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How to cite:

Kofman, Eleonore and Raghuram, Parvati (2013). Knowledge, gender, and changing mobility regimes: women migrants in Europe. In: Ilcan, Suzan ed. *Mobilities, Knowledge, and Social Justice*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 59–75.

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Version: Accepted Manuscript

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

http://www.mqup.ca/mobilities-knowledge-and-social-justice-products-9780773541757.php?page_id=46&

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Changing Mobility Regimes, Knowledge and Gender Equalities in Europe

Eleonore Kofman and Parvati Raghuram

Introduction

Over the last decade the concept of skills has been increasingly mobilised to understand migration. As Urry (2007) has argued the paradigm of mobility has become one of the leading tropes for understanding the present. However, opportunities for mobility are not evenly distributed; the mobility regime is marked by a mobility gap with many people prevented from travelling through enclosure and entrapment (Shamir 2005). Taking these arguments further, Bryan Turner (2007) suggests that given the gap, it might be more useful to think of the present as marked by an immobility regime.

In parallel there have been discussions of the paradigmatic status of knowledge within such a mobility regime (Tannock, 2009). Knowledge is ideologically powerful in defining the economy, and hence, visions of society. It is seen as a driver of growth so that the mobility of knowledge workers has been treated preferentially within contemporary society. However, only certain kinds of knowledge are included within the domain of mobility. Those whose skills are not recognised, accredited or validated have limited mobility compared to those whose skills are solicited. As a result some are immobilised, and devalued because of the nature of their knowledge. Such an inequitable economic and social outcome is, thus, an issue that needs serious consideration if we are to take seriously the quest for social justice.

One axis along which this differentiation occurs is gender (Walby et al., 2009). Men and women do not inhabit the same mobility regimes as women's mobility is disproportionately limited by custom and control over their gendered persona. In this chapter we explore how gender affects mobility regimes and immobilises some women more than others. It explores current mobility regimes in which the national/global interface interacts with a dominant European regime of mobility, knowledge transfer and citizenship and questions how knowledge itself mobilizes different spatial imaginaries and is spatialized in these forms of governance. It does this by assessing the gendered outcomes of the shifting mobility regimes with reference to Europe and considering the implications of unequal outcomes in the knowledge-mobility nexus for social justice.

Mobilising Knowledge

Mobility has become one of the tropes that define a modern subject. Thus, for Buscher and Urry (2009: 99) '(A)ttention to the fluid, fleeting, yet powerful performativity of a multitude of everyday (im)mobilities transforms conceptions of sociological inquiry, explanation and critique.' The quest to understand modernity therefore involves, indeed requires, sensitivity to how mobility shapes the world. This constitutive gesture of mobility while important is, however, for others, not the whole story. Bauman's (2000) vision of liquid modernity is based on the heightened mobility for some and imposed immobility on others resulting from globalization (see Chapter 9 on the 'regime of immobility', this volume). Hence, Shamir (2005) suggests that mobility is only one half of the contemporary condition. The other half involves the immobilisation of large parts of the world through 'a pervasive "paradigm of suspicion" that conflates the perceived threats of crime, immigration, and terrorism, thus constituting a

conceptual blueprint for the organization of global risk-management strategies and that actively seeks to contain social movement both within and across borders'. He suggests that immobility is therefore as significant in shaping modern subjects as mobility. Moreover, he argues that the two are related – that producing a mobile world requires technologies of curtailment and entrapment from walls and fences to complex surveillance technologies. For Turner (2007) what we inhabit is a paradigm of immobility marked by sequestration, storage and seclusion. Turner elaborates a series of modalities through which these are secured, adapting Agamben's (1998) theorisations of enclavement. Moreover, he suggests that there is an inexorable turn to suspicion and exclusion.

The fundamental contradictoriness of the immobility paradigm within the context of the modern world lies in the constitutive nature of mobility in defining the modern. Whether through the ability to travel (cosmopolitan pleasures), or through the need to move for developing an economy, the spatial stretch required by the modern subject involves mobility. To make a claim to be modern is to posit oneself in the trope of globalisation and its spatialities – the global.

