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Gendered Configurations: Transborder Professional Careers of Migrant Women

SUMMARY

In this paper an analytical model within the framework of life course analysis is outlined, aiming at the multidimensional analysis of professional careers of migrants. Additional to the work cycle, reproduction as well as migration processes are included in the analysis of the occupational biography of migrants. By this, gender and gender relations as well as migration are systematically included in the reconstruction of the life course. This model is presented with reference to a research project on the labour market integration in Germany of highly qualified migrant women from post-socialist states, being qualified in the natural sciences and technology. Focusing on the professional careers of migrant women, the significance within migration studies of labour and migrant women's chances of employment according to their qualifications is highlighted. After sketching the research project in the context of migration history and the regulation of highly skilled migration in Germany, the analysis of professional careers of migrant women in the life course perspective is conceptualized and discussed.

KEY WORDS: highly skilled migration, migration from post-socialist states, life course analysis, gender, status passages and configurations

Since migration has become a mode of enhancing social mobility, which is increasingly being taken up in the wake of globalisation, social theory and social analysis are confronted with the challenge of revising analytical concepts that were developed with reference to the nation state and society, determined by the institutions of the nation state.¹ A multidimensional analytical perspective is required that takes into account the multiple affiliations of social actors as well as mobility across the borders of the nation state.

An analytical model is presented in this paper, which conceptualises transborder professional careers of migrants. Taking up the life course perspective, three dimensions are included: additionally to the *work cycle*, the importance of family

¹ The initial version of this paper was presented at the International Conference "Migratory processes in Europe: Evolution of the Migratory Interactions between the EU, Central and Eastern European Countries" in Odessa, Ukraine, 24 – 25 September 2010.

relations as well as the migration process is considered for the acquisition of a specific professional position by integrating the *family cycle* as well as *migration cycle*. This model has been developed against the background of migration from post-socialist states to Germany, which has increased since the 1990s and has led to the emergence of an important and numerous group of migrants in Germany. The professional careers of highly qualified migrant women are focussed on, introducing gender as a relevant analytical perspective. Moreover, the difference between “highly skilled” and “highly qualified” is introduced, differentiating between the highly restricted labour migration of *highly skilled professionals* to EU states such as Germany, and the *level of qualification* of migrants who immigrate via other migration regulations, such as family related migration. Since family related migration makes up the most numerous immigration mode, it has to be considered in the analysis of highly skilled and highly qualified migration as well.

HIGHLY SKILLED AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED MIGRATION AND MIGRATION HISTORY IN GERMANY

In view of the dominant debates in German media generally associating migrants with lack of education, it has to be remembered that there are many qualified and highly qualified migrants in Germany.² Figures of the German *Mikrozensus* (2009)³ reveal that the share of immigrants who are university (and polytechnic) graduates at 15.1% is even higher than the share of autochthonous German university graduates which is 12.35%. Looking at gender differences, the share of immigrant women having acquired education at university level (15.1%) equals the share of migrant men and German autochthonous men, outnumbering the share of German autochthonous women (9.6%) (*Mikrozensus*, 2009.)⁴

Still, these figures do not give evidence of their professional chances or success. Recent figures about the labour market integration of migrants who graduated in a foreign country show that they are clearly placed at a disadvantage compared to autochthonous university graduates. In 2009, the unemployment rate of immigrant university graduates was 8.5%, while 2% of the autochthonous group were unem-

² The term “highly qualified” refers to education at university level, including polytechnics. “Qualified” refers to the skill level attained through vocational training without having acquired a college or university degree.

³ *Mikrozensus* is a yearly representative survey carried out by the German Federal Statistical Office, including 1% of the population in Germany.

⁴ The figures refer to immigrants who have not been naturalized. At the same time, there is also a large group of persons among migrants without any vocational training (45.95%), which is much higher than the share of German autochthonous without vocational training (16.5%). In addition to data presented in the *Mikrozensus*, 2009, I made my own calculations as well.

ployed.⁵ Particularly women are clearly less employed compared to autochthonous women and men. Roughly 40% of the immigrant highly qualified women between 23 and 65 are not employed, if unemployed and other non active are added. If they are employed, they more often have time-limited occupations and part-time occupations. Moreover, female migrant university graduates are often disproportionately employed in occupations with low qualification requirements (11.5%), as compared with autochthonous university graduates, women and men (1%) (*Mikrozensus*, 2009).

