrant women integrate relatively well, such as Chile and Portugal.
- d. There was an increase in the rates of unemployment for all women between 2005/06 and 2010/11. Highly skilled migrant women face higher unemployment rates when compared to their native-born counterparts, but lower unemployment rates than those with lower qualifications.
- e. From 2001 to 2011, there has been an increase in the number of highly skilled women who come from Asian countries.
- f. There is a continuous “brain drain of women” from a number of countries, including Romania and Colombia. This phenomenon is most visible in small countries, such as those located in the Caribbean.

During the session, participants also highlighted the need to address knowledge gaps with regard to South–South and South–North migration of highly skilled women. In relation to this, Ms Eleonore Kofman of Middlesex University spoke about the difficulty of producing a comprehensive analytical picture of highly skilled migrant women. According to her, this was due to the lack of available disaggregated data and to the disjuncture between academic and policy studies on highly skilled migrants. Countries like Australia and Canada were exceptions and examples of good practices, she said, given the longitudinal studies they had carried out on highly skilled migrants as a target group. Ms Kofman also stressed that discussions in this area have focused mainly on highly skilled migration, as opposed to skilled migrants. For female migrants, she said, this distinction is significant because large numbers of migrant women enter countries of destination as accompanying spouses of principal applicants, thus rendering their skills/human capital “invisible.” Moreover Ms Kofman noted that research on highly skilled migrants – which tends to adopt a gender-blind and macro approach – has concentrated primarily on specific sectors (such as the knowledge industry and information technology) and certain avenues of migration (such as intra-company transfers). This, she said, had contributed to a lack of knowledge about the migration outcomes of both male and female tertiary-educated migrants.

In addition, from a development perspective, what is defined in the literature as gender “brain drain” is primarily in relation to the educational level of migrants and not necessarily their occupational downgrading in countries of destination, she said. Poorer countries are often more affected by female “brain drain,” given the higher incomes and increased opportunities for migrant women abroad. Moreover, Ms Kofman said, within the realm of high-skilled migration, attention has been mainly on occupations/sectors that are shown to have direct economic value and that are mostly dominated by male workers, thus reinforcing the confinement of migrant women in sectors such as education, social and health care. She also noted that there is a growing trend of temporary migration schemes for highly skilled migrants. In addition, in countries of destination, governments are also facilitating the stay and integration of international students into the labour market through visa conversions. However, that women are mostly found in the reproductive sector and social work – areas that are heavily regulated – presents an additional hurdle to the recognition of migrant women’s diplomas, degrees and past work experience in these sectors.

Furthermore, Ms Kofman highlighted two additional issues: (a) the continuous demand for domestic and care work in destination countries as a contributing factor to the deskilling of migrant women – particularly insofar as this demand limits applicants’ choices with regards to entry and stay; (b) the prevalence of women in specific economic sectors, combined with low wage levels that make their entry into countries of destination through highly skilled programmes more

difficult. Moreover, with regard to the difference between “skilled migration” and “skilled migrants” it was noted that this distinction can have a detrimental effect on the availability of opportunities for migrant women, given that skilled trades in the job market (e.g. construction) are mostly associated with male workers, while accreditation is required in many female-dominated sectors such as caregiving. Ms Kofman also noted that it was important to consider the sociocultural processes experienced by highly skilled migrant women, in addition to the economic dimension of their movement (i.e. “*Homo economicus*”). In particular, more attention should be paid to how life trajectories, networks, and gender biases affect the experiences and outcomes of highly skilled migrant women. Moreover, in countries of destination, accompanying spouses – which are most often women – should be seen as an additional source of human capital.

During the session, questions were also raised about the definition of “highly skilled” in relation to tertiary education and the kinds of data that were either available or needed. Several expert participants noted that while there was some available data, there were obstacles to accessing and using it, such as issues related to data interpretation, comparison and analysis. They also highlighted the growing commercialization of data and its becoming increasingly expensive and unavailable as a result. Furthermore, many agreed on the need to allow for cross-tabulation of data (one concrete suggestion was to make cross-tabulation possible between educational level and actual occupation), to improve the collection of data on South–South migration, and to improve reporting on gender issues in publications on migration by international organizations.

2.2. Session 2 – Determinants and conditions of the migration of highly skilled women

Chair: Christine Verschuur, Graduate Institute of International Development Studies

Session overview

This section considers the existing knowledge of the factors that shape the migration of highly skilled women. These include selection and admission policies, inequality and other conditions that impact the decision to migrate. It also examines issues related to measuring gender awareness in migration policies through the use of indicators, and presents work on the role played by discriminatory social norms in South–South migration flows. In its discussion on the “race for talent,” the section analyses how job requirements related to education, language skills and work experience may undermine the possibility for highly skilled women to migrate as principal applicants. Furthermore, the section discusses the experiences of highly skilled migrant women in the labour market, wage inequality, and the issues of brain drain and brain waste.

With regard to concrete lessons for policy, this section highlights the need for destination countries to assess the gender impact of their immigration policies, as well as the importance of reducing high levels of discrimination against women and ensuring respect for their fundamental rights and freedoms in countries of origin.

Finally, the section echoes the need for more in-depth analyses of highly skilled migration that focus on the experience of migrants in countries of origin and destination. It also highlights the importance of using gender equality and equal value for work as points of departure in this field. This is especially necessary, considering that current knowledge on migrant women is mostly in reproductive sectors, such as education, health and social work.

The session featured presentations by Ms Anna Boucher, Ms Gaëlle Ferrant, Ms Maryam Naghsh Nejad and Ms Yvonne Riaño.

Summary of discussion

During this session, Ms Anna Boucher of the University of Sydney pointed to the increasing preference for highly skilled migrants in immigration policy, while highlighting the possible gender implications of such policies. According to Ms Boucher, despite the fact that women make up 50 per cent of the world's skilled workers, they are underrepresented as principal applicants when considering the flows of highly skilled migrants. This phenomenon, Ms Boucher explained, led her to develop an indicator for measuring the gendered nature of policies used to select highly skilled workers (implemented by both States and employers), while investing how these policies may disadvantage women. Her research, carried out in 12 OECD countries, considers three principal questions: (a) to what extent gender auditing is incorporated into skilled immigration policy making; (b) to what extent the different life courses of men and women are acknowledged in policy design; and (c) the definition of "skill" within skilled immigration selection policies.

One example that Ms Boucher presented was the considerable emphasis placed by a number of destination countries on choosing applicants within an age bracket considered to be the "sweet spot," that is, the age range within which individuals are likely to have sufficient work experience, as well as the prospect of long-term labour market participation. Given that women reach high career positions at later stages in life, Ms Boucher noted that this trend could be detrimental to the migration opportunities of highly skilled women. Other conclusions from Ms Boucher's research included the following:

- a. No country is exemplary with regards to the gender awareness of its skilled migration policy.
- b. There are multiple ways in which policies can be designed to produce more equal outcomes.

- c. Countries need to assess the gender impact of their policies.
- d. Countries that successfully incorporate gender-sensitive migration policies can move downwards in the ranking following changes in policy (e.g. in the case of employer-led “expression-of-interest” (EOI) schemes).
- e. There is a great need for ongoing analysis and gender-disaggregated data within the realm of skilled migration.

Moreover, Ms Boucher stressed the need to carefully observe trends with regard to the selection of migrant workers by employers, specifically considering that their selection criteria differ from those of governments and may not always be transparent. In relation to this, Ms Boucher also called for more attention to be paid to the outcomes of selection procedures at the country level, given the importance of assessing how new schemes, such as the EOI system, may influence the selection of highly skilled migrant women. By and large, her research shows that despite global gender inequalities and differences in men and women’s levels of agency, governments possess considerable scope in designing and implementing policies that can have a more positive impact on outcomes for highly skilled migrant women.

The presentation of Ms Gaëlle Ferrant of the OECD Development Centre focused on the findings from the OECD Development Centre’s Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), combined with new sex-disaggregated migration data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA). Using these two sets of data as a point of departure, Ms Ferrant discussed the two-way relationship between gender inequality and social institutions: its role in influencing female South–South migration decisions and the role of migrants as agents of change who challenge or reinforce discrimination in social norms and institutions. She stressed the fact that when assessing gender outcomes, there is a general neglect of the role that discriminatory social institutions have on the outcomes for migrant women, particularly concerning selection processes in countries of origin and destination.

Furthermore, when considering the factors that underpin female South–South migration flows, Ms Ferrant explained that in origin countries, discriminatory social institutions can either serve as a push factor or impede women from being able to move altogether. Meanwhile, in destination countries, lower levels of discrimination against women – in the labour market and in terms of women’s freedoms and rights – can serve as a motivation to migrate. Finally, migration is a channel for the transmission of gender norms. In light of this, Ms Ferrant highlighted three policy implications: (a) the need to recognize and tackle discriminatory social institutions to develop more comprehensive migration policies; (b) the need to improve sex-disaggregated data on migration and social institutions; and (c) the need to take into account how migrants, as agents of change and through the “norms transmission effect,” can affect levels of gender

discrimination (particularly in relation to opportunities and outcomes) in both countries of origin and destination.

Ms Maryam Nejad of the Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) gave a presentation on institutionalized gender inequalities and women's rights in relation to female "brain drain". Her starting point centred on the motivations and contexts that push highly skilled women to move from developing to developed countries. Based on data available, she explained that female migration rates exceed those of male migrants by 88 per cent in non-OECD countries, and that this difference is even more pronounced among highly skilled women. She also highlighted that female brain drain rates are on average 17 per cent higher than those for males and can have harmful effects on countries of origin. Furthermore, according to Ms Nejad, three sets of indicators can be used to measure the development impacts of female brain drain on countries of origin:

- a. Loss of human capital;
- b. Positive effects on remittances (keeping in mind that the highly skilled tend to remit relatively less than the lesser skilled);
- c. Positive effects of high human capital formation.

Ms Nejad stated that, presently, little is known about female brain drain due to the lack of research and data on the issue. In her own studies about the relationship between female brain drain and women's rights, she focused on: (a) how women's rights in origin countries affect the gender gap in migration stocks in OECD countries; and (b) how the relative levels of women's rights in origin versus destination countries affect the gender gap in migration flows. From her research, Ms Nejad has found that when there is little support for women's rights, small changes can lead to an increase in female "brain drain."² As a result, the policy implications of these findings for countries of origin are clear. In order to enhance their prospects for economic development, they ought to extensively promote women's rights so that highly skilled women can have a meaningful incentive to not move abroad.

The presentation of Ms Yvonne Riaño from the University of Neuchâtel was based on a research project conducted in the framework of the Swiss National Research Programme for Gender Equality (NRP60). This project employed quantitative methods, as well as biographical interviews with highly skilled migrant and non-migrant women and men, to better understand gender inequalities in paid employment. Throughout her presentation, Ms Riaño examined various key questions, including: (a) "How do notions of gender roles and aspirations of gender equality shape women's decisions to migrate?" (b) "What is the relationship between the international migration of highly skilled women and gender equality in countries of destination?" and (c) "Should there be separate debates around the migration of highly skilled women and gender equality?"

² Further reading on this subject: Nejad (2014).

Using these questions as a point of departure, Ms Riaño highlighted the need to examine migration flows defined as “love migration” in greater depth, especially considering that this type of movement is increasing when compared to family reunification, particularly among dual career couples. Furthermore, Ms Riaño discussed migration outcomes in terms of gender equality and labour market position, and identified critical points in the migration process that may lead to inequalities among dual-career couples. She then shed light on couples’ decision-making processes, the challenges to creating favourable conditions for gender equality, and the need to have a joint policy approach in relation to highly skilled migration and gender equality. In her conclusion, she stated that international migration has a critical role in shaping the emergence of gender inequalities among members of (binational) couples. Gender, age and ethnicity intersect to create a hierarchical situation between members of the couple, which offers (national) male partners greater freedom to make decisions that lead to his professional advancement, at the cost of the (international) female partners in destination countries. To address this issue, Ms Riaño shared a number of concrete recommendations, including the need to raise awareness among (binational couples) about their decision-making patterns. This recommendation was based on one of Ms Riaño’s case studies in which male partners, when made aware of how their advantages and decisions negatively impacted their (female) partners’ careers and well-being, indicated that their decisions would have been different.

During the discussion, participants stressed the importance of taking into account “gender culture” and “gender orders” and the role played by the State in supporting gender equality in both countries of origin and destination. Five principal conclusions emerged from the session. First, research findings point to the complexity of analysing highly skilled migration. Second, migration has become increasingly diversified in recent times, as have the ways in which researchers investigate the issue, as well as the methodologies, theories, approaches and disciplines involved. Third, more attention needs to be paid to the possible links between discriminatory social institutions, migration flows and development outcomes in countries of origin. Fourth, in order to better understand the outcomes of migrant women, it is important to consider and monitor immigration policies and to what extent their methods for selecting highly skilled migrants are gender-sensitive. Fifth, there is a need to make migration policy equal between men and women so that the human capital of highly skilled migrant women can be fully harnessed.

2.3. Session 3 – Experiences of highly skilled migrant women in destination countries

Chair: Mariya Aleksynska, International Labour Organization

Session overview

This section addresses the issue of the socioeconomic integration of highly skilled migrant women in host countries, focusing particularly on the labour market. It outlines the elements that enable or inhibit the success of migrant women in the labour market, and looks at the different likelihoods across various countries of migrant women experiencing deskilling. In addition, it touches upon the psychosocial costs of brain waste and deskilling for individual migrants, their families and societies.

In addition, the section discusses the importance of supporting integration programmes for highly skilled migrant women, while calling for partnerships between countries of origin and destination to foster circular migration. In relation to this, it appeals to countries of origin to encourage the return of qualified professionals and to engage their contribution to socioeconomic development. This section also examines the need to consider the relationship between gender-segregated labour markets and migration processes and its impact on highly skilled migrant women's opportunities to integrate in male-dominated labour sectors such as information and communication technology (ICT) and engineering.

This section also delineates the selection paradox in programmes for highly skilled migrants. Despite these programmes' greater emphasis on educational attainment, highly skilled migrant women still experience inadequate labour market integration and considerable difficulty in finding jobs commensurate to their skills in countries of destination. According to research, this phenomenon is mostly due to discriminatory practices by employers and merits further investigation, particularly given its role in the deskilling of highly skilled migrant women.

This section also outlines a number of areas that need to be addressed, such as the ongoing pattern of deskilling in countries of destination, the need to improve integration, particularly with regard to appropriate support and portable benefits, and the links between labour market outcomes and selection programmes for highly skilled migrants.

The session featured presentations by Ms Mercedes Fernandez, Ms Parvati Raghuram and Ms Blandine Mollard.

Summary of discussion

This session started with a presentation by Ms Mercedes Fernandez of the Comillas Pontifical University on the EU-funded project, “Integration of Highly-skilled Third Country Nationals in Europe: A New Proposal for Circular Talent Management,” which was carried out in Bulgaria, Finland, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. The project aimed to study integration processes adapted to different highly skilled immigration patterns and the socioeconomic needs of EU countries using a multidisciplinary approach to admission policies and circular migration of talent. Throughout the implementation phase of the project, Ms Fernandez indicated, partner countries mapped the integration itineraries of highly skilled migrant women in order to develop a profile of the target group, identify challenges and gain a greater understanding of their integration experiences in the European Union. The project’s target group was mainly made up of third-country nationals comprising students, refugees/asylum-seekers, spouses (under family reunification schemes) and individuals seeking employment.

Results from the mapping exercise pointed to two categories of highly skilled migrants (namely, “successful” and “potentially successful”), while also identifying a number of difficulties faced by highly skilled migrant women, ranging from political and legal hurdles (related to entry and residency status, for example) to socioeconomic obstacles (e.g. inadequate social rights, insufficient access to labour markets, lack of recognition of academic accreditation and work experience). Moreover, when mapping the integration itineraries of highly skilled women, there was a clear correlation between access to the labour market and successful integration, that is, entry and retention in jobs commensurate to individuals’ qualifications. Three important variables were also identified as having an impact on the integration outcomes of highly skilled women and which most favoured circular migration, as follows:

- a. Institutional aspects (e.g. language, existing agreements among countries, and availability of flexible residence permits);
- b. Educational training (e.g. education/training acquired in the migration process, experience in host country and applicability of skills gained in the home country);
- c. Personal features (e.g., links with country of origin, children at school, marriage with a host country national, and ages at migration and return).

Nationality, according to Ms Fernandez, also plays a role in labour market integration – North Americans may have an easier path compared to Africans, for example. Moreover, in countries like Spain, the devaluation of degrees acquired by highly skilled migrant women in African countries also plays a role in the accreditation process and access to labour markets. Despite differences

between EU Member States, the fact that highly skilled migrant women face similar issues in most EU countries – including high unemployment rates, overrepresentation in specific sectors and deskilling, among others – suggests that highly skilled migrant women need to be better integrated in all dimensions of their host societies. During her presentation, Ms Fernandez also called for strengthening ties with diasporas, and increased collaboration and partnerships between stakeholders to reverse the current trend of human capital loss. Ms Fernandez also mentioned the lack of data and information on the integration of highly skilled women as an obstacle to understanding the experiences of this group.

The second presentation, by Mr Parvati Raghuram of The Open University, shed light on how gender inequality in education impacts patterns of highly skilled migration, particularly in relation to who is able to migrate under the category “highly skilled” and who benefits from certain “highly skilled” schemes (such as professional sponsorship programmes). These schemes tend to favour males in specific labour sectors and skilled trades that are in demand, which has a direct influence on the labour market experience of male and female applicants. Ms Raghuram continued this analysis by examining how gender-segregated labour markets for migrants are influenced by gender inequalities in education and employment in countries of origin, as well as by opportunities for migrate, selection, entry, integration and career progression in countries of destination. Furthermore, she identified three types of variables that can influence the experience of migrants:

- a. Individual demographic variables, such as age, race, marital status and, the presence of children;
- b. Work cultures across firms;
- c. Structural factors, such as the way national labour markets are regulated (by professional regulatory bodies, for example).

Ms Raghuram also stated that the role that private sector firms play in selecting highly skilled migrants remains understudied. Furthermore, there is a need to use intersectional analysis to gain a greater understanding of the experiences of highly skilled migrants, especially in relation to how the three types of variables highlighted above come together and intersect with ethnicity, language(s) spoken and country of qualification to shape the experiences of migrant women. Such an approach can contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the issue and possibly help clarify some of the common assumptions made about highly skilled migrants. Nevertheless, Ms Raghuram noted that gender appears to be the most important factor influencing both migrant and non-migrant women’s labour market outcomes in male-dominated occupations. This calls into question the relevance of theories of double disadvantage in explaining the relationship between highly skilled migrant women and the labour market. Finally, wrapping

up her presentation, Ms Raghuram referred to the inadequacy of integration policies in an era of increased human mobility. Elaborating on this last point, Ms Raghuram called upon stakeholders to go beyond the sedentary paradigm of international migration to better address the integration needs of highly skilled mobile populations, which, she explained, can influence the choice of destination country and length of stay. Responding to these needs, she said, was particularly important for countries facing problems with attracting and retaining much-needed highly skilled workers in their labour markets.

Focusing on the points system for recruiting highly skilled migrants – a system used in countries like Canada – the presentation of Ms Gillian Creese of the University of British Columbia examined the relationship between selection processes and labour market integration outcomes, which she defined as “the skills paradox.” Like other presenters, Ms Creese highlighted the problem of deskilling, which she explained was closely linked to three types of employer practice: (a) not recognizing/valuing foreign education and work experience abroad; (b) emphasizing host country work experience; and (c) favouring local accents, that is, the “accepted” accent in the local setting.

She highlighted that the loss of human capital utilization has been captured by a number of research studies, which show in monetary terms the economic losses, in relation to revenue, incurred by host countries and individual migrants. This loss of revenue is worse for women due to the low rate of skilled migrant women in skilled jobs. According to Ms Creese, the two most worrisome policy trends in long-standing countries of destination are: (a) the drift towards migration schemes in which employers have a bigger role in the selection procedure (i.e. who gets selected in the first stage), which may have a gender impact in favour of male candidates, and (b) an incremental and steady growth of temporary, as opposed to permanent, schemes for highly skilled migrants, including those in high-demand sectors such as information technology. Moreover, Ms Creese stressed the importance of addressing deskilling practices. Results from her study indicate that perceived skills shortages are largely linked to employment practices rather than the human capital deficits of new migrants. Improvement of educational assessment practices, employment equity programmes and support programmes to facilitate entry into the labour market were presented as three key recommendations to help address this problem. She concluded that if challenges in the system were not addressed, highly skilled migrants, in particular women, would bear the highest socioeconomic costs.

The presentation from Ms Blandine Mollard of IOM centred on another important aspect of highly skilled migrant women’s experiences: the psychological costs of deskilling and migrant women’s expected outcomes and conditions vis-à-vis their integration into the labour market. This issue is central to highly skilled migrant women, Ms Mollard explained, since career trajectories have a direct impact on well-being. She proceeded to present the results of the IOM study

entitled “Crushed Hopes” carried out in Canada, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Results of the UK case study demonstrated how highly skilled women can be drawn to low-skilled positions by unmet labour demands in the global care industry, while the Canadian case study illustrated the psychological impact of deskilling and unmet expectations of integration into the labour market. The Canadian case study also provided examples of strategies used by highly skilled women to regain employment commensurate to their qualifications by furthering their educational qualifications in the host country.

Meanwhile, the Swiss case study centred primarily on migrants’ perception of their own well-being and aimed to identify signs of distress (e.g. anxiety and depression) as a result of professional dissatisfaction. The Swiss case study led to a number of significant conclusions, several of which highlighted the mass underutilization (i.e. waste) of human capital in both countries of origin and destination, combined with the challenges of gender equality that women face in the family and society at large. Based on the three case studies, Ms Mollard presented a number of overarching recommendations, from improving accreditation systems to facilitating access to re-skilling opportunities for women.

Overall, this session emphasised the ongoing pattern of deskilling in countries of destination and the need for more research on South–South and South–North migration flows of highly skilled women. It also more closely examined the factors that shape the different outcomes among groups of highly skilled migrants, focusing particularly on highly skilled women. In addition, it shed light on the need for better assessment of selection programmes and the migration patterns of highly skilled migrants, and how these relate to labour market outcomes. Evidence from studies on highly skilled migration also show the need to more closely examine the gender-neutral assumptions of the “human capital and employability” model given the variables and complexities involved in producing different outcomes.

2.4. Session 4 – Perspectives of home countries on the migration of highly skilled women

Chair: Jason Gagnon, OECD Development Centre

Session overview

Session 4 focused on home countries and outlined issues related to brain drain, return, and diasporic engagement in development initiatives. It touched upon gender differences regarding return, showing that a higher percentage of women are unwilling to return to their home country than men, due to gender inequalities in the labour market at home.

The session also examined the need to consider strengthening research initiatives in order to gain greater knowledge and understanding of the migration patterns of highly skilled migrant women and the impact these have on home

countries. During the session, participants noted that research initiatives could serve as a concrete tool for policy development and implementation, with the view of addressing the ongoing challenges of brain drain, social and financial remittances, the transfer of human capital and reintegration.

This session also discussed the importance of international students, who represent the first stage of mobility of the highly skilled, as well as a missed opportunity for a gain in human capital for countries of origin, as graduates may decide to stay permanently upon completion of their degrees. In this light, perhaps more concerted effort is needed, it was said, on the part of countries of origin to mitigate this problem, which may be rooted in more structural issues, such as a lack of educational facilities.

During the session, participants also outlined a number of areas that needed to be addressed, such as the lack of effort to foster networks of diasporas, in view of their potential contribution to development; the challenges of reintegration for return migrants; and the differences in the levels of gender equality between countries of origin and destination countries.

The session featured presentations by Ms Barbara Rijks, Ms Metka Hercog and Ms Nil Demet Güngör.

Summary of discussion

This session opened with the observation that in general there is a lack of knowledge concerning the perspectives of origin countries in relation to highly skilled migrant women. This is related to a lack of data about this migrant group, an absence of political will, and neglect on the part of those working in the field of migration and development, including researchers. However, the examples of research presented in this session provided some interesting sets of possible avenues to pursue in the future that could contribute to narrowing the aforementioned knowledge gaps and increase understanding of the issue, while pointing to potential solutions to ongoing issues such as “brain drain” and the return of highly qualified migrants.

The first presentation, by Ms Barbara Rijks of IOM, outlined the results from a European Commission-funded project that lasted from 2008 to 2011, involved 25 countries and aimed to assess the mobility patterns of health professionals to, within and from the European Union. Providing a comprehensive picture of mobility patterns and issues related to highly skilled workers in the health sector – with a particular view on migrant women – Ms Rijks said that the increase in demand for health workers, combined with regional income differentials between countries of origin and destination and a number of other factors, has led to an increase in migration flows, as well as regional imbalances (in terms of possible cost and shortages of health workers) in countries where human and capital resources are much needed. The issue of health worker migration

touches upon the delicate balance that needs to be found between the rights of people to receive the best health services and the rights of professionals to move between countries. Results from the study offered some interesting insights in a number of areas, including:

- a. A broad overview of issues related to the mobility of health-care professionals, ranging from the lack of planning in the initial phase of movement to the post-migration de-skilling of health-care workers.
- b. The identification of important trends in relation to the movements of workers, for instance, an increase in intra-EU mobility, as opposed to the entry of new third-country nationals, thus an increase of internal regional mobility versus external flows.
- c. The identification of challenges related to regional disparities in terms of source countries for professional care workers (e.g. Ghana and the Philippines as primarily sending countries versus the United States as a receiving country), as well as to strong female representation among nurses and caregivers.
- d. Gender differences in mobility patterns, for example, male migrants being mostly doctors seeking career advancement, while females being mostly nurses seeking better incomes (e.g. to send remittances to families back home).
- e. The increasing mobility of international health-care students (as the first stage of permanent migration).
- f. The identification of issues beyond “push–pull” factors.
- g. “Stick–stay” factors that influence migrants’ decisions to stay in the country of origin or stick in the country of destination.

By adopting a large scope, the study was able to generate a very comprehensive set of recommendations for policymakers and others working in the field of health workforce planning. General recommendations ranged from better long-term planning, especially in countries where population ageing is an issue, to better coordination between countries on human resources for health, such as the harmonization of medical qualifications. Recommendations were also more specifically divided between those pertaining to countries of destination and those pertaining to countries of origin. Results from the project demonstrate the potential for strengthening research initiatives to gain much-needed knowledge and understanding of the impact of highly skilled migration in countries of origin, with a view to addressing challenges, such as those related to brain drain, retention and return. Moreover, the project also allowed for the identification of good practices in areas such as short-term placements for career development and the return of qualified health-care workers. Ms Rijks stressed the need to strengthen data collection on health-care mobility within the health information systems of countries as a concrete tool for better policy development and implementation, while stating that more needs to be done in order to foster diaspora networks of health-care professionals with their counterparts in countries of origin (through education exchanges and training, for example).

The second presentation by Ms Hercog of the École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne centred on a project called “Impact of Skilled Return Migration on India’s Development,” which covered four countries of destination in Europe – Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland – and investigated return patterns and the engagement of skilled diaspora in the development of their home country, India. Since 2004, skilled migration from India to Europe has increased following the introduction of a number of migration schemes geared towards attracting workers in the knowledge industry. Results showed that highly skilled Indian migrants exhibit the following characteristics: (a) their migratory movement is mainly to English-speaking countries; (b) they are highly mobile; and (c) the majority of them are males, whose work is concentrated in a few sectors, in particular the ICT sector.

Using the case study from the Netherlands, Ms Hercog explained that there are clear differences with respect to male and female entry patterns in the country. Male applicants usually come on working visas, while women enter as “trailing spouses.” Moreover, 21.8 per cent of survey respondents indicated that they were overqualified for their present employment. Empirical evidence from European case studies also pointed to a high satisfaction rate with the infrastructure and working conditions in countries of destination, while showing a low level of interest in joining diaspora associations, especially in the case of women. This, according to Ms Hercog, may be explained by the lack of individual interest in engaging in diaspora communities, migrants’ significant focus on their individual career paths, the lack of time for socialization, as well as the idea that such community involvement may have a negative impact on their efforts to experience and integrate into their respective host countries’ cultures. However, it is important to note that these migrants did show an interest in taking part in professional associations.

Drawing from the case of Indian development, some of the issues highlighted by the survey responses included the need to cultivate strong personal transnational links, as well as gender differences with regards to the contribution of individuals to their countries of origin (e.g., women tending to engage in philanthropy and men in knowledge transfer). Findings from the research also showed that women are less likely to plan for return, since staying abroad is associated with better career opportunities compared to those available in their home country. Moreover, when looking at post-return evidence from India, four issues in relation to female returnees are observed:

- a. The reasons for return are mainly employment-driven.
- b. Fewer remittances are sent during their stay abroad.
- c. They engage more in development activities following their return to India.
- d. They report difficult experiences related to the work culture and bureaucracy in their home country.

The most important policy implication of this research is that there is a clear need to foster viable networks between policymakers and highly skilled returnees, with a view to having a positive development impact.