Moreover, these mobilities are not simply corporeal; they involve goods, capital, and most importantly knowledge. Mobility is a strategisation of power that reinforces certain versions of knowledge. An illustrative example of the use of mobility as trope is offered by Cook (2007) in her exploration of how Northern women employed by international aid agencies to do development work in Gilgit. They use their mobility embodied through international travels to narrate their developmental knowledges in comparison to the women in Gilgit who are posited as underdeveloped and lacking in knowledge due to constraints on their spatial mobility. Hence mobility scripts certain kinds of knowledge as valuable. It is those that circulate, have come

from outside, is borne by certain individuals, and has a wide reach, that counts. Local knowledge which is context specific, beyond the networks of international power, becomes less valuable. In the case of Cook what is clear is that the power of mobility is as important to the 'development worker' as to those who are to be developed through the arrival of the development worker. The comportment, behaviour, and qualities of the migrant knowledge worker reflect the 'operative rationales that animate aspirations aimed at shaping the conduct of others' (Osborne and Rose, 1999: 738). They have an ideational value and operate to validate and value certain kinds of mobility. Moreover, they also validate the knowledges of the mobile subject.

Mobility, knowledge, and the body are thus firmly connected. This is particularly evident in the discourse around the knowledge society. 'The ideological work that knowledge economy discourse performs is based on its claim that knowledge should be seen primarily as a factor of production, along with land, labour and capital; its promotion of the need for networking, teamwork and partnership; its insistence that social and economic advancement be based on talent, education and skill; and most of all, its presumption that knowledge, education and learning are inherently and unquestionably goods in and of themselves.' (Tannock, 2009: 257). The productive capacity of knowledge is however, accompanied by its mobilisability, which has its own spatial reach.

Knowledge subjects are wooed by states as investment in rational knowledges, in evaluative judgements and informed engagement are seen as productive both of the state and the modern subject. As 'modernity has given science the status of the only truly public knowledge' (Pellizzoni, 2003: 331), scientists are the ultimate modern subjects. Thus, modern states may well encourage some forms of mobility as mobility comes to be seen as part of modern subjecthood. Underpinned by notions of Enlightenment, the forms of mobility come to be seen

as an exercise in rational discrimination by bounded, autonomous selves, moving freely and rationally within the world. These forms of knowledge also find value in migration and international migrations are increasingly shaped by the prioritization and regulation of knowledge within specific migration regimes.

However, the qualities of the knowledge that travel also vary. Discussions of different kinds of skills and their propensity and ability to be transferred, transmitted and translated with corporeal mobility are indebted to Michael Polanyi's (1958, 1966) distinction between the codified and the tacit. He explored the personal and emotional dimension of knowledge creation, distinguishing between 'codified knowledge', defined as rule based knowledge that can be written down and stored, and 'tacit knowledge' which is acquired on the job and resides with the individual as know-how and experience. Since then the classifications of types of knowledge have become more complex and differentiated between those indivisible from the individual, and in principle amenable to transfer, and those that are socially situated (Williams, 2006).

Embrained knowledge is dependent on conceptual skills and cognitive abilities, which allow recognition of and reflection upon underlying patterns. Such knowledge is marked up as creative and imaginative but also as already harnessed into existing systems of production so that the knowledge is economically productive. Thus, it is often assumed that these conceptual skills are derived from or derivate of scientific formulations. Such knowledges have become more valorised and prominent due to their generic nature and hence mobility. They underpin the productivity that is ascribed to knowledge society and also provide it with its competitive edge. Both actual economic growth and relative growth are seen to be spearheaded by this form of knowledge.

Embodied knowledge results from experience of physical presence, practical thinking, material objects, sensory information, and learning in doing. The ‘material turn’ in social theory has led to a revalidation of such corporeal knowledges. The embodied nature of many kinds of work and the tacit knowledges that accompany even the more embrained forms of work have come to be recognised, spurring new methodological insights and methods (Buscher and Urry, 2009). However embodied knowledge has been traditionally associated with women’s knowledge and often discounted in its contribution to production and social well being. Furthermore, the work done by some people, especially certain groups of migrants is necessarily posited as embodied as we shall go on to see.

In *encultured* knowledge meanings are shared due to some form of common culture. Understandings arise from socialization and acculturation so that language, shared experiences and sociality are the key elements of this form of knowledge. This form of knowledge is often ascribed to soft skills, with a shared understandings and responses and ways of behaving. It is often tacit although it may be counted up and classified through gross categories such as nation or religion.

Knowledge which is *embedded* in contextual factors and is not objectively pre-given forms another category of knowledge. Here knowledge is shared even though it is generated in different language systems, cultures and groups, because it is embedded in institutional and political contexts.

Finally, *encoded* knowledges are embedded in signs and symbols which are to be found in traditional forms such as books, manuals, codes of practice and website. This is the kind of knowledge associated with traditional professions relating to law, medicine, and education, although these have embraced other forms of knowledge creation as well. For Williams these

forms of knowledge are relatively less mobile (Williams, 2006). However, as many postcolonial theorists have argued the transfer of encoded knowledge has been central to the development of spatialised power (Cooper, 2005). For instance, the mobility of doctors has enabled the formation of shared codes across a profession which then shapes further mobility (Raghuram, 2009) for some.

Although it is useful to separate these forms of knowledge in order to understand what is contained and sought within each, empirically they are often found in combination. It is the configurations of these different forms of knowledge that is often interesting (Williams, 2006). Their diverse and intricate configurations are valorised differentially and depend on the context in which the bearers of such knowledge are incorporated. And the directionality i.e. between spheres of life and social networks (Ettlinger, 2003) and patterning of the configuration is crucial for understanding the status of the knowledge and its bearers. Thus knowledge that draws upon and moves out of the household, as much embodied knowledge is, may be credited with little value. Though embodied knowledge is generally devalorised when it is combined with encultured and/embedded knowledge, it may lead to a higher position within an occupation. For example, Filipino domestic workers and carers often earn higher wages due to their shared religion and English language.

One particular example of this configuration is offered in recent thinking about the complexities of embrained knowledge within knowledge societies. Meyer and Brown (1999) suggest knowledge communities too are socio-cognitive communities, not just social or institutional ones, inherently embedding the knowledge of scientists, their focus of interest, not only in brains but also in codes and cultures. They argue that scientists enact this socio-cognition in particular ways at particular locations and these forms of enactment are inherent to

the production of their knowledge. As a result the many sites, relations, and practices that foster knowledge have come to be interrogated (Amin and Cohendet, 2004). The role of networks of knowledge, especially those that cluster around global cities (Henry and Pinch, 2000), how they are produced through localised configurations and a ‘buzz’ and the role of such sites for fostering the learning process as knowledge is transferred between places that ‘buzz’ too have gained attention (Faulconbridge, 2007). The emphasis here has been on the macro-geographies of learning in the context of competitiveness and collaboration with much of the literature identifying the importance of particular places as nodes of learning and of place based relations and their intensity in fostering growth. Such localised nodes play an important role in global knowledge, thus challenging understandings of what is local knowledge and what is global. Moreover, the relationality between these nodal places of learning in a global economy itself poses interesting questions for how economic growth is produced. It recognises that even embrained knowledge may be very specialised and thus enacted in local environments that are not easily duplicable or replicable (Meyer and Brown, 1999). Yet, this is not the form of embrained knowledge that is recognised in the knowledge society as we will see below. Moreover, certain kinds of embodied and embedded skills may also come to be valued in combination with brains. Thus, Grugulis and Vincent (2009) found that when women had technical skills their soft skills came to be acknowledged too.

Tellingly, the use of the syllable ‘em’ and ‘en’ signals the *processes* through which knowledge gets status and come to be recognised and valorised as possessing the characteristics of the nouns that follow. Thus *embrained* knowledges suggest that these are knowledges that are marked up as being about brains, often almost exclusively. Similarly *encoded* suggests that the coding is the primary process through which such knowledge comes to be recognised. It

highlights the fact that these differentiations are at least, in part, a set of representational practices whereby certain elements of knowledge get privileged while others are stripped off or removed from vision. The syllables suggest that these forms of knowledge do not have an ontological status that is wholly outside of their practices. They come to gain status through being marked up through particularly privileged signatures. Embrained knowledges are a case in point. The creativity of certain forms of art practices must be tethered to the economy through the framework of the creative cultural industries to become embrained. They are imbued in power relations about what counts and what does not. Certain elements of knowledge may come to be recognised as codified but others codes may be implicit and not marked up as such.

These are not definitional problems alone – the reason they matter is that along with the marking are issues of value including remuneration. Within a particular configuration, embrained knowledges are probably the most highly valued. Its value is reinforced with the addition of encultured and embedded knowledge which enables those who have that form of knowledge to transcend their bodily status. Thus it enables a migrant to approximate as closely as possible the non-migrant because it enables them to get recognition that comes much more easily to non-migrants. Of course, the migrant may not be able to access the relevant experience with which to obtain these forms of knowledge. And soft skills, a broad term which covers a range of skills under the umbrella of the embedded and the encultured, should also be seen as employer-driven, locally relevant and political rather than universal and generic' (Grugulis and Vincent 2009: 599) and frequently equated with gendered and racialised attributes, for example aggressive men and empathetic women who are sought after.