Apart from that, the qualifications of migrants do not enable conclusions about their ways of migration. Highly qualified migrants have not necessarily immigrated via immigration regulations for highly skilled professionals, whose proportion is rather small. In 2009 11,693 visas were granted to highly skilled migrants, with 157 permanent residence permits for the highly skilled (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2009). Compared to this, 48,325 persons immigrated for the purpose of family reunification (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2009).

In contrast to this, the public discourse on highly skilled migration refers mainly to migrants who immigrated via the Green Card programme for IT-specialists⁶ or to the lack of specialists in some industries and the economy. Kofman has already pointed out that this exclusively economic perspective on migration does not meet the reality of migration – particularly that of migrant women (2004). I am arguing that it is of central importance not to draw conclusions from immigration regulations on migration itself – especially not on motivations for migration. These motivations are more complex and multiform than immigration regulations, as empirical research has shown (compare Seifert, 2001; Treibel, 2001; Weiß, Ofner and Pusch 2010). With reference to EU-migration, it was shown that economic motivations are surpassed by cultural and social motivations (Verwiebe, 2004).

However, against the background of the “internalisation of socialisation” (Pries, 2008)⁷, many people strive for social enhancement across the borders of the nation

⁵ Special evaluation of the *Mikrozensus*, 2009.

⁶ The Green Card programme for IT-specialists was introduced from 2000 to 2004.

⁷ Ludger Pries introduced the German term, *Internationalisierung von Vergesellschaftung*, referring to an increasing extension of societal relations across the borders of the nation state, moving along with technical progress in information and communication technologies and transport. Pries argues that, instead of using an essentialist concept of the nation state, a combination of concepts of space, namely “essentialist” and “relational” concepts, is required to grasp societal processes associated with these changes. Seven ideal types of “internationalization of socialization” are developed, “transnationalisation” being only one of them, which is clearly distinguished from other terms like “inter-nationalisation”, “globalization” etc. According to Pries, the term “transnationalisation” should be confined to societal relations that are relatively permanent and stable between plural locations without having a centre in one location.

state (compare Morokvasic, 2003; Sassen, 2003; Jungwirth, 2008). Particularly in free trade areas such as the EU, these life courses are enabled through supranational markets. They offer the respective citizens privileged access to migration, without being the only ways of migration. Migration might be an object of political regulation, but it cannot be fully controlled, as illegalised migration (not only) in EU-states shows.

In the joint research project on the labour market integration of highly skilled migrant women in science and technology, which is being carried through at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the goal is to reconstruct professional careers before and after migration.⁸ The professional career is central to the analysis, still including all immigration modes. By this, it is taken into account that highly skilled and highly qualified migrants immigrate via different immigration modes.

The history of migration was shaped lastingly by the recruitment stop in 1973, since labour migration was strongly restricted. Comparable to other EU-states, family related migration became the most important mode of immigration. With the Green Card programme for IT-specialists (2000 to 2004), a change in migration policy with reference to labour migration took place. Highly skilled migration was considered as desirable and needed, and efforts were undertaken to recruit highly skilled professionals also from outside of the EU. Against this background, as well as in the context of preparation for the new immigration law, Germany was acknowledged in the public debate as an immigration country, for the first time from the officials as well. The aim was to establish Germany as an attractive immigration country for the highly skilled and to compete with the historical immigration countries United States, Canada, and Australia.⁹ In particular, a thorough examination of the job market before granting a work permit was discontinued (Kolb, 2006). Still, the political discourse moving along with the implementation of this programme was dominated by a rhetoric opposing the idea of Germany as a country

⁸ The joint research project “The integration of highly skilled migrant women in the German labour market. Effects of migration on highly qualified women’s professional careers in science and technology” is being carried through at three universities, sponsored by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, within the framework “Women to the Top” from 2009 to 2011. At Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the research project is being carried out by Hildegard Maria Nickel and Ingrid Jungwirth. The research focuses on the professional careers of migrant women who immigrated without prior work contracts, i. e. via regulations for family reunification, as *Aussiedler* (ethnic German re-settlers), as Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union as well as refugees. At the Hamburg University of Technology, the integration in technical occupational areas in businesses of highly skilled migrant women, who immigrated as labour migrants, is being investigated by Gabriele Winker and Grit Grigoleit. At RWTH Aachen University, the integration of highly skilled migrant women in technological cutting edge research at universities is being analysed by Andrea Wolfram and Anna Bouffier. These migrant women also immigrated with a prior work permit.

⁹ Compare for the concept of the “competition state” Cerny (2005) and Lavenex (2006).

of immigration.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the regulations restricted immigration rather than enabling it. For example, the stay in Germany was limited to five years. In 2005, a new immigration law, the *Zuwanderungsgesetz*, was passed. Since 2009, the job market has been further opened up for academics, dropping the necessity of a prior examination of the labour market before granting a work permit to EU-citizens and allowing migration of academics from non-EU states (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2008: 89). In 2009, the European Commission published the directive “Bluecard Programme”, introducing a programme following the example of the US Green Card as a labour and residence permit, renewable every two years. Thus, EU-immigration regulations as well as the clauses of the German immigration law enable highly skilled migration. With this, labour migration refers not only to sectors with low qualification requirements, as was the case for what was termed the *Gastarbeitermigration*, but also to (highly) skilled labour.

Migrants from post-socialist states make up an important share among the migrants in Germany. Since the 1990s, new migration movements have developed, including from East to West and from post-socialist countries to market economies in the EU. About one third of the migration population without German citizenship came from post-socialist states, namely 27.7% (*Mikrozensus*, 2009). With reference to nationality, Turkish people make up the largest group (23.2%) (*Mikrozensus*, 2009). The most important ways of immigration from the post-socialist states are as *Aussiedler* (ethnic German re-settlers), as Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union as well as their relatives, and migration for the purpose of family reunification. Many migrants from former Yugoslavia came in the 1990s as refugees.

These ways of migration are far more numerous than the regulated highly skilled migration which is moreover structured by gender. Regulated highly skilled migration is predominantly male, as the figures of immigration to Germany show. Only 12% of the visas which were granted to IT-specialists within the Green Card programme were given to women (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2005). This small proportion of women has also remained after the Green Card programme. According to *Migrationsbericht 2009* Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2009), only 31 out of 169 permanent residence permits for the highly skilled were granted to women in 2009, i. e. 18%. Migration from post-socialist countries in particular might contribute considerably to highly skilled migration in Germany. Since the education systems in socialist countries were well developed, most migrants from these countries have training or professional training when they arrive in Germany.

¹⁰ This rhetoric was taken up by conservative politicians, but also by trade unions (compare the analysis of Kolb, 2006).

Consequently, I propose to differentiate between different modes of immigration of professionals. I propose to use the term “highly-skilled migration” with reference to demand-driven migration, i. e. migration directed by the demand of the market for highly skilled labour in the destination country, which is a highly restricted form of migration. Additionally, it is important to consider other modes of migration in order to arrive at an appropriate picture of migration of professionals. The term “highly qualified migration” can denote migration of highly qualified individuals, which takes place independently of market demands for particular skills and independently of the respective immigration regulations. The term refers to the level of qualification, rather than to skills required for particular jobs. This way, all migrants with professional training are considered, independently of their way of immigration. At the same time, the influence of the immigration mode on the possibilities of integration into the labour market can be quite strong (Ackers, 1998; Verwiebe, 2004). It is important, thus, to make the differences between migration paths clear, and not to overlook important groups of migrants.

For gender studies, it is interesting that in some post-socialist states the employment rate of women is higher than in Germany and the EU average. Compared to the EU average of the share of women in science and technology (50.8%), this share is higher in post-socialist states, from 72.2% in Lithuania to 57.3% in Romania. The figure of women employed in these professions in Germany (49.9%) reveals a slight negative variance from the EU average. These HRST figures refer to jobs which require university training and additionally to other jobs which do not require university training (Meri, 2008). *She Figures 2009*, which are based on *S & T statistics* of Eurostat data, also show that the proportion of female PhD graduates in the natural sciences and engineering is higher in post-socialist states than the average in EU-states, which was 25% in engineering and 41% in natural sciences in 2006 (*She Figures 2009*, 2009).

PROFESSIONAL CAREERS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE

In what follows, the analysis of professional histories is sketched, taking into account their multidimensionality. The analysis of professional histories is based on the basic assumption that participation in the labour market is essential for societal participation in general. This central significance of labour, which is a fundamental assumption in theories of social inequality, has proved to be true against the background of the currently analysed changes in the world of labour. The significance of wage work for the categorisation of social actors is analysed to be characteristic for the structural changes of labour (Castel, 2000). In a more general sense, the

organisation of labour is analysed in its function of structuring relations of social inequality. This is the starting point for gender theories analysing the inequality between the sexes on the basis of the organisation of wage work and reproduction work (Aulenbacher, 2009; Jungwirth and Scherschel, 2010).¹¹ At the same time, the distribution of labour in the sex- segregated labour market is also a basis for gender inequality.

New studies about migrant women in care work in post-industrial states show that this work is not only structured by gender, but also by nationality and residence title (Lutz, 2007; Rerrich, 2006; Hillmann, 2000), consequently requiring that gender studies revise the theorem of the gendered organisation of labour, including also nationality and residence title into the analysis (Jungwirth and Scherschel, 2010; Jungwirth, 2010). With reference to migration of women and their employment, though, it is important not to reduce the analysis to the sector of irregular care work, but to consider (highly) skilled and qualified employment as well.¹² Research on migration within the EU shows, for example, that this is pursued with the goal of professional enhancement (Verwiebe, 2004). But there are differences between the chances of women and men to realise these plans. Moreover, the findings show that the aims which are associated with migration have an influence on women's integration into employment (Ackers, 1998). Ackers shows, for example, that migration of women who follow their partners without pursuing professional goals can lead to interruptions of employment and dequalifications (Ackers, 1998).

Consequently, it is appropriate and necessary to analyse women's migration with reference to the chances of (highly) skilled employment and the pursuit of professional goals. The life course perspective offers an approach to analyse professional careers, providing an analytical model that takes the process character of social phenomena into account. The social position, and the professional position, respectively, can be analysed at a certain moment by considering their development. Moreover, the analytical approaches that were introduced in gender studies and migration studies conceptualise social positions in the life course as multidimensional. In what follows, I will sketch an analytical model for a gender sensitive analysis of transborder professional histories. In order to do this, I will refer to Krüger's considerations for the revision of the life course concept and its division into three parts, namely education, employment, and retirement, from the perspec-

¹¹ This theorem of founding gender inequality in the organisation of wage labour and reproduction was established in the 1970s (for an overview, see the articles in Gather, Geissler and Rerrich, 2002).

¹² Kofman shows (2004), for example, that a market for jobs in the health sector was created in Great Britain, for which women were recruited as qualified professionals from the Philippines as well as other countries.

tive of gender studies. Going beyond Krüger's approach, the influence of migration processes on occupational biographies are included in the model as well. I am referring additionally to Schittenhelm's concept of "multidimensional status passages", which was developed for the analysis of the transition of migrants from education into the labour market.

Krüger enlarged the analysis of the life course by adding some more process orientated notions on the basis of a model by Horstmann (1996), as well as taking into account the structuring of life course and occupational biography by gender. Horstmann's model shows how the working together of work cycle and family cycle lead to unequal pension entitlements of women and men. Krüger points out that, this way, "interrelations between gender, origin, family and gainful employment are made available for the analysis of social inequality" and contribute to "the systematisation of the complexity of the entire life course for both genders" (Krüger, 2001: 518). Put differently, additional to the employment history, the influence of the family cycle on the life course is included as an analytical dimension and, consequently, as a condition in the reproduction of the social position within the structure of social inequality. By integrating the family cycle systematically into the life course analysis, it is identified as a relevant dimension for both genders. The inequality between the sexes is founded among other things on the interruptions of women's employment, in order to undertake family duties, which they are far more likely to do compared to men. Together with the reduction of working time for the purpose of care work, this leads to disadvantages in the allocation of women in the structure of social inequality (Mayer, Allmendinger and Huinick, 1991; Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2001). Regarding migration within the EU, these influences on women's life courses have been confirmed (Verwiebe, 2004; Ackers, 1998).

Krüger points out that gender specific inequalities are not only conditioned by the founding of a family, but that, firstly, the gender differentiated transitions from school to job have to be considered and, secondly, that the category of "chances of amortization" need to be included in an analysis that grasps the possibilities of the "utilisation of educational resources in the labour market" (Krüger, 2001: 523). Moreover, the category of "chances of amortization" is in contrast to the categories of "level of education" and "level in the labour market", which are typically used in the study of social inequality, i. e. not only a specific position in the labour market is in focus, but the analytical perspective is also directed at the process of acquiring a specific position. It depends on the chance of deploying qualifications and knowledge. While Krüger refers to jobs that are thought to be typical for women, which provide lower chances of amortization compared to jobs that are thought to be typical for men insofar as they are less remunerated and provide, even in the

long run, only low promotion prospects, the category of chances of amortization is relevant for migrants also in a further respect. For them, the question is how can they bring in and utilise their qualifications within a transborder professional career and life course. A third category Krüger uses is “resource endowment” (*Ressourcenausstattung*), which can connect with the approaches to human capital as well as the Bourdieu’s concept of capital, both common in the study of social inequality.

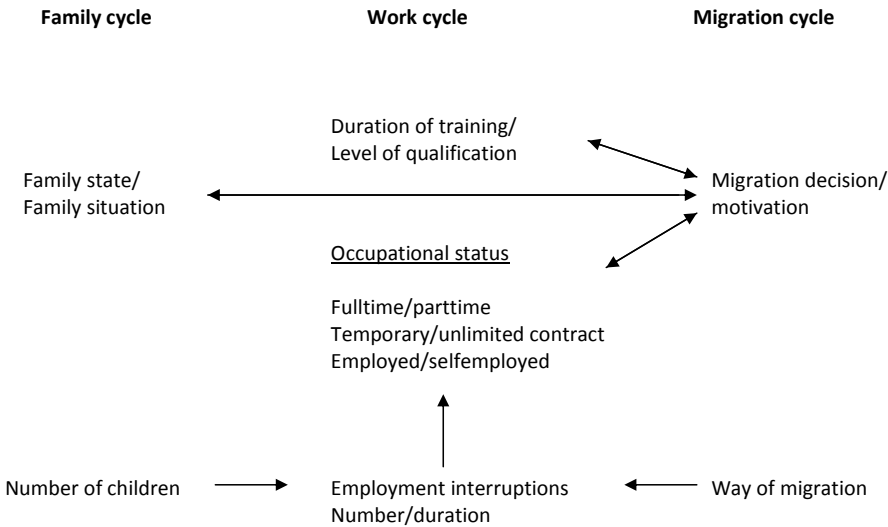
Nohl, Schittenhelm, Schmidtke and Weiß (2009) take up Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, which refers to the level of educational attainment, for the analysis of highly skilled migration. They emphasise that the value of certificates is institutionalised and, additionally, is negotiated in specific situations. In these respects, the term “cultural capital” is comparable to the terms “chances of amortization” and “resource endowment” that Krüger uses. But Krüger analytically dissociates resourcing and the possibilities of utilisation. This allows one to grasp the structural difference between what are considered women’s jobs and men’s jobs, which endow social actors with different opportunities to transform them into income and status – into different social positions. For migration studies, this way the structural difference of qualifications of people who achieved their certificates in the same country they are working in and migrants who graduated abroad can be captured. In Germany, this difference accounts for considerable inequalities in the integration into the labour market, as has been outlined above.

Going beyond Krüger’s considerations, I propose to conceptualise the life course for the analysis of migrants’ professional careers, additional to the work cycles, dependent on the family cycle as well as migration processes (see Figure 1). Migration influences the professional career in different ways.

With migration, a specific residence status is acquired also defining access to the labour market (Scherschel, 2010; Jungwirth and Scherschel, 2010).¹³ Beyond that migration determines the occupational biography, and thereby the social position, in different ways. Migration can go along with the interruption of employment that is also dependent on the mode of immigration. For example, labour migrants do not experience interruptions of employment if they immigrate with a work contract with the prospect of a work contract. But the number of highly skilled immigrants is relatively low, as was laid out above. For other migrants, employment interruptions and jobs with low qualification requirements are frequent (Cohen, Habersfeld and Kogan, 2008; Gans, 2009; Seifert, 2001; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld, 2001).

¹³ In Germany, this includes a formal exclusion, as it is the case for refugees searching for asylum, or restricted access, as applies to many migrants, particularly if they did not immigrate from another EU-state, as well as for migrants from the new Eastern European states, until 2011 and 2014, respectively. The regulations for work permits are more complex than can be outlined in this paper. The general rule is, though, that work permits are dependent on the residence status.

Figure 1: Multidimensional model of the life course including the work cycle, family cycle and migration cycle



Apart from this, the migration cycle is interrelated to the family cycle. It is indispensable to take into account appropriately the influence of the family on migration processes. On the one hand, family related migration has become the most important immigration path into EU-countries. For many other migrants, on the other hand, the inclusion of the family into considerations referring to migration is central. An initial analysis of the interviews in our study¹⁴ shows that the family is taken into account for future planning associated with migration. Particularly in the group of *Aussiedler* (ethnic German re-settlers) as well as for Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union, the following generation has a significant role in considerations referring to migration. For example, migration is motivated and realised by the prospect of the upward social mobility of the following generation. Highly skilled migration can be viewed from this perspective as well. Among the predominantly male highly skilled who had an unlimited residence permit in Germany in 2007, 83% lived with their partners (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2008: 89). They also do not primarily migrate independently, but within families.

¹⁴ Thirty interviews were conducted with migrant women qualified in the natural sciences, engineering, computer sciences and mathematics. Their countries of origin include Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Romania and Moldavia. They live in different regions in Germany, including some with stronger economies (e.g. some regions in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg as well as agglomeration areas and industrial towns in Western Germany) along with some with weaker economies (e.g. Berlin and some other regions in Eastern Germany).

In contrast to the situation of social actors who are not geographically mobile, family related employment interruptions resulting, for example, from family related migration is often much longer and not all self chosen. Acker's research shows that family related migration for women is frequently accompanied by interruptions of employment and qualifications.

An additional extension of Krüger's approach is required with reference to education and the period of professional training if transborder life courses are reconstructed. Different educational systems determined by institutions of the nation state have to be taken into account. For migration between East and West Europe, this entails the inclusion of a less sex segregated education system and labour market in the post-socialist states into the analysis of professional careers, particularly in the fields of natural sciences and technology.

At this point, the term of chances of amortization of training and resources is generally central. It shows that for migrants, as well as for social actors who are not geographically mobile, the duration of training alone cannot explain disadvantages and discrimination in work life. Instead, highly skilled migrants are confronted with the revaluing, and often undervaluing, of their qualification. These processes contribute to long employment interruptions, jobs with low qualification requirements and changes of profession, and for women, often to jobs that are thought to be typical for women (United Nations, 2006). With reference to the supply with resources of migrant women, the revaluing of qualifications means a possible questioning and undervaluing of knowledge in the sense of resources.

From the perspective of Gender Studies, the category of "gendering" needs to be included into the analysis. Gendering is taking place when women with professional qualifications in science and technology are denied their qualifications in the process of migration from East to West. Equally, employment in jobs thought to be typical for women, e. g. in nursing, education and cleaning, has to be analysed as gendering. With reference to the supply of resources and their valuation, this means that an ascription of knowledge takes place, which is based on the assumption of a universal socialisation as women. Consequently, not only a devaluation of resources or cultural capital takes place, but also an ascription of resources.

Schittenhelm (2001) takes up the concept of status passage in order to analyse processes of gendering and ethnicisation during the transition into the labour market. The ascription of gender and ethnicity can lead to discrimination in the labour market as well as in the social structure, which is manifested in unemployment, employment on a level with low qualification requirements, and in the exclusion from fields that are not associated with the female gender. This is the experience of many women engineers and natural scientists in the German labour market, who emigrat-

ed from post-socialist states. To the extent that their qualifications were questioned because of their Eastern European or post-socialist origin, i. e. their qualifications were denied by constructing them as a group of Eastern European or post-socialist origin, this can be analysed as an ethnicisation of the status passage, in the sense that Schittenhelm defined it.

The notion of status passage, which was coined by Glaser and Strauss (1971) in order to analyse the dynamic aspects of integration processes (in Levy, 1991: 87), is suitable to reconstruct the processes that lead to the acquisition of specific positions in the social structure. Levy considers that a social position is always determined by the multiple participation of positions, status, and roles captured in the concept of configuration. In order to take into account the dynamics as well as the stability of integration processes, according to Levy, the life course is to be defined in the sense of a “sequence of configurations” (Levy, 1991: 92). Put differently, a status passage, in the sense of the transition between status positions – e. g. the transition from professional training to the labour market or the access of migrants to the German labour market, which is the topic of the research referred to in this paper – is put together from a sequence of configurations. Conversely, a social position is acquired through status passages. The reproduction of social inequality is to be conceptualised, consequently, as consolidation of a specific position – in the sense of configurations of positions, status, roles and participations – as well as dynamics, in the sense of processes of transitions and access to fields and markets.

In the presented model of the life course, this principle of including the dynamics as well as the stability of social positionings during the inclusion of migrants in labour and society was taken into account. The employment position and the social position, respectively, in the sense of the configuration of positions, status, roles and affiliations, are determined by different processes. It has to be considered, at the same time, that the professional career that is essential for the determination of the social position in the social structure does not solely define it. Rather, the history of the family as well as the history of migration is also important processes determining the employment situation of migrants, by leading to employment interruptions and often to dequalifications. Insofar as the process of gendering during the access to the German labour market is fundamental in the case of highly qualified migrant women in science and technology, I would like to call this “gendered configuration”. Professional skills in these fields are not associated with the female gender, and are dissociated from female gender, respectively. Women who could take for granted their profession, e. g. as engineer, in their country of origin are powerfully relegated to their gender in Germany. Their social position, that is, the configuration of positions, status, roles and participations, is (re-)defined after migration by

gender. With reference to the access to the labour market, gender determines their chances by denying their professional skills in science and technology, and by the ascription of skills, often leading to employment in jobs that are considered to be typical for women, frequently in offices, as shop assistants, in the field of health and nursing.

CONCLUSION

Gender studies approaches as well as migration studies approaches in the life course perspective were taken up in this paper, in order to conceptualise the multidimensionality of transborder professional careers of migrants. The historical situation of transition in the post-socialist states as well as the increasing significance of labour was sketched as the specific context requiring an analytical perspective which analyses the professional histories of migrants transgressing the borders of the nation state. With reference to gender studies, an extension of research questions is necessary, also including possibilities of migrant women and men in skilled and highly skilled jobs. With reference to migration studies, the systematic consideration of gender in the analysis is required. An analytical model was conceptualised in order to analyse the specific employment situation and social position in the process of its development. Following gender and migration theoretical approaches in the life course analysis, additional to the work cycle, the significance of the family cycle as well as the migration cycle were conceptualised as central dimensions in the determination of social positions in the social structure. At the same time, the question regarding how the transition to the labour market is shaped by gendering and ethnicisation, i. e. how gendering and ethnicisation of the status passage takes place, must be included.

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Ingrid JUNGWIRTH

Rodne konfiguracije: prekogranične profesionalne karijere migrantica

SAŽETAK

U radu je prikazan analitički model u okviru analize životnog toka u svrhu višedimenzionalne analize profesionalnih karijera migranata. Osim radnog ciklusa za analizu profesionalne biografije migranata uzimani su u obzir i reprodukcija te migracijski procesi. Time su rod i rodni odnosi kao i migracije sustavno uključeni u rekonstrukciju životnog toka. Taj model prikazan je u vezi sa znanstvenim projektom o integraciji visokokvalificiranih migrantica u prirodnim znanostima i tehnologiji iz postsocijalističkih država na njemačko tržište rada. Usredotočujući se na profesionalnu karijeru migrantica, ističe se značenje rada i izgleda za zaposlenje prema njihovim kvalifikacijama u okviru migracijskih istraživanja. Nakon kratkog prikaza projekta u kontekstu povijesti migracija i reguliranja visokokvalificirane migracije u Njemačku, konceptualizira se i raspravlja o analizi profesionalnih karijera migrantica iz perspektive životnog toka.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: visokokvalificirane migracije, migracije iz postsocijalističkih država, analiza životnog toka, rod, prijelazni statusi i konfiguracije

Ингрид ЮНГВИРТ

Гендерная конфигурация: заграничные профессиональные карьеры мигранток

РЕЗЮМЕ

В данной работе представлена аналитическая модель в рамках анализа жизненного цикла, разработанная с целью многомерного исследования профессиональных карьер мигрантов. В исследование профессиональной биографии мигрантов, помимо рабочего цикла, включаются также и репродукция, и миграционные процессы. Таким образом, в реконструкцию жизненного цикла систематически включаются как род и родовые отношения, так и миграция. Эта модель представляется в рамках научного проекта по интеграции на немецком рынке труда женщин, обладающих высокой квалификацией в области естественных наук и технологии, иммигрировавших из пост-социалистических стран. Сосредоточив внимание на профессиональной карьере женщин-мигранток, статья подчеркивает важность исследования труда и перспектив трудоустройства мигранток в соответствии с их квалификациями. После короткого представления проекта, в контексте истории миграций и регулирования миграции высококвалифицированной рабочей силы в Германию, осмысливается и обсуждается анализ профессиональных карьер мигранток с точки зрения жизненного цикла.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: миграция высококвалифицированной рабочей силы, миграция из пост-социалистических стран, анализ жизненного цикла, гендер (род), статусные переходы и конфигурации