Results from these two studies showed the level of engagement and the potential impacts and contribution that diaspora groups can have to the development of countries of origin. In addition, both studies underlined how the migration patterns of the highly skilled manifest themselves in different sectors, as well as the fact that there are gender differences in perceiving what constitutes one's own contribution to development (be it social, economic, philanthropic or knowledge transfer, etc.).

The final study in this session, presented by Ms Güngör of Atilim Universitesi in Turkey, focused primarily on the mobility flows of international students and workers abroad in relation to the return of human capital to countries of origin. The study was based on two Internet surveys conducted among Turkish nationals and that targeted international students and workers abroad. Female respondents in the survey comprised 40 per cent of students and 28 per cent of workers. Students responding to the survey, especially females, tended to come from high educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. Results from the survey indicated a loss of human capital through the decision of highly skilled migrants (especially female students) to stay on in their countries of destination after completing tertiary education. These patterns, according to Ms Güngör, have a major impact on origin countries due to the ongoing low levels of participation of women in the labour market. For example, conditions of employment for women in Turkey are generally not appealing. This situation, combined with enhanced opportunities abroad, contributed to a low level of intention to return among highly skilled female Turkish migrants in the survey sample.

When discussing future research, Ms Güngör highlighted the need for comparative research looking at working conditions at home and abroad, in order to identify possible obstacles to the integration of highly skilled Turkish women in the labour market. According to Ms Güngör, despite years of exertion towards improving women's education, the human capital of women in the country is still relatively low. More effort is needed to address this problem, including better conditions for the return of qualified women. As observed in previous sessions, the possibility of converting international student visas to temporary worker visas has had the effect of facilitating the stay of Turkish graduates in countries of destination. However, recent examples of international graduates returning to origin countries where labour market opportunities seem more favourable than in countries of destination – China and India, for example – demonstrate the potential to attract and retain nationals at home.

During the discussion, some participants noted that the Indian diasporas in Europe and the United States differed, since networks in the United States are stronger and better organized, thus providing more opportunities for

engagement in development initiatives in India. Moreover, when discussing the definition and impact of migration and development, participants agreed on the need to have an approach to qualifying and quantifying the contributions made by migrants/diasporas in countries of origin that allowed for the identification of conditional links and positive outcomes. Participants stressed that development, as well as migration and development, must be considered from a broader human development perspective, instead of only focusing on macro-economic analyses, including narrow perspectives on remittances. For example, returnees who establish economic activities (e.g. organizations and commercial enterprises) in countries of origin are able to create opportunities by creating employment and business opportunities for their local communities, thus contributing to greater social and human development.

The three studies presented in this session demonstrated the need for greater knowledge and understanding of complex migratory movements and how to respond to them, while highlighting the need to challenge the general assumptions about the experiences and outcomes of highly skilled migrants. The studies showed that research efforts can provide valuable inputs to policymakers while helping them answer difficult questions and find possible solutions to various challenges.

2.5. Session 5 – Knowledge gaps regarding the migration of highly skilled women

Chair: Sonia Santos de Melo, OECD Development Centre

Session overview

This section focused on the global governance of highly skilled migration. It examined migration policies, initiatives and schemes involving the public and private sectors, and the selection and integration of highly skilled professionals in countries of destination. Moreover, it includes the perspective of employers, who are important players in global migration management. It explores issues related to the selection of migrants through a variety of approaches, such as employer-driven methods, temporary and permanent programmes, self-initiated intraregional mobility and intra-company transfers. It also considers the example of Canada, where the Government conducts a yearly assessment of its immigration policies and their impact using gender-based analysis (GBA). Since the introduction of this gender-based analysis, there have been a number of positive outcomes for migrant women, notably, an increase in the number of female principal applicants. The section also touches upon the growing interest of the business community in international migration, since, from the perspective of employers, access to, selection and retention of highly skilled migrants is central to the success and sustainability of its operations in today's diverse global market.

Finally, the section outlines a number of areas that need to be addressed, including the need to regulate intermediaries to ensure that highly skilled migrants are less vulnerable to abuse, as well as the need to strengthen partnerships between the Government and the business community, with a view to helping skilled migrant women advance in both countries of origin and destination.

The session included presentations by Ms Lara White, Ms Jennifer Irish and Mr Frederick Muia.

Summary of discussion

This session opened with the observation that global governance of migration is led mostly by governments through a number of international forums, notably the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), as well as through bilateral agreements and national initiatives between individual countries. However, there is recognition by national governments that cooperation with institutions working in the field of migration, as well as on development-related issues, can assist in mitigating the challenges of global migration and maximizing its benefits.

The presentation by Ms Lara White of IOM on the global governance of highly skilled migration focused on four main themes: highly versus low-skilled migration, employer-driven approaches, migrant initiative approaches and considerations in moving forward. She stated that one of the main considerations with regard to highly skilled migration was how to “operationalize” talent mobility. Current trends in the management of highly skilled migration point towards less direct facilitation from government schemes due to the assumption that such target groups are less vulnerable. However, Ms White observed this assumption is questionable, since there have been recent cases involving highly skilled migrants in which abuse in terms of recruitment fees has been observed. As such, it cannot be assumed just by virtue of their professional classification that highly skilled migrants are not vulnerable to abuse. Rather, abuses of this migrant group may be different as compared to those of lesser-skilled migrants.

When looking at employer-driven approaches, temporary programmes often require workers to be tied to a single employer, while migrant-initiated schemes may be based on sponsorships.

Sector-based open programmes, which are centred on labour market tests demonstrating needs across sectors or occupations within a sector, is also another alternative for highly skilled migration schemes. In addition, Ms White mentioned permanent residence programmes and intra-company transfers as additional examples of schemes geared towards highly skilled migrants. In all of these kinds of programmes, provisions to allow family migration, depending on the length of stay of the worker, are a consideration in the global competition for talent.

Regarding migrant-initiated approaches, Ms White provided the following five examples:

- a. The point system based on the evaluation of human capital vis-à-vis the labour market (this system may be attached to a job offer depending on the system/country);
- b. The EOI model, wherein the individual officially indicates an interest in migrating and is first assessed in relation to employers' market needs (this approach is considered migrant- and employer-driven);
- c. Self-initiated approach, in which individuals relocate while searching for employment (e.g., intra-EU mobility);
- d. Pathways for international students through which graduates may take advantage of a training opportunity followed by employment to stay in countries of destination;
- e. Entrepreneur/investment programmes.

In relation to ways forward, Ms White presented three sets of considerations for major stakeholders, in particular governments and employers. First, since the movement of highly skilled migrants is often less facilitated by States, in order to decrease the potential for vulnerability, it is important to regulate intermediaries (i.e. recruitment agencies, travel agencies, immigration consultants, etc.) to ensure that potential job-seekers are protected. Second, in terms of the attraction and retention of highly skilled migrants, more is needed based on a holistic approach, in support of families and their social integration (e.g., open work permits for spouses and the possibility for permanent residence). Third, there is a need to improve the responsiveness of migration programming to labour market needs, in order to prevent highly skilled migrants from becoming an ongoing temporary labour force, as opposed to a long-term, permanent one.

In response to a question concerning the management or form of governance in relation to private companies involved in EOI systems, it was recommended that employment legislation apply to both nationals and migrants equally. Moreover, concerning the vulnerable position of highly skilled migrant workers in relation to the "single employer permit," Ms White mentioned that an alternative to this model could be a sectoral or open permit system that would allow for meeting labour market needs and occupations while avoiding dependency on a single employer. For example, as highlighted by one of the participants, work permits for highly skilled migrants in the Netherlands are tied to salary criteria. It was said that labour market tests and job offers must meet conditions that apply equally to nationals, including prevailing wages.

Ms Jennifer Irish of the Permanent Mission of Canada in Geneva made the second presentation in this session, which focused on Canada's experience with addressing the gender aspects of highly skilled migration. She explained that in Canada, gender equality matters are integrated in services and department

divisions, while being a key indicator for development. She highlighted that gender-based analysis (GBA), introduced in Canada in 1995, changed the way the Canadian Government assesses policy. For example, the 2002 GBA Citizenship Canada Report led to a number of policy changes related to gender equality, including a new change in residence obligations for women that allowed them to leave the country for extended periods of time in order to care for their family members. The 2002 report also led to the recognition that spouses are not “dependents” (i.e. of male applicants), but rather potential contributors in their role as economic agents. Ms Irish also mentioned that once a year, the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship is obliged to report to Parliament regarding the impacts of GBA, and as such the law allows for ongoing policy evaluation in the field of gender equality and immigration.

Ms Irish also stated that since the introduction of GBA, there has been an increase in the number of female principal applicants, including through provincial nomination programmes. In her presentation, Ms Irish made reference to the new EOI programme, through which candidates having profiles that match employers’ needs are invited to apply (through an online application system). She explained that once the matching of labour needs is completed, the candidate still goes through the selection procedure of the point system for permanent residence. The primary intention of the EIO programme is to ease the matching of candidates and employers prior to their arrival in order to facilitate the employment process. No GBA has been carried out concerning the EOI programme since it is still in its early stages.

Moreover, Ms Irish indicated that the Canadian Government has a number of support programmes aimed at facilitating the economic integration of highly skilled migrants in the labour market through, for example, the assessment of skills and qualifications and the promotion of access to internship and mentoring. She also referred to the fact that settlement services and selection criteria in Canada are changing, and results are being measured through GBAs. Meanwhile, efforts are being made to better inform and assist newly arrived migrants with finding labour market opportunities, and to provide them access to employment support programmes. Ms Irish concluded by saying that GBAs have been an important instrument in building effective programmes that contribute to the socioeconomic prosperity of Canada.

Ms Irish explained that GBA works according to a yearly cycle of activities during which the starting point is a preliminary assessment and research phase (using gender-disaggregated data), followed by:

- Consultations (both internal and external to the government)
- Development of objectives as part of the analysis
- Development of policy options and recommendations
- Communication
- Monitoring and evaluation of results

Results from this process are then used in the Annual Report to Parliament by the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship. Ms Kofman added that applying the GBA as a tool to evaluate UK policy on highly skilled migrants has led to the identification of two major issues that work against female applicants, namely, age and salary scale.

Moreover, it was mentioned during the discussions that through Canada's provincial support programmes for migrants, as part of a holistic approach to family integration in host communities, spouses are eligible for employment services. During the session, reference was also made to the growing interest of governments in highly skilled migration despite low levels of economic growth due to pressing labour market needs. Forums such as the GFMD can serve as interesting platforms for discussing the issue of highly skilled migrant women with experts and other interested parties.

The presentation of Mr Frederick Muia of the International Organisation of Employers (IOE) started by pointing out that the IOE brings together national business federations to establish common positions on social and labour issues. He mentioned that the IOE acts as the voice of employers and business at the International Labour Organization. In the realm of migration governance, the IOE had an important role to play in developing labour standards for migration, such as Convention 97 and Convention 143, which were adopted with the support of employers. He highlighted that since 2004, there has been a growing interest in international migration within the business community. Moreover, he stressed that having the business community's input in such debates, notably at the GFMD, is crucial to moving things forward. Regarding his organization's efforts in the field of migration, Mr Muia cited a research initiative carried out within the business community that aimed to gauge and communicate the migration-related challenges that employers faced. In partnership with IOM, the IOE is also working on an initiative related to recruitment, as employers are interested in maximizing the benefits of migration while minimizing its risks (for example, by curbing excessive recruitment fees for migrants and halting the confiscation of documents). With regard to gender-sensitive migration policy and highly skilled women, he stated that there is still a lack of information on the subject, yet employers do address issues related to the equal rights and responsibilities of workers. From the perspective of employers, such an approach is vital for business and corporate social responsibility. With an increasing number of women migrating for employment purposes, it is becoming critical to pay more attention to migrant women and work-life balance issues.

Furthermore, Mr Muia noted that from the perspective of employers at the national level, meeting labour market needs is paramount to their operation and success. As such, for businesses, the crucial aspect of interest in the discussion around international migration is about having access to skills that are of critical importance to the economy. Maximizing the utilization of human capital

while minimizing deskilling through a number of measures, most notably the recognition of skills, is needed. Another issue of critical importance for employers is diversity in the workplace as a reflection of society. Mr Muia highlighted the need for businesses to be able to recruit and retain the best candidates, while ensuring, at the highest level of decision-making, that managers are committed to diversity. This is crucial to responding to the needs of an ever-increasing diverse market at the local and international levels.

During the discussion, Mr Muia stressed that employers are committed to and interested in working towards a level playing field in which ethical recruitment is implemented across the board. He continued by saying that such a “level playing field” approach has a direct impact on business practices and outcomes, and provided a concrete example related to ethical recruitment and project biddings in the construction sector. In response to questions raised about the management of irregular migration, Mr Muia highlighted the need for a balance, according to which employers would abide by the law but not be responsible for enforcing it. The IOE also aims to address issues related to irregular flows at the regional level, and will soon open its first regional office in Africa. In addition, Mr Muia noted that the organization is interested in working with national federations and collaborating with other institutions (particularly the OECD) on data collection, since this is crucial to its policy work. Finally, it was said that apart from public governance on migration, businesses also had a role to play through their activities and governance vis-à-vis corporate social responsibility, frameworks and codes of conduct. It was suggested that GFMD (among other forums) could serve as a platform for bringing together business and governments, both of which are jointly responsible for the governance of migration.

3

Conclusions

Building on the contributions and outcomes from the expert meeting, this section aims to give a brief conclusion to the issues discussed and to identify key follow-up areas of policy work agreed upon by the expert participants. The report's key messages are summarized below under four key headings, after which policy recommendations are provided.

Building on what is already known, there is a need to gain broader knowledge and understanding of the migration patterns of highly skilled migrant women through data collection, analysis and research.

There is a need to narrow the knowledge gap in the subject of highly skilled migrant women. Doing this would help achieve a number of objectives, including: (a) including the needs of highly skilled migrant women in the policymaking process; (b) offering better alternatives for individual migrants and their families; (c) helping break down the stereotypes of and misconceptions about migrant women, and enabling societies to go beyond the image of migrant women as “vulnerable and low-skilled”; (d) improving a broad range of actors' understanding of the issue; and (e) identifying follow-up actions. Moreover, beyond addressing the knowledge gaps mentioned above, there is a need to document and demonstrate, through the use of qualitative and quantitative evidence, the socioeconomic contributions and losses experienced by highly skilled migrant women in both origin and destination countries, as well as the impacts that this group has at the individual and country levels. Moreover, the outcomes of highly skilled migrant women, in a broader social context, merit further investigation.

There are three main issues with regard to filling knowledge gaps on highly skilled migrant women. First, there are many problems related to data collection and analysis that lead to insufficient information. Improvement in these areas, if carried out consistently and on a long-term basis, can help arrive at a better understanding of the impacts of policy on migrants and the labour market. Second, despite the growing literature on gender and migration, most focuses primarily on vulnerable and low-skilled workers. Therefore, it is critical to increase the scholarship in the field to include research on highly skilled migrant women, while engaging with policymakers on how both quantitative and qualitative studies in this area can be useful for policy development and evaluation. Third, a number of specific topics can guide the research agenda in this area. These topics

include, among others, circular migration, return, reintegration and transfer of human capital. Fourth, awareness-raising and the transmission of knowledge from academia to policymakers are paramount to formulating sounder policies targeting highly skilled migrant women.

The nexus between gender equality and migration policies warrants further attention.

There is a need to promote women's rights more extensively, not only to help keep human capital (in this case, highly skilled women) from moving abroad and therefore improving the socioeconomic development prospects of origin countries, but to allow for the better utilization of highly skilled migrant women's capital in destination countries. Moreover, even though there is an increased focus on highly skilled migrants in many immigration policies, the gender awareness of these policies merits scrutiny, especially considering that despite the high levels of educational attainment of highly skilled migrant women, they are still underrepresented as principal applicants in labour migration schemes. More attention should also be paid to the methods used by States and the private sector (i.e. employers) to select highly skilled migrants, and the extent to which gender considerations are factored into this selection. Overall, the utilization of a gender-based perspective can have a positive impact on policy development, implementation and evaluation, while promoting positive outcomes for highly skilled migrant women. The use of GBA in Canada is a good example of how a gender-sensitive approach can positively influence the way government assesses policy and its impact on gender equality, and serve as an important instrument for building effective immigration programmes.

Areas in need of greater attention in countries of origin

There is a general lack of knowledge on the perspectives of countries of origin in relation to highly skilled migrant women. An increasing demand for qualified workers (in particular, health and ICT workers), combined with regional income differentials between countries of origin and destination, has led to an increase in migration flows from low- to high-income countries in all directions (South to North, South to South, etc.). Such flows can contribute to regional imbalances (in terms of possible cost and labour shortages) in countries where human and capital resources are much needed. Four specific issues in relation to these trends were highlighted.

First, more data and knowledge are needed to identify challenges and appropriate policy and programmatic responses, from the initial phase of planning a move abroad to the return phase, including on factors that influence a migrant's decision to stay, different outcomes (e.g. return and reintegration), as well as on ongoing challenges, in particular brain drain. Second, greater effort is needed to foster diaspora networks with professional counterparts in countries of origin, given these individuals' potential contribution to development, and to consider

the potential impact of highly skilled migration in countries of origin, particularly with regard to the acquisition and utilization (i.e. transfer) of capital upon return. Third, there is a need for greater knowledge on the mobility flows of international students and workers abroad, and on the conditions in which these individuals (particularly highly skilled women) return to their home countries. Finally, on the definition and impact of development and migration, experts agreed on the need for an approach that allowed researchers to qualify and quantify – while closely examining conditional links and positive outcomes – the contributions of migrants and diasporas in countries of origin.

Areas in need of greater attention in countries of destination

Experts overwhelmingly concurred that one of the major challenges faced by highly skilled migrants in countries of destination is that despite increased emphasis on the educational attainment of candidates in migrant selection processes, highly skilled migrant women consistently experience poor labour market integration, which leads to a loss in the utilization of their skills. As demonstrated by the work of Ms Gillian Creese, this outcome is linked to interrelated practices, in particular employer selection processes. Deskilling and unemployment among highly skilled migrant women in countries of destination were among the specific issues highlighted by the expert participants as needing to be swiftly tackled. Possible solutions to the deskilling highlighted during the meeting included the improvement of educational assessments in relation to credentials, employment equity programmes and programmes that facilitate entry into the labour market. Experts also agreed that the role of employers and the private sector in the migration of highly skilled workers is growing, although it has not received much attention in the field of migration studies.

In discussions about how to address the challenges mentioned above, four specific issues were highlighted. First, there is the need for better assessment of selection programmes for the highly skilled and how these impact the entry of highly skilled migrants, as well as of their labour market outcomes. Second, closer attention must be paid to the steady growth of temporary versus permanent schemes for highly skilled migrants, including those in high-demand sectors, given the potential negative outcomes of some of these schemes (*e.g.*, dependency on a single employer and long waiting periods for family reunification). Third, the psychological costs related to the disparity between highly skilled migrants' expected outcomes and conditions on the one hand, and their actual labour market integration on the other, is an area that needs to be further studied and addressed through special programmes and initiatives. Fourth, and lastly, there is a significant need for increased collaboration and partnerships between all stakeholders, with a view to reversing the current trend of human capital loss.

4 Recommendations

Moving forward, there are a number of ways that the various challenges presented throughout this report can be tackled. Based on the contributions, presentations and discussions from the two-day meeting, expert participants came up with a number of recommendations. These aim to harness knowledge on the migration of highly skilled women while endeavouring to remedy some of the obstacles faced by this migrant group in countries of origin and destination. Furthermore, these recommendations centre around the core principles of gender equality, migration management and international development, and have the goal of promoting equality between men and women and maximizing the benefits of migration and development for migrants themselves, as well as for countries of origin and destination. The three main recommendations were: (a) reducing the impact of inequality on women's migration opportunities; (b) fostering positive migration outcomes for highly skilled migrant women in countries of destination; and (c) maximizing the development impact in countries of origin.

Reducing the impact of inequality on women's migration opportunities

Considering that women's migration experiences are shaped by both personal characteristics and access to assets and resources, efforts in countries of origin can play an important role in mitigating some of the negative outcomes of migration on the lives and careers of skilled women. More efforts are needed to reduce gender segregation in education and training. This could contribute to greater gender balance in the labour market, for example, by increasing the participation of male professionals in sectors currently dominated by women, such as teaching and nursing. Moreover, actions are needed to eliminate discriminatory practices against women in the labour market and in society in general, through better translation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Discriminations against Women (CEDAW) into national legislation.

In addition, there is a need to improve the socioeconomic and financial conditions of work in professional fields where women are overrepresented. Additionally, actions are needed to promote working conditions that allow for improved work-life balance for all workers. In particular, proactive steps should be taken to guarantee paternity leave benefits and encourage their take-up by partners in order to foster more equitable participation of mothers in the labour market. Finally, given the crucial role played by up-to-date and reliable information on migration opportunities and career development, it is vital that professional women enjoy full access to adequate information channels.

Fostering positive migration outcomes for highly skilled migrant women in countries of destination

Recognizing the important role of public services in the integration of migrants in destination countries, it is paramount to ensure that appropriate services for both permanent and temporary migrants are available irrespective of their mode of entry. Moreover, considering the vital role played by the recognition of international qualifications and previous work experience in facilitating labour market integration for highly skilled migrants, such services – aiming for efficiency and cost effectiveness – should be swiftly put in place in countries of destination. Since employers play a crucial role in facilitating migrants' access to and participation in the labour market, it is important to develop and implement training and diversity-sensitive programmes for employers on specific issues facing migrants and non-migrant women. Furthermore, greater efforts are needed to improve women's access to temporary work schemes programmes in fields beyond the health and care sectors traditionally dominated by women.

Maximizing the development impact for countries of origin

In order to maximize the benefits and utilisation of the human capital brought by highly skilled migrant women, it is necessary to mobilize highly skilled migrants in academic and private sector institutions in both countries of origin and destination and promote collaboration at all levels. Furthermore, improving understanding of women's propensity to return, as well as of what women perceive as obstacles to utilizing their skills upon return – is paramount if governments intend to develop and implement programmes that promote the full utilization of human capital in countries of origin. Moreover, supporting access to entrepreneurship for returning skilled migrants, by facilitating their access to information, credit and productive assets, is essential to avoiding the waste of human capital through unemployment and underemployment, as well as a potential second wave of outmigration of qualified professionals. Furthermore, fostering the social and economic contributions of highly skilled migrant women to their countries of origin through virtual return programmes and strengthening women-led diaspora associations can contribute to the formation of virtual knowledge communities with the potential to generate greater knowledge transfer. All of the policies highlighted above must be carried out at all points of the migration process – pre-departure, stay in countries of destination and post-return – and in partnership with all actors involved in the process, such as local governments and international and migrant organizations.

5 Annex

Contribution I: “*Mobilités au féminin*”: A general context for introducing highly skilled mobility

Natalia Ribas-Mateos, Autonomous University of Barcelona/Philipps-Universität Marburg

Over the past two decades, there has been growing academic and policy interest in gender and migration, and as we will see next, very productive literature. Research has centred mainly on the analysis of the reproductive role of migrant women as domestic servants, sex workers and caregivers within the process of globalization. Literature has also expanded around the issue of the transnational family. However, some of the more recent works have been compiled from a feminist policy approach, considering the gendered nature of the meanings we give to migration, or focusing on the diversification and stratification of gendered migratory streams, as shown in the work edited by Piper (2008), which analyses the extent to which the level of skill, legal status, country of origin and mode of entry constitute key axes of differentiation between male and female migrants.

My main thesis covers the influence of global changes, which represents my work’s principal analytical approach, namely, the analysis of transnational migration flows from the perspective of the articulation of production and reproduction chains as a contextual framework for understanding high-skilled migration.

Background on the global context

Globalization provides the general context in which to understand international migration. Globalization forces, backed by neoliberal ideologies about market-oriented growth, have been key in many aspects of what we nowadays call “the global era.” However, such neoliberal ideology has to be considered from before the crisis in 2008, as well as by its nature, which is historically specific and unevenly developed (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010).

Persistent disparities and asymmetries are important not only when considering the mobility of capital, as well as labour, around the world. One of the strong impacts of globalization is the worsening condition of precarious workers, which affects all sides of the planet, strongly marks the conditions where contemporary mobility takes place and serves as a contextual framework for understanding

high-skilled migration. What about skilled workers in such a global mapping? Have they been invisible in a double way? Are they only visible when they are deskilled? Are they only visible when they are men and connected to the financial and high technology sectors?

Certain authors have explained the participation of women in international migration as the result of the recomposition of capital on a worldwide scale. In particular, the impact of economic globalization on developing economies can be associated with an increase in their foreign debt (especially in light of the structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the increase in unemployment rates and cuts in social spending, as well as the closure of companies that traditionally targeted local and domestic sectors due to the growth in export industries (Fernández-Kelly, 1983; Salzinger, 2003; Sassen, 2000a:523).

But such chains are much more complex, as we will unveil here. In this respect we base our conceptualization on Sassen (2000), who provides us with a framework in which to understand the profound transformations of the economic globalization processes (structural adjustment programmes, the opening up to foreign capital and removal of State subsidies), which match the growing significance of female international migration as a way of activating household survival strategies. The global economy is present in many sectors, from domestic work to industrial cleaning, from the caregiving to health, from searching for marriage partners to sex work. Such sectors operate through specific circuits that connect labour demand and supply. Through such circuits, migrants are able to connect labour and capital from the Global North to investing, in multiple ways, in their own households of origin in the Global South. However, the other face of this global change is, of course, much more male-dominated and related to the core of the financial and knowledge economy. While labour is now weak where industrial delocalization has taken place, new working classes have now emerged in new sites of investments (such as in global cities, where women cleaners work in global financial buildings, like in the 2000 film *Bread and Roses*, representing the intersection of gender issues, Latino janitor services and global financial elites).

If such increased circularity of different populations is considered as one of the key features of global migration, the participation of women in international mobility is another, covering new regions and migration poles (West Africa, Southern Europe, the Gulf and China), as well as emerging new countries of emigration/immigration and spaces of transit (sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb, Turkey and Mexico). Women now cover all the global parameters of migration, as reflected in the structure of global care chains and new transnational practices (related to remittances, subjective transnationalism and transnational identity) (see the introduction of Ribas-Mateos, 2014).

Establishing a key lens: the gender–migration axis

In principle, women’s growing participation in labour-based migratory flows is largely due to the globalization of production and worsening labour conditions in the Global South, as well as to the transfer of social reproduction fomented by the demand in developed countries for women willing to take on work on the bottom rungs, in terms of social value, of the labour market (i.e. domestic service, personal care services and sex work). As a consequence, the context of globalization provides us with a general framework in which to understand the conditions of foreign and ethnic minority women working in the international division of reproductive work.

Industrial delocalization processes have brought with them a fall in the need for foreign labour for the North’s industrial activities, as production processes are increasingly being transferred to Southern countries. The rapid growth of duty-free zones has brought with it an increase in female migratory flows in developing countries, particularly in Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean (Sassen, 1988). However, this model has been easily replicated in many areas of the world, such as in the Mediterranean region.

The growing involvement of migrant women in paid work has mainly been the result of an increase in the demand for labour in unskilled and poorly paid jobs in the services sector in migrant-receiving countries in the Global North. Domestic service, catering, personal and sex work cannot be exported in the same way as industrial activity and therefore results in the recourse to foreign labour and the development of exclusively female migratory flows. Immigrant women who work in these jobs are scorned by their autochthonous counterparts and carry out the work required for social reproduction in a commodified manner. We are therefore witnessing an international South-to-North transfer of reproductive work, a process that runs parallel to the transfer of productive activities on a global scale. Most researchers refer to “global chains of care” in order to explain the way in which, in a global context, women replace one another in those tasks traditionally associated with personal care and affection: the autochthonous woman is replaced by the immigrant woman, whose place, in turn, is filled by other women who take charge of her children in her country of origin (grandmothers, sisters, etc.) (Ribas and Basa, 2013).

In turn, Sassen discusses the South–North flows of women migrating for work in the informal economy within a framework that she refers to as the “counter-geographies of globalization.” She considers that these circuits generate major economic resources that very often remain invisible (Sassen, 2003). From the perspective of countries in the Global South, following the intensification of economic informalization trends, the neighbourhood and the household have re-emerged as strategic localizations of migrant and non-migrant economic activity, often operating in spatial and temporary organizations, and often

of a circular nature. In this context, new questions emerge, such as how international migration alters gender patterns and how the formation of transnational households can empower women. All these issues have taken on added complexity, with many migrants living their lives and planning their futures within the parameters of transnational circuits. It is within this matrix that we understand the complexities surrounding the various types of migration (internal, circular, return and temporary) in our selected cases in later chapters. Furthermore, these are some of the issues that have fuelled the debate surrounding the gender–migration axis as we will see next.

Opening up new debates

What about today? According to Hondagneu-Sotelo, one of the principal areas of the debate considers the connection between women’s migration, paid domestic work and family care. The key concepts addressed in the literature include “care work,” “global care chains,” “care deficits,” “transnational motherhood” and “international social reproductive labour” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013).

During the 1990s, burgeoning literature on migrants’ transnational connections in the global era would provide a further angle on the subject of gender and migration. Within such literature, an interest in the transnational family emerged. The participation of women in migration gives rise to the formation of transnational families through various different intra-family processes that affect gender roles and the children and adults left behind, family reunion processes, changes in care roles, the role of remittances and household allocation, among others. This would, in turn, lead to a recurrent question in gender and migration studies, namely, on the impact of migration on the status of migrant women. Meanwhile, in migration studies, traditional approaches, which almost exclusively emphasize the figure of the male migrant worker (the “*Homo economicus*” interpretation), have given way to contemporary ones that focus on more sociological conditioning factors when considering population flows. As a result, new perspectives have arisen that refer to macro and micro determining factors in describing and explaining migratory processes. We have considered all such issues of the new debates: migration and care work, sexualities and sex trafficking, the transnational approach, the agency-based approach and the inter-sectionality theory, which pertains to migrant women’s status. This contemporary scope has led us to introduce a more integrated approach, which links production and reproduction chains. We therefore take into account a vast scope of contemporary types of mobility and gender differences, where not only victimization and social vulnerability are the dominant features in the global picture.

Policy recommendations

4.1 Directly tackle different types of global mobility in policy issues

First, design policies that consider a global migration context resulting from the emergence of new types of networks related to mobility. Second, create a global cartography of highly skilled migration: South–North and all possible pathways between the Hemispheres; in addition, take into account the main attraction poles of highly skilled migration, such as the United States and emerging regions like South Africa. Third, produce a global map to locate the interactions of actors at all levels: global, regional, national, local, diaspora and individual.

4.2 Develop policies that target particular social categories of migrants

Increase the visibility of existing social categories of migrants, in order to have these better targeted by policies. Synthesize available data and construct profiles according to: (a) entry (temporary vs. permanent, individual vs. family or spouses and family members as main applicants); (b) skills (skilled vs. deskilled vs. re-skilled, matching work with tertiary education); (c) entrepreneurs versus non-entrepreneurs; (d) activity sector, for example, international finance, information technology and scientific research.

4.3 Apply a “gender index”

To come up with a better, harmonized gender index (this entails reviewing existing ones, such as the discrimination index, the human development index related to gender, etc.), see which of the existing indices best applies to the context of highly skilled migration and best tackles gender discrimination (for example, in the interaction between gender and age cuts).

4.4 Review existing migration programmes for policy purposes

Highlight possible re-conceptualizations and innovative frameworks designed to provide a gender-based perspective on policies. In addition, review mobility programmes related to highly skilled scientists and quotas for women. For example, check the European programmes on “gender and science” in order to review good practices.

4.5 Solve “literature gaps” for the policy context

First, render more visible the literature on global elites. Conduct a new literature review on global elites in order to identify new changes and challenges in policies, in contrast to the nationally oriented old models of skilled migration, as in the cases of Australia and Canada. Second, gender the welfare State (Sainsbury, 1994), that is, how can mainstream models and classifications be used in analysing welfare States and gender according to different types of mobility? It is especially important to review the portability of services. Third,

consider the concept of well-being in social policies related to mobility, with “well-being” encompassing elementary functionings, such as escaping morbidity and mortality, being adequately nourished and having mobility, among others, to complex ones such as being happy and achieving self-respect (Nussbaum and Sen, 2003).

Contribution 2: Female migrants in OECD countries, with a focus on the highly skilled

*Cansin Arslan, OECD Directorate for
Employment, Labour and Social Affairs*

Reliable international data on migration in terms of quality and comparability are scarce, yet crucial for sound migration and development policies. In the last decade, substantial efforts were made by OECD to fill this gap through the compilation of novel data on migrant stocks, particularly in the Database on Immigrants in OECD countries (DIOC).

This document describes the profile of female immigrants in OECD based on data from DIOC. It provides an overview of migrant women in the OECD area by comparing them with male migrants and their native-born counterparts. In addition, it compares female migrants by country of destination. It also presents basic information on emigrants by country and region of origin, followed by the emigration rates of female migrants. Lastly, it throws a glance at the trends over the 2000/01–2010/11 period to reveal the most important changes in the characteristics of female migrant populations.

Overview of the database

The DIOC is based on population census, register and labour force survey data. It provides the following rich information on migrants from over 200 countries of origin:

- Demographics (age, sex/gender, etc.);
- Educational attainment;
- Labour market outcomes, including occupation and sector of activity;
- Focus on education and health occupations;
- Field of study.

Because it provides data comparable from one country to another, DIOC is a key tool for cross-country analysis. The regular update also allows for an analysis of changes over time.

Main findings on the presence of tertiary-educated migrants in OECD countries based on 2005/2006 data

OECD countries host 93 million migrants, which represent a tenth of all residents. Tertiary-educated immigrants are overrepresented among OECD migrants, since they correspond to 12.88 per cent of the 200 million tertiary-educated residents.

Table 1: Tertiary-educated native- and foreign-born populations of OECD countries

Tertiary-educated resident population of OECD countries	Number	Share of tertiary-educated resident population (%)
Native-born	174 million	86.53
Foreign-born	26 million	12.88

Migrant women among tertiary-educated women

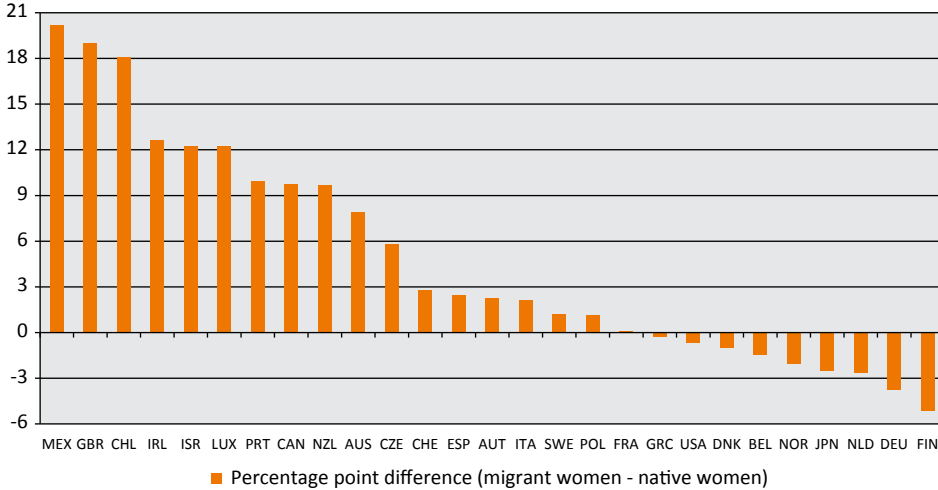
Women represent 51 per cent of immigrants in OECD countries. The share of tertiary-educated individuals among migrant women is higher than among native women (as is the share of those with low educational attainment), showing that migrants tend to possess higher educational levels than native-born women in countries of destination.

Table 2: Education of native- and foreign-born populations of OECD countries

Tertiary-educated resident population of OECD countries	Population share of the low-educated (%)	Population share of the mid-educated (%)	Population share of the highly educated (%)	Population share of those with unknown education (%)
Native-born	32.6	41.4	22.9	3.1
Foreign-born	34.7	35.3	27.8	2.2

Figure 1 highlights the differences between the proportions of migrant and native-born women who are tertiary-educated in various OECD countries of destination. When broken down by country of destination, the difference in the shares of tertiary-educated women between migrants and natives can be as high as 20 percentage points in the case of Mexico, 19 points in the United Kingdom and 18 points in Chile. These figures suggest a much higher level of human capital among migrant women than native women. On the other end of the spectrum, countries such as Finland, Germany and the Netherlands are experiencing a situation where the share of tertiary-educated women is higher among natives than among migrants.

Figure 1: Percentage point differences between the proportions of tertiary-educated migrant and native-born women in selected OECD countries



Gender balance among tertiary-educated migrants

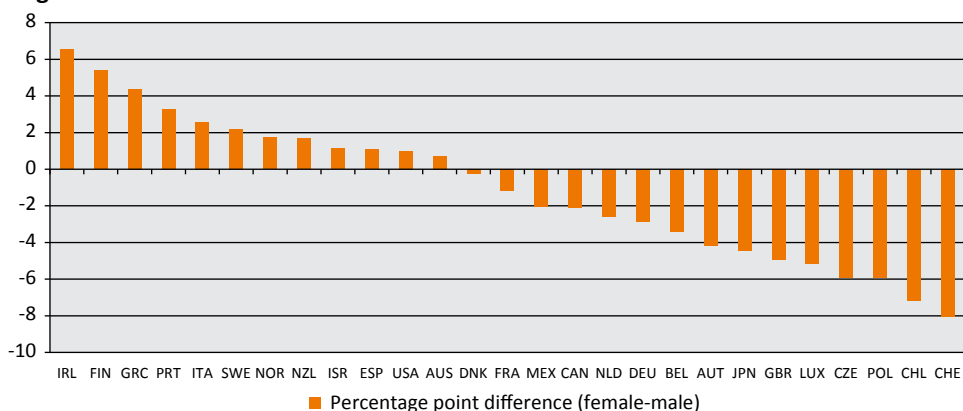
Over the years, the difference in education between migrant men and women has reduced, and the share of tertiary-educated individuals among migrant women is now superior to those of migrant men (29.4% and 28.9%, respectively).

Table 3: Education of foreign-born men and foreign-born women in OECD countries

Year	Foreign-born women		Foreign-born men	
	Number of tertiary-educated	Share of tertiary-educated (%)	Number of tertiary-educated	Share of tertiary-educated (%)
2000–2001	8,586,257	23.0	8,798,427	24.6
2005–2006	12,644,716	27.2	12,476,360	27.8
2010–2011	15,335,304	29.4	14,211,589	28.9

Figure 2 shows the gap between migrant men and migrant women in various OECD countries in terms of tertiary education, thus providing a more complex picture of the gender balance among highly skilled migrants. Among the 27 destination countries featured, Denmark is the only one with roughly equal proportions of men and women among tertiary-educated migrants. In Ireland, Finland and Greece, the stocks of highly skilled migrants tend to be slightly feminized, whereas in Switzerland, Chile and Poland, the share of men among tertiary-educated migrants is higher than that of women.

Figure 2: Percentage point differences between the proportions of tertiary-educated migrant men and women in selected OECD countries



Recent versus long-staying migrants

Highly educated migrant women are overrepresented among recently arrived women: in 2005/2006, 33 per cent of recent migrant women held a tertiary diploma, compared with 31.5 per cent of men (corresponding figures for all migrants, recent or not, are 27.9% for women and 28.4% for men).

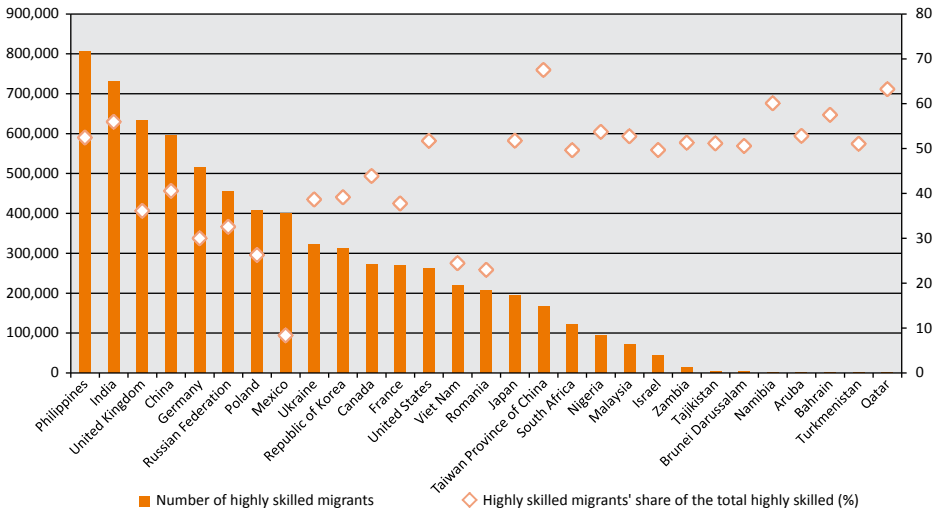
Highly educated women are the fastest growing category of migrants, with the past decade (2000–2011) seeing an 80 per cent increase in the number of tertiary-educated migrant women, compared to 60 per cent for highly skilled migrant men. In addition, the increase in the number of highly skilled migrant women is twice more than that of highly skilled native-born women.

Countries affected by the migration of tertiary-educated women

In relative terms, the leading destination countries for tertiary-educated migrant women are Canada, Israel, the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Ireland.

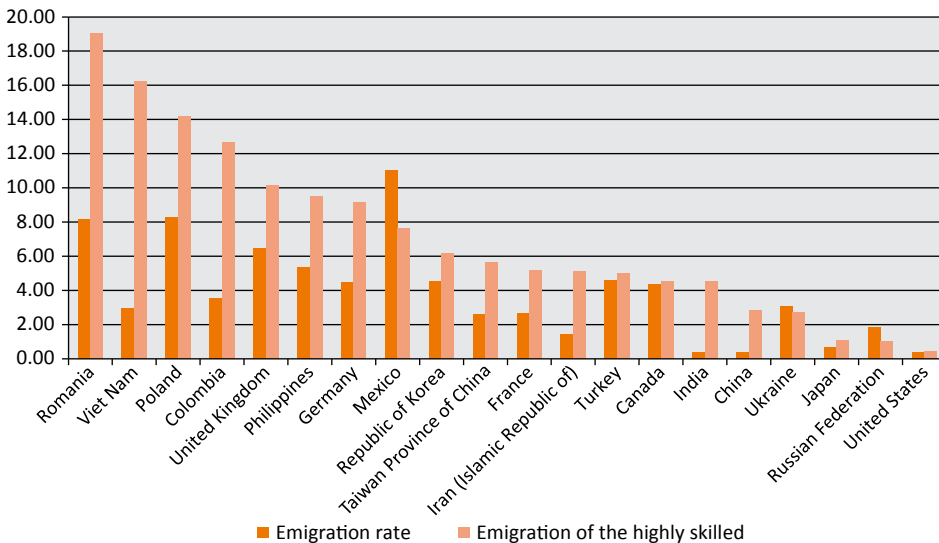
Data also show that the leading countries of origin of tertiary-educated women are the Philippines, India, the United Kingdom and China (see Figure 3). Other countries are seeing large numbers of educated women leaving, such as the Russian Federation; Poland; Republic of Korea; Ukraine; Viet Nam; Romania; Taiwan Province of China; and South Africa.

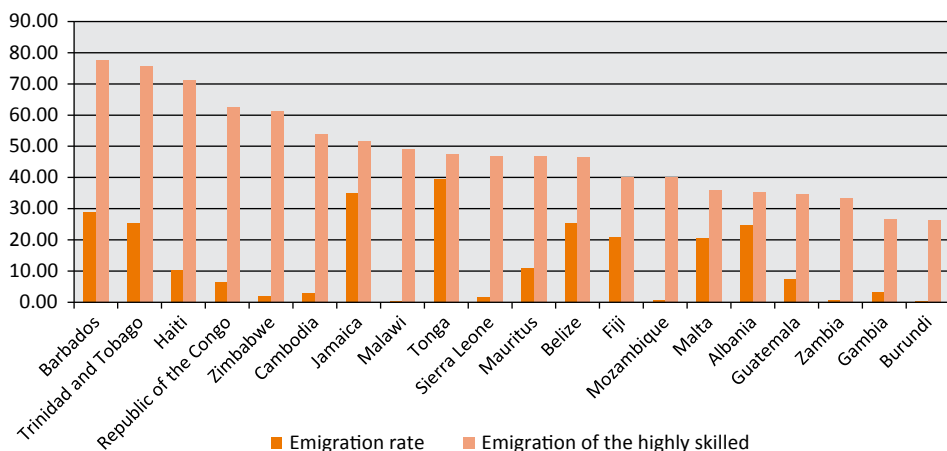
Figure 3: Countries of origin of tertiary educated migrant women in OECD countries



When looking at the likelihood to migrate for this category of migrants, it is striking to see how the emigration rates of highly skilled women compares to emigration rates in general (i.e. the total emigration rates of highly skilled men and women), suggesting the existence of gender- and education-specific push factors at play in certain countries.

Figure 4: Highly skilled female and general emigration rates to OECD countries by country of origin





Highly skilled women outcomes in the labour market

Despite favourable educational attainment levels, migrant women have relatively poor labour market outcomes. While tertiary-educated migrant women fare much better than migrant women with lower education levels, a smaller proportion of migrant women are employed compared to native-born women with the same level of education (64.7% compared to 73.1%, respectively). It is interesting to note that this difference in employment rates between highly skilled native-born and migrant women remained rather stable over time (see Table 4).

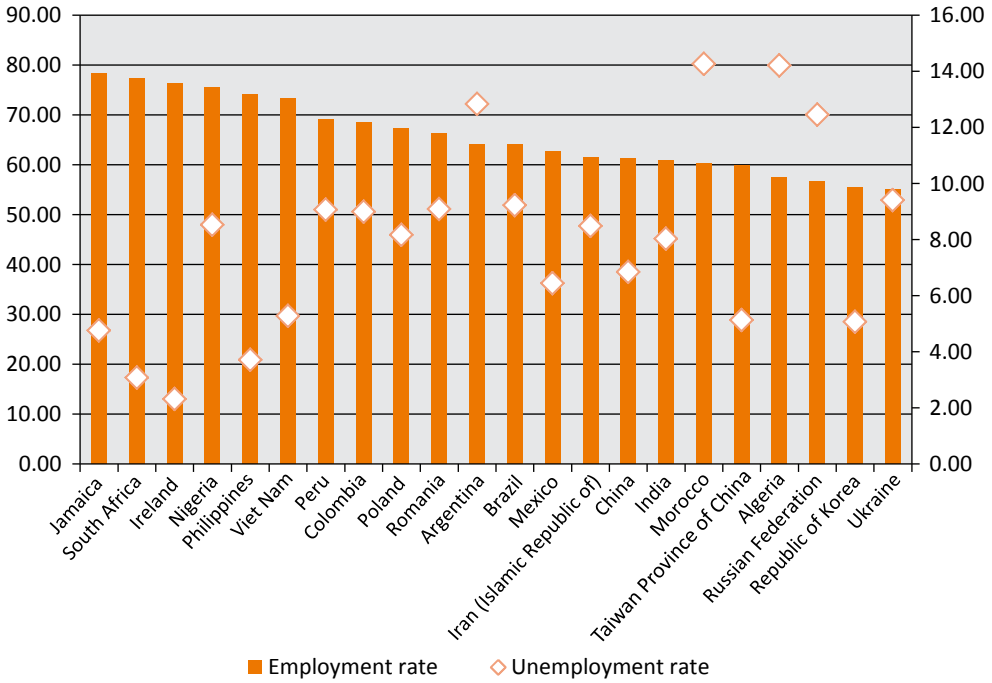
The highest gaps between the employment rates of tertiary-educated migrant and native-born women are found in Denmark, Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland and Finland. In all of these countries, the difference exceeds 16 percentage points.

Table 4: Employment rate of tertiary-educated migrant women vis-à-vis tertiary-educated native-born women and elementary-educated migrant women in OECD countries

OECD women	2010/11			2005/06		
	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Labour force participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Labour force participation rate
Native-born, tertiary-educated	73.1	5.4	77.3	72.9	4.4	76.3
Foreign-born (migrant), tertiary-educated	64.7	8.5	70.7	65.2	7.0	70.1
Foreign-born (migrant), elementary-educated	43.6	14.5	51.0	42.2	12.5	48.2

Unemployment rates among highly skilled women are high among migrants from Algeria, Argentina, Morocco and the Russian Federation, and relatively low (around 5%) among those from Ireland, Jamaica, the Philippines, South Africa and Taiwan Province of China (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Employment and Unemployment rate of highly skilled migrant women in OECD countries by country of origin



Conclusion

Tertiary-educated women are migrating on a significant scale from and to OECD countries. They are at par with migrant men in terms of level of education and are one of the fastest growing groups of migrants in OECD countries. The difficulties they face in the labour market are far-reaching and require more attention to avoid the significant under-utilization and loss of human capital.

Contribution 3: Migration patterns of highly skilled women

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It is very difficult to produce an analysis of the migration patterns of highly skilled women. One of the reasons is that despite calls for better data collection and analysis, there continues to be relatively little published disaggregated data on this topic, with the exception of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which have undertaken longitudinal analyses of outcomes using disaggregated data by gender, nationality, occupation and migration streams.

The second issue is the disjuncture between academic and policy studies on the one hand, and advances in data collection on the other. The former focuses on skilled migration, generally through numbers entering a country categorized either: (a) broadly as “managerial” and “professional”, or (b) based on specific sectors such as IT, education, nursing, medicine, engineering, finance and management, or “intra-company transfers.” In contrast, data collection studies use educational attainment as the criterion for being a (highly) skilled migrant and, therefore, cover different migratory streams ranging from principal applicants, spouses of principal applicants, applicants for family reunification and formation, students and refugees.

In relation to sectoral studies, particular interest has been paid to sectors said to form the knowledge economy and societies involved in attracting the brightest and the best, be it Australia, Canada, the United States or European countries. These occupations, often male-dominated, are the most valued in monetary terms and are consequently often also designated as “highly skilled,” compared to occupations characterized as “ordinarily skilled,” such as nursing and teaching, and, as a consequence, are increasingly privileged in immigration policies in many European States. In the Netherlands, information technology constitutes the largest sector (1,441 knowledge migrants in 2005/2006), but with only 18 per cent female presence compared to finance (396 and 40.7%, respectively) and academic education (389 and 32%). Furthermore, information technology generally displays a profound and unchanging gender imbalance, which some authors have ascribed to its workplace culture and unattractive work–family balance, as well as the gender stereotyping that allocates men to technological aspects and women to communications (Valenduc, 2011: 487). Information technology also dominates the large temporary flows of H1-B visa holders in the United States, whose spouses do not have the legal right to work. Skilled female migrants tend to be concentrated in female-dominated occupations in the reproductive sector, such as education, health and social work, which are regulated by professional bodies in national welfare States. In terms of immigration policy, the lower salaries earned in many of these occupations mean that where salary is a major criterion, as in Europe (Kofman, 2014), these

occupations are often classified as “skilled” rather than “highly skilled,” and may fail to qualify for entry. In traditional immigration societies, where skilled trades qualify for skilled temporary and permanent migration, female migrants are also underrepresented.

The second body of research, based on advances in the collection of statistical data, like what the Database on Immigrants in the OECD (to be updated in June 2014) represents, actually measures skilled migrants in terms of their educational qualifications. What this means is that when we speak of the gender brain drain from countries of origin (Dumont et al., 2007), we are referring to the educational levels of women and men. For non-OECD countries, there is little difference in emigration rates at lower educational levels, but among those with tertiary degrees, the emigration rate is 4 higher for women than it is for men (13.9% compared to 9.7%). At the regional level, the average emigration rates for tertiary-educated people is much higher for women in Africa (27.7% for women and 17.1% for men) and Latin America (21.1% for women and 17.9% for men), while there is a smaller difference in Asia and Oceania, and no difference in Europe and North America. In many countries, there may be no discernible differences in the lower educational levels. Differences also exist overall between South–South migration – which has until recently been neglected despite the significance of flows – North–North migration and South–North (IOM, 2013a).

Poorer countries are more affected by the emigration of highly skilled women, possibly because opportunities for women are fewer than for men, and because they are attracted by job opportunities in education and health, especially in OECD and other countries such as South Africa. However, the greatest demand globally is for domestic and care work in the home, be it in Europe, North America, the Middle East or South-East Asia, hence the deskilling which is so pronounced among women.

In OECD countries, the share of women immigrants holding a tertiary degree is only 3 percentage points below that of men. In most of these countries, the share of tertiary-educated individuals is higher among foreign-born men than foreign-born women. In some cases, such as in Australia and Canada, this small difference is due to the higher percentage of men holding master’s and doctorate degrees, with women having a slightly higher percentage of bachelor’s degrees. In Europe, emigration rates generally increase with educational level, but there is no clear pattern by gender, for example, they are higher in Germany and Ireland, but not so in Greece and Italy.

A study of about 3,300 spouses (85% of whom were female) with partners working mainly in large companies in a number of different countries also confirmed that educational levels did not differ enormously between male and female spouses (Permits Foundation, 2009).

Table 5: Highest qualifications of male and female migrants

Qualification	Male	Female
Secondary	5.8	8.3
Vocational	8.1	10.6
Bachelor's degree	35.1	36.6
Master's degree	43.6	39.0
Doctorate degree	7.3	5.6

Source: Permits Foundation, 2009.

Prior to their husbands' assignment, female spouses had worked to a great extent (87.9%). Compared to men, of whom 93.4 per cent had worked, the main differences were a lower percentage who had been self-employed and the sectors in which they had worked. While both men and women were spread across a range of sectors, the main ones for women were in the reproductive sector and regulated sectors such as education (13.9%) and medicine/health (11.5%), while the main sectors for men were engineering and construction (15.7%) and IT and computers (11.5%). However, where we find a notable difference is in the percentage of those who were in employment post-migration (of women, 25.2% were employed and 6.6% were self-employed; of men, 46.3% and 9.5%, respectively). Fewer women managed to obtain a job in their preferred field (70.5%) compared to men (81.5%).

As such, it is not just educational level which explains differences in outcomes. While the gender gap in overall educational attainment has decreased, reviews of gender and education show that women select humanities and social sciences and are still very much underrepresented in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects, particularly computing and engineering (OECD, 2012). Indeed, the proportion of female graduates in computer science degrees in most OECD countries has been decreasing. Even among those who do study STEM subjects, a larger proportion of men than women utilize their tertiary degree to enter into a related occupation (Flabbi, 2011). On the other hand, more women across all OECD countries obtained health-related degrees in 2009 than in 2000. Furthermore, almost 70 per cent of female graduates in humanities subjects work as teachers compared to about 50 per cent of male graduates. A slight majority (about 55%) of male graduates in science-related fields work as professionals in physics, mathematics and engineering, as opposed to 33 per cent of female graduates (Flabbi, 2011). This situation applies across the globe and has implications for the opportunity to migrate to countries where science, engineering and information technology are the most in demand, while employment for health professionals has often fluctuated or is protected. Consequently, this has implications for their selection into skilled migration programmes and streams. It could be argued that it is not the difference in the level of education for women, which has been on the increase, but rather the

subjects they pursue through their education (OECD, 2012). It may also be easier for international students in STEM subjects to remain in the country in which they have undertaken their studies as temporary and permanent migrants.

The disjuncture between high levels of educational qualifications and the proportions qualifying for entry as skilled migrants is therefore partly linked to the educational fields of female students and migrants, on the one hand, and the sectoral preferences by employers and policy selection criteria favouring knowledge and scientific workers and/or those earning high incomes on the other (Kofman, 2014). Gender disparities, therefore, may be due primarily to occupational preferences (Badkar et al., 2007), which also differ between permanent and temporary migrations (Hawthorne, 2011).

Hence, for women, the distinction between skilled migration and skilled migrants is particularly significant. As we know, many skilled female migrants do not enter through skilled streams as principal applicants, but rather as spouses of skilled applicants, family members (in family reunification or formation programmes) or as refugees. In Australia, the contribution of the family members of skilled migrants to the labour market (77% of whom work after an initial period of six months) is fully recognized, with reports commenting that “One gets two for the price of one” (Smith *et al.*, 2012). In some sectors, such as medicine and teaching/lecturing, the numbers arriving as accompanying spouses of skilled principal applicants add considerably to the labour supply; in other male- or female-dominated occupations, spouses only make a modest contribution.

Table 6: Occupations of primary skilled applicants and their spouses in Australia, 2004/2005 to 2008/2009

Occupation	Primary applicant	Primary applicant plus spouse
Medical practitioner	1,489	2,539
Teacher/lecturer	4,398	8,697
Administrator/manager	5,964	11,512
Associate professional	8,480	13,895
Accountant	40,054	42,975
IT specialist	28,858	31,237
Nurse	6,400	7,676

Source: Hawthorne, 2011:22.

Marriage migrants and refugees will also add to the number of skilled migrants. The growing interest in marriage migration in Asia and Europe, and concern by States regarding the employment of all migrants, and not just those entering as principal skilled applicants who have been filtered for their human capital, may result in some positive interest in skilled spouses. I have argued that we should consider the articulation between labour and family migrations (Kofman, 2012a) and the contribution of family migrants to the labour market (Kofman, 2012b).

Of course, in some instances, as with the H1-B visa in the United States, largely granted to IT specialists, spouses have not been permitted to work although this is likely to change.

Many female migrants experience deskilling or may not be permitted initially to enter the labour market (Kofman, 2012b). Some evidence for this lies in the extent of their over-qualification for the jobs they hold, although this does not take into account migrant women who are unable to find employment and are forced back into the home. Eurostat 2011 shows higher levels of over-qualification in the EU 27, with particularly high levels in Southern European countries, where employment in domestic and care work is easily obtained.

Table 7: Over-qualification rate of the employed population aged 25–54 years by country of birth, gender and duration of residence in receiving country

	Native-born	Foreign-born	of which		of which	
			Born in EU-27	Not born in EU 27	High HDI	Low/middle HDI
EU-27	19	34	29	36	34	38
Men	19	32	27	35	32	36
Women	19	35	30	38	35	41
Recent	-	43	37	47	38	52
Settled	-	29	34	32	32	32

Source: Eurostat Labour Force Survey 2012.