Because most of the literature thus far has adopted a categorical approach to these forms of knowledge there have only been muted accounts of the power relations that are imbued within

the knowledge formations. The literature fails to recognise that each of these knowledges is, in fact, also part of a constellation of power relations that shape and are shaped by other factors. Yet recognising and challenging these power relations is often central to demands for justice, the purported aim of much of the literature on these forms of knowledge. Without highlighting the processes through which different kinds of knowledge are sifted and valued, such literatures can remain analytical without revealing the politics of who is included and who excluded, and how these processes of inclusion/exclusion occur. In this chapter we aim to correct this by exploring two aspects - gender and migration – which influences how the power of knowledges gets stratified but also transformed.

Gender, Migration, and the Knowledge Economy

Gender and mobility both offer important axes along which this power of knowledge is manifested (Kofman, 2007). Women's employment tends to be far more gender segregated than men's. The comparative European project *From welfare to knowfare* (European Commission, 2007: 23) found evidence that "labour markets are becoming more diversified in terms of skills, pay, and job autonomy and security. These employment changes increase the risk of the social exclusion of those with a weak labour market position at either a global or local level. Women's greater responsibility for the care of children and dependents makes it more difficult for many of them to obtain secure, skilled and well-paid jobs throughout their working life". The report also concluded that women's jobs, especially those with atypical contracts and part-time work involve less complexity and autonomy.

The gendered stratification of knowledge has come to have particular importance in the context of a knowledge economy. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development (OECD, 2008) proposed a generic definition of the term in developing national strategies for individual countries: (A knowledge economy) is one that encourages its organisations and people to acquire, create, disseminate and use codified and tacit knowledge more effectively for greater economic and social development. The European Union saw globalisation and a new knowledge-driven economy presenting it with a major challenge (Lisbon European Council, 2000). Digital technologies were transforming the old industrial society into an information society. The Lisbon Agenda (2000) announced that it intended to make the EU ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010’. It spoke of the need for ‘social and institutional modernisation’ as inevitable and KBE was presented as technical management (neo-liberal governance) and not a political choice. Each Member State had to be at the cutting edge of a knowledge-based and innovatory economy and society. A recent basic definition captures in a nutshell the dominant role of the ITC Revolution hitched to the market i.e. “the knowledge economy is what you get when firms bring together powerful computers and well-educated minds to create wealth” (Brinkley 2006:3). Thus in its simplified version, knowledge is seen as being embedded in the relationship with machines and codes rather than embodied in human beings. In the UK, KBE is seen to require economically valuable skills and increased employment in financial services, high technology and the ICT sector, media and broader cultural economy (Walby, 2002).

Although the knowledge economy is often conceptualised through the global lens and the global has been constructed as the spatial field within which contemporary human mobilities operate, the regional dimension is increasingly acting as the resolution of tensions between the global and the national. Moreover, this is not new. Certain codes of knowledge and the mobilities associated with them have been important within particular cultural spaces and

formations, for example, between former colonial and colonial and metropolitan spaces or within the European Union where recognition of credentials applies.

The growing significance of the regional in Europe is exemplified by the European Union which is displacing the global scale as a container of migration and social interaction.¹ The objective of the European mobility regime has been to create a borderless space within which the bearers of skills and knowledge can circulate unfettered and in which social difference can be managed. The internal space is relatively weakly stratified; the external world is increasingly stratified. The few who are permitted to cross the barriers are selected for their highly prized scientific knowledge and financial expertise as the drivers of the now battered global economy. For the regulated professions there has largely been a return to the 1990s; they are offered at best restricted hospitality or a guest worker regime. These trends are most evident in the UK which had previously embraced a strategy based on the global competition for the skilled. As a result, regional formations such as empire or Europe always play a role in shaping mobility regimes. Moreover, the governance of such regimes moves dynamically between different spatialities.

The conceptualisation of the knowledge economy and its relationship to mobilities exemplify the idea of gendered knowledge as illustrated by Schwenken and Eberhardt (2008) in their analysis of economic migration theories. Collective gender knowledge refers to the knowledge which exists in society about the differences between the sexes, the reasoning about its 'self-evidence' and evidence, the dominant normative concepts about the correct' relations and divisions of labour between men and women. In this instance it refers to the acknowledgement of gender differences in types of knowledge, differences in accessing and acquiring them and the explanations of these differences in relation to the functioning of the global economy.

The gendered conception of the knowledge economy has significant implications for immigration policies. Recent changes to managed migration in European states closely correspond to the exemplary knowledge economy candidate – an individual working in the financial sector or ITC expert, or combination of both, who can earn high salaries and is young and promising with many years of work to offer the British economy. Those in the feminised regulated sectors, associated with welfare professionals and social reproduction, are more likely to earn lower salaries and will have their movements more restricted and subject to confirmation of good conduct by the sponsor. This distinction has the effect of differentiating bearers of different forms of human capital and skills and a hardening of the boundaries between those with and without useful skills. In countries, such as Ireland and the UK, the highly skilled and the ordinarily skilled, are thus offered different routes. Other countries, such as the Netherlands primarily target ‘knowledge migrants equated largely with scientific and technological skills. For the highly skilled routes of entry, salary levels play a significant or the key criteria for determining eligibility and this has been carried over into the EU Blue Card (EU Council Directive 2009/50/EC) which was finally adopted on 25 May 2009ⁱⁱ. And given the gender pay gap prevailing in countries of origin and destination, this is likely to have implications for gender balance of highly skilled migrants. Such unequal outcomes resulting from the differential valorization of skills in immigration policies should be of concern for social justice.

Gender, Knowledge and Migrations

For migrant women the stratifications we have outlined above are often exacerbated. Women circulate globally through the world of services (Agustin 2003), filling, in particular, less skilled and embodied work, such as care for children and the elderly, hospitality services, cleaning and

sex work. There is a clear concentration of women, but especially migrant women in the personal and social services in nearly all OECD countries and especially in Southern European countries due to their over-representation in domestic labour and hotels and restaurants. Many have experienced high levels of deskilling or have taken a long time to utilise their credentials (Moreno-Fontes Chamartin, 2006; Rubin et al., 2009).

Yet at the same time there is a significant minority of skilled female migrants who have been able to mobilise their cultural and social capital to access skilled work. Until recently data has not been sufficiently disaggregated to demonstrate the significance of skilled female migrants. The OECD has begun to address the issue of data deficiency in relation to skilled migrants and labour markets (SOPEMI, 2007) and the gender brain drain (Dumont et al., 2007). The data suggest that migration has become more feminised, including for the highly skilled (defined as those possessing a tertiary degree), which has become more or less gender-balanced (see Table 1 below). The share of women immigrants holding a tertiary degree in OECD countries is only three percentage points below that of men. Moreover, many highly skilled women also enter as the spouses of principal applicants, as is the case in Canada.

In European countries, there are relatively high rates of female skilled migrants amongst the foreign-born (UK, Ireland, Hungary). At the other extreme, due to high levels of deskilling migrant women in most Southern European countries, there are markedly lower proportions of migrant women in skilled occupations.

Table 1: Percentage of women in highly skilled occupations by origin, 15-64 in selected European countries, 2004			
	Native-born	Foreign-born	Foreign-born non-OECD
Austria	38.2	25.3	18.6
France	37.7	30.5	31.1
Germany	46.0	30.5	-
Greece	36.6	13.5	6.8
Hungary	40.8	42.7	40.8
Ireland	40.0	47.9	-
Italy	43.9	29.2	20.4
Spain	36.2	21.6	12.3
Sweden	45.4	38.3	25.7
Switzerland	44.1	38.0	29.2
United Kingdom	36.2	43.7	39.8
“-” indicates that figure is not significant			
“..” no explanation			
SOURCE: Table I.15. SOPEMI 2006			

Since the late 1990s, reduced investment in states like Australia, Canada and the UK in doctor, nurse, and teacher training led to significant shortages in the education, health and social work sectors which cannot be met locally, forcing these and other states to recruit labour abroad. Women’s employment in these sectors has therefore significantly contributed to altering the gender balance in skilled migration. For example, over 90% of migrants in nursing are women and in many countries this constitutes the largest single health profession. However, these occupations are in feminised reproductive sectors, that remain nationally bounded, regulated by corporatist bodies and deploy primarily encoded rather than embodied skills, as we have previously defined. And within these sectors, for example, as in nursing, discriminatory practices and national and racial stereotyping may relegate migrants to the more embodied types of labour (Wolkowitz, 2006), at lower grades and less well remunerated.

Women migrants are also increasingly present in flows that were previously predominantly male, such as with doctors, but have become more gender balanced in recent years. In some countries such as the UK, the use of migrant labour has fallen sharply as the number of nationally trained health staff has increased at the same time that there have been financial cuts in the public health sector. These trends are also country specific. For example, the life sciences and health professions (which include nursing, midwifery, doctors, dentists, veterinarians, biologists and others) is still one of the top 5 occupations for migrant women in three countries - Ireland, Denmark and Belgium. Between these countries 8.6% and 7.4% of migrant women respectively are employed in this sector (Rubin et al., 2008: 72).

Women also form a small but significant minority amongst migrant Information and Communication Technology (ICT) professionals entering any of the major countries of immigration in any year. However, the small proportions of women must be set within the context of large total numbers (and in most countries until recently, rapidly rising) entering through this category (Raghuram, 2004, 2008). In Australia in 2005, women formed between one-quarter and one-third of the total number of computing professionals entering through the major skilled migration streams, or as family migrants (DIMIA, 2006: p. 82; Tables 1 and 2). In Canada, between 1998 and 2000, women formed about one-fifth of all computer programmers and systems analysts entering as principal applicants within the skilled stream, but only about 10% of computer engineers within the same period (CIC, 2003; Tables 3 and 4).

Intra-European migration has increased over the past few years while the growth of female migration among third country nationals has been much more sector-selective. In a detailed study of the experiences of migrant women in Europe Rubin et al (2008) highlight some of the key characteristics influencing what knowledges migrant women bring, how this varies

depending on where they come from, how far they are accredited and recognised and the extent to which they are able to convert this into employment in the labour force. We highlight some of the relevant aspects of this study below.

Rubin et al (2008) show us that migrant women are spread across a range of skills, educational qualifications, and sectors. However, there are also clear examples of concentration in the over half of native-born women and nearly two-thirds of migrant women 'not only concentrated in a few sectors of the economy, but in the lowest skilled segments, which typically entail low status, low pay, and limited rights and scope for mobility within the labour market. Some of these sectors, like the sales and services elementary occupations, and personal and protective services, are typically sectors which demand "unskilled, rudimentary, menial, repetitive, interchangeable, and substitutable or expendable labour" (Rubin et. al., 2008). Within these low-skilled sectors, additional years of experience do not have a significant impact on earnings, earning profiles are relatively flat, and there is high instability and turnover. The limited scope for human capital development in these sectors and the few opportunities for career progression restrict workers' opportunities to move up in the career hierarchy into more competitive sectors and jobs' (p. 71).

The experiences of intra-European migrants and migrants from third countries often differ. Overall, EU- born migrant women have higher labour force participation and employment rates and lower unemployment rates than third-country migrant women (Rubin et al., 2008, p. 95-96). These differences between intra-European migrants and third country national women are muted in the case of less educated women. Third-country migrant women with lower educational qualifications have very similar labour market participation and employment rates as low education native-born women, although the former are significantly more likely to be

unemployed.

Some of Rubin et al's (2008) findings are exemplified through the case of Germany where in 2008 roughly 1 million women from Eastern European countries were living. Overall, around 8% of the total number of female migrants in Germany had a university degree although the percentage of migrants from Eastern European countries with a university degree is often much higher than 8%. However, if only 8% of them had a university degree it can be assumed that there were at least 80,000 highly skilled migrant women living in Germany in 2008. Around 12% of all women with a university degree in Germany are scientists and engineers.

Consequentially, almost 10,000 of the highly skilled migrant women with university degrees are natural scientists or engineers, probably more because in Eastern Europe these subjects are not as segregated as in Germany. Moreover, the processes of validation of science were powerful in a number of socialist states (Macrakis and Hoffman, 1999). However, after migration not all their skills were acknowledged or validated and only some women can be found in the equivalent occupational sectors. This is evident in the fact that overall only 6,668 women with foreign nationalities were working in engineering and science with social insurance in 2005.

These examples provide us with an overview of how skills and education are distributed and come to matter across a Europe deeply imbued with a desire to be part of a competitive knowledge society. They show us the uneven nature of the experiences of accreditation and validation of knowledge and the resultant differences in how far they result in a participation in the knowledge economy. They provide us with a map of the differences but do not show us some of the processes that result in this differentiation, an issue we turn to in the next section.

(Dis)counting Knowledges

In the above sections we have highlighted some of the different kinds of knowledges, what knowledges are being recognised in a knowledge economy, and how gender acts to stratify the opportunities that migrant women have in this context. We thus indicated that gender acts as an important lens that stratifies incorporation into a knowledge society. In this section we want to add some conceptual depth to this analysis by exploring how aspects of the different kinds of knowledge are caught up in complex power relations that influence this incorporation. We exemplify this largely through care work, a sector which has become increasingly important for migrant women in Europe over the last decade.

The extraction of bodily labour has always been part of capitalist exploitation but in a globalising world, the fields of exploitation have expanded and incorporated migrants in new ways (Wolkowitz, 2006). One field where such extraction occurs currently is in carework, which is increasingly being done by migrant women. Migrants, especially migrant women's work is seen as marked by three Ds – dirty, dangerous and difficult, with many being employed in care (Doyle and Timonen, 2009). But in this marking one can also see the ways in which migrants' care work has been accompanied by a paring down of care to physical labour – its emotional content, both in its content and in its ascription has been minimised (Duffy, 2005). This is especially so when migrant bodies become somatically marked and racialised as 'brown', 'coloured' 'black' or othered in some visible way. The work done by such bodies is then defined in particular ways, stripped of its affective capabilities or the brains that are required to make decisions on what is appropriate care. Defining care as *only* sensory bodywork also does not recognise (or value) the multiplicity of the body, which always involves emotional, social, and

biological labour. Here, certain kinds of labour are consonant with particular types of knowledge and the two are rarely unpacked.

Underlying these definitions is the fact that this care inherits the configurations of recognition offered to those who performed it earlier. Typically, migrants (mostly women) have moved into a world of care which was almost universally dominated by women. However, the rising labour market participation of women has resulted in substantial labour shortages in unpaid informal care-provision that women had often provided, intensifying demand for paid care-givers. This has been accompanied, at least in the West, by the rolling-back of state provision so that the gaps in care have been felt most acutely by women as they have been faced with a care-gap both within the household and without. This demand is increasingly being met by migrant female labour. The provision of care in its myriad forms underlies much female migration so that a large numbers of female migrants move to provide care in a range of contexts and sites. They find employment as domestic workers and as care professionals, such as senior carers, nurses and social workers, and facilitate the care of children, adults, disabled and elderly within households, in residential homes and hospitals. However, the care they provide is marked up by the fact that such knowledge of women was always seen to be embodied rather than requiring brains. The transference of skills and knowledge possessed by women and learnt in the domestic sphere e.g. domestic work, cleaning and care to a public sphere has been accompanied by the status usually accorded to such skills. It is seen as an extension of women's innate ability to care for family members (Cameron and Boddy, 2005) and hence poorly remunerated. This influences knowledge recognition across many of the highly feminised sectors of the labour market so that the need for long formal skills and training, or its importance in the constellation of global knowledges is not recognized.

Moreover, the ascription of the value of knowledge is not only dependent on those who have the knowledge – it is also situational. For many migrants the work they do, caring for those who are most dependent, including the bodywork of touching and cleaning dirty or frail bodies, means that they too bear the negative ascriptions of their work (Dyer et al, 2008). Working in sites that are sometimes considered ‘out of place’ such as hospitals and care settings intensified this demeaning positioning. Both black bodies and older bodies are marked by disgust and a distancing from the desirable body. This may be due to phenotypical variation as in race or to the effects of change and impairment as in the ageing body. Thus, both bodies, singly and in association, are seen as out of place, never ordinary and always questioned and classified in some way. This set of characteristics seem to come together to dominate a particular way of thinking about both black and old bodies. A particular assemblage appears to dominate both types of bodies. It also defines the knowledges they demand so that for example looking after old people can be defined as not only involving knowledge about lifting and cleaning; it does not require any intelligence, emotional or otherwise. However, these configurations also mark those who provide that labour, and the knowledge that those who work on those bodies possess in stigmatising ways.

Knowledges, though stratified, are also capable of transformation. They may shift from one type to another. For example, certain elements of emplaced knowledge may become increasingly codified and become less valued over time. Similarly, the embodied knowledge which underpins care is increasingly becoming codified. In the UK social care sector, considerable efforts have been put into training and formalising qualifications for work in this sector, which has experienced severe shortages of labour and hence recourse to migrant workers (Cangiano et al., 2009).

Knowledges and skills are not only temporally dynamic but also have spatial variability. The knowledges acquired in some places are valued more than that acquired at others. Some of this may transfer across space and others may not. Thus, Raghuram et al. (2010) found that even though doctors in India shared the same codified practices as in the UK, they were unable to make their credentials count in the UK medical labour market. Similarly Bauder (2003) suggests certain forms of knowledge regularly remain unaccredited because of the location where that knowledge was obtained. Canadian accreditation and Canadian experience seem to garner authority often denied to knowledges gained elsewhere. However, over time this situation may be altered as migrants themselves recognize the power that such knowledges have. They may acquire new skills and accreditation to make the most of their employment opportunities. In other instances the encoded knowledge i.e. educational qualification is not only discounted but may be deliberately hidden so as not to appear too threatening to the employer.

What is clear in the above analysis is that who possesses the knowledge, the pre-histories of such knowledge, where it is performed and for whose benefit all operate to stratify knowledge. Gender and race act as further prisms through which these differentiations are both operationalised and magnified. However, on occasion the power differentials may also be transformed, especially in the context of migration. Thus, women with a particular form of recognition of embained power, such as migrant women in the ICT sector may find that those qualities do not travel. They come to be seen primarily as women in the post-migration scenario.

Their body becomes the surface on which forms of control are enacted. For example, in some Western countries as black bodies they may be watched and policed because of their race (Fanon, 1967). The characteristics of the migrant body – its comportment (suspicious behaviour), clothing (veil, type of beard) - all come to be the primary markers of how such bodies should be

dealt with. Their brains become even more secondary in the highly securitised environment in which we now operate. For others, these transformations may be more straightforward.

Travelling through inter-company transfers, as already embedded within institutional processes and authorities their knowledges travel with them, especially when played out through the white male body.

Conclusion

Knowledge, skills, and education are not equally distributed across the world. They vary in content, valuation, accreditation, and transferability. They also come together in different combinations to influence who moves and how. In this chapter we have explored some of these issues through the example of gendered migrations in Europe. Gender offers one vector of stratification, often alongside others such as race and nationality, to influence migrant women's experiences. In analyzing the effects of changing mobility regimes, we have to take into account the gender-neutral representation of knowledge and gendered valuation of skills. The filter of knowledge, gender and mobility is reflected not only in the selection of migrants into Europe but also their labour market outcomes. Across Europe men are disproportionately present in the less regulated sectors and more fluid mobility; women in the more regulated and spatially restricted sectors. The effect of current closures and openings may result in a partial return to the gendered patterns of the 1990s for the interface between the national and the global but with greater gender equality at the European scale.

The categorisation of knowledge offers a lot to understanding the roles of different kinds of knowledge that are being incorporated in a knowledge society. As Tannock (2009) has argued we need to be wary of thinking of knowledge in unilinear or depoliticised ways. He suggests

that we call forth the language 'of high skills (good) and low skills (bad), and we talk of knowledge and knowledge economies as goods in and of themselves, inherently and unquestionably. We need to remember that even in the vocational and economic context alone, all knowledge is ideologically charged, and what we learn can point us in what are often diametrically opposing directions' (p. 269).

What is necessary is to see that these definitions of knowledge and their configurations have a complex contextual setting that is imbued with power relations that too need addressing. This is particularly important at a time when mobility is an important trope for defining modernity, and knowledge acts to select women who can migrate and how they should be incorporated. As we have argued in this chapter, the differential valuations of different types of knowledge have implications for the global distribution of economic and social resources and thus the realization of social justice. Two contrasting scenarios of the knowledge-mobility nexus and social justice can thus be discerned. Embodied knowledges, though in demand, are accorded few rights of mobility, forcing many individuals to live with undocumented or at best temporary statuses for long periods of time. Embrained knowledges, more valorized and closely associated with global circulation, are more easily able to cross borders and acquire economic and social rights. Moreover, as these different kinds of knowledges come together in different ways they pose ever more complex challenges for treating migrants ethically. Placing migrant knowledges at the heart of this debate demands that we recognize the complexity of how embodied issues such as race and gender, come together with elements of selective evaluation of knowledge to produce diverse forms of stratification that are locally contingent. These provide the basis for inclusion/exclusion and raise questions - not only about what is being done but also what needs to be done to move towards justice. Hence, the intersection of migration, gender and knowledge

needs further analysis, and the terms of the discussion need interrogating to make way for the diverse groups of women who make up today's mobile subjects.

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Endnotes

ⁱ NAFTA is another example where mobility has intensified as a result of mutual recognition, resulting in particular in Canadian emigration, including migrants with Canadian citizenship, to the United States.

ⁱⁱ The proposal has still to be passed by the individual member states within the next 2 years. Though representing a harmonised admission route for the highly skilled, states do not have to replace their own schemes, are allowed to set their own admission numbers and vary the

minimum salary level for a work permit, which is currently set at 1.5 times the average annual salary.