



# Gender and citizenship in academic career progression: an intersectional, meso-scale analysis in German higher education institutions

Kyoko Shinozaki

To cite this article: Kyoko Shinozaki (2017) Gender and citizenship in academic career progression: an intersectional, meso-scale analysis in German higher education institutions, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 43:8, 1325-1346, DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300309](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300309)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300309>



Published online: 05 May 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 22



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)



## Gender and citizenship in academic career progression: an intersectional, meso-scale analysis in German higher education institutions

Kyoko Shinozaki

Institute of Sociology/Institute of East Asian Studies, University of Duisburg-Essen, Duisburg, Germany

### ABSTRACT

In tune with the fundamental shift in Germany's skill-b(i)ased immigration policy since 2005, higher education institutions (HEIs) are increasingly becoming 'magnets' for a skilled migrant workforce. While 'internationalisation' is often understood as something to be celebrated and (further) accomplished, some observers speak of clear signs of discriminatory experiences among racialised and migrant academics. This is a new aspect, as social inequalities have by and large been considered in migration studies to be the sole terrain of labour mobility into less-skilled sectors of the economy. Meanwhile, abundant literature on gender and higher education shows that women academics have poorer access to career progression than men, demonstrating gender-based academic career inequalities. However, the insights generated in these two strands of scholarship have seldom been in conversation with one another. This paper takes stock of the lack of an intersectional perspective, focusing on citizenship and gender within HEIs as hiring meso-level organisations that are becoming increasingly transnationalised. It explores the intersectionality of citizenship and gender in accessing academic career advancement by examining three key career stages, that is, doctoral researchers, postdoctoral researchers, and professors, in two case-study HEIs.

### KEYWORDS

Gender; citizenship; intersectionality; higher education; mobility/migration

## Introduction

'I'm a real American. Moving to Europe? I'd never thought about it until I received a Humboldt Professorship',<sup>1</sup> says David Divincenzo, a Professor of Physics (Lübke 2014). The reasons for his and others coming to Germany are multifarious: freedom of research, the high quality of life, and the possibility of a dual career. Over the past decade, the number of 'foreign' professors has been increasing (DAAD and DZHW 2015, 104). Does this mean that the experience of international migration and mobility serves as a ticket for career progression? Also, does it suggest that the issue of social inequality, one of the key concerns driving migration studies, does not affect migrant scientists?

Within migration studies it has become almost a convention to debate the issue of social inequality in relation to migration into 'less-skilled' sectors, dating from classic works (Castles 1984) up to the present (Anderson 2000; Lutz 2011; Lillie and Wagner 2015).

The main overarching themes here include racism (Phizacklea and Miles 1980), various kinds of rights, ranging from labour to residence to citizenship (Ruhs and Martin 2008; Shinozaki 2015a), and educational accomplishment among *immigrants'* offspring owing to the social origin of their parents (Becker 2011).

By contrast, the issue of social inequalities seldom enters the discussion in highly skilled migration/mobility scholarship (see Bilecen and Van Mol 2017), with just a few recent important exceptions (e.g. Nohl et al. 2009; Nowicka 2013; Waters and Leung 2013; Triandafylliadou and Isaakyan 2015). I aim to address this lacuna, by examining non-German academics in two case-study German higher education institutions (HEIs). I consider them as an example of the kind of highly skilled migrants who are seen as indispensable to post-industrial knowledge economies. Although occasionally also making a reference to German female and male academics, this article mainly focuses on non-German academics, including both the offspring of settled/long-term immigrant parents and migrants who have themselves moved to Germany. While the former falls under the ambit of migration scholarship, the study of the latter – a (highly) skilled workforce (and international students) – mainly speaks of *mobility*, instead of migration. Although this group still consists of labour migrants, academic discourses tend not to treat them as such (Bauder 2015). Building on cutting-edge literature (Löther 2012; Neusel and Wolter 2016), my attempt to address both groups is triggered by my interest in bringing these two strands of scholarship into a mutual conversation.

Germany is an interesting case to consider. After four decades during the post-war period claiming not to be a country of immigration, it has recently emerged as an OECD country with one of the most liberal labour migration policies towards the highly skilled.<sup>2</sup> In tune with the fundamental shift in the country's skill-b(i)ased immigration policy since its 2005 Immigration Act, German HEIs are increasingly becoming 'magnets' for a future skilled workforce (SVR 2014). As such, internationalisation is often understood as something to be celebrated and accomplished. This paper examines the extent to which the intersection of gender and citizenship influences academic career prospects, resulting in both advantages and disadvantages. It builds on and integrates the insights generated by a wealth of literature on gender inequalities in academic employment as well as a more recent body of scholarship on inequalities in highly skilled migration/mobility.