Significantly, what is missing in studies of skilled migration and the return of skilled migrants, whether to another country or their country of origin, is a more social understanding of sociocultural processes. A paradigmatic separation (Kofman and Raghuram, 2005; Kofman, 2012b) exists between the way we study skilled and less skilled migration and, hence, what lies behind the patterns. Skilled migration is usually studied in narrowly economic terms linked to career considerations. The life cycle barely registers on the radar of skilled migrants' lives, although there are a few exceptions, especially among feminist scholars who have endowed the trajectory of skilled migrants with a more social face. We might ask at what point in the life course (Koü et al., 2009) a person migrates – single or married, with children, with work experience? Furthermore, how do social considerations interact with career aims? Men, in particular, may not want to admit that familial reasons – such as the education of children, re-engagement in culture of origin and care responsibilities – orient their migratory decisions (see Varrel, 2011 on the return of Indian IT workers). Skilled migrants also resort to familial, professional and social networks to help them make a success of their migratory projects. In contrast, the less skilled, increasingly comprising female migrants, are deemed to be more socially embedded, with care responsibilities for children and parents, and requiring social networks to enable them to migrate.

If we wish to advance our understanding of the migration patterns of highly skilled women, we shall have to generate more data disaggregated by gender and other related variables, such as nationality, type of migration (labour, family, student, etc.) and occupation, and explore the relationship between emigration patterns and policies for highly skilled migration and migrants, both permanent and temporary, in receiving countries. We should also develop a more social understanding of skilled migration and migrants and the relationship between home and work.

Contribution 4: Gendering skilled immigration policies across the OECD: The GenderImmi Dataset

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Overview

Highly skilled immigration is proliferating as a policy preference among policymakers within immigration selection policy. However, the implications of these policies for gender awareness are understudied. Is highly skilled immigration indifferent to gender equality given its focus on global labour market competition? The current research develops new indicators to answer this question across a range of methods of highly skilled immigration selection, including points-tested and employer-selected models. Analysing 12 countries and 37 visa classes in Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States, this report presents the newly developed GenderImmi Dataset.

What is gender awareness within skilled immigration policy?

The GenderImmi Dataset adopts new definitions of “gender awareness” rather than drawing upon existing international legal definitions or those adopted by domestic government. This is because key documents around women’s rights, such as the International Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, do not adequately address the particular position of immigrant women. Existing attempts by national governments to benchmark gender within their immigration laws are rare and not necessarily applicable in other country contexts (CIC, 2001). Instead, the GenderImmi Dataset draws upon feminist industrial relations, economics and sociology to develop new indicators of gender awareness in the skilled immigration field. These can be grouped into three main categories: (a) the extent to which gender auditing is incorporated into skilled immigration policymaking; (b) the degree to which the different life courses of men and women are acknowledged in policy design; and (c) the definition of “skill” in skilled immigration selection policies. Within these three categories, the following indicators were assessed:

- a. The extent to which gender auditing is incorporated into policymaking
 - i. Whether a gender audit of that visa was undertaken by a relevant government body;
 - ii. Whether a gender auditing unit exists within immigration departments;
 - iii. Whether gender disaggregated data is publically available for the relevant visa.

- b. The degree to which the different life courses of men and women are acknowledged in policy design
 - i. Acknowledgement of career breaks in selection criteria;
 - ii. Acknowledgement of part-time work in selection criteria;
 - iii. Applicable age limits;
 - iv. The existence of entry dispensations for younger applicants.

- c. The definition of “skill” within immigration policy design
 - i. Whether a wage distribution curve is used to select applicants and whether higher earning applicants received dispensations in meeting selection criteria;
 - ii. Whether selection is largely determined by government or by employers;
 - iii. Whether certain occupational sectors are preferred or a general human capital model is adopted;
 - iv. Whether care and emotional labour (areas of employment dominated by women) are recognized under skilled immigration selection;
 - v. Whether language proficiency is treated as an assessable skill (given the possible intersection between gender and ethno-linguistic obstacles for skilled immigration applicants).

Measuring gender awareness

The outcome of these indicators was assessed across 12 major OECD immigrant-receiving countries and in 37 different visas within these countries. The countries considered were: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States. This selection represents an array of nations with variation in welfare States, labour markets, immigration histories (Freeman, 1995; Cornelius et al., 2004) and in public policy attention to gender equality. The selection also captures the transposition of the European Union Blue Card in relevant European Member States since 2009. In most cases, the analysis only covers visas that governments themselves identify as “skilled.” However, for Canada, the Live-in Caregiver Program, which brings domestic helpers into the country, was also included. While officially categorized as a low-skilled visa, some Canadian scholars have argued that this visa effectively brings highly skilled care workers into that country (Macklin, 1992). The relevant laws (national legislation, regulations and policy manuals) governing skilled immigration policies in these countries were

coded using both binary and qualitative variables. The law is stated as at July 2013. Findings were analysed both at the country-level and across the various indicators.

Key findings of the GenderImmi Dataset

The findings are discussed according to the three categories enumerated earlier.

The extent to which gender auditing is incorporated into policymaking

This set of indicators resonates with growing domestic and international governmental attention on gender mainstreaming as a mechanism to facilitate gender equality in policy outcomes. Much of this attention follows on from the Beijing Platform for Further Action on Women. Although the Beijing Platform advocated the inclusion of gender mainstreaming within immigration (UN, 2002:22) and the European Women’s Lobby (EWL) has also called for such action (EWL, 2003; EWL, 2010), the GenderImmi Dataset reveals limited activity on this front. Gender analysis of skilled immigration policies by governments is sparse, including in the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Finland and Norway, which generally pride themselves on their gender equality policies. An important exception here is Canada, which has undertaken gender-based analyses on an annual basis within its yearly Annual Reports to Parliaments since 2002. Gender analysis is also a common feature within regulatory impact assessment statements of new immigration laws in Canada and more recently, Treasury and Cabinet submissions (CIC, 2012a).

Canada is the only country that publishes gender-disaggregated data distinguishing between primary and secondary applicants (CIC, 2011b).³ Norway publishes detailed gender disaggregated data for settlement outcomes, but not for selection policies (UDI, 2013). Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom make gender-disaggregated immigration data available upon request, or via Freedom of Information inquiries, although these are time-consuming and are not always successful (Badkar et al., 2007; Kofman, 2013).

The degree to which the different life courses of men and women are acknowledged in policy design

Men and women experience very different life course trajectories, owing to important divergences in terms of child-bearing and -rearing, labour force engagement and retirement patterns. These life course differences interact with structural forms of discrimination against women, and mothers in particular, which also play out in questions over the definition of “skill” (which is the subject

³ This distinction is central within immigration policy as the principal applicant is the lead applicant who must meet the selection criteria. The secondary applicant is reliant upon the principal for admission and in some countries, ongoing residency status. Only data disaggregated according to both principal and secondary admission and gender captures the nuances of gendered immigration outcomes.

of the third category). The second category of indicators focuses on the extent to which existing skilled immigration policies identify gendered differences in life course behaviour and address these differences in policy design. Age limits are a common feature of skilled immigration selection.

Age limits reflect a prevailing concern among policymakers to reduce the fiscal burden of retiring immigrant workers on host societies. Yet age can have different effects for women compared with men, given the gendered nature of the achievement of professional goals, which is influenced both by differences in engagement in social reproduction and a “glass” ceiling for older female workers. In Australia, Canada and New Zealand, older applicants are “penalized” by permanent skilled immigration schemes by allocating fewer points for older age. New regulations of the Federal Skilled Worker Programme in Canada designate zero points for those 49 years or older, while the New Federal Skilled Trades Class designates zero points for those 54 or older. Increasingly, governments are favouring the very young, with both Australia and Canada allocating top points to those under 35 in their recent permanent skilled immigration reforms, while Austria preferences those less than 30 years in all of its skilled visa classes. In several countries, there is a maximum age beyond which applicants may no longer apply – 40 years in Austria, 50 years if employer-sponsored in Australia, 56 years in New Zealand for the standard skilled immigration visa and 35 years for the boutique temporary “Silver Fern” visa. In Germany, sole contractors over 45 years cannot apply if they do not have a means to support themselves in old age. In contrast, some other countries set no age threshold for visas, for example, the United Kingdom’s Tier 2 system and the visa regimes of Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland and the United States, which is beneficial from a gender perspective.

Allowance for previous part-time work and the acknowledgment of non-continuous work experience are important indicators of gender awareness, given women’s predominance in part-time work. Provisions for these elements in skilled immigration policy design is particularly relevant, given that work experience has taken on increased weighting within skilled immigration selection in many countries in recent years (Papademetriou et al., 2008:22). The GenderImmi Dataset reveals considerable variation in attention to both these life course indicators. In many countries, for many highly skilled visas, full-time work experience is a condition of entry. Legal stipulation occurs in a variety of ways. For instance, Austria, the United States (for all of its three skilled immigration visas, the EB-3, H1-B and L1 visas) and Australia (for the Skilled Independent visa), full-time work experience is an explicit visa requirement. Under New Zealand’s permanent skilled immigration visas, points are allocated for part-time work experience but are calculated pro rata. In some countries, dispensations are given for the accumulation of work experience over a number of years, situated within a longer period (i.e. non-continuous work experience is

permitted). For instance, in the United States, applicants for the L1 Intracompany Transfer Visa have three years to gain the necessary one year of full-time work experience. This option for “interrupted” or “non-continuous” work experience is available in 17 of the visas considered and is more common in “settler state” countries (e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) and the United Kingdom, than in the continental European countries.

The definition of “skill” within immigration policy design

“Skill” can be defined in a number of ways through different policy proxies. This third category draws upon a significant feminist scholarship that interrogates the meaning of “skill” and unpicks its gendered dimensions (Grugulis et al., 2004; Steinberg, 1990). The dataset reveals a wide variety of approaches to define “skill” within skilled immigration, with different gender implications.

Some analysts have argued that the general human capital approach, insofar that it accepts a broad range of occupations, is more gender-aware than other methods of skilled immigration selection. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, in its first gender-based analysis of the Federal Skilled Worker points test in 2002, argued that in expanding the range of relevant occupations, the newly adopted points test would have a gender-positive effect (CIC, 2001). This view is corroborated by Kofman and Raghuram (2009:4–5) who propose that general human capital approaches may be “more equal” than other selection methods. Yet most countries are eschewing a general human capital model in favour of more targeted, sector-specific approaches. As of July 2013, no country other than the United States, under its Employment Second Preference visa regime, adopts a pure “human capital” model.

Since the global financial crisis in 2008–2009, specific human capital approaches have become increasingly common in skilled immigration selection. As Chaloff and Lemaitre (2009:35–36) argue, concerns over the protection of domestic workers motivate the development of targeted occupational shortage lists (also known as “occupation in demand lists”). These lists enumerate the occupations under which immigrants can apply and are changed frequently in response to labour market fluctuations. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland and the United Kingdom all have some form of occupational list within their skilled immigration programmes. The gender implications of specific skills lists in skilled immigration selection depend greatly upon the ways in which these lists are created, and the occupations that they include. In several countries, the narrowing of occupational lists in recent years has seen the removal of key professions in which women predominate. For instance, in Ireland, female immigrants are underrepresented in highly paid occupations that are included on the list, but overrepresented in the feminized sectors of catering, domestic work and care, which was recently removed (Pillinger, 2006; Pillinger, 2007:20–21). Given global horizontal gender segregation, women are generally

underrepresented within knowledge-intensive firms, the natural sciences (Truss *et al.*, 2012:25), and information and communication technology (ICT) (Kofman and Raghuram, 2009:4) – all of which are areas that predominate on relevant skill lists. In addition to this sectoral narrowing underway in such lists, some countries also undertake vertical segregation, in the sense that only the upper ranks of occupational hierarchies are considered. For instance, the list for Australia’s temporary long-stay visa (subclass 457) includes childcare centre managers but not childcare workers.

The wage distribution curve is a key proxy for “skill” in skilled immigration selection policies. In many European countries, the wage distribution curve is the central means to adjudge eligibility for skilled immigration selection as a result of the EU Blue Card transposition (Cerna, 2010:26). Wage salary limits are intended in part to protect immigrant workers against exploitation upon entry. Yet wage thresholds also hold deeply gendered implications. Insofar that wage distribution selection methods rely principally upon wages, existing global gendered wages gaps are reinforced. Wage distribution methods can also be a limited proxy for defining skill when the political realities of wage negotiations are factored into the equation.

There is an enduring and growing demand for care and health service workers in most post-industrial societies, especially given structural ageing and a gradual inversion of the dependency pyramid. A central question, therefore, is whether immigration policies recognize care work and other forms of emotional labour as “skilled” work. The GenderImmi Dataset indicates that in most skilled immigration schemes, there are limited avenues for care workers, or other forms of emotional labourers, to enter. Some visa classes explicitly exclude these occupations, through their occupational definitions of “skill” itself or through their sectoral lists, which exclude such jobs. For instance, some skilled visas, such as the Red-White-Red Card (Shortage Occupations) in Austria or the EU Blue Card in Germany only list male-dominated science and technology professions and trade occupations. In other skilled immigration schemes, this gendering effect occurs implicitly, given that care work does not meet national occupational classification thresholds. For instance, given that permanent skilled immigration to Australia and Canada is limited to top-level occupational classifications, most care workers, who are classed in lower “lesser-skilled” ranks, are necessarily excluded. In other OECD countries, although care work is not explicitly excluded from skilled immigration admission criteria, salary thresholds necessarily exclude care workers, who generally garner low wages. Denmark is one of the only countries to include care workers on its skilled shortage list, while Canada, as noted, brings them in through the unskilled Live-in Caregiver Program, a visa that confers fewer rights to its holders than its skilled counterpart.

Conclusions and policy implications

This research indicates significant variation in government attention to gender concerns. For instance, countries that undertake gender audits of their immigration policies or classify female-dominated occupations as “skilled” – such as Canada and Denmark – are more attentive to gender differences between men and women in policy design, than those that focus narrowly on the male-dominated science, technology, engineering and mathematics (collectively referred to as “STEM”) professions, or that reinforce gendered wage gaps through a focus on wage ceilings. The focus of European Union Member States on wage limits to define “skill” raises particular gender issues in light of a global gender pay gap, and continued horizontal and vertical gender segregation of the labour market. Canada engages in gender-based analysis of immigration laws and collects gender-disaggregated data. It also generally produces policies that rank higher on the GenderImmi Dataset than other nations. At present, State practice that focuses on gender issues within skilled immigration policy is underdeveloped among OECD countries, suggesting that there is the considerable opportunity for future attention in this area. While the gender awareness of immigration outcomes is no doubt partially determined by individual agency and global gender inequalities, policymakers in migrant-receiving States also possess considerable scope in design.

Contribution 5: The relationship between discriminatory norms and female South–South migration

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Migration patterns, choices and outcomes are not gender-neutral. There are important gender differences in the drivers and patterns of migration which merit further analysis. Today, women account for close to half of migrants (UN DESA, 2013). For the most part, policy attention has focused on female South–North migration. This seems justified by the large numbers of women migrating to the Global North: in 2013, women represented 52 per cent of all migrants in the North. Their motives for migrating to the North can be explained by their search for better economic opportunities and social conditions related to gender discrimination. For example, sex-based discrimination in the labour market has been identified as an important factor in driving female North–North migration (Baudassé and Bazillier, 2013). However, given that South–South migration represents over 50 per cent of the global migrant stock and that women accounted for 43 per cent of all migrants in the South (UN DESA, 2013), expanding analysis to understand the gender dynamics of this type of migration is of increasing importance for migration policy and research.

Female migration has traditionally been understood as a by-product of male migration: women follow their husbands, brothers or fathers for family reunification reasons. More recently, with the increasing focus on women as

independent labour migrants (Jolly and Reeves, 2005), economic and employment factors have started to dominate the literature on female migration. However, little attention has been paid to how discrimination and violations of women's rights and freedoms may also influence their migration decisions. Women's unequal status in familial, societal and cultural structures, restrictions on their access to paid employment or public life, among others, should be considered as barriers or incentives to migrate, as well as influencing their choice of destination country.

Findings from the OECD Development Centre's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) suggest that discriminatory social norms and institutions play a role in shaping female South–South migration decisions and destinations. Social institutions are defined as the formal and informal laws, and social norms and practices, which play an important role in shaping or restricting the decisions, choices and behaviours of groups, communities and individuals (Jütting et al., 2008). They set the parameters of what is deemed acceptable or unacceptable, and are thus central in defining gender roles and shaping individual development pathways and decisions. As such, discriminatory social institutions and norms also influence migration choices: on the one hand, migration may be a way for women to escape discrimination; on the other hand, discrimination may curtail their ability to migrate.

This paper first provides an overview of female migration drivers. The second section examines the potential impact of levels of gender inequality in origin countries on women's destination choices, while the next section focuses on the role of discrimination in destination countries. The final section discusses how migration can challenge or reinforce discrimination in social institutions, which can serve as a channel for the transmission of norms. The conclusion presents the policy implications of this new analysis of female migration.

An overview of female migration drivers

Migration is the result of comparing conditions at home to possibly better opportunities abroad, and weighing up the costs and advantages of such a move. Well-known economic drivers of migration include differences in opportunities between origin and destination countries in terms of, among others, income, unemployment rates, employment opportunities and cost of living. Other factors include migration policies, geographical, cultural and linguistic proximity, as well as the environment and climate (Péridy, 2010).

The role of migration networks is also important since men and women from the same country of origin tend to migrate to the same destination country. A migration network can increase the likelihood of women migrating since it may link potential female migrants with demands for female labour in destination countries. Word-of-mouth communication also helps spread information about destination countries: the larger the network (i.e. more peers have migrated to

the country of destination), the smaller the psychological and integration cost of migration (Munshi, 2003).

The costs and opportunities of migration are not gender-neutral (ILO, 2013). Looking at the non-economic determinants of female migration, previous studies to date have focused on three broad categories (Boyd and Grieco, 2003): (a) individual factors (e.g. age, urban/rural origin, marital status, role and position in the family, educational status and employment experience); (b) family factors (e.g. size, stage in the life cycle, structure and status); and (c) societal factors (e.g. the norms and values that determine whether a woman can migrate or not, and if she can, how and with whom she can do it). For example, while being married with children reduces the probability of women migrating, this is the opposite for men (Kanaiaupuni, 2000). Levels of education also have surprising gender differences: men with higher levels of education are found to be less likely to migrate, which is not the case for educated women (for whom the probability increases) (Kanaiaupuni, 2000). Better access to education in origin countries and better employment opportunities in destination countries helps explain the increase in the number of female labour migrants; this is also related to the growing demand for female-specific employment, especially in the service and care sectors (Martin, 2004).

The double role of discriminatory social institutions in origin countries

Economic opportunities and geographic disparities in prosperity are not the only drivers of migration: other factors are also involved in choices related to well-being. How discriminatory social institutions shape migration has so far been largely neglected. Sen (1999) and others have already shown how desire for individual freedoms and rights to be respected and expanded also govern individual decision-making. When applied to female migration, Sen's "capabilities" approach points to important means by which women's freedom (or the lack thereof) to "achieve outcomes that they value" may influence their decision to migrate and their choice of destination.

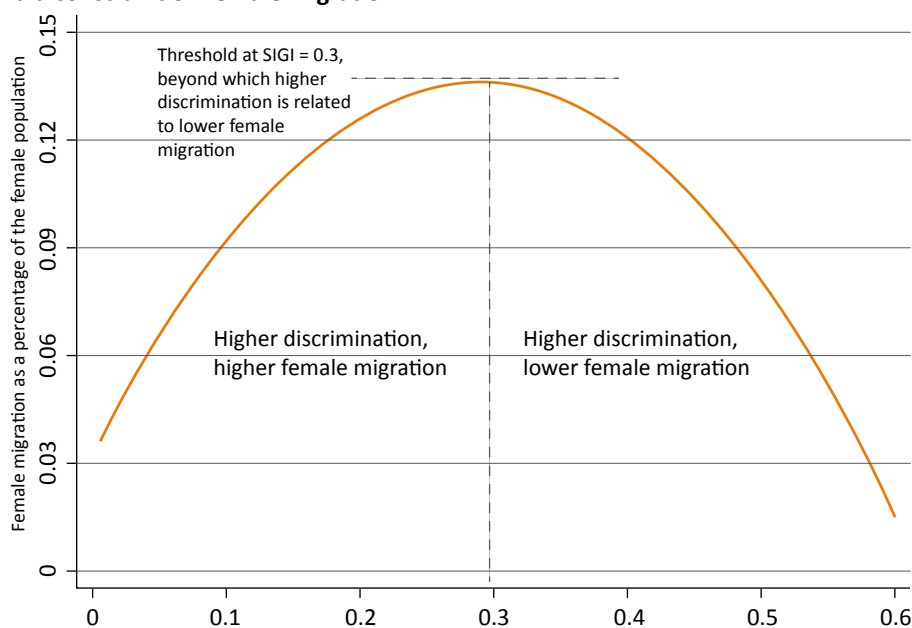
There are two possible scenarios for how discriminatory social institutions in origin countries influence female migration. On the one hand, women's desire to escape gender-specific discrimination within their community or family structures could be considered as an additional determinant for their migration. Women may prefer to migrate to avoid early marriage, female genital mutilation or fear (or even actual experiences) of gender-based violence. There is evidence from South-East Asia of women migrating in order to avoid involuntary marriages (Lam and Hoang, 2010).

On the other hand, social institutions may women's ability and the opportunity to make and carry out the decision to migrate. In contexts where discrimination against women restricts their actions, as well as their basic rights and freedoms,

their capacity to migrate is also severely curtailed. For instance, early marriage is known to reduce a girl's chance of completing her secondary education, and is linked with limited economic independence and decision-making autonomy within the household (Cerise et al., 2013). In such contexts, the socioeconomic dependence of women on their husbands for key decision-making choices, as well as their low skills and restricted access to resources thus also limits opportunities for them to migrate.

This relationship between female migration and discriminatory social institutions in origin countries was examined using a standard migration model. A standard gravitational framework assesses the impact of the SIGI on female migration, controlling for GDP per capita, income differential, distance, contiguity, language differential, population sizes and unemployment rates in origin and destination countries, civil liberties, conflict, network (proxied by migrant stocks in 1990) and male migration flows (for more details, see Ferrant and Tuccio, 2014).

Figure 6: Discriminatory social institutions in origin countries as both an incentive for and a constraint on female migration



Female migration flows (estimated share of female migrants in the female population, controlling for standard determinants of migration) by SIGI: higher discrimination is correlated with higher female migration flows up to a certain SIGI threshold, after which higher discrimination is correlated with lower female migration flows.

Note: The chart shows the relationship between the SIGI 2012 in origin countries and the predicted value of female migration flows. The SIGI scores range from 0 (no or very low discrimination) to 1 (high inequality). Additional controls are GDP per capita, income differential, distance, contiguity, language differential, population size and unemployment rates in origin and destination countries, civil liberties, conflict, network and male migration flows. For purposes of simplicity, regressions tables are not presented here. However, regression results are available upon request from the authors. All coefficients are significant at the .05 level with the expected sign.

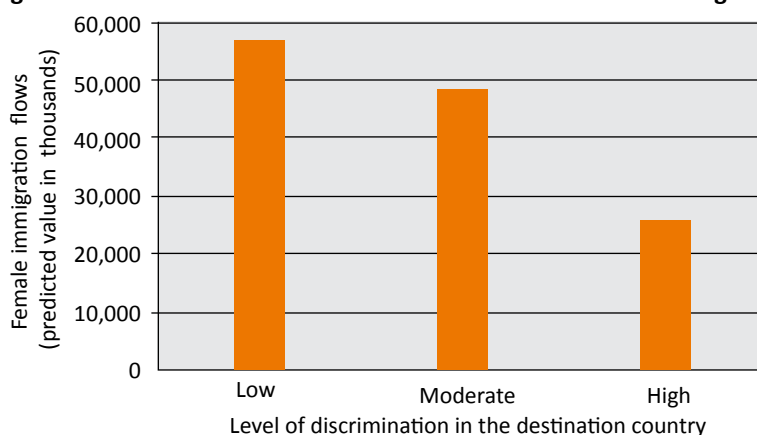
Source: OECD Gender Institutions and Development Database, United Nations Global Migration Database (2012).

Figure 6 shows that discriminatory social institutions in the country of origin can be an additional incentive for women to migrate, but only up to a certain threshold, where it becomes an obstacle for female migration. When levels of discrimination increase from low ($SIGI < 0.13$) to moderate ($0.13 < SIGI < 0.3$), female emigration flows increase. This suggests that emigration may be a way for women to escape higher discriminatory social institutions. However, when levels of discrimination increase from moderate ($0.13 < SIGI < 0.3$) to high ($SIGI > 0.3$), female emigration flows decrease, that is, high levels of discrimination against women reduce their ability to migrate. For example, discriminatory customary laws or poor enforcement of formal legislation on inheritance deprives women of the resources necessary for cross-border migration. Conversely, for the same level of economic opportunities in the two groups of countries, countries with the lowest level of discrimination have a lower level of female migration than countries with higher levels of discrimination. This suggests that in these countries women's migration is less affected by the level of discrimination.

Therefore, discriminatory social institutions in the origin country appear to be an additional factor explaining female migration alongside traditional determinants, such as common language and borders, distance between countries, and economic and employment opportunities. Interestingly, using the same model and data, discriminatory social institutions do not have a significant effect on male migration. There are two possible reasons for this gender difference. Firstly, male migration decisions are not sensitive to the level of gender inequality in their home communities: men are freer to make migration decisions independently, without the same constraints that shape women's choices. Alternatively, since the SIGI measures the impact of social institutions that discriminate against women, it may not be able to capture discrimination against men.

The pull power of social institutions in destination countries

Levels of discrimination in destination countries also appear to be an important pull factor, with results indicating that female immigration flows are negatively correlated with discriminatory social institutions in the destination country (see Figure 7): women are more likely to migrate to a country where they could enjoy greater freedoms and rights. Across all of the SIGI sub-indices, low levels of discrimination in a country appear to be attractive to women migrants. Women tend to migrate to countries where there are low levels of discrimination within the family, such as inheritance rights; where there are stronger legislative regimes protecting women's freedom from violence; and where their reproductive rights and secure access to asset ownership are protected.

Figure 7: Discrimination in destination countries and female immigration flows


Female migration flows are negatively correlated with discrimination against women in the social institutions of the destination country.

Note: The graph shows the relationship between the SIGI 2012 in destination countries and the predicted value of female immigration flows. Levels of discrimination are defined by SIGI terciles (low levels of discrimination means $SIGI < 0.13$; moderate: $0.13 < SIGI < 0.3$; high: $SIGI > 0.3$). Additional controls are GDP per capita, income differential, distance, contiguity, language differential, population size and unemployment rates for origin and destination country, civil liberties, conflict, network and male migration flows. For the sake of simplicity, regressions tables are not presented here. However, regression results are available upon request from the authors. All coefficients are significant at the 5% level with the expected sign.

Source: 2012 OECD Gender Institutions and Development Database; United Nations Global Migration Database.

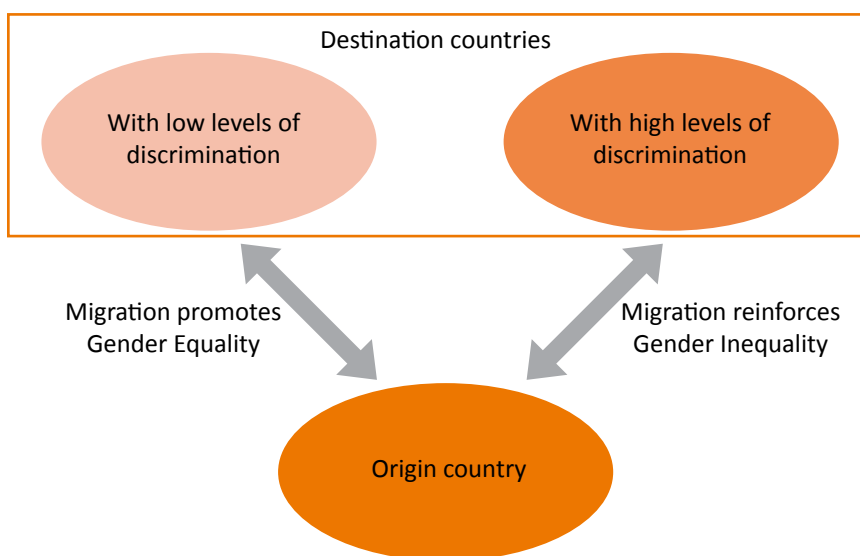
Importantly, these countries also provide a wider range of employment opportunities for women, and have lower levels of sex-based discrimination in the workplace. For some women, migration may mean an increase in social mobility, economic independence and relative autonomy. This is especially true if it is accompanied by increased participation in the labour market. New economic and social responsibilities may change the distribution of power within the family, leading to greater authority and participation in household decision-making and control over the family's resources. In this respect, immigration laws and regulations can also influence women's migration opportunities and outcomes.

Migration as a channel for the transmission of norms

Beyond the movement of people, migration also involves exchanges of norms and ideas (Spilimbergo, 2009; Lodigiani and Salomone, 2012) that may affect the level of gender discrimination in the origin country. This effect may be related to the benefits collected by the family remaining in the home community from female migration. For instance, in rural Bangladesh, households with female migrant members are more concerned about gender equality in education (Hadi, 2001). Furthermore, between a couple where only one partner migrates, the remaining non-migrant partner additionally becomes responsible for

the “gender-oriented” tasks previously undertaken by the migrant. This may challenge traditional gender roles. In Nicaragua, for example, fathers have been shown to take on new gender roles when their spouses migrate, taking charge of the housework and children (Avellan, 2003). Finally, return migrants and diasporas serve as channels of idea transmission by bringing back social norms from the host to the origin country. For example, studying South–North migration, Lodigiani and Salomone (2012) find that diaspora contributes to greater awareness of political and gender equality values when migrants realize that female political conditions in the origin country and their consequences on governance are worse than those experienced at destination.

Figure 8: The effect of migration on gender discrimination in origin countries



Migration may either challenge or reinforce gender discrimination in origin countries.

Figure 8 shows that the effect of migration on gender discrimination in both social institutions and education depends on the level of existing discrimination in destination countries. Higher migrant flows towards destination countries with low levels of discrimination against women promotes gender equality and women’s empowerment in origin countries. Conversely, higher migration towards destination countries with high levels of gender discrimination reinforces gender inequality in both social institutions and education in origin countries, whatever the sex of the migrant.

Conclusion

Discriminatory social institutions in both origin and destination countries affect female migration. While this field of research is new, the preliminary results from the SIGI analysis suggest that, in addition to standard determinants, discriminatory social institutions should also be considered as factors explaining

female South– South migration. The results show that female migration should not be explained only by wealth differences between countries: it also depends on a number of other variables, including gender inequality.

The picture that emerges from this analysis suggests that greater public investments are required in both origin and destination countries to address discriminatory social institutions, in order to maximize the positive rewards of female migration for communities, families and women themselves. These efforts should go hand in hand with the overall commitment to reduce (or eliminate) high levels of discrimination against women, in order to ensure that their fundamental rights and freedoms are respected irrespective of whether they decide or are able to emigrate.

Contribution 6: Institutionalized inequality and female brain drain

Maryam Naghsh Nejad, IZA

Based on the data set constructed by Docquier, Lowell, and Marfouk (2009), female migration rates are higher than male migration rates in 88 per cent of non-OECD countries. Moreover, the difference is most pronounced in the case of high-skilled migration (brain drain). Female brain drain rates are, on average, 17 per cent higher than those of men. The ratio of female-to-male brain drain rates (the female brain drain ratio) is greater than unity in each of the five continents (Figures 1 and 2).

Human capital losses are costly in general, but female brain drain may be particularly so. Higher educational attainment by females is associated with reduced fertility and infant mortality, as well as improved health and increased educational attainment for their children (Behrman and Deolalikar, 1988; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995; Schultz, 1988; Subbarao and Raney, 1995). Losing a large percentage of highly educated women for these countries could be especially harmful.

In Naghsh Nejad (2013), on an extension of the utility maximization framework employed by Borjas (1987), Grogger and Hanson (2011), and Beine and Salomone (2011), I derive the effect of gender inequality, proxied by women’s rights, on the ratio of female-to-male migration rates. In this paper I employ migration data from Docquier et al. (2009), on up to 195 origin countries for the years 1990 and 2000 to estimate the relationship between the female brain drain ratio and the CIRI women’s rights index from Cingranelli and Richards (2010).

When women’s rights affects both the relative benefits and costs to migration, the effect of gender inequality on female migration relative to that of males is likely to be non-linear. The results are consistent with a world where, at very low levels of women’s rights, women face prohibitively high costs to migration. However, once a certain level of protection has been afforded to them, the costs to migration are low enough that women may decide to migrate to countries

where the returns to their human capital are higher and where they enjoy more freedoms. But as women's rights continue to strengthen, those benefits to migration then tend to decrease.

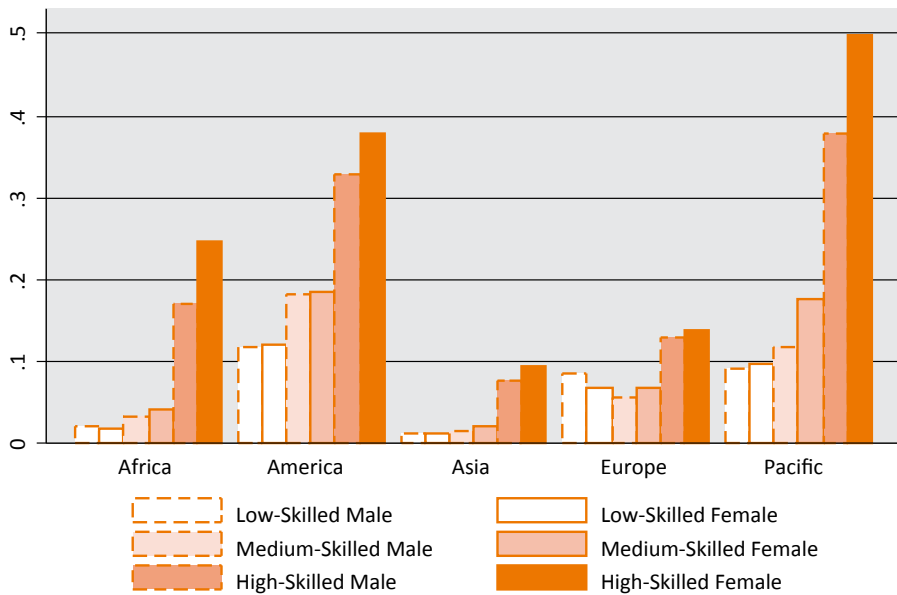
To refute those that argue against the agency of women, saying that many women migrate to follow their spouse, I base my conclusion on discussions in various social science disciplines regarding increasing women's education and these women's decisions on when, why and whether they start families. Women choose (or do not choose) to start families and have children later in life when they have more advanced education (Isen and Stevenson, 2010). The World Survey of the Role of Women in Development United Nations (2004) states, "As educational and employment opportunities open for women, they are also increasingly migrating as foreign students and workers." Therefore, as I am studying the migration of highly skilled women (i.e. those with advanced education), it is very likely that these women fit this mould (likely unmarried and without children) when they migrate to find work after their education. Although we cannot be certain as to how many women do fit this mould because the quantitative data cannot show personal decisions, this concept is widely accepted throughout the social science world.

For women emigrating with their spouses, the fact that I am examining high-skilled migrants does not suggest that their only reason for leaving is because of their spouses. There may be a joint decision in which both are emigrating to find employment. It is likely that these women will be working alongside their spouses in the receiving country because they are both highly skilled.

In conclusion, I detect a non-linear, hump-shaped relationship between the female brain drain ratio and the women's rights index. In countries with very low levels of support for women's rights, women do not have access to basic rights and most often lack the freedom to make the decision to migrate and seek jobs elsewhere. In these situations, when they have some of their rights protected by the government or cultural institutions, they have more access to education or the freedom to decide whether to migrate. Consequently, when there is very little support for women's rights, a small increase in this index actually leads to an increase in the female brain drain ratio. However, this increase reaches an apex around the mean of this variable in my sample. At this level, women have some of their rights protected, but enforcements of these rights are somewhat weak. After this point, increases in women's rights decreases the female brain drain ratio at an increasing rate. In effect, before the threshold, increases in women's rights liberate women to flee oppressive conditions. However, after a baseline of fundamental rights exists, any additional rights gained provide an increasingly hospitable environment in which the benefits of staying greatly outweigh the costs of migration.

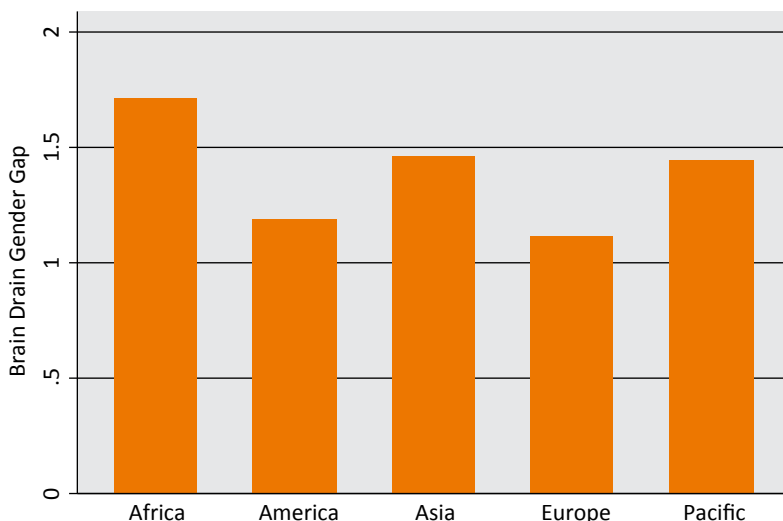
Even if one believes that female brain drain is undesirable, advocating decreased women’s rights to decrease brain drain in countries with already low levels of women’s rights would be absurd. In countries at the lowest levels of women’s rights, as discussed earlier, there are serious concerns regarding the effects of existing gender inequality on development. When extreme conservatism and oppressive ideologies infiltrate politics and the legal system, a system of structural power and inequality is created, and the option of migration does not exist. If women, skilled or not, are not legally permitted to migrate on their own fruition, there will be obviously lower levels of brain drain. The data shows that anywhere above this threshold of deep structural inequality, any increase in the level of women’s rights decreases female brain drain.

Figure 9: Gender and education-specific migration rates across continents, year 2000



Note: Data from Docquier et al. (2009) was used to construct this graph.

Figure 10. Female highly skilled migration rates relative to that of men (the female brain drain ratio) across origin countries' continents, year 2000



Note: Data from Docquier et al. (2009) was used to construct this graph.

Contribution 7: Highly skilled migrant women: Dual career households, family considerations and gender roles

Yvonne Riaño, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

An analysis of achievements in Switzerland towards gender equality shows that while much progress has been made in recent decades in the fields of legislation and education, equality in men's and women's access to paid employment remains elusive (Bühler, 2011). The causes of persisting inequality can be identified in both institutional and biographic conditions. The latter is increasingly receiving attention from researchers. Authors have emphasized that employment inequalities between men and women often arise, are reinforced, or further reproduced at the key transition points during their professional lives, such as choosing a career, pregnancy, marriage, divorce, the birth of a first child and retirement (Krüger and Levy, 2001). Surprisingly, there have been few efforts so far to bring debates on gender equality and highly skilled migration together. This article aims to contribute to filling this research gap by examining the relationship between biographical transitions in the lives of highly skilled migrant women and gender inequalities regarding paid work. The question of how gender roles, family considerations and dual-career households shape gender inequalities regarding paid work is at the centre of interest.

The paper focuses on highly skilled women who migrated to Switzerland for reasons of love. Owing to the contemporary facility to establish transnational relationships, and the internationalization of higher education, love has become

a key factor for many individuals in relationships in their desire and decision to move to a new place. The numbers of so-called “love migrants” are increasing. In Switzerland, love migration often takes place in the context of bi-national couples. In 2010, 36 per cent of all marriages were between a Swiss national and a love migrant. Interestingly enough, more than 70 per cent of those love migrants were women (SFO, 2013). Despite increasing importance, the situation of the labour market participation of highly skilled women who migrated for love reasons has unfortunately received little attention (Riaño, 2011). Based on a larger project that uses life story interviews with highly skilled migrant and non-migrant women and men to understand gender inequalities regarding paid work – conducted in the framework of the Swiss National Research Programme for Gender Equality – this paper will address such gaps.

How can one conceptually bring issues of gender equality and highly skilled migration together? There is recognition in social sciences that to understand social inequality, one must bring structure (the arrangements that influence or limit the choices and opportunities available) and agency (the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices) together. Scholars have also noted that the choices of individuals at transition points are bound to the constraints and opportunities set by the specific gender culture in which they live (Krüger and Levy, 2001:151). Further, the decision-making process of individuals is influenced by an institutional framework that causes couples to organize their workload according to gender norms (Levy and Ernst, 2002). We still have scant empirical knowledge on how gender-related values and structural conditions influence the decisions of bi-national couples regarding the division of care work and paid work. Using a comparative perspective, this paper examines how the professional careers of both partners in bi-national households evolve over space and time and identifies the critical biographical moments when gender inequalities are (re)produced.

Our previous research (Riaño, 2012) identified three types of situations regarding the labour market participation of highly skilled women who migrated for reasons of love: (a) women who were not in the labour market, either because they were unemployed and/or could not reconcile family and professional lives; (b) women who were in the labour market but worked below their qualifications; and (c) women who were able to access jobs that matched their qualifications. The first two situations, which can be characterized as absent or precarious employment, are typical of most interviewed migrant women with children. How can these situations be explained from a biographical and comparative perspective? The scope of this paper is too limited for such an ambitious

purpose. We will thus focus on the case study of a bi-national couple composed of a Norwegian agronomist and a male Swiss forestry scientist that illustrates some typical processes by which many skilled migrant women end up absently or precariously employed. It also illustrates how situations of gender inequality related to paid work emerged among members of the couple. This issue has not yet been addressed by the literature on skilled migration.

The evolution of the couple's professional careers over space and time

Based on their narratives, this section summarizes the professional biographies of Mr Heinz Dürig⁴ (the Swiss forestry scientist) and Ms Elin Andersen (the Scandinavian agronomist) and presents the negotiations that took place between them over the years.

Biography of Heinz Dürig

Mr Dürig was born in 1960. He grew up on a farm in a predominantly rural and German-speaking canton of central Switzerland. He was the youngest child of the family. He was aware at an early age that his older siblings would inherit the farm and thus he would have to find an alternative way of earning an income. Being the youngest also meant that he was free to choose a profession different from that of his parents – a “nearly ideal” start in life, he says. His mother often reminded him of the importance of education. He says he knew that having his own business was the way to earn more money and thus achieve his ambition to have a better standard of living than his parents. After finishing high school he attended university to study forestry science, which he completed in 1986.

After finishing his studies he could not find employment and thus decided to set up his own company, which he says was a usual practice at the time for many forestry scientists. During that time, discussions were going on with his future wife (a Norwegian agronomist whom he had earlier met in Norway) on whether he should move to her country or she should come to Switzerland. He says that he did not want to give up his company in Switzerland and was also afraid that if he left his country he would lose his professional networks, which would make it impossible for him to return. Besides, he thought that it was more common for women to follow their husbands than the other way round. He thus decided to stay in Switzerland.

After two years of leading his company he realized that it did not have a promising future. It was located in his canton of origin, where most forests are in the hands of farmers who do not have the financial capacity to pay private companies for counselling services. He heard that a company where a colleague had been working for the past seven years was up for takeover. The company was situated in one of the founding cantons of the Swiss Confederation (a mainly agricultural canton of 35,000 inhabitants, characterized by conservative

⁴ The original names have been changed to insure the anonymity of the individuals.

gender values and models), where he knew that a large part of the territory was covered in forests that were in public hands, which made it easier for him to obtain consulting contracts. Besides, he knew that the new company already had a well-established network of clients among cantonal offices. He says that he did not hesitate and decided to join his colleague in taking over the company. He also decided to move to the canton's capital city (a small town of approximately 8,300 people at the time), so as to be as close as possible to his future clients.

When his wife came to Switzerland in 1989, they moved soon after to live in the new location. He says that he always wanted to have a large family and thus he wished to have children as soon as possible. He also says that he had set in his head the idea of being a house owner. He therefore decided to work full-time so as to generate enough income to pay for the debts incurred by house-building. He recalls that he was able to obtain good income from the new company, owing to the many contracts that he and his partner obtained, and that he continued with the same activity for the next 17 years.

After that period, in 2006, he decided to move to a new job, working for the canton's government. He earns less in the new position but he says he is satisfied because he carries out a wider variety of activities than before and has more influence and free time.

He summarizes his professional biography with the following words: "A very simply story, really."

Biography of Elin Andersen

Ms Andersen was born in 1962. She grew up on a farm in Norway. She says that as a young woman she did not want to become a full-time homemaker like her mother, who had no other option. After finishing high school, she concluded an apprenticeship in gardening. At that time, having children was of no interest to her. After working as a trained gardener she realized that such a profession would not satisfy her in the long run and thus started agronomy studies at university.

She recounts that during the first year of her studies she met her current Swiss husband, who was visiting her country. She decided in the following year to come to Switzerland for a 12-month internship at a tree nursery. After a year she returned to her country and was able to complete her agronomy studies in 1998. At that point she and her Swiss partner were confronted with the decision of where to live in order to stay together. She recalls that she thought it would be easier for her to move to Switzerland, rather than the other way around, because her partner did not speak the language of her country and

also because, as he was older, he was already earning income, whereas she was not. Besides, she was confident that she could do so in Switzerland, because of her knowledge of German and good education. Moreover, she remembers that, as she was used to living in a country where most mothers worked full-time and there was sufficient external child care, she did not ask herself how she would reconcile family and professional life in the new country. She thus decided to migrate to Switzerland in 1989.

Many events followed that year: she married, became pregnant, her husband took over a new firm, she and her husband moved to live in a new location (the small town described above in the rather conservative canton of Central Switzerland), and they started building a family house. She recalls the many and unexpected hurdles that she encountered in the new place. Her first child was born in 1990 and the responsibility of caring for her child fell solely on her shoulders. Child care facilities were absent in the new location; her husband was entirely committed to his new firm, as he claimed he needed to generate sufficient income to pay for house-building; and no family networks were available to help with child care. Also, she says it was common in the new place for mothers to stay at home to look after their children, and thus she felt the pressure to adapt to the local culture. She also applied for jobs, but discovered that local people were preferred, even though they were less qualified than her. Disappointed by her first experiences, and blocked from applying for jobs by the lack of spatial mobility and time flexibility that resulted from her child care responsibilities, she decided to devote herself to home-making activities.

She carried on with home-making for the next 10 years, and her second child arrived in 1992. During those years she followed several strategies: she obtained the "Small German Diploma," carried out a commercial apprenticeship, and supported her husband's firm with book-keeping. Finally, in 2000, she was able to obtain her first paid job through temporary assignments. Later on she consulted a job counsellor who advised her to look for a job caring for the disabled. She thus applied for a care assistant position, helping disabled individuals in an institution near her town of residence. The job's working hours were compatible with her childcare responsibilities. Her origin and language skills did not seem to pose an obstacle. After practicing the new job she felt insufficiently challenged from a professional point of view. She thus started university studies in social pedagogy, with the hope of eventually obtaining a position as a group leader or as a tutor.

She summarizes her professional biography with the following words: "I had to start again from the beginning."

The above life stories reveal two highly skilled and highly motivated individuals with very unequal professional outcomes. Mr. Dürig's professional development seems rather straightforward: he planned what he wanted to do and was able to realize it in only three steps during his entire career. At the time of the interview (2012), 26 years after graduation, his labour market participation was still characterized by full labour market participation according to his skill level. He was also very satisfied with his career, as well as with having realized his wishes of having a family. On the contrary, Ms Andersen's professional development was characterized by a lot more struggle and by little success in achieving labour market participation according to her skill level. Despite her many efforts, she was first able to gain paid employment only eleven years after completing her university studies. At the time of the interview, also 26 years after completion of her university studies, her employment remained well below her educational qualifications.

An analysis of negotiations between the couple regarding the distribution of work reveals a striking result. As a matter of fact, no negotiations took place between them. Mr. Dürig did not wish to emigrate, as he did not want to lose his professional networks and also believed that it was more common for women to follow men than the other way around. He also had a clear plan of what he wanted to achieve: to move to a new location to take over a company, to have children and to build a house for the family. His plans remained unquestioned and Mr. Dürig largely remained in control of decision-making over the years. Ms Andersen, in contrast, was an autonomous individual until she decided to migrate to Switzerland. From that moment on, her decision-making autonomy significantly decreased and she became economically dependent on her husband.

The above findings are notable: the migration of women to countries of the North has often been interpreted by researchers as a step towards their emancipation. The image that often underlies such interpretations is that of a supposedly oppressed woman coming from a supposedly patriarchal society. The above case, however, involves the case of a well-qualified European woman, who stems from a country with a progressive gender culture and is married to a Swiss national. Her migration to Switzerland, however, involves a loss of her individual autonomy and generates a new form of gender inequality.

Critical moments and critical places shaping inequalities

The former section showed that although Mr Dürig and Ms Andersen started with the same assets of educational qualification and individual motivation, with time gender inequalities arose between them regarding their careers. What are the critical biographical moments when inequalities between members of the

couple begin to arise and are further consolidated? An analysis of the couple's biographies shows four critical moments: (a) the migration of Ms Andersen to Switzerland; (b) the couple's residential move to a peripheral location; (c) the birth of the couple's first child; and (d) the birth of the couple's second child.

Inequality within the relationship begins when Ms Andersen migrates to Switzerland. Whereas her social networks and educational qualifications devalue in the Swiss context, Mr Dürig's networks and qualifications remain intact. This generates a first set of power asymmetries between the couple. Our previous research on bi-national couples (specifically, Swiss men and Latin American women) (Riaño, 2011) showed that such constellations are indeed a particular case of asymmetric power relations within the family. The second critical moment – moving to a small town characterized by conservative gender values – and the third critical moment – the birth of the couple's first child – further consolidate gender inequalities between the couple. Ms Andersen is confronted with conservative gender values that see mothers as carers of the family and men as breadwinners. Because of such values, childcare facilities are lacking, and she becomes constrained in her freedom to apply for jobs due to her lack of flexibility in time and spatial mobility. She sees herself as having to choose between her family and her professional career. Her husband, however, does not have to make such a choice. Besides, prospective employers in the new location are not particularly open to employing foreigners; as her husband describes: "We thought at the beginning that it would be possible for her to get a job as an agronomist. [The canton where we moved to] was, however, a 'rocky ground'. [It was] almost impossible for a non-native person". The birth of the second child (the fourth critical moment) sealed the gender inequalities, because it constrained her to childcare duties for an even longer period.

From the above statements follow two important conclusions. First, *critical moments* are deeply intertwined with *critical places*. Two critical places shape the gender disparities in the labour market participation of Mr Dürig and Ms Andersen: the first place is Switzerland, and the second is the town where they moved shortly after Ms Andersen's arrival in Switzerland. Pfau-Effinger (1998) uses the term "gender culture" to explain the differences between nation-States in Western Europe with respect to prevailing ideals and values about the "normal" gender division of labour, the "desirables" spheres for bringing up children and the accepted dependencies and power relations between women and men. She argues that these values and ideals constitute a gendered cultural system, which influences how differently women and men are integrated in the home and in the workforce. By deciding to move to a place with a conservative gender culture and a location away from larger cities, Mr Dürig and Ms Andersen consolidated their existing inequalities. A second important conclusion is that parenthood is not necessarily the critical moment for the emergence of

inequalities between women and men. For the most part, migration of the woman across an international boundary to marry is the most critical moment.

Final reflections

This article reveals the critical moments and places when and where professional inequalities between members of a bi-national couple began to emerge and were further consolidated. The following recommendations are proposed in order to prevent the reinforcement of such gender inequalities. First, adequate counselling and mentoring programmes need to be devised to prevent biographical transitions in the professional lives of migrant women, such as international migration, from becoming critical with respect to gender inequality. Second, this paper has shown that geography matters. Whether biographical moments such as motherhood turn out to be critical in the lives of migrant women depends to a large extent on the spatial settings where they take place. Communities in countries of destination with a conservative gender culture, limited childcare facilities, lack of counselling services for foreigners, and limited mobility to access large labour markets will be less favourable for migrant women willing to reconcile family and professional life. Gender inequalities will be an inevitable result. Regional disparities in terms of childcare facilities and mobility infrastructure need to be redressed in order to foster gender equality. Finally, this paper's findings show that policies on gender equality and highly skilled migration need to be brought together. Gender and origin come together and strengthen one another, to shape inequalities between the sexes. Thus, an enhanced approach that takes into account the interplay of gender and origin is necessary to devise adequate policies on highly skilled migration. The issue of gender inequality thus needs to be included not only on the agenda of gender-equality organizations, but also on the agendas of bodies working in the areas of international migration and regional development. Greater cooperation between institutions working on gender equality, international migration and regional development would provide enormous potential for tackling inequality in European countries, particularly in Switzerland.

Contribution 8: How do highly skilled migrant women integrate in host countries? Evidence from the European Union

Mercedes Fernández, University Institute of Studies on Migration, Comillas Pontifical University, Madrid, Spain

Introduction

The project “Integration of Highly Skilled Third Country Nationals in Europe: A New Proposal for Circular Talent Management,” co-funded by the European Integration Fund, was coordinated by the Comillas Pontifical University–IUEM (Spain), together with the Legal Clinic for Refugees and Immigrants (Bulgaria), the Finnish Ministry of the Interior, the Centre for Migration Law, Radboud University Nijmegen (the Netherlands), the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Portugal), the *Asociación por la integración de profesionales inmigrantes* (Spain) and the General Secretary of Immigration and Emigration, under the Ministry of Employment and Social Security (Spain).

The aim of this project was to define integration processes adapted to different highly skilled immigration patterns and the socioeconomic needs of European countries on the basis of multidisciplinary discussion/thinking on the relationships between admission policies, integration of highly skilled third-country nationals in EU countries and circular talent management.

Findings

The main findings of the project can be summarized as follows:

Typologies of highly skilled migrants

Two categories of highly skilled migrants related to situations occurring immediately after entry to the destination country:

- a. Successful: Those who work in positions commensurate with their qualifications;
- b. Potentially successful: Those who have arrived with or without the main purpose of working as highly skilled, although they have the capacity to end up working as highly skilled migrants. They could have entered the country of destination for the following reasons: study, asylum, family reunification and employment (those still not able to use their qualifications in the labour market at the moment of entry).

Integration variables

A set of 10 variables related to the integration of highly skilled third-country nationals, divided into two areas (politico-legal and socioeconomic), has been identified. These variables facilitate the elaboration of indicators that permit the measurement of integration.

Table 8: Variables related to the integration of highly skilled third-country nationals

AREA	VARIABLE	DEFINITION
POLITICAL-LEGAL	Entry and residence	The legal administrative situation of highly skilled third-country national at the moment of arrival in Europe.
	Nationality	Grade of difficulty of access for the nationality of the host country.
	Family reunification	Procedures for the reunification of families and other individuals.
	Political rights	Right to vote in the elections of the host country.
	Non-discrimination and equal treatment	Absence of unreasonable situations of rejection of highly skilled third-country nationals. The host society correctly receives highly skilled third-country nationals. Tolerant, diverse and multicultural societies in which sensitization is not necessary.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC	Access to labour market	Possibility of access to labour market as a highly skilled migrant.
	Recognition of titles	Acknowledgement of professional titles, permitting work as a highly skilled migrant.
	Social rights	Recognition of the right to a pension, social security payments, etc. in the host country.
	Over-qualification	Situations in which a job role is being performed that requires less qualification and is not in accordance with the titles and experience of the person.
	Host society and vehicular languages	Fluency in/mastery of the language of the host society, which permits integration and progression in the labour market (for example, to occupy managerial posts) and daily life.

Circularity

The outcomes of this project have allowed us to propose a set of variables that may favour highly skilled circular migration together with migrants' integration in host countries. These variables are divided into the following categories: institutional, educational – vocational training and personal.

Table 9: Variables favouring highly skilled circular migration

INSTITUTIONAL	
Mother tongue	Promoting and keeping the mother tongue and cultural background from the send country.
Agreements between/ among countries	Aspects that do or do not facilitate geographic movement, in addition to legal administrative questions concerning the type of permit. For example, acknowledgement of social security payments in various countries, sufficient information, etc.
Flexible residence permits	Real possibility of geographic mobility. This variable is highly linked to the type of permit held.
EDUCATIONAL/VOCATIONAL/TRAINING	
Education/training acquired in the migration process	The host country's educational background may be key to return. Does the country of origin provide the basis for the recognition of qualifications acquired abroad?
Experience gained in the host country and its impact/applicability in the home country	Is the sending country prepared to optimize immigrants' work experience acquired in the host country? It might be that sending countries are not prepared to develop same level technologies that migrants have acquired during their migration process.
PERSONAL FEATURES	
Links with the country of origin	Links with the country of origin (travel/family/properties) may encourage return.
Children under 16 in school	The existence of sons/daughters under 16, educated in the host country may be an obstacle to return.
Marriage to a receiving-country national	This can be a deterrent to making the decision to return.
Age (at both the time of migration and upon deciding to return)	Depending on the migrant's life cycle phase, the decision to return may be favoured or not.

Integration itineraries

Migrants who are already successful and highly skilled at the time of their arrival in the destination country undergo administrative procedures for legal residency. The succeeding steps in their integration process are associated with their access to the labour market. These successful migrants end up using their skills in the labour market, whether their qualifications are officially acknowledged or not. Nevertheless, there is the danger that successful migrant workers fall into a situation of "over-qualification," if, for example, they lose their highly qualified jobs and only find jobs that are not commensurate with their background.

Migrants who, at the time of their arrival, are only potentially successful highly skilled likewise face challenges in the administrative procedures for legal residency in the country of destination. Once beyond this stage, they do not benefit from the existing administrative facilities for "successful" migrants, and

their entry into the labour market may be characterized by any of a varied range of scenarios:

- a. In the best of cases, these migrants can find a job commensurate with their qualifications and will work as highly skilled.
- b. The most vulnerable group are those who, despite having higher education, do not use their qualifications in the labour market or possess diplomas which are not officially recognized. The problems and challenges of this situation are mainly associated with a long application process for the recognition of diplomas, associated costs, among others.
- c. Migrants may also find themselves in a situation where they go through the process of having their qualifications recognized, and yet they are unable to use these qualifications in the labour market. Several reasons explain this situation: “protectionism” of professional associations, rigidity of the labour market, among others.

The essential elements of integration are learning the language of and establishing a relationship with the host society. These elements are relevant across the entire integration process of both categories of migrants (successful and potentially successful), being present in all aspects, spaces and times of their incorporation.

In terms of the politico-legal environment, the participation of migrants in the political system (with rights and duties) and access to nationality are important elements for the integration highly skilled migrants.

Fostering circular migration of highly skilled third-country nationals

Circular migration should be seen as an element of integration, provided that countries of destination and origin promote ad hoc measures aimed at rewarding the contribution of circular migrants to development. Circular migration, if properly regulated and managed, requires the promotion and adoption of such measures, as well as the existence of a return-friendly institutional environment in host and origin countries.

- a. On the one hand, in terms of the legal and administrative aspects of the residence of skilled migrants, the receiving State must establish flexible, long-residence permits that allow mobility – meaning, temporary exits to return to the country of origin that allow skilled migrants the ease and give them the motivation to engage in activities that promote the development of their country. Dual nationality may promote long-term circulation, as this could allow permanent migrants to preserve personal and political links to the countries of both origin and destination.

- b. On the other hand, it is necessary to promote “partnerships” between places of origin and destination in terms of promoting circularity. The role of countries of origin and their policies aimed at fostering these types of initiative is crucial: encouraging return home to spread acquired talent or engage scientific diasporas is essential. Bilateral agreements on the recognition of qualifications, social security and unemployment are, thus, all essential.

Highly skilled women

As far as highly skilled women’s performance is concerned, it must be pointed out that the sources of data are not homogeneous, which makes the drawing of comparative conclusions somewhat difficult. Although the successful integration of highly skilled women depends mainly on the structure of domestic labour markets, there are some relevant and recurring issues, such as their social sciences background, poor adaptability of their skills to the domestic labour market in the destination country (which leads to subsequent over-qualification) and the major presence of women among family migrants.

Conclusion

The main challenge faced by this project was how to draw general conclusions from the challenges faced by skilled migrants throughout their integration process in five different European countries.

To jointly represent these challenges, a map of integration itineraries has been designed, which shows the peculiarities that highly skilled third-country nationals present on their entry into the country, as well as the routes that their integration processes take in order to achieve a specific situation at a specific point in time. To create these itineraries, a series of 10 integration variables were taken into account, resulting from the classification of highly skilled third-country nationals into two main categories (successful and potentially successful), depending on their prior behaviour.

The most important difficulties encountered in the five countries were: first, the different stages in the process of both economic development and the role played in the reception of (skilled) migrants; second, the different ways of considering skilled migration; third, the disparity and quality of (statistical and other information) sources. Gender issues turned out to be hidden due to the lack of data.

In addition to the future of the integration process, the issue of circularity is simultaneously raised, this factor establishing itself as a catalyst of integration and also as a source of inspiration in the design of public policies that promote the circulation of talent. The need to promote circular migration was repeatedly highlighted, as international mobility allows three-way benefits: for the host country, the country of origin and the skilled immigrant.

Contribution 9: Gendered skilled migration and gender-segregated labour markets

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The making of gender-segregated labour markets

Although the gender gap in education is closing in most countries across the globe, there are near-universal patterns of gender segregation by subject of study and occupation. A comparison of US and Canadian data shows that the most gender-segregated labour markets are in the lesser skilled sectors (mining, fishing, agriculture, construction for men, and secretarial, administrative, childcare and domestic work for women). The acquisition of skills, often purported to elevate individuals beyond their race and gender specificity, however, does not lead to gender equity.

Across OECD countries, there are increasing numbers of women in tertiary education, but the gender gap in education continues in subject-specific forms. The proportion of women in tertiary education (Type A) is higher for women than men in most OECD countries, and the growth in proportion of these women since 2005 has been 9 per cent (now at 69%), compared to 5 per cent for men (now at 55%). However, there are marked differences in the subjects that women and men study, with women accounting for 74 per cent of the graduates in education, health and welfare, and 77 per cent in humanities in OECD countries, but only 27 per cent of graduates in engineering and 20 per cent in computer sciences (Salvi del Pero and Bytchkova, 2013). In very few countries (Estonia, Finland, Greece and Portugal) does science attract more women than men. Moreover, women who study science prefer to take biology, medicine and agriculture, rather than mathematics and physical sciences. Furthermore, the proportion of women is increasing in sectors such as health and education while dropping in computing (Salvi del Pero and Bytchkova, 2013).

There are, however, significant exceptions (Jungwirth, 2011). Within Europe, the proportion of women in science and technology is higher in Eastern Europe in post-socialist States, ranging from 72.9 per cent in Lithuania to 53 per cent in Romania, which is higher than the EU average of 50.8 per cent. India ranks highly in female representation in science and engineering enrolment (around 65%), with numbers reaching 80.4 per cent in the biological, medical and life sciences (including nursing and Ayurvedic professions). While female representation in engineering and physics dropped from 35.8 per cent in 2005 to 32 per cent in 2007, this is still the highest rate among the countries studied (Salvi del Pero and Bytchkova, 2013).

The chances of converting these gendered education patterns into employment are also gender-selective. In the STEM subjects this is what has come to be

called the “leaky pipe,” with women leaving science at every stage in education and employment (Raghuram, 2004). As a result of this cumulative gender segregation, certain areas of skilled work are dominated by particular genders, with the most notable extremes being nursing (by women) and computing (men); other skilled occupations, such as medicine, show a more balanced gender distribution. These patterns are changing over time, with nursing becoming less feminized and computing, in many countries (but not everywhere), becoming more masculinized. The gendered disadvantages that women face are almost always amplified after migration, as we will go on to see, but what is clear is that the disadvantages that migrant women face are shared by many non-migrant women as well (Raghuram, 2009).

Gender-segregated labour markets and migration

Migration outcomes

Migrants, therefore, inhabit a world where particular genders dominate occupational sectors in both sending and destination contexts. However, migration may amplify, be neutral or reduce these forms of segregation. Although women are highly qualified, they may not necessarily be seen as highly skilled, as skills in migration policy are increasingly defined by labour market demands and by particular notions of skills (Kofman and Raghuram, 2013). Overall, the two main labour market migration policy systems are both gender-selective. While points-based systems have gender selectivity factored in through variables such as age and earnings, employer preference-based migration policies produce gendered outcomes because of the ways in which they prioritize sectors that are male-dominated, particularly, computing and business. These influence the possibility of migration.

These patterns are complicated by the increasing tendency for migration to become a two-tiered phenomenon. In Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, a high proportion of worker visas are given to onshore applicants. For example, in the United States only 28 per cent of H1-B visa applicants applied from outside the United States. Around 24 per cent of H1-B visas went to foreign applicants residing in the United States, while 48 per cent were given to individuals seeking to continue their employment (USCIS, 2013).” In some countries such as Australia many of these conversions are from students, such that when gender segregation occurs in education, these are likely to be converted into temporary labour migration and permanent figures, too. The top five subjects for international student enrolment in Australia in 2008 were business/commerce (48,922), accounting (20,210), information technology (13,528), engineering (11,052) and teaching (5,796), all of which are strongly gender-segregated. The first four are male-dominated, while the last is female-dominated (Hawthorne and Hawthorne, 2009). In the United Kingdom and the United States, these onshore applications are primarily in the form of adjustment

from inter-company transfer visas. Intra-company transfers in both countries are dominated by computing, business and financial services – all sectors that are highly male-dominated – and by large firms. As smaller firms struggle to use inter-company transfers and are more dependent on other forms of recruitment, gender recruitment patterns based on firm and sector size become important variables influencing gendered migration.

For women it is not only the gender selectivity of employment streams which is important, but also regulations influencing family migrants, as many skilled women migrate as spouses. The right of spouses to enter the labour market and visa stipulations for spouses vary greatly. For instance, although the spouses of intra-company transferred professionals are allowed to work in the United States (on the L1 visa), there are restrictions on the employment of spouses on the H1-B visa. Restrictions to spousal labour market participation can be a disincentive for skilled migrants, many of whom marry other skilled migrants working in the same occupational sector. This has led India, a large recipient of this category of visas globally, to enter bilateral agreements with the Republic of Korea and Singapore to allow spouses to work (Satija and Mukherjee, 2013).

Labour market outcomes

Migration influences not only entry, but also chances of progression, wages and job satisfaction. The factors influencing gendered labour market outcomes may be seen as operating at different scales: individual demographic variables such as age, race marital status, the presence of children; work culture at the firm level; and structural factors, such as the ways in which national labour markets are regulated. These factors come together to shape migrant women's labour market opportunities.

Individual characteristics

Gender appears to be the most important factor influencing migrant labour market outcomes in male-dominated occupations. A comparison of the outcomes of migrant engineers in Canada and Australia is revealing. Canadian data (Boyd and Kaida, 2009) shows that the likelihood of entering managerial or engineering occupations is higher for men, irrespective of their country of birth or qualification. Foreign-born and trained (highest degree) women had the lowest chances of working as engineers and the highest likelihood of being in technical and all other occupations. Moreover, even after 15 years or more of living in Canada, these gaps largely persist.

Gender often operates with other factors such as ethnicity. In Australia, for example, the ethnicity of migrants and their familiarity with Western culture seem to be important factors in influencing labour market outcomes of engineering professionals. The proportion of people employed in engineering is much higher

for migrants from Southern and East Africa, the United Kingdom, North America and Western Europe than those from Japan, Republic of Korea, China and South-East Asia (Trevelyan and Tilli, 2010). However, with increasing periods of stay, the number of people who get into engineering becomes higher for all, but more sharply for South Asians than for other groups, although the proportion of engineers who are foreign-born and not in the engineering profession is highest among immigrant women. In Canada, too, ethnicity operates alongside gender: there is a higher proportion of non-visible minorities among women than men among foreign-trained engineers, with 67 per cent of foreign-born and -trained men in visible minorities compared to 41 per cent of women (Boyd and Kaida, 2009). Thus, even in gender-segregated labour markets, gender operates alongside other factors such as ethnicity.

The intersection of race and gender do not always have negative outcomes for women. Some women may be able to overcome gender barriers because of their race. For instance, the importance of “whiteness” for entry into the labour market translated into better wages and prospects for career progression, as a study of immigrant Spanish women working in Mexico found (Mendoza and Guitart, 2008). Moving from Spain helped the women overcome blocks to career progression in their own country, although this kind of mobility (intra-company transfer) was more open to single women than married ones. Marriage did not affect the likelihood of men’s opportunities for intra-company transfer – all the men in the study were accompanied by wives, while women who moved were largely single.

Firm

Individual demographic factors are always influenced by the organizational aspects of firms. For instance, the importance of “boys’ networks” in facilitating career progression can limit the mobility of migrant men and women. These networks play a significant role in some male-dominated sectors such as accounting (Kim, 2004). Crucially, this shows that ethnicity and gender are not simply demographic variables, but become problematic because of the way in which they influence behaviour within firms.

The importance of firm-level policies is particularly apparent in the case of Japan. There, younger professionals are paid significantly less than older professionals, while job mobility among older people is far less than in firms in other countries (Oishi, 2012). This makes parallel entry for well-qualified and experienced, older foreign employees very difficult, as there are very few vacancies in that cohort; for younger migrant employees, the low wages can be unappealing. These conditions are worse for women, as a number of factors affect women’s employment: gender-discriminatory workplace, few role models, a culture of long hours of work and a pension systems based on continuous employment. The disincentives towards foreign workers and women together make it unappealing

for migrant women to join the Japanese labour force, even if their skills are in demand. Despite national regulations that favour skilled migrants, the firm-level issues are likely to put off migrant women in particular.

It is not only entry to the labour force, but also progression and wages, that can be affected by gender. Organizational cultures within firms may have national biases (Poster, 2013). For instance, comparative research following the experiences of women in the IT sector found that women were better represented in management in US IT firms, but not in technical roles, while the reverse was true for Indian firms.

Another variable that affects migrant women is the nature of the employer. Women dominate in the health and education sectors, in both of which the State has a significant, if not overwhelming presence; male-dominated sectors are much more privatized. In countries where race and gender discrimination regulations are not fully extended to private sector employees, the implications for migrant women can be negative. However, women who find it hard to progress as employees (in State, private or community-owned organizations) may begin their own enterprise. In the United States (Pearce, 2005), there were 6,965 female migrant entrepreneurs in “management, scientific and technical consulting services.” They accounted for 1.2 per cent of all migrant women entrepreneurs.

Provincial and national factors

Some occupations, such as law, medicine and nursing, tend to be regulated universally; engineering is much less regulated, while others, like information, technology, are almost entirely unregulated. The nature and type of regulation is likely to have gendered effects. The extent to which an occupation requires encoded skills will influence how easy it is for migrants to enter the labour market (Kofman and Raghuram, 2013). Engineering, an important route for migrants in Canada, is highly regulated – migrants have to sit for exams, pass interviews and undertake supervised work experience, although some of these regulations are eased for workers from countries with which Canada shares mutual accreditation. All these require time investments in advance of remuneration, which puts incredible pressure on women migrants who may have to juggle this with childcare expenses.

Moreover, these regulations are overseen by provincial boards, such that transferability across provinces, in the context of accompanying spouses, may be jeopardized. The effects are apparent in Canada, where the match between qualifications in 2006 for those who qualified outside Canada and profession in 2011 being higher in medicine (around 56%), lower in accounting and finance, and lowest in engineering (around 19%).

While regulation can limit entry to the profession, it can also facilitate the entry to work for those with in-country qualifications, while lack of regulation can allow other factors, such as ethnicity, to become more important. As Trevelyan and Tilli (2010) show, migrant engineers did not gain any advantage in obtaining engineering-related employment by completing engineering qualifications in Australia; ethnicity seemed to be more important. On the other hand, engineers in Canada are primarily filtered according to the country where qualifications were obtained, such that migrants with Canadian qualifications have outcomes similar to those who are Canadian-born. What is also significant is that across-the-board unemployment rates are higher for migrant women in all these sectors.

Theoretical and policy implications

This brief overview suggests several questions for further research. Theoretically, it questions the dominant theoretical model for understanding migrant women's outcomes in the labour market – the “double disadvantage model,” in which gender and migration separately and cumulatively disadvantage women migrants. Instead, in gender-segregated sectors of the labour market, the dominance of gender as an overarching and near-universal factor affecting particular occupational sectors suggests that migrant and non-migrant experiences may have commonalities that are often missed; in effect, gender disadvantage can be the single dominant explanatory variable. On the other hand, in other instances migration and gender can operate in conjunction with or in opposition to other factors such as race, leading to multiple (rather than just double) disadvantage. It is important to understand these processes if we are to improve the presence and contributions of women in male-dominated sectors of the labour market and facilitate women's involvement in a knowledge society.

In policy terms, this means that concentrating on integration policy directed at migrant women, as a way of achieving inclusion, would be inadequate if non-migrant women are also being discriminated in these sectors. Instead, the genderization of non-migrant cultures of education and employment has to be analysed as an issue that suggest commonalities between some migrant and non-migrant women. Second, integration policy also needs to be rethought in the context of mobile labour markets. For example, while pension models, tax benefits and language requirements all depend on long-term mobility, in many countries skilled migrants are transient, seeking to build international career profiles. These issues are important for both men and women. However, access to health care, child care and benefits and social benefits are particularly important for women, who shoulder much of the care responsibilities in skilled households. Therefore, the portability of entitlements can be crucial for migrant women.

Contribution 10: Addressing the skills paradox: Deskilling migrant women in Canada

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Deskilling immigrant women

The points system of immigrant selection was first developed in Canada in the late 1960s. Over time the points system has become increasingly selective, emphasizing post-secondary educational credentials and professional work experience, as well as knowledge of one of the two official languages (English and French). Close to two thirds (62%) of new permanent residents in Canada are economic migrants assessed through the points system, with another 25 per cent sponsored as family class migrants, and 9 per cent accepted as refugees (CIC, 2012:6). As a result of policies that favour the highly educated, immigrants for some time now have had higher levels of education than the Canadian-born (Frenette and Morissette, 2005; Reitz et al., 2014). And yet research routinely documents poor labour market outcomes for immigrants when compared to Canadian-born workers with equivalent education, experience and skills (Aydemir and Skuterud, 2004; Chui and Zeitsma, 2003; Picot and Sweetman, 2005). Herein lies the skills paradox at the heart of the Canadian immigration system: although high skill levels are essential to succeed in the selection process, most migrants find that the educational credentials and professional work experience that have made it possible for them to migrate to Canada are, in practice, routinely discounted by Canadian employers.

The deskilling process in Canada hinges on three interrelated practices: (a) discounting foreign educational credentials while privileging Canadian educational credentials; (b) discounting foreign work experience and requiring Canadian work experience in most sectors of employment; and (c) strong preferences for local, Canadian-accented English rather than English accents from (most) other parts of the world. With the demographic shift from Europe to Asia and other parts of the Global South that corresponds with the introduction of the points system, these three practices of deskilling – privileging locally attained credentials, experience and accents – are also highly racialized.

The discounting of foreign educational credentials and work experience is well documented in Canada (Bauder, 2003; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Oreopoulos, 2011; Reitz, 2003; Reitz et al., 2014). One recent study estimates the dollar value of under-utilized immigrant skills has grown, in constant dollars, from CAD 4.8 billion annually in 1996 to CAD 11.37 billion in 2006 (Reitz et al., 2014:18). Equally important is the fact that discounting skills is gendered. The estimated losses are nearly twice as large for women as for men: CAD 7.44 billion, compared to CAD 3.94 billion (Reitz et al., 2014:18), respectively. This difference is tied to women's lesser access to skilled occupations in Canada. Hence, while 43.5 per cent of recent immigrant men with a university degree were employed

in managerial or professional occupations, only 34.4 per cent of equivalently educated immigrant women held such positions (Reitz et al., 2014:10 and 18). The gendered division of labour shapes both access to jobs in a gendered labour market and the definitions of what work involves higher or lower levels of skill. Historically feminized sectors of employment – such as a wide range of clerical, administrative and personal service work – are considered low skilled precisely because these remain feminized work environments (Cockburn, 1985; Hacker 1990; Horell et al., 1990).

Though less often addressed in the literature on deskilling immigrants, privileging local over non-local accents constitutes an additional critical part of the deskilling process, especially for women (Creese, 2010 and 2011; Lippi-Green, 1997; Munro, 2003). With women concentrated in support, service and caring labour, providing the so-called “soft skills” of relational work, in contrast to the “hard skills” of male-dominated technical occupations (Hacker, 1990), immigrant women routinely encounter labour market demands for locally accented English. Perceptions that the English spoken by migrants from Commonwealth African countries is “deficient,” for example, constitutes an erasure of linguistic capital that poses significant barriers to employment in many fields, especially in feminized occupations (Creese, 2010 and 2011).

New policy directions

So what is being done about the scale of brain waste in Canada’s migration system? The current policy directions of the Canadian Government do not address the root causes of immigrant brain waste because they are based on the assumption that the problem is due to the characteristics of the immigrants coming to Canada. Hence, if only Canada can attract the right skills demanded by local employers, the skills paradox of an extraordinarily highly educated immigrant population facing systemic underemployment could be solved. The Federal Government addresses the skills paradox in three interrelated ways.

First, Canada is reducing certain classes of immigration that are considered less economically beneficial. Facing an eight-year backlog in processing applications, the Government, in 2012, returned tens of thousands of unprocessed applications under the skilled worker programme that were filed before 2008, when qualifications requirements in the points system were upgraded, and placed a moratorium on most new applications (Alboim and Cohl, 2012:22). This was seen as a way to clear the massive backlog of applications while simultaneously weeding out those who would not qualify after 2008. A moratorium was also placed on some family sponsorship (parents and grandparents) applications. When application was reopened in January 2014, the quota was set at 5,000, a number easily met within two months (CIC, 2014a). At the same time, a moratorium was placed on the immigrant investor programme, which was then permanently cancelled in February 2014 (CIC, 2014b).

Second, Canada plans to launch in January 2015 a new “expression of interest” programme modelled on the two-stage application process in Australia and New Zealand. Potential immigrants will be invited to list their skills, education, work experience and language abilities on a website, and potential employers and federal and provincial governments will peruse files and select those they wish to invite to submit an application for permanent residency in Canada (Alboim and Cohl, 2012:26; Cohen, 2013). Those who are not chosen in some specified period of time will be eliminated from the website. Government assessment of files will continue to depend on some variation of the current points system. This new strategy may address some of the skills paradox if more employers make job offers as part of the immigration process, but it is also likely to further skew opportunities towards male-dominated occupations, and quite possibly tilt it toward countries where the value of educational institutions and work experience are more likely to be recognized by Canadian employers, such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, and away from the current leading source countries in Asia and elsewhere in the Global South (Oreopoulos, 2011).

Third, Canada is tightening access to permanent residency and citizenship, as the recent tabling of a new Citizenship Act demonstrates, while simultaneously expanding programmes for temporary foreign workers. In the past, a small number of temporary foreign workers were recruited through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program; some highly skilled professionals get work visas through international agreements such as NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement); and others come through the long-standing Live-in-Caregiver programme. Although the latter are recruited as low skilled work as nannies and caregivers, in fact most live-in-caregivers have post-secondary education in fields such as nursing or teaching, so the LCP has long contributed to the deskilling of migrant women in Canada (Pratt, 2012).

Recently, a general programme to recruit temporary foreign workers (TFWs) has expanded dramatically and now there are many more TFWs than new permanent residents each year. In 2012 there were 338,221 temporary workers in Canada compared to 257,887 new permanent residents that year (CIC, 2012:6 and 68). The expanded TFW programme has two different streams: one for highly skilled labour and one for low-skilled labour. Highly skilled labour refers to “management, professional, scientific, technical or trade occupations,” while the low-skilled stream allows employers to recruit workers to fill jobs defined as “occupations that usually require at most a high school diploma or a maximum of two years of job-specific training” (Social and Economic Development Canada website). Examples of low-skilled jobs include hotel cleaners, meat-packing workers and fastfood service workers.

Men outnumbered women as temporary workers, with 57 per cent of TFWs being male and 43 per cent female (CIC, 2012:80). Not surprisingly, in light of a gendered labour market and masculinized definitions of skill, close to half of TFW men (44%), but less than one in six women (15.9%) filled high-skilled jobs as managers, professionals, among other skilled and technical trades. In all, 79 per cent of highly skilled TFWs in 2012 were male (CIC, 2012:80).

Why does Canada have a skills shortage requiring TFWs when it has an active immigration programme that already brings in tens of thousands of highly educated workers every year? Employers suggest there is a skills mismatch – that Canadians and new permanent residents do not have the right skill sets for the jobs they are seeking to fill. However, these arguments about skills shortages ignore the systemic discounting of foreign credentials, experience and accents in the first place. Is there a skills shortage, or a failure to recognize the skills that already exist?

We have little research on TFWs recruited as highly skilled workers. Media coverage of high-profile cases wherein highly skilled (mostly male) local workers, including professionals in the IT sector and skilled trades, such as ironworkers, were laid off and replaced by TFWs have brought the programme under more scrutiny in the past year and the Canadian Government has promised to tighten rules governing the entry of skilled TFWs. However, there is no parallel concern about low-skilled TFWs, even though there is no shortage of Canadians with a high school education who can be recruited for these jobs.

Recent research on low-skilled TFWs recruited from the Philippines to work at fastfood restaurants suggests that workers recruited for low-skilled work, like those in the LCP programme, are not actually low-skilled. Indeed, in a global labour market where the opportunity to work in Canada is highly coveted, employers and recruitment agencies have their pick of well-educated applicants. A recent dissertation by Geraldina Polanco Sorto (2013) examines the recruitment of Filipino workers for the iconic fast food chain, Tim Horton's, one of the largest chains of quick-service restaurants in Canada. To qualify for a temporary job working at Tim Horton's in Alberta or British Columbia, Filipino workers need post-secondary education (usually a bachelor's degree) and several years of work experience.

According to Polanco Sorto (2013), many managers at Tim Horton's prefer TFWs because they constitute a more stable and dependable workforce, as they work harder, do not complain, and are tied to a specific employer. For their part, highly skilled Filipinos doing low-skilled work at Tim Horton's are motivated by the faint hope their employer will nominate them for permanent residence status through the provincial nominee programme, since they also wish to become permanent residents in Canada.

We can see from these examples that Canada deskills highly educated women migrants, whether they come to the country through the points system as new permanent residents or through TFW programmes. While the immigrant brain waste has become a well-documented issue in Canada, brain waste among TFWs is made invisible because many educated women ostensibly enter the country to pursue low-skilled labour market niches. Hence, while the recent shift to importing temporary workers may appear unrelated to widespread deskilling in Canada, in fact it simply makes it less visible and harder to document.

Solutions to the skills paradox

The research makes it clear that the skills paradox is linked more to employment practices than to the human capital deficits of new immigrants. Put simply, Canadian employers undervalue education that is not acquired in Canada, dismiss experience that is international, and downgrade assessments of language fluency associated with “foreign” accents. The consequences of systemic practices that dismiss and downgrade the vast majority of foreign education, experience and accents in a country where one in five residents are immigrants, mostly racialized minorities from countries in the Global South, should not be underestimated. If Canada really wants to address the skills paradox, it needs to attack racialized and gendered discrimination head on by strengthening labour laws, human rights codes and employment equity legislation, and pay equity measures that have some potential for enforcement. Unfortunately, over the past two decades the country has weakened policies that could have promoted greater equity and embraced neo-liberal market solutions, including the shift to TFWs, that further entrench gendered and racialized inequalities in the Canadian labour market (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002; Bashevkin, 2009; Brodie and Bakker, 2008).

It is not too late to change direction and address the crux of the skills paradox. The temporary foreign worker programme should be drastically reduced. The low-skilled TFW programme should be eliminated altogether, since there is no shortage of low-skilled labour in Canada. The high-skilled TFW programme should be restricted to filling real and ongoing skills gaps and exist alongside commitments to train workers in Canada. The remaining TFW programme should be ladderized into the larger immigration programme, providing access to permanent residence status in Canada.

At the same time, much more must be done to link skilled immigrants with related professional jobs in Canada. Funding for skills-bridging programmes, internships, cooperative education programmes and mentoring must be expanded to provide some initial Canadian experience and replace the emphasis on funnelling immigrants towards low-skilled jobs. Public education needs to be undertaken to educate employers about the equivalencies of foreign qualifications and the value of a diverse workforce. Employment equity programmes need to be

expanded to include the private sector, and, together with stronger human rights codes and labour laws, enforce penalties for unwarranted requirements for “local” accents, experience and qualifications that may serve as proxies for other forms of discrimination. Finally, persistent gender inequities in the labour market need to be addressed, including effective pay equity policies, to raise the prospects of immigrant women. If we ignore these options and follow the current path, skilled immigrant women and the new class of low-skilled temporary foreign workers will continue to bear the costs.

Contribution 11: The psychosocial cost of deskilling: Perspectives from an empirical study

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Introduction: Migration, gender and skills

The global economy is increasingly characterized by the ever-growing importance of knowledge-based activities in the production of wealth (OECD, 1996). As defined by the OECD, knowledge-based activities concern the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information, including finance and trade, communications, education, information technology and insurance (OECD, 1996). Since the mid-1990s, more than half of the gross domestic product has been attributed to knowledge-based activity (OECD, 1996). In such a context, human capital becomes one of the most, if not the most, precious production factor.

The evolution towards information societies therefore requires and benefits from an increased mobility of workers (IOM, 2008) and explains efforts made by industrialized States to attract and retain highly skilled workers (OECD, 2008b). Indeed, several industrialized countries have established immigration systems likely to attract and select migrants best able to fit in and contribute to their economies. Evidence shows that if they do not explicitly exclude skilled women, admission schemes designed to attract or regulated skilled and highly skilled migration flows will not be free from gender biases and have strong gendered outcomes (Kofman, 2000 and 2007; OSCE, 2009). In particular, Kofman argues that such policy options are based on the idea that only production sectors contribute to the economy and therefore tend to undermine professions linked to social reproduction. Furthermore, authors have argued that such admission systems tend to favour highly transposable skills (Mattoo et al., 2008) and expertise that is not context- or culture-bound (Kofman, 2007), most commonly found in unregulated occupations in which skills and credentials are easily transferred over nationally defined and codified professions.

In addition, several recent studies dedicated to the presence of skilled women in migration flows show that despite the generalization of “dual career” couples (in which both men and women possess tertiary education and pursue professional careers), in the decision to migrate, the husband’s career interests tend to take precedence (Man, 2004; Ho, 2006; Cooke, 2007).

To a certain extent, such elements can explain the fact that despite now representing close to half of all international migrants (IOM, 2013a) and having growing levels of skills, women migrating to industrialized countries are still underrepresented among economic migrants and still predominate among family migrants and dependants of migrants admitted on humanitarian grounds. The mode of entry of these women is important, as it generates the assumption of dependency on the male “working” migrant, as well as the general preconceived notion of employers and institutions that such migrants’ qualifications do not necessarily meet the demands of the local job market (Bolzman, 2007). Therefore, despite the human capital they might bring with them and their willingness to enter the labour force, the migration of women as “trailing spouses” tends to not be considered as being of an economic nature, and their contribution to society is assumed to be limited to the social sphere (Kofman, 2000). As a result, the skills of women migrating under schemes not related to employment – namely, refugee, family and student migration schemes – tend to be overlooked (Raghuram and Kofman, 2004 and 2006).

Labour market outcomes and deskilling for migrant women

The difficulties professional migrant women face in entering the labour market have been examined in various researches over the past decade. Across several studies carried out in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, the act of migrating itself is linked to reduced labour market participation by migrant women (Ho and Alcorso, 2004; Man, 2004; Ho, 2006; Liversage, 2009; Meares, 2010) for various reasons linked to work permits, lack of recognition of degrees obtained abroad, low value given to professional experience acquired before migration or lack of demand for their specific skills. In particular, this reduced occupational activity and the loss of traditional support structures (such as family, friends and domestic help) in the new context combine to induce an increase in women’s household and childcare responsibilities, including the task of facilitating the settling in of male partners, managing the integration of children and establishing new social networks. This phenomenon represents an “escalation in women’s roles as wives and mothers and a concurrent reduction in their role as income earners” (Meares, 2010).

Other research has focused on this reduced occupational role for women and the subsequent financial loss in household income as the main reasons that qualified migrant women seek “survival employment” in low-skilled sectors (Creese and Wiebe, 2009). In addition, Sassen (2000) argues that the increasingly globalized

and knowledge-based economies are supported and made possible by some of the low-valued and marginalized services often provided by migrant women, such as domestic and care work, industrial cleaning and catering. This notion of migrant women filling the need for inexpensive, docile and flexible labour in the social reproduction sectors is supported by research on the gender segregation of labour market economies and by work on gender and ethnic labour niches highlighting how migrant women's work opportunities are often limited to female- and immigrant-dominated sectors (Schrover et al., 2007).

Among the different terminologies employed to qualify migrant professional downgrading mobility, the term "deskilling" will be used in this paper. It refers to the state of being employed in an occupation below one's level of qualifications and experience. It therefore implies a phenomenon of under-utilization of skills, and over time, loss of professional skills.

Exploring the human costs of deskilling

The impact of occupational downgrading – whether it takes the form of unemployment, underemployment, withdrawal from the labour market or deskilling – on qualified migrant women's psychological well-being is still under-researched. Only recently has research examined the effects that making career compromises and shifting towards a traditional family role can have on skilled migrant women's sense of identity (Meares, 2010).

For example, IOM's publication "Crushed Hopes: underemployment and deskilling among skilled migrant women" has sought to contribute to the existing literature on deskilling and complement existing studies on the mechanisms that push migrant women into low-skilled occupations. The publication includes an analysis of the effects this phenomenon can have on women's levels of distress, self-esteem, professional identity and psychological well-being, drawing on three case studies in Quebec, Geneva and the United Kingdom (IOM, 2012).

The links between migration and well-being have also been the object of the recently published *World Migration Report* (IOM, 2013b). As the report highlights, Gallup global surveys indicate that of the five fundamental areas of well-being, career well-being is considered the most essential. Furthermore, the lack of career well-being is likely to strongly decrease the degree of well-being in other areas. Previous Gallup global surveys also revealed that people with "good jobs" (defined as those who are formally employed full-time by an employer) tended to have the highest well-being of those in the workforce, and that migrants were less likely than natives to rate their jobs as "ideal" (Clifton and Marlar, 2011). Those findings are a further indication that migrants' well-being is susceptible to being negatively affected by the career difficulties they face in destination countries.

Anxiety, depression and agency: An overview of the Geneva case study

The Geneva case study established the hypothesis that occupying a job below one's level of qualifications and experience would negatively affect qualified migrant women's psychosocial well-being and reduce their self-esteem and resourcefulness – two qualities that are crucial to adjusting to a new society, as well as to professional and social integration. The criteria established for the selection of participants included having a university degree and relevant professional experience, as well as characteristics expected from job-seekers in the Geneva labour market, namely, having a good command of French and possessing a work permit.

Individual semi-structured interviews, lasting two hours on average, were conducted with 33 respondents. These interviews aimed to understand each individual's life course, migration pattern, work history, social networks, family, and perception of opportunities and challenges in Switzerland's labour market. In addition, respondents answered a specific questionnaire on psychological well-being and social relations, with 66 items across four different levels, whose objective was to identify and analyse manifestations of distress and anxiety.

The personal characteristics of the women also reflected those of most female migrants in Switzerland, as most respondents arrived in Switzerland for reasons of marriage, family reunification or asylum, and only a very small number of them had done so for work purposes or to pursue their studies. On average, these women arrived in Geneva around the age of 36 and with 10 years of professional experience in their respective origin countries. Regardless of their migration motivations, given their educational and professional profiles, they described having expected to be able to practice their profession upon arriving in Switzerland. Women expressed a great level of dissatisfaction as a result their loss of professional status and identity and being unable to practice their profession, as well as a sense of anonymity. Most respondents also expressed a sense of powerlessness, despair and frustration in relation to the loss of the marketability of their skills and other factors limiting their capacity to obtain an appropriate job (such as discrimination). However, a small number of participants showed signs of reacting to the loss of status and professional identity by investing in other areas of their lives.

When compared to the hypothesis first established, respondents generally showed a moderate level of well-being. Indeed, the psychological distress observed among women was mostly linked to their unsuccessful job search. The corollary of this was that obtaining a job, even if unsatisfactory or one for which they were overqualified, resulted in alleviating distress to a certain extent. Job-hunting was experienced as a long, emotionally trying and humiliating process that finally being successful at finding employment brought some relief.

Despite the sense of control that these migrant women regained when finally finding employment – and the higher level of well-being this brought – the tangible effects of deskilling on women’s lives should not be underestimated. Within the studied group, these effects included the loss of financial independence, as well as high levels of marital difficulties, including divorce.

Conclusions

This qualitative study confirmed previously reported findings about the types of barriers that skilled migrant women tend to face when trying to access jobs at their level of qualification and experience. These barriers include the non-recognition of diplomas obtained in non-OECD countries, migrant women’s lack of proficiency in French and a professional network, and various types of discrimination, including that based on age and gender (which often affects nationals as well, but seems to have an exponential effect when combined with the other factors). The results also revealed that despite the difficult situations that these women endure in trying to find a job at their level of qualification and experience, their high social and emotional potential seems to help them maintain a good level of well-being and mitigate possible sources of distress caused by their professional difficulties. Furthermore, employment seems to be a central source of well-being and to provide emotional protection and comfort. Nonetheless, the negative and possibly irreversible effects of migrant women’s deskilling and loss of social and professional status should not be underestimated, nor should this phenomenon’s impact on the full integration of migrants in their host society. In particular, the sense of not belonging to society was particularly present among the women who were severely underemployed. At the same time, it is clear that the host society is not benefitting from the valuable contribution that this population could be providing in their professional areas. Promoting increased awareness of these specific issues seems particularly appropriate in light of experts’ views that high-income OECD countries have created a situation in which immigration policies restricting the entry of unskilled migrants and stiff barriers to qualified jobs for foreigners combine to attract migrant women to fill the increasing need for domestic and care workers (Sassen, 2000b; Kofman and Raghuram, 2006).

Contribution 12: The mobility of health professionals: Overview of research findings

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According to the World Health Organization, the world was lacking at least 4.2 million health workers in 2006. In addition, in 2011, the European Union estimated that close to one million health workers could be lacking in Europe alone as early as 2020, which would represent 15 per cent of EU health-care needs not being met.

This important demand for health workforce opens opportunities for professionals, in particular women, from less privileged countries to migrate, as nursing remains a female-dominated profession in most countries. When looking at the ramifications of the migration of highly skilled women, health professionals are an important category, both in terms of number and in terms of their impact on development. In particular, analyses have demonstrated that poorer countries were relatively more affected by the emigration of highly educated women (Dumont et al., 2007) as migration is seen as a strategy to compensate for the limited professional opportunities for women in home countries. Data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that this trend has worsened as the emigration rate of high-educated women coming from low-income countries (excluding India) increased to 9.4 per cent in 2005/2006 compared to 7.5 per cent in 2000 (Widmaier and Dumont, 2011).

As the education and training of health workers represent important costs for countries of origin, while shortages of health workers may have dramatic effects on specific human development indicators such as maternal health, HIV/AIDS prevalence and the magnitude of malnutrition, an improved knowledge of the characteristics of the migration of health workers can be critical to effectively supporting countries of origin in addressing the negative effects of health professionals' departure.

This paper will draw on some of the findings of the project "Mobility of Health Professionals: Health systems, work conditions, patterns of health workers' mobility and implication for policy makers," which was funded under the EU Seventh Framework Programme for Research and Development. It will first describe the objectives, scope and methodology of the research and then outline the main findings relevant to the migration of female health professionals and policy approaches observed in countries of origin.

Research objectives, scope and methodology

This project aimed to investigate current trends in the international migration of health workers to, from and within the EU. It included an analysis of migration flows, an evaluation of migration-related policies, and policy recommendations.

Data on general migration processes furthermore helped to identify the particularities of health systems, while demographic and epidemiologic data, together with additional information about the structures and processes of health systems, were also used to analyse and put the migration flows of health professionals in context.

The receiving countries were selected using two criteria based on OECD data (OECD, 2007). To be specific, countries were selected based on their: (a) large absolute inflows of migrant health workers (at least 15,000 in one of the groups of health professionals around the year 2000); and (b) high share of foreign health workers (higher than the OECD average around the year 2000). Similarly, countries of origin of health workers were selected based on OECD outflow data, on the basis of either high (over 15,000) or considerable numbers (over 5,000) of emigrating health workers, or for their expatriation rates of more than 10 per cent. This use of the expatriation rate as a criterion aimed to allow for the inclusion of small countries whose health systems might be severely affected by relatively small numbers of departing health workers, as suggested by research on the impact of migration on small countries (World Bank, 2011).

On this basis, 25 countries were included belonging to four different categories depending on their geography and their status as origin or destination country of health workers: receiving EU countries, non-EU main countries of origin, recent EU countries of origin, non-EU Eastern countries of origin and non-EU countries of destination of EU health workers. The inclusion of a wide range of industrialized and developing countries and the combination of quantitative and qualitative data contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the specificities of health worker migration. The 25 national research teams produced national reports, and condensed national profiles and overarching policy recommendations were presented at the International Conference on Health Workforce Mobility in Brussels in December 2011.

Different migration patterns by profession, sex and age

Most of the country reports noted a trend towards the feminization of health professionals, that is, an increase in the percentage of women in this category of workers. This trend originates mainly from an increase in the proportion of women who are physicians, since nursing tends to be women-dominated in all the countries studied. While the share of women working as physicians varies widely across the globe, countries with low shares of female physicians have typically seen a steady increase of this share since 2000. Countries with high proportions of women working as doctors have seen little or no change over the period. Very high proportions of women working as doctors are typically found in Central and Eastern European countries, whereas only a small percentage of physicians are women in African countries.

Reports found varying motivations for mobility, depending on the sex, profession and age of the health worker. In particular, the motivations for physicians to migrate were related to career development, among other things; for nurses, the main reason to migrate was the possibility of earning more money overseas than at home. This difference in motivation may help explain why nurses may be more likely than doctors to seek “affordable” mobility patterns. Their earning capacity is often limited by professional regulations, whereas the earnings of doctors can increase as they add skills by gaining further qualifications. For this reason, nurses interested in migrating tend to opt for opportunities involving low mobility costs and a rapid increase in earnings that allows for a swift return on investment. This reasoning may explain why nurses, for instance, from European Union countries are willing to seek temporary, sometimes irregular, job placements in other European countries, preferably those close to their countries of origin. Both Canada and Bulgaria report that doctors tend to leave permanently, while nurses and some other health care professionals may migrate on a temporary basis. However, Moroccan medical professionals travel abroad on a temporary basis, whereas nurses and paramedical professionals, due to the lack of prospects in their own countries, tend to cross borders permanently.

In addition, several reports highlighted how the demand for health professionals is country-specific and might not apply to all medical professions, as underlined by the example of Sweden, where many foreign-trained doctors are recruited, while few non-Swedish-trained nurses are licensed. The Philippines also reports a high demand in the global market for workers with specific skills. In particular, intensive care nurses, especially those with experience in emergency, neonatal or cardiac care, are in high demand abroad. As with other nationalities, Filipino doctors tend to migrate for career advancement, while nurses migrate primarily for economic purposes. In fact, some reports show that Filipino physicians train to obtain a nursing licence in order to increase their chances of migrating.

The outmigration of nurses was found to likely lead to accepting nurse-auxiliary jobs in the receiving country or irregular working situations (Lamura et al., 2010; OECD, 2010; Di Santo and Ceruzzi, 2010). Several of the country reports discuss the fact that irregular migration may occur, as do illegal working conditions and circumstances. A major source country for irregular migrants, or migrants working in illegal situations in Europe, is Ukraine, where evidence of irregular employment of nurses was found. In addition, nurses may be drawn to accepting irregular employment or deskilled occupations while they are in the process of getting their qualifications recognized in sectors such as geriatric (Haour-Knipe and Davies, 2008), institutional or home care.

In terms of age, national reports found that mobility most occurs among younger professionals (below 40 years old). For instance, Ireland (for undergraduate medical students), Romania and Ghana (for graduate students) report that medical students already start developing strategies to go abroad while receiving

training. In South Africa, 37 per cent of medical and nursing students expressed the intention to emigrate for work (in 37% of cases) or for further training (in 28% of cases). Regardless of their migration motivations, the majority intended to leave within the first five years of practicing. Those aspects are congruent with existing literature which shows that for young professionals, migration costs are easily compensated by income earned in the receiving country (DG-EMPL, 2012). The cumulative effect of this observed trend may be devastating, as sending countries are losing subsequent years of newly trained health professionals. This not only contributes to an increasingly ageing workforce; it also means that there is a shortage of workers able to replace those retiring, not to mention to support the growth necessary to meet the expanding needs of the population.

Health system difficulties unrelated to migration

By shedding light on the scope, magnitude and patterns of the migration of health professionals, the projects helped demystify some of the commonly held views on the impact of health worker migration on home countries. In particular, most national reports from origin countries with large numbers of health professionals highlighted that many of the health system difficulties experienced in countries of origin were found to be unrelated to the outmigration of skilled personnel. Moreover, it was found that it was precisely those difficulties that largely accounted for health professionals' motivation to migrate. Across the countries of origin examined, three significant phenomena were identified: acute staff shortages, health provision disparities between urban and rural areas, and infrastructural disparities between the private and public sectors.

Most origin countries of health workers faced acute shortages of health workers, in most cases not due to emigration. Analysis has shown a strong relationship between gross domestic product per capita and health workforce size. For a variety of reasons linked to the consequences of the financial crisis and structural adjustment programmes that have led to cuts in public sector budgets, the countries of origin included in the study had some of the lowest spending on health, in addition to insufficient human resources for health. Consequently, some of the countries studied – namely, Egypt, Ghana, India, Morocco, South Africa, Bulgaria and Romania – had some of the lowest nursing densities. In all countries examined, the distinction between urban and rural areas in terms of health provision was crucial, with shortages appearing principally in rural/remote areas. Whether in origin or destination countries, this was one of the most shared experiences. For example, in Morocco, 85 per cent of health professionals were found to be concentrated in the area about Rabat, Casablanca and Fes. For all countries of origin, rural areas faced the most acute shortages of health professionals and health facilities alike, while also being characterized by high levels of poverty and disease. This phenomenon implies that shortages in the rural areas of receiving countries tend to exacerbate shortages in remote

areas in source countries, which are already severe. Thus, whatever approach or strategy is formulated to addressing health care issues in both countries of origin and destination, the provision of health services in rural and remote areas should be considered an absolute first priority.

Another defining characteristic of the health systems of countries most affected by health worker outmigration are the significant disparities between public and private sectors when it comes to health facilities. In many countries studied, public health systems were losing qualified personnel to better-funded, better-equipped and private clinics and health facilities. Evidence from the majority of origin countries showed that working conditions, compensation and career prospects are considered significantly more favourable in the private than in the public sector. In countries such as Angola, for example, salaries for health professionals were found to be, on average, twice as high in private institutions than they were in public ones.

Some of those elements constitute important weaknesses that partially account for the attrition of health professionals in the public sector, many of whom go abroad or to private institutions.

Policy approaches to the migration of health professionals

The national reports provide critical analysis of some of the approaches implemented by countries of origin to either reduce the phenomenon of health worker outmigration or mitigate its negative impacts. It is not clear whether such approaches take gender-specific information into account or if their impact on male and female professionals is known. The following are three types of approaches implemented by origin countries that have had varying levels of success.

Increasing the wages of health personnel

Lithuania's medical workforce, similar to those in other former Soviet countries, is relatively old, partly as a result of an outflow of doctors after Lithuania's entry into the European Union in 2004. One of the main measures to keep medical workers in the Lithuanian system after it entered the European Union was a structured wage increase for medical professionals. Between the second quarter of 2006 and the same quarter in 2009, gross wages increased by 220 per cent (with an even greater increase of net wages). Poland also managed to increase wages for medical workers, as did the Philippines. Changes made in Poland altered mobility patterns. Where previously the focus in Poland was on emigration (which often led to frustrating results immediately after the country's entry into the European Union, as Polish physicians abroad were often given work well below their level of qualifications), since these changes, the focus has been much more on short-term mobility and circulation.

Discouraging migration

Ghana implemented bonding schemes requiring health workers to be employed by the country's health services for a number of years after graduation before they could leave the Ghana Health Service. Premature departure required health professionals to pay back the cost of their education, plus interest. National reports indicate that the system failed to retain physicians and pharmacists, however, as the tuition amounts were relatively low and could be earned back quickly when abroad; this subsequently led to higher repayment rates in 2007.

Long-term approaches to improving the health sector

In the absence of concrete data, it seems that this approach – which requires significant resources, long-term planning and policy coherence – is one of the most successful in retaining health professionals. For example, in the case of Angola, measures that have helped the country retain its health workers include:

- a. Opening five new medical schools outside Luanda (staffed by Cuban academics);
- b. Investing in and upgrading provincial hospitals;
- c. Making post-graduate training available at provincial hospitals;
- d. Revising the curricula in the medical and nursing fields;
- e. Improving the professional prospects of health workers;
- f. Decentralizing the financial resources of provinces for basic services (such as education and health);
- g. Creating centres of excellence in partnership with internationally accredited centres;
- h. Expanding private health services to the provinces, which has provided income generation opportunities for HP.

Conclusions

One of the findings of the studies was that many countries come to earn emigration and immigration statuses in different health field. Countries may both send and receive workers for selected professions; thus, they may exert a strong pull for workers in one health profession but not for those in another. Some countries are sending countries only for a small group of professionals, while others will appear to send many types of health workers. In addition, because of the interdependent relationship between countries of origin and destination, it is important to keep in mind how policy actions implemented in one country can have major effects in another. In particular, the supranational impacts of workforce-related policies and programmes applied at the national or even regional level have to be taken into consideration. Effective partnerships between countries on both sides of the health worker migration spectrum must be established in order to address the shortages of health professionals in countries of destination, as well as some of the important push factors identified in this report.

Contribution 13: Impact of skilled return migration on India's development

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The research project “Migration, scientific diasporas and development: Impact of skilled return migration on development in India,” funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies and coordinated by the Cooperation and Development Centre (of the École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne), and implemented in coordination with the Labour Migration Branch of the International Organization for Migration, the Institute of Development Studies Kolkata and Jawaharlal Nehru University – sought to expand the knowledge base on skilled return migration and its impact, and to explore strategies to leverage the potential of diasporas. Taking the example of Indian skilled migration to four European countries, the results of the study offers an evidence-based analysis that shows the effects that both return and diaspora transnationalism have on home country development. Using the framework of diaspora contributions, as well as return channels to study the impact on India, the study examined skilled migrants’ commitments to development through engagement in four channels: financial remittances and investments, knowledge transfer, social remittances and physical return to the home country.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, quantitative and qualitative data was collected in India and in Europe. Six major cities were selected for field work in India: Delhi National Capital Region (Delhi, Noida and Gurgaon), Kolkata, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mumbai and Pune – cities which have accommodated a large proportion of highly skilled returnees over the past few years. In Europe, four countries were selected in view of the increasing immigration of skilled Indians, which has partly been a response to new policies aimed at attracting skilled labour. Germany, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands were also selected because they are all non-English-speaking countries and, therefore, offer a similar context in terms of integration possibilities. The sectors chosen for the study were: information and communication technologies (ICT); finance and management; biotechnology and pharmaceuticals; and academia, particularly in the fields of science and technology. These sectors absorb the largest number of highly skilled migrants in the four chosen countries. The operational definition of our target group in Europe corresponded to Indian professionals or students residing in one of the four selected countries and specializing in any of the mentioned sectors. They had to be first-generation immigrants. In India, the returnees were defined as those who had stayed abroad for at least a total of six months before returning to India, and who were currently employed in

India. To provide a comparative perspective, the control group was identified to comprise Indian highly skilled professionals working for the same organizations/firms/institutions in India as the returnees, but who had never been abroad despite having the potential to do so, *that is*, they were equally eligible in terms of skills and job position level. Two complementary questionnaires were distributed in the period between June 2011 and April 2012. Six hundred thirty-seven survey questionnaires were collected, accounting for 527 returnees and 146 non-migrants. In Europe, the survey was answered by 878 respondents. In addition to survey questionnaires, 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with professionals and post-graduate students in Europe, beneficiaries of scientific collaboration programmes with India, and key informants at the embassies and consulates of France, Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The limitation of the study was that only individuals who were employed or studying were taken into account.

Characteristics of Indian skilled migration

Indian skilled migrants are highly concentrated in a few countries. Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States host more than 90 per cent of all Indian migrants with tertiary education, with the United States by itself hosting two thirds of these migrants. The skills composition of Indians in the United States is especially noteworthy, as close to 70 per cent hold tertiary degrees. The situation is quite different in continental Europe, where overall only 21.5 per cent of Indian migrants hold that level of education (DIOC database, accessed March 2014). There are clear differences between the observed countries. The majority of Indian migrants in France have only primary-level education, as opposed to Switzerland, which has a much more favourable skills structure and where nearly half of Indian migrants are tertiary-educated. Another characteristic of Indian migration to Europe is its strong male dominance. Men account for as much as two thirds of all Indian migrants in Europe, and among those who migrate to Europe for work-related reasons, the share of the tertiary-educated men rises to 85 per cent in the studied countries. This ratio is much higher than the shares of tertiary-educated migrants from other origin countries. With regard to student flows, a vast majority are male students, predominantly in the fields of science and engineering. It is also worth noting that despite the general increase in migration from India since 2000, the reasons for migration have not changed much. Labour migration within the information technology and business-related sectors dominate, followed by migration for family reunification and family formation purposes. There are clear differences in this respect between men and women. Despite the emphasis in policy discourse on the increasing participation of women as agents in migration processes, the data reveals that Indian women mainly join as trailing spouses and face a deficit in their labour force participation compared to male migrants and native-born women. Female migration from a predominantly patriarchal Indian society remains constrained.

As a response to admission systems that prioritize short-term migration, there is more individual migration than there is family migration. Furthermore, stay in Europe is generally of a temporary nature for recent immigrants and is often seen as a step towards moving to different destinations. For example, nearly half of all Indians with tertiary education stay in Switzerland for less than five years.

Experiences of Indian migrants in Europe

People who manage to be gainfully employed and learn new skills while abroad are better placed to contribute to home country development (Newland et al., 2008). To measure how well-settled skilled Indians were across the four host countries, the study observed their satisfaction with living and employment conditions, as well as their interest in joining institutionalized networks. Living environment and amenities were ranked very highly, while some individuals participating in the study spoke about the difficulty of integrating and communicating with locals. As the study revealed, these general barriers become most pronounced in times of major life decisions. Meanwhile, while the over-qualification of skilled migrants for the positions they find abroad is often discussed in the context of South–North migration, in this study the perception of over-qualification was not prevalent among the skilled Indians interviewed. There were some complaints about the difficulty of transferring Indian degrees and work experiences to their current positions, but none of the respondents suspected this was linked to gender differences.

The study also revealed that very few skilled Indians in Europe are interested in joining associations, particularly among female migrants. Non-involvement in migrant associations is related to a lack of individual interest to engage in communities; the lack of time; the idea that involvement in such organizations prevents one from experiencing the culture of the host country; and the short length of certain migrants' stay in the host country. There is more interest in joining associations that are not based on ethnicity, such as sports or professional networks. Even though many migrants view the development of their home country as an important priority and recognize the important role of migrant associations in facilitating effective long-distance collaboration, they are often loathe to join migrant associations, as they do not know how they can contribute, or because they lack trust in structures in India.

With regard to the intention of returning, major differences were observed between men and women. This is troubling insofar as physical return is widely perceived as a necessary condition for transferring knowledge. For women especially, staying abroad is associated with having access to better career opportunities. The finding that women and other minorities are less likely to have return plans can be explained by the high levels of social and economic discrimination in India targeting these groups.

Experiences of returnees in India

Among returnees, only 12 per cent of respondents were women, which is close to the overall percentage of women in scientific and technical research in India (Poster, 2013). Reasons for return are majorly driven by employment, where family plays a role as a facilitator. Returnees are in general considered important drivers of development and the study's findings show that women, upon return, have distinct channels of contributing to local society. Women were found to engage in activities that required more time, such as providing personal academic training and even teaching classes for poor students. Engagement in NGOs working on different societal causes and other social services is also common among female returnees. The most widely cited contributions of male returnees to society, on the other hand, included giving to charities and sitting on the committees of central (national) and state governments. With their intense time engagement in local societies, women are found to be important drivers of social change. However, although women generally expressed greater commitment to the development of their home country, they also expressed higher dissatisfaction upon return due to the disproportionately larger work culture difficulties that women face in India. Several female returnees working in the ICT sector even indicated that the best way for them to transfer knowledge from abroad was by contributing to a change in their work culture or institutional environment.

A similar aversion to institutional affiliation, as with Indians abroad, was also found to be present among returnees. Very few respondents were members of any professional organization based in India due to a lack of trust in India's institutional structures.

Policy implications

Networks are considered an important instrument for exchanging information, facilitating joint projects and generating the individual multiplier effect of participating in a common project (Meyer, 2011). Therefore, opportunities to bring together groups of scientists, engineers and other skilled professionals are largely going unseized in the European context, especially with regards to migrant Indian women. The outreach of existing networks is limited to selected groups and lacks an inclusive approach. Policies should aim at encouraging bottom-up initiatives among Indians abroad and targeting those who have been formerly neglected. In addition, skilled returnees should be supported in their efforts to organise themselves in networks.

The study points out that women may be important drivers of social change once they return; therefore, it is important for Indian policymakers to pay special attention to them. In order to promote human resource development among the disadvantaged communities in India, European countries and India should aim

to design policies that give preferential treatment to women and other minority groups, through measures such as scholarship programmes, equal opportunity policies that are adapted to Indian social realities, and revisions in the admission policies of universities and other educational institutions. Implementing such measures would be a way of promoting balanced development in India, as women and other minorities are most intimately connected to India's disadvantaged social groups.

Some of the major obstacles that returnees, particularly females, face upon return are the local work culture, resistance to change and lengthy bureaucratic processes. Such obstacles have implications for employers, as well as policymakers, who both have a role in addressing them.

Contribution 14: The gender dimension of skilled migration and return intentions: Implications for home countries

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Patterns have begun to emerge from new gender-disaggregated country-level data sets that suggest that over the past few decades female migration has come to be an important, growing aspect of total international migration. It is calculated that women's share in migratory flows to developed regions increased from 48.9 per cent to 52.2 per cent between 1960 and 2005 (UN Statistics, quoted in Docquier, Lowell and Marfouk, 2009:297). The recognition of the extent and importance of female migration has led to recent interest in this area. The new data sets also provide information on gender-disaggregated migration stocks and flows by skill (education) levels, thus having the potential to shed light on the gender differential effects of skilled emigration on home and host countries.

There is a growing literature on the various effects of women's education on economic growth and development (see, for example, Benavot, 1989; Knowles et al., 2002; and Tansel and Güngör, 2013). In addition to the direct labour productivity effects on growth and development associated with increased female schooling levels, studies point to links between women's education levels and labour force participation, fertility rates, the propensity to migrate, as well as intergenerational effects on human capital formation. Educated women place greater importance on the education of their children and this helps sustain and enhance the human capital of future generations. Inequalities or gender gaps in education (the differences in the schooling levels between men and women), on the other hand, appear to negatively affect growth. Thus, lack of investment in female education, coupled with a high level of emigration of highly educated women, is predicted to increase education inequalities at the expense of economic development.

Human capital formation is a widely accepted precondition for economic and social development. A strand of the “beneficial brain drain” literature argues that the mere possibility of migrating to countries where better economic prospects prevail induces individuals to invest in more schooling, and thus increases the level of human capital in home countries (Mountford, 1997; Vidal, 1998; Beine et al., 2001 and 2008). Since only a proportion of those who invest in schooling will be able to emigrate, those who are “left behind” will have a positive effect on the development of sending countries by building up their human capital base. Beine et al.’s (2008) analysis of the impact of skilled emigration points to a certain threshold emigration rate for skilled individuals (estimated at 20%), beyond which the sending country suffers from a net loss of human capital. Based on these results, it is argued that the emigration of highly skilled women, a scarce resource in many developing countries, will lead to comparatively greater human capital losses in relation to highly skilled male emigrants.

In this short report, I will try to evaluate the relevance of some of the issues related to the emigration of highly educated women for Turkey using, where possible, micro-level survey evidence from a study conducted jointly with Professor Aysıt Tansel in 2002 (Tansel and Güngör, 2002; Güngör, 2003; Güngör and Tansel, 2008). The survey study consists of two separate target populations: (a) the Turkish student population abroad (since student non-return is an important source of “brain drain” for developing countries) and (b) Turkish professionals working abroad who have at least a university education. The survey results are obtained by non-random snowball sampling techniques; as such, they cannot be indicative of the situation for the full population of skilled emigrants from Turkey. Nevertheless, these results may provide important clues about where to focus attention when determining the research agenda in the area of skilled female migration from the perspective of sending countries.

In Turkey, female human capital is indeed scarce compared to male human capital, and in comparison to the OECD average. There is a significant gender gap at all education levels. A little over 80 per cent of the total female population above the age of 15 only has a primary level of education, while this figure is 10 percentage points lower for their male counterparts. This number is also far above the female OECD average of 41.6 per cent. On the other hand, the share of tertiary-educated females in the total female population is only 5.3 per cent, compared to 8.8 per cent for males and 19.2 per cent for the female OECD population (OECD, 2008c).

There are clear gender disparities in access to education and emigration opportunities in Turkey. Children from higher-income, more educated families are more likely to receive a better education and to pursue tertiary education. The probability of emigrating increases with the level of education, and opportunities for investing in education are strongly correlated to the socioeconomic status

of the individual. We used parental education levels as indicators of the socioeconomic status of survey participants and found that the educational attainment levels of the respondents' parents were far above Turkey's average educational attainment levels. Two-fifths of mothers and more than two thirds of fathers held a tertiary-level degree. In contrast, the average years of schooling for Turkey's working-age population in 2000 was 5.7 years, which corresponds to a little above the primary level of schooling. A decade later, it is only marginally better, at about 6 years.

The highly selective nature of the migration process is even more striking for skilled female migrants. While half of all mothers of female students hold a tertiary-level degree, the same is true for only two fifths of the mothers of male students. Similarly, while three quarters of the fathers of female students have a higher education degree, a little less than two thirds of the fathers of male students are university graduates. In general, sons tend to be encouraged more than daughters to pursue educational opportunities or goals, but this difference lessens as the socioeconomic position of the family increases. Thus, it is expected for girls with more educated parents to be given greater encouragement to pursue higher education and overseas studies.

Theoretical models of migration are built on the premise that individuals migrate to improve their economic and social well-being; it is believed that their decision to emigrate is based on various "push" factors originating from their current country of residence and on "pull" factors in the destination country. Researchers have begun to look into gender differences in individual responses to various push and pull factors in home and destination countries. Women are expected to rely more on social networks than men to ease the migration process and have a greater incentive to migrate as a means of escaping or avoiding gender discrimination in their home country (Docquier et al., 2009).

Our survey of Turkish students and professionals residing abroad reveals gender differences in the respondents' weighing of various push and pull factors (see Table 1). Income differentials between Turkey and the destination country appear equally important for both men and women. The differences occur in the greater importance women place on advanced training opportunities and on proximity to research centres. Women appear more motivated to migrate because of greater opportunities to pursue advanced training and work in the destination country in comparison to Turkey. A greater share of women are concerned about not being able to advance or be promoted in their careers, as well as being affected by economic instability and lack of social security in Turkey. This is an important area for future research. Economic conditions may be affecting skilled men and women differently. Are educated women in Turkey at more risk in terms of losing their jobs or being pushed into temporary or contractual employment arrangements compared to men during economic

downturns and crises? The survey results suggest that the greater uncertainties faced by women in Turkey may be an important impetus for emigrating (not returning). Political discord, bureaucracy and lack of financial resources to conduct business in Turkey, on the other hand, appear to be significantly more important push factors for male respondents.

The migration choice faced by unskilled women is usually not an individual decision, but a decision made by the larger family unit. Unskilled women are more likely than men to migrate for family reunification purposes. What about skilled or educated women? The survey results indicate that there is a considerable interrelationship between skilled male and female migration: 23 per cent of men and 34 per cent of women indicate that they have migrated as a result of their spouse's job or preference. The tendency is stronger for women, with a greater than 10 percentage point difference between the male and female responses. Men, on the other hand, are much more motivated to migrate as a result of the prospect of providing a better environment for their children in the destination country. Women, compared to men, place more importance on better work conditions, a more organized and ordered environment, and a more satisfying social and cultural life abroad. The survey excluded questions relating to gender discrimination and the relative empowerment of women compared to men in the home versus destination country. Given that there are varying degrees of gender inequality and gender discrimination across countries, an important area for future research is to determine the extent to which the relative status/position and degree of empowerment of women in the home country vis-à-vis other (destination) countries is a significant motivation behind the emigration of educated women.

Return intentions also show significant differences among male and female professionals, with female respondents being much less likely to return than male respondents (Table 2). Econometric analysis of return intentions reveals that female professionals indeed have a higher, statistically significant probability of not returning than male professionals, controlling for relevant factors (Güngör and Tansel, 2014). Other studies have also found women to be less inclined to return to their homelands (see Zweig and Changgui, 1995, for the case of China). On the other hand, there are no significant gender differences in the return intentions of the student group, most of whom have, in general, not yet found employment opportunities in the host country (Table 3). The difference in the return intentions between the student and professionals surveys may be due to the fact that a greater proportion of women have degrees in technical fields in the professional survey compared to the student survey (Table 4).

The immigration and employment opportunities of highly skilled foreigners in the host country can be a very selective process that is tied to various conditions. Having met these conditions, women may be less willing to risk their positions

without the right opportunities being available to them in Turkey. Further studies may focus on assessing how much greater the risks are for women in terms of being unemployed and not finding the right kind of employment (which is commensurate with their skill level) when they return. Having invested in advanced education abroad, the returnee may be faced with the prospect of accepting a job that involves little to no use of their newly acquired skills. Thus deskilling can affect not only the skilled emigrant, whose credentials are not accepted by the host country, but also the returnee who faces a job market that has little use for the sophisticated skills they have acquired.

Survey participants were also asked to indicate the type of difficulties they have faced or are facing abroad (Table 5). The most important difficulty for both men and women was missing the family members they left behind. A significantly greater proportion, 87.2 per cent of women indicated this was an important difficulty for them compared to 78.5 per cent of males, indicating a greater sensitivity of women to family ties in the home country. In addition, a significantly greater proportion of women (about 5%) indicated that having a lower income abroad than they would have in Turkey was an important difficulty, compared to 2.7 per cent of men. Although these are relatively small shares of total male and female respondents, it appears to be an area where the gender difference is significant.

Skilled female migrants may also differ in their remittance patterns and in their engagement in various diaspora activities. In our study on return intentions, we also collected information on the types of contributions made to Turkey by the respondents (Table 6). Male respondents, when compared to their female counterparts, appear to have engaged in significantly more lobbying activities and to have served as catalysts in increasing business and professional contacts between their country of residence and Turkey. There are no statistically significant gender differences in the amount of donations that are reported to have been made to Turkish organizations. These results are based on responses to a single question in the professional survey; more comprehensive studies are necessary to understand the impact of gender on remittances to the home country and to determine whether expatriate activities are significant catalysts in mitigating human capital loss from emigration.

It is well known that there is an education–job mismatch problem in Turkey. High school students choose their university majors in a very competitive environment. Minority students who place in the top 10 per cent on the nationwide university entrance exams are more likely to be placed in a university and programme of their own choice. For the rest, the likelihood of being placed in a programme and institution of their choice is much lower. Many graduates of university programmes in Turkey work in fields unrelated to their studies, and youth unemployment is a growing problem for the university-educated as well.

For many, investing in higher education abroad (at the master's and doctorate levels) is a way of signalling to employers in Turkey (especially universities) that they are well qualified. Thus, an important reason for going abroad is to take advantage of the prestige of having a foreign university degree upon returning to Turkey. This is the most popular reason for going abroad for respondents: more than half of men and women, 55 per cent and 58 per cent respectively, indicated they chose to study or work abroad because of the prestige and value added this brought.

On the other hand, the competitiveness of the education system and the high level of stress placed on students appear to be a compelling push factor for postponing return for some respondents who indicated that they might postpone their return to Turkey because they did not want their children to go through the same difficulties they did. Our survey reveals that male migrants are more likely than female migrants to express concerns about providing a better environment for their children.

Our study was designed to look at the return intentions of skilled migrants from Turkey as a whole; nevertheless, the gender-disaggregated results still allow a glimpse of the potential differences in the migration motivations and issues faced by men and women. Further studies designed specifically for skilled women are warranted to gain further insights into the incentives for migration and the potential for return.

Our survey study strongly affirms the tendency of highly skilled female migrants to come from well-educated, high-income families. This aspect of high-skilled migration is important since many emigrants initially go abroad with the intention of obtaining a master's or doctorate degree. Not all students are able to receive scholarships to finance their education; many are private students who are supported by their families. Advanced human capital formation occurs in the host country and is financed to a large extent by private means originating in the home country. Some students are able to take advantage of State-funded scholarships that have a mandatory service requirement attached to them. Only a minority of students are able to obtain foreign scholarships. Thus, the financial burden of advanced study abroad is borne mainly by families and by private and State resources in Turkey. University education is not just a means of improving an individual's credentials and skills level; it is also increasingly viewed as a lucrative business involving the transfer of funds from the country of origin to the country of destination. Seen in this light, education is a precious resource that is financed mainly by the home country and involves the risk of benefitting primarily the destination country via the "brain drain", unless there are substantial feedback mechanisms by which the home country can benefit. For the less developed countries, the loss of educated females from migration poses a greater risk to economic development, since female education is a relatively scarce resource with more diverse effects on development than male education.

Table 10: Push and pull factors marked as “important” or “very important”,^a by gender (%)

Push and pull factors		Male (n = 1521) ^b	Female (n = 757) ^b	$\chi^2(1)$ (p-value)
PUSHA:	Low income in occupation	70.7	70.9	0.914
PUSHB:	Little opportunity for advancement in occupation	64.6	69.9	0.012 *
PUSHC:	Limited job opportunity in specialty	54.8	57.5	0.228
PUSHD:	No opportunity for advanced training	44.0	51.6	0.001 ***
PUSHE:	Far from research centres and advances	47.2	51.7	0.044 **
PUSHF:	Lack of financial resources for business	33.6	27.8	0.004 ***
PUSHG:	Less than satisfying social/cultural life	22.8	25.7	0.134
PUSHH:	Bureaucracy, inefficiencies	76.6	73.4	0.099 *
PUSHI:	Political pressures, discord	62.9	59.0	0.073 *
PUSHJ:	Lack of social security	53.1	59.8	0.002 **
PUSHK:	Economic instability	79.0	82.3	0.056 *
PUSHL:	Others	10.8	8.6	0.108
PULLA:	Higher salary or wage	77.7	78.7	0.556
PULLB:	Greater advancement opportunity in profession	77.9	81.2	0.066 *
PULLC:	Better work environment	68.4	72.0	0.077 *
PULLD:	Greater job availability in specialty	70.6	69.8	0.671
PULLE:	Greater opportunity to develop specialty	75.1	77.1	0.311
PULLF:	More organized, ordered environment	75.4	78.6	0.091 *
PULLG:	More satisfying social/cultural life	25.4	31.7	0.001 ***
PULLH:	Proximity to research and innovation centres	49.1	54.3	0.018 **
PULLI:	Spouse's preference or job	22.9	33.6	0.000 ***
PULLJ:	Better educational opportunity for children	30.2	26.4	0.062 *
PULLK:	Need to finish / continue with current project	19.4	28.0	0.000 ***
PULLL:	Others	4.5	3.8	0.476

Source: Tabulated by author from Güngör-Tansel 2002 survey data set.

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$

^a Percentage of responses with a score of “4” (important) or “5” (very important) on a Likert scale of 0–5.

^b Missing values are excluded from the total. The results are for the combined student and professionals surveys.

Table 11: Return intentions of professionals group, by gender (%)

Return intentions	Male (n = 879)	Female (n = 345)
Definitely return, plans	4.8	3.5
Definitely return, no plans	23.6	18.8
Return probable	34.5	32.8
Return unlikely	29.9	40.0
Definitely not return	7.3	4.9
Test of independence	$\chi^2(4) = 13.39^{***}$	

Source: Tabulated by author from Güngör-Tansel 2002 survey data set.

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$. Cell percentages sum up to 100 across columns; Missing responses are not reflected in the percentages.

Table 12: Return intentions of student group, by gender (%)

Return intentions	Male (n = 676)	Female (n = 427)
Return without completing studies	1.2	1.2
Return immediately after studies	13.6	13.4
Definitely return, but not soon after	36.0	34.2
Return probable	28.0	27.9
Return unlikely	17.9	21.1
Definitely not return	3.4	2.3
Test of independence	$\chi^2(5) = 2.61$	

Source: Tabulated by author from Güngör-Tansel 2002 survey data set.

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$; Cell percentages sum to 100 across columns; missing responses are not reflected in the percentages.

Table 13: Bachelor's degree disciplines by survey group and gender (%)

Bachelor's degree discipline	Total	Students		Professionals	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Architecture and urban planning	2.5	1.0	2.6	2.4	5.5
Economic and administrative sciences	17.6	13.6	25.5	13.2	27.0
Educational sciences	3.4	4.9	8.1	0.6	3.2
Engineering and technical sciences	57.9	61.9	34.9	70.9	43.8
Language and literature	1.0	1.2	2.1	0.2	1.7
Math and natural sciences	9.2	12.2	14.1	5.6	7.8
Medical and health Sciences	3.7	2.5	3.4	4.9	3.2
Social sciences	4.2	2.5	8.6	2.2	7.3
Arts	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.6
<i>n</i> (valid responses)	2206	598	384	879	345
Non-responses	11	7	4	0	0
Test of independence		$\chi^2(8) = 80.37^{***}$		$\chi^2(8) = 108.97^{***}$	

Source: Güngör (2003: p. 98).

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$. Cell percentages sum up to 100 across columns; missing responses are not reflected in the percentages.

Table 14: Difficulties faced abroad, by gender (students and professionals) (%)

Difficulties	Male (n = 1515)	Female (n = 766)	$\chi^2(1)$	
Being away from family	78.5	87.2	25.59	***
Children growing up in a different culture	15.5	11.4	7.03	***
Loneliness, not being able to adjust	21.9	22.7	0.19	
Fast-paced life	16.0	17.4	0.65	
Little or no leisure time	27.7	31.1	2.89	*
Unemployment	4.0	5.1	1.38	
No jobs in area of specialty	2.2	2.9	0.84	
Discrimination against foreigners	16.1	12.1	6.35	***
Lower income than in Turkey	2.7	5.1	8.55	***
Higher taxes	11.6	11.5	0.01	
Crime, lack of personal security	5.0	5.1	0.01	
High cost of living	28.5	29.8	0.43	
Other	14.1	16.3	2.04	
No difficulties experienced	1.7	0.7	4.17	**

Source: Güngör (2003:113).

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$. There are 46 missing observations.

Table 15: Types of contributions to turkey by Turkish professionals during their stay abroad, by gender (%)

Contributions	Male (n = 793) ^a	Female (n = 306) ^a	$\chi^2(1)$ (p-value)	
Help provide overseas scholarships for Turkish students	30.1	20.3	0.001	***
Participate in lobbying activities on behalf of Turkey	42.6	29.4	0.000	***
Help increase overseas business contacts with Turkey	22.8	11.8	0.000	***
Help increase awareness and knowledge about Turkey in general in destination country	85.6	86.9	0.577	
Make donations to Turkish organisations	36.7	34.3	0.461	
Increase professional contacts between Turkey and destination country	38.8	30.1	0.007	***
Help in the transfer of knowledge	30.6	24.8	0.057	*
Other contributions	12.0	13.0	0.525	

Source: Tabulated by author from Güngör-Tansel 2002 survey data set.

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$, * $p < .010$

^a Cell percentages reflect the number of positive responses for each item out of the total number of valid responses and non-responses (n). Participants were asked to check all contributions that applied. Students were not asked about their contributions to Turkey.

Contribution 15: Knowledge about the migration of highly skilled women

Jennifer Irish, Permanent Mission of Canada, Switzerland

Yesterday, the Canadian immigration system was spoken about in many different ways, receiving some praise and some criticism. We would be the first to recognize that no system is perfect and that, of course, the Canadian system can always be improved. I welcome the chance today to give you a snapshot view into how our immigration system has developed over time and what we have tried to do to bring about greater levels of gender equality and measure our progress.

Gender equality by definition involves both women and men as partners in the pursuit of fairness and the benefits of equality. There is no question that women – and men – can live better in society because of advances in gender equality. Advances can create change in the workplace, in public policy and public attitudes, and in our individual lives. Canada remains committed not only to the principle of gender equality, but also to action that makes equality a reality. The situation of migrant men and women in Canada is included under this objective. However, we would be the first to recognise that more progress can always be made.

Canada's Federal Plan for Gender Equality adopted in 1995 strengthened my Government's commitment to gender equality and proposed to effect change economically through the implementation of gender-based analysis (GBA). It changed the way governments looked at issues, designed programmes, developed policies, and enacted legislation. Through implementing GBA throughout federal departments and agencies, improving women's economic autonomy and well-being, and incorporating women's perspectives into governance structures, ultimately the Federal Plan for Gender Equality changed the impact governments had on the lives of women by including the perspective of women in national and provincial policies and programmes.

In 2002 Citizenship and Immigration Canada produced a GBA of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. This review provided a summary of the key policy and legislative issues that had up until that point negatively impacted migrant women and men in the absence of GBA. After this new public policy tool began to be implemented, some notable observations led to a number of changes to the Canadian immigration and refugee determination system; these included:

In the immigration programme

- a. A change in residency obligations for permanent residency in Canada to allow women to leave Canada to care for family members;

- b. Changes in the weighting of experience to benefit those with less time in the labour market;
- c. The policy choice to look at employment experience for a longer period of time, to allow women with disrupted formal labour market experience to be able to acquire the necessary experience;
- d. The recognition within the definition of “Family Class” that a spouse or partner is not necessarily a dependent but has the potential to be a contributor;
- e. The reduction in sponsorship duration from 10 to 3 years for spouses and partners;
- f. The elimination of the fiancé category to redress instances where the category had been used to facilitate the trafficking of “mail-order” brides.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act – or IRPA – also required the Minister of Immigration to report on the gender impact of these regulations in all Annual Reports to Parliament. Citizenship and Immigration Canada therefore has a mandate to undertake GBA and has committed to going beyond this legislative requirement. Since 2002, GBA has been conducted to identify the gender-based impacts of proposed changes to the immigration points system – which is used to assess federal skilled workers – and to implement gender-sensitive indicators in Canada’s refugee resettlement programme.

In response to changes in regulations and selection factors, the characteristics of federal skilled workers have changed since the introduction of the IRPA and their profile has become more diversified. Prior to the IRPA, only 23 per cent of principal applicants who came to Canada were women. Since the introduction of the IRPA, 30 per cent of principal applicants have been women.

Another key economic immigration programme, Canada’s Provincial Nominee Programme, which includes skilled migrants, has also shown an upward trend over time: 23.7 per cent of nominees were female in 2005, compared to 27.1 per cent in 2009. Using 2012 CIC data, this trend appears to be continuing, with the percentage of female principal applicants in the Provincial Nominee Programme rising to 33 per cent in 2011 and 34 per cent in 2012.

Canada’s 2013 Annual Report on Immigration indicated that the proportion of women (and girls) to men (and boys) admitted as permanent residents remained stable from 2003 to 2012; on average, women accounted for 51 per cent and men accounted for 49 per cent. Over the past decade, women have also been making up a larger proportion of economic principal applicants (skilled workers, entrepreneurs, self-employed individuals, investors, Canadian Experience Class applicants, and provincial/territorial nominees). The 2012 figure, 41 per cent, represents the second largest proportion of female applicants over the past 10 years, and exceeds the average for the decade.

More specifically, the Federal Skilled Worker Programme saw a narrowing in the gender gap of principal applicants between 2003 and 2012. In 2003 the gap between men and women was 52 percentage points and by 2012 it had decreased to only 21. This trend was also reflected in many National Occupational Classification skill level categories, including the managerial, skilled and technical, and professional categories.

As some of you know, Canada is in the process of changing its economic immigration system to help candidates connect with employers looking for skilled workers, facilitate their quick arrival to Canada and ensure their successful integration.

Under the Expression of Interest programme, candidates who meet the requirements of entering the Canadian immigration system will be able to make an online submission to express interest in coming to Canada and provide information about their skills and experience. Candidates will be ranked according to characteristics linked to success in the Canadian economy and the Government will only invite the most highly ranked candidates to submit an application for permanent residence. There is no opportunity for gender bias in this analysis. The intention is to match prospective employees before they arrive in Canada to ease their transition into the Canadian labour force.

An important tool to support economic integration for migrants of any gender is foreign credential recognition. The Government of Canada actively maintains a variety of initiatives that continue to support foreign credential recognition and the faster integration of newcomer women and men into jobs that are aligned with their internationally gained experience and education. This includes internship and mentoring programmes, in addition to foreign credentials services and support.

Currently, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration is in the midst of an in-depth study on the topic of protection of women in the Canadian immigration system. Witnesses from across the country and representatives of organisations that provide services to immigrant women are invited to recount what is occurring in Canada on this front and to identify how the Government can continue to improve its immigration system including to ensure there are effective prevention and response measures in place.

As you can see, our settlement services are flexible, they are changing, they are measuring their results and they are adapting to the challenges of the twenty-first century. While overseas, newcomers – including migrant women – can access programmes that help them understand their rights and responsibilities in Canada and provide detailed labour market information so that they can make informed decisions upon arrival. Once in Canada, newcomers, especially women, also have access to a range of employment-related support systems to

help them build their skills to enter the workforce and advance their careers. These services are responsive to specific risks that women may face.

Even with these great advancements, there is no one answer, no one action, no one player that can make equality happen. While our model is not perfect, we have learned that an important aspect of any successful programme is the adoption of strategies that advance gender equality, help women attain economic autonomy and well-being, and provide security from violence to their health and person. In the case of Canada, this is an accountable activity.

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Agenda

Harnessing knowledge on the migration of highly skilled women: An expert group meeting

April 3-4, 2014

International Organization for Migration, 4th Floor Conference Room, Annex Building
17 Route des Morillons, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland

The migration of women, either independently or to follow a family member, is a phenomenon of great significance in most destination countries. About half of all international migrants are women and according to OECD data, highly skilled flows are gender balanced. Despite their high social and human capital, highly skilled migrant women remain under-represented among labour migrants. A combination of economic, institutional and personal factors leads skilled women to migrate either for marriage or family reunification or for asylum-seeking reasons.

Over the years, the body of knowledge on the participation of highly skilled women to migration flows has increased, including research on topics such as the gender biases of migrant admissions systems, the unequal prioritization of careers within migrant couples and the disproportionate difficulties migrant women face on the labour market. Despite this growing knowledge, information on the links between highly skilled migration, gender equality, integration and development is scattered between several disciplines including those focused on migration, gender, socio-economic integration, human capital and development. The result is a low visibility of research findings for policy-makers, multilateral organizations and governments and a lack of awareness of the potential impact of the migration of highly skilled women on the development of home and host countries.

Objectives of expert meeting

- Review evidence on the nature, scope and impact of the migration of highly skilled women on countries of destination, transit and origin;
- Share good practice in terms of major conceptual frameworks, practical tools and resources to increase the quality and coverage of programs to maximize the potential of highly skilled migrant women;
- Examine policy monitoring, evaluation and implementation approaches to ensuring successful social and economic integration;
- Highlight challenges and barriers to the implementation and scale-up of promising/successful approaches to prevent brain waste and deskilling of migrant women;
- Identify practical solutions, entry points, catalysts and pathways to overcome identified challenges and barriers;

DAY 1: THURSDAY, 3 APRIL

08h30-09h00 Registration

09h00-09h15 Welcome session - Objectives of the Expert Group Meeting

- Sylvia Lopez-Ekra, Head of the Gender Coordination Unit, IOM
- David Khoudour, Head of the Migration and Skills Unit, OECD Development Centre

9h15-10h45 Session 1: How many highly skilled women are there and who are they?

Chair: Frank Laczko, Head of the Migration Research Division, IOM

Presenters

- **Highly skilled migration within the global picture of women's migration**
Natalia Ribas Mateos, A Cornisa University
- **OECD migration data disaggregated by sex and education level**
Cansin Arslan, OECD
- **The migration patterns of highly skilled women**
Eleonor Kofman, Middlesex University

10h45-11h00 Coffee break

11h15-13h00 Session 2: Why and how do highly skilled women migrate?

Chair: Christine Verschuur, Gender and Development Programme, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

Presenters

- **Gender and the selection of highly skilled migrants**
Anna Boucher, University of Sydney
- **South-South migration of women: the role of social institutions**
Gaëlle Ferrant, OECD Development Centre
- **Institutionalized inequality and female brain drain**
Maryam Naghsh Nejad, Institute for Study of Labor (IZA)
- **Dual career households, family considerations and gender roles**
Yvonne Riaño, Bern University

13h00-14.30 Lunch

14h30-16h15 Session 3: How do highly skilled migrant women integrate in host countries?

Presenters

Chair: Gloria Moreno Fontes Chanmartin, Senior Labour Migration Specialist, MIGRANT Programme, International Labour Organization (ILO)

- **Evidence from the European Union**
Mercedes Fernandez, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Madrid
- **Gender-segregated labour markets**
Parvati Raghuram, The Open University
- **Brain waste and re-skilling strategies**
Gillian Creese, University of British Columbia
- **Psychosocial dimensions of deskilling**
Blandine Mollard, Gender and Migration Officer, IOM

16h15-16h30 Coffee break

16h15-17h45 **Session 4: What are the impacts of the migration of highly skilled women on home countries?**

Chair: Jason Gagnon, Economist, OECD Development Center

Presenters

- **Migration of health workers**
Barbara Rijks, Migration Health Programme Coordinator
- **Return of highly skilled migrant women**
Metka Hercog, Cooperation and Development Center, Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne-
- **Highly skilled women and the transfer of norms**
Sara Salomone, Université Catholique de Louvain

17h45 End of Day 1

DAY 2: FRIDAY, 4 APRIL

09h00-09h30 **Wrap-up Day 1 and Objectives for Day 2**

Blandine Mollard, Gender and Migration Officer, IOM

9h30-10h45 **Session 5: What are the knowledge gaps on the migration of highly skilled women?**

Facilitator: Sonia Plaza, Senior Economist in the Development Economics Prospects Group of the World Bank
Elements for discussion

- What issues have not been covered enough?
- New trends in the field of highly skilled migrant women
- Are some actors consulted/involved enough?

10h45-11h00 Coffee break

11h00-12h45 Session 6: What is the way forward for the governance of highly-skilled migration?

- **Highly-skilled migration policies and practices**
Lucie, Cerna, Analyst in the Directorate for Education and Skills at the OECD, Paris (tbc)
- **Experience from a country of destination**
Nicolas Drouin, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada (tbc)
- **Improving labour migration governance**
Lara White, Senior Labour Migration Specialist, IOM (tbc)
- **Experience from a country of origin**
Enrico Fos, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Philippines in Geneva (tbc)

12h45-14h15 Lunch

14h15-15h30 Session 7: Working groups on policy recommendations

Working groups

- Addressing women's status ahead of migration
- Improving individual outcomes for highly skilled migrant women
- Maximizing the development impacts for countries of origin

15h30-15h45 Coffee break

16h00-17h00 Rapporteur debriefings from Session 7

Facilitator: Sonia Plaza, World Bank

17h00-17h15 Closing session

- **Ms. Sylvia Lopez-Ekra**, Head of the Gender Coordination Unit, International Organization for Migration
- **Mr. David Khoudour**, Head of Migration and Skills Unit, OECD Development Centre