I suggest that migrant academics' access to career progression is mediated by multiple social divisions; it is not only juridical citizenship that matters but also gender, and in their intersection these factors work to (re)produce social inequalities. I begin by discussing the need to take an intersectional perspective when social inequalities are being transnationalised through the international migration and mobility of people and HEIs. This discussion is followed by a brief contextualisation of the paper. The remainder is devoted to an analysis of career progression at two urban, case-study universities in Germany, through an investigation of three key career stages: doctoral researchers, postdoctoral researchers, and professors.

## **Towards an intersectional perspective on the transnationalisation of social inequalities**

The debate on social inequalities has conventionally focused on issues around the distribution of assets and property between individuals and groups within (national) societies.

Social inequalities rest on the notion of structural social stratification, which denotes ‘differential (unequal) access to rewards based on their [individuals’ and groups’] position’ (Giddens and Sutton 2013, 480), leading to a systematically unequal distribution of resources (Hradil 2000). While the economic aspect was and still continues to be central, including the classic work by Marx ([1867–1894] 2000), Weber’s ([1922] 2009) theorisation prompted a multidimensional view of social inequalities such as status and party, going beyond the primacy commonly attached to the dimension of economic class. Later thinkers, such as Bourdieu (1986), have grasped the complexity of social stratification in terms of social and cultural capital. We can thus speak of social inequalities when certain social groups systematically have or lack access to valued goods due to their multifarious societal positions, and when their life conditions are influenced by this. These may include academic career prospects based on gender, social class and migration experience.

The multiplicity of inequalities has also entered the discussion on academic careers in higher education (HE) in terms of social origin (Bourdieu [1984] 1988), gender (Ackers 2005; Beaufäys 2012; Beaufäys, Engels, and Kahlert 2012; UCU 2013), and racialisation (Raghuram 2013; UCU 2013). In understanding the career opportunities of migrant and mobile academics from an intersectional perspective, two issues are particularly important: intersectionality and transnationalisation.

### **Intersectionality**

Expanding on the multidimensionality of social inequalities, I propose to adopt an intersectional perspective for three reasons: firstly, it highlights the multidimensionality of the categories that may be translated into social inequalities (Yuval-Davis 2006); secondly, it can help us identify how differences simultaneously intersect to create advantages and disadvantages in a context-specific manner (Anthias 2008; Lutz, Supik, and Herrera Vivar 2011), which will then pave the way for (re)producing social inequalities. For example, a few existing studies report limited career opportunities among female migrant academics, attributing these to their female gender and migration background (Bakshi-Hamm, Lind, and Löther 2008) or to institutional racism, whiteness, and sexism in neoliberal universities (Ahmed 2012; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016). Thirdly, while there is a widely rehearsed triad (‘race–class–gender’), an intersectional perspective is a potential tool for overcoming methodological nationalism (Shinozaki 2012). This has to do with the genesis of the concept: developed in the context of U.S. Black feminists rendering visible a ‘racial’ and class difference *within* the category of women (Crenshaw 1989),<sup>3</sup> it challenges the unquestioned homo-national framing as a unit of analysis, one of the three variants of ‘methodological nationalism’ (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003, 578).

### **Methodological nationalism and transnationalisation**

The ‘naturalisation’ of the nation-state has been and continues to be a salient feature of inequality studies, despite the impressive extent of the scholarship’s theoretical depth and empirical scope (Weiss 2005). In other words, in this strand of scholarship, social inequalities are measured and compared using *national* sets of data, as in the case of international comparison. Conversely, social inequalities affecting different social groups tend to be studied within the political and spatial confinement of a particular nation-state.

The point is not to deny the importance of the state as a unit of analysis for cross-national and international comparisons altogether. In fact, it would be erroneous to equate the critique of methodological nationalism with the irrelevance of nation-states; rather, my intention is to question the tendency in scholarship to assume the primacy of the nation-state as a 'natural' unit of analysis, as though it were a neatly separable container, without having to offer any explanation (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003, 578). Influential thinkers in social stratification studies, including Pierre Bourdieu, are no exception here (Erel 2010).

However, global processes are accelerating and they now permeate many different realms of our everyday lives. This holds particularly true when it comes to international migration and mobility, which is said to be an imperative for academic career progression (Ackers 2005). Thus, the primacy attached to nation-states is no longer tenable in the way it used to be. If methodological nationalism in social stratification studies is critiqued in the light of migration, migration scholars are met with a critique because of its 'sedentary and immobile premises' when they study social inequalities. Social inequalities are being studied in the context of the receiving country as though they take shape in one fixed national context (Amelina and Vasilache 2014), as though scientists cross borders to stay for a longer term or for good. In addition, it is not only people who move but their relationships (Parreñas 2001; Baldassar and Merla 2014; Shinozaki 2014) and organisations (Adick 2008; Pries 2008) which span and operate across the borders of nation-states. For example, the German Rectors' Conference (*Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*, HRK), the German Academic Exchange Service (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*, DAAD) and HEIs are increasingly acting as transnational organisational mediators, which both set the standards and norms of academic mobility and implement them. Their logic and practices have direct or indirect repercussions on the career prospects of migrant and mobile academics, influencing conditions and structures of HEIs.

## Context

The assertion that social inequalities in academic careers are taking on a transnational dimension should be understood in at least two broader contexts. Firstly, it has to do with Germany's recent fundamental shift in its political self-understanding of nationhood as a country of selective immigration. This has originally been set in motion in 2001 through a series of legal reforms pertaining to skilled and highly skilled flows. The reform has partially revised the endlessly repeated conventional notion of German nationhood being a *völkisch*, non-immigration country (Brubaker 1992), although, historically, it has de facto been a country of immigration and short-term mobility (Hoerder 2002). In particular, the 2005 Immigration Act solidified Germany's skill-b(i)ased immigration policy (Shinozaki 2015b), which includes provisions concerning international scientists and students. Secondly, this new legal reform at the national level may have stimulated internationalisation at the meso-level of HEIs. The internationalisation of HE involves a wide range of mobility of scientists, students, and administrators, as well as of education, research, and other related services (Knight 2007). This article turns its attention to HEIs and scientific staff, two rather neglected actors in the internationalisation debates (cf. Findlay [2011] on HEIs).

### *Internationalisation strategy in German HE: HRK*

In 2008, the HRK adopted an internationalisation strategy, which provides a common framework for all of its member institutions (HRK 2015). It considers HEIs to be social institutions embedded within larger economic, political, and social forces of globalisation. This goes beyond simply ‘meeting harmonised teaching standards defined in a European context, acquiring research funding from Brussels’ (HRK 2015, 21). The HRK instead proposes that German HEIs should develop a sense of transnationality as a whole, and become the kind of HEI that will itself be an active driving force for a global HE system. Five years later, another resolution on an internationalisation strategy was agreed upon, this time involving the *Länder* Ministers of Science, which included: strategic internationalisation of individual HEIs, improving the legal framework for internationalisation, and establishing a culture of welcome and an international campus, attracting excellent (young) academics from abroad (HRK 2015, 13–18).

### *Methodology and the case-study universities*

This paper makes use of a combination of data, collected between 2013 and 2015 at two case-study universities (Universities A and B). Their official documents, including concept papers and websites, are used to map out the formal organisational structures. I also draw on a total of five expert interviews with university administrators: an Officer of Dual Career Services (DCSs) at University A, and two senior administrators from the respective International Offices (IOs). The interviews were recorded and transcribed for the analysis. The expert interviews and participant observation at university and city events are of particular relevance, where they elaborate on, or reveal accounts diverging from, the official documents. Academic personnel statistics were compiled by the case-study HEIs upon request, and a descriptive analysis will show structural patterns of intersecting academic career inequalities based on gender and citizenship. This statistical analysis is further complemented by the HEIs’ expert interviews, which account for the role of the respective HEIs as hiring, transnationally operating organisations in influencing the patterns of unequal career progression.

With regard to the personnel statistics, two points merit caution; firstly, for technical reasons, University B’s dataset does not include doctoral academic staff on research-project-based contracts. This means that the actual number of doctoral scientists at University B is much larger than the figures suggest. Another implication is that career transition from doctoral to postdoctoral may not be as concisely drawn up as for University A. Secondly, neither of the universities keeps track of different types of ‘migration background’<sup>4</sup> or international mobility experience – let alone the category of ‘race’. Instead, citizenship is the only migration–mobility-related variable collected by either HEI throughout. This article operationalises migration through the category of non-German citizenship by using the available datasets. As a result, it entails a few limitations, for example, slippage between the terms ‘migrant academics’ and ‘non-German academics’. It may be that neither term accurately corresponds with actual migration or mobility experience, be it the scientist’s own or familial. The further heterogeneity of the groups such as the experiences of study and work abroad cannot be highlighted either. Undoubtedly, it is important to differentiate diverse migration and mobility experiences, but I

nonetheless believe that it is a worthwhile endeavour to start making visible some aspects of migration–mobility experience, combined with gender, by making use of the existing datasets, even if these are not yet comprehensive.

In the concept paper on internationalisation and the interviews with administrators in charge at both of our sample HEIs, academics are commonly linked to short-term international research or teaching mobility, and seen as actors initiating international research collaboration. Such academics, along with international students, are also identified as being among the main clienteles by both IOs, which goes hand in hand with the HRK's (2015) vision of internationalisation to promote a culture of welcome. Nonetheless, there are differentiated 'welcome' services depending upon which group they belong to, as both institutions offer more individually tailored services for postdoctoral researchers and academics at subsequent career stages and their accompanying families. In particular, in the interviews it became apparent that international researchers and research collaborations are referred to as factors contributing to achieving excellence in the global academic hierarchy. This suggests that the presence of international researchers and international research collaboration is viewed – almost – as a means of strengthening the universities' international competitiveness and reputation. By the same token, this logic legitimises more individualised services for researchers than for students. These similarities notwithstanding, there are also significant differences between the case-study universities.

#### *University A: strategic transnational match-making for international excellence*

Located in one of Germany's metropolitan regions, University A has roughly 2600 scientific staff. It instituted its IO in the early 1990s, replacing its predecessor, the *Akademische Auslandsamt* (a largely bureaucratic, administrative unit). Initially, this office mainly took charge of international students on the basis of dealing *reactively* with individual needs. Later, the IO began to act *proactively*, offering 'services' specifically tailored for international students on the basis of previously identified needs. The IO Director recalls that a major shift occurred around 2005, as the Office came to occupy a strategically important position within University A. The IO became incorporated into the overall 'strategic planning' of the university that was designed to *further enhance* its standing internationally. One of the consequences of University A's 'strategic goal' is that it focuses on a few, selected international partner HEIs in North America, Europe and East Asia for research collaboration, along with academic and student mobility, rather than entertaining a large number of partner universities. The streamlining of international contacts was carried out on the basis of 'which university brings us something, which doesn't', as one senior administrator expresses it, explaining that maintaining numerous contacts can be expensive, due, for example, to the visits and administrative costs involved. At the time of the interview, which was a little more than 20 years after the establishment of the IO, they had begun to add scientists, from early career researchers to senior academics, to their list of target groups.

Two activities are particularly worth noting. Firstly, University A has been actively recruiting master's students and doctoral researchers in the fields of science and technology, and for this the IO has hired recruiting staff with international work experience. The IO administrator attributes their recruitment to the lack of interest from local and other Western European students in studying science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects. In contrast, he emphasises Eastern European and Chinese students'



interest in STEM disciplines, for example, describing the latter group of students being ‘extremely motivated’ (*‘motiviert bis in die Haarspitzen’*). In close collaboration with the relevant departments, University A’s IO advertises study and work opportunities on a database and through portals and participates in HE fairs in Asia, mediated by the DAAD. But this is not to suggest that they would take just any international scholar, or that the more international students and doctoral researchers, the better. Instead, the IO Senior Officer stressed the importance of ‘the matching between postgraduate students and [doctoral and postdoctoral] researchers, and the university’. To this end, the recruiter and the university’s selected graduate schools arrange and conduct face-to-face interview screenings with candidates during HE fairs. University A’s IO, together with its ‘key’ graduate schools, practically serves as a transnational match-maker.

Secondly, their strategic path is now expanding to include postdoctoral visiting researchers and professors as well as newly arrived international postdoctoral and professorial faculty members. They have acquired competitive external funds to hire another senior administrator for these academics in their mid- to advanced-career stages to coordinate this new division. They offer services such as securing family-friendly housing, dealing with immigration clearance, and issues around childcare and social security, as well as arranging activities such as welcome and orientation events and excursions.

#### *University B: from ‘nice-to-have’ to ‘committed’ internationalisation*

University B is another German metropolitan university; it has a larger number of academic staff than University A at roughly 3,000. Until the early 1990s the *Akademisches Auslandsamt* mainly dealt with the issue of admission of international students, but this changed a decade later (in the early 2000s) when the Rector began to stress the importance of the university’s *gaining* international visibility. A senior IO administrator recalls how quickly the issue of internationalisation gained momentum, something that he had not experienced during the time of the *Akademisches Auslandsamt*, resulting in the setting up of the internationalisation taskforce. Although initiated by the Rector ‘from above’ in the organisational hierarchy, the taskforce brought a range of actors on board in an inclusive way, including students (both international, ‘wannabe’ international, and local), academics from all different career stages, the Rector’s Office, the academic senate, and the university’s administrative body. The taskforce collectively identified support needs in matters related to internationalisation. This led to the institution of the IO and the creation of University B’s internationalisation strategy paper, both of which are integral parts of the university’s overall development plan, as in the case of University A.

The IO Director remarks that the issue of internationalisation has changed from ‘something nice to have to a binding commitment’. In other words, what is new is not the awareness that issues pertinent to internationality are part of the university environment, but rather the professional pursuit through institutional management, and financial mechanisms. In addition, in 2005 – 10 years earlier than University A – it won a competitive external award to set up a welcome centre to cater for internationally mobile guest researchers and internationally recruited faculty members.

Compared to University A’s recruitment practices, which are carried out mainly with particular HEIs in three preselected cities through short visits, University B pursues a combination of different strategies: they have set up international branch offices – in

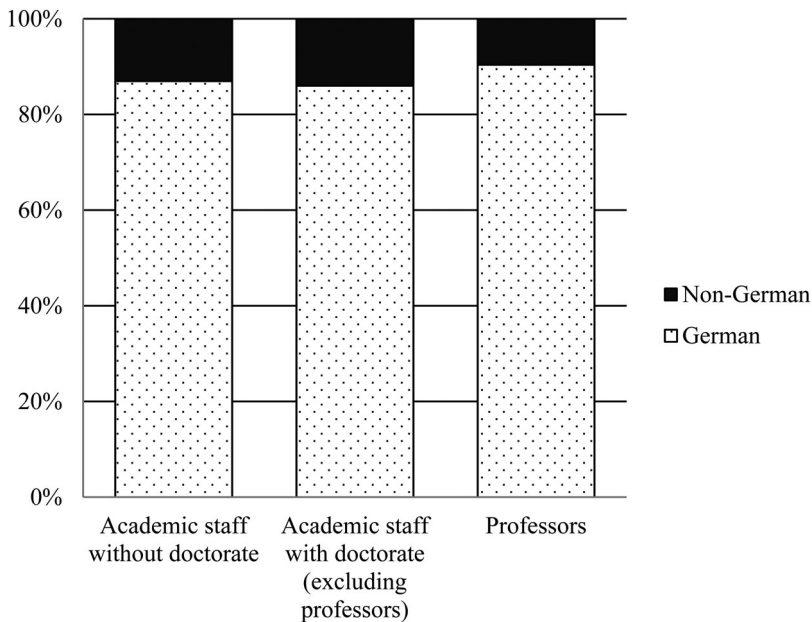


the Americas and Eastern Europe – for prospective international students, both degree seekers and short-term mobility students, as well as to aid in the recruitment of academics and research collaboration. At the same time, they *continue to widen* their collaborative networks in research and teaching in all regions, as opposed to HEI A, which streamlined ‘not-so-popular’ partners. While competitiveness and excellence are also key to University B’s internationalisation strategy, its regional focus is not only on the research-intensive urban knowledge hub of Western Europe, North America, and East Asia. But it also includes countries of the global South, mirroring its self-claimed social responsibility.

## Citizenship-based and gender-based inequalities in access to career progression: findings from the two case-study HEIs

### *Career progression through the lens of citizenship*

Statistical figures show that there are three overall trends in the two case-study HEIs. Firstly, non-German academics are clearly a minority at all three career stages (Figure 1). Secondly, their proportion is almost the same amongst doctoral researchers and academics with a doctoral degree: 13% and 14%, respectively, although the absolute number in the latter group shrinks by about two-thirds (Table 1). That the share of non-German academics nonetheless remains stable at the first and second career stages can be attributed to a decrease also in German academics during this career transition. Thirdly, however, from the second career phase to the third, professorial rank, the proportion of non-German academics declines noticeably, from 13% to 9.6% (Figure 1). These figures are nonetheless still higher than the national average for all HEIs of 6.4%



**Figure 1.** Academic career progression by citizenship (HEIs A and B combined).

Sources: Human resource department case-study Universities A (2013) and B (2015).

**Table 1.** Number and percentage of academic staff in three career stages by citizenship and gender (HEIs A and B combined)

	Academic staff without doctorate <sup>a</sup>			Academic staff with doctorate (excluding professors) <sup>a</sup>			Professors <sup>a</sup>			Census (in 1000; 31 December 2013) <sup>b</sup>	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
German	1083 (46.76%)	931 (40.20%)	2014 (86.96%)	714 (51.78%)	472 (34.23%)	1186 (86.00%)	665 (67.93%)	220 (22.47%)	885 (90.40%)	35,981.9 (44.55%)	37,770.4 (46.76%)
Non-German	172 (7.43%)	130 (5.61%)	302 (13.04%)	129 (9.36%)	64 (4.64%)	193 (14.00%)	63 (6.44%)	31 (3.17%)	94 (9.60%)	3575.1 (4.43%)	3440.2 (4.26%)

<sup>a</sup>Sources: Human resource department, case-study universities A (2013) and B (2015).

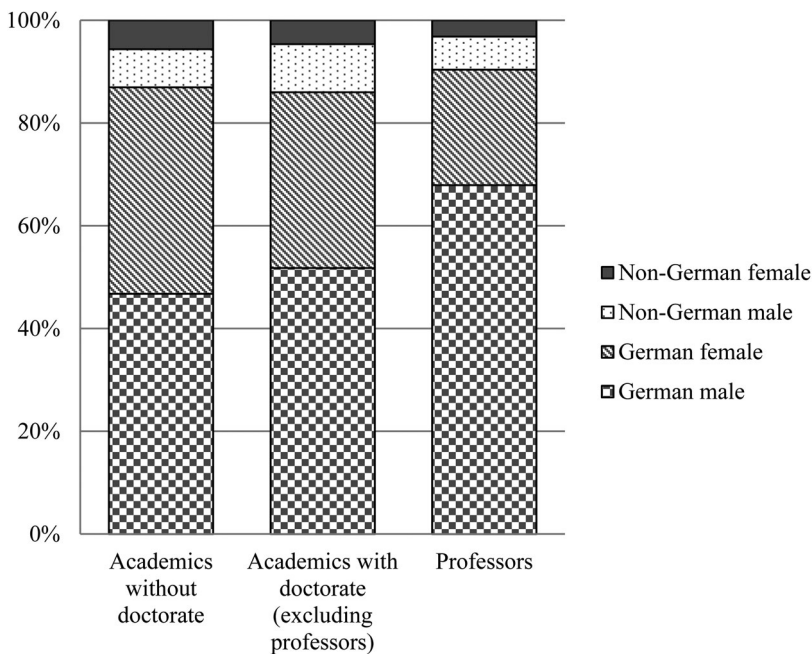
<sup>b</sup>Source: *Population Based on the 2011 Census*.<sup>6</sup>

(Statistisches Bundesamt 2013), which might be attributable to the case-study HEIs' internationalisation strategies.

### *Career progression through the intersecting lens of citizenship and gender*

How does this citizenship-based picture change if the category of gender is simultaneously considered? Not surprisingly, throughout all three career stages, German men are numerically the most dominant group, starting at approximately 47% at the predoctoral level and reaching almost 70% at professorial rank (Figure 2): the higher up the career ladder, the stronger the presence of German male academics, a tendency that is also mirrored at the national level (Shinozaki 2015b). In terms of absolute numbers, German men are followed first by their female colleagues, then by non-German males and, finally, by non-German female academics. This order persists throughout all three career stages, (partially) suggesting that the structure of intersecting gender-based and citizenship-based inequalities in academic career advancement is quite rigid.

Although they are numerically the second largest group among the four categories throughout the three career phases, German women, by contrast, experience a considerable decline, from 40% at the beginning of their academic career to roughly 22% among professors. Also, the number of female professors is only about one-third that of their male German colleagues. Thus, while these figures are slightly higher than those in the Netherlands (Van Mol 2015), the 'leaky pipeline' (Europäische Kommission 2001, 12) is still evident, confirming the gender-based access to an academic career in Germany (Kahlert 2012), as in many other European countries (Schaer, Dahinden and Toader



**Figure 2.** Academic career progression by citizenship and gender.

Sources: Human resource department, case-study universities A (2013) and B (2015).

2017; UCU 2013; Maddrell et al. 2016). But the leaky pipeline thesis needs to be considered in a broader context, not only because the overall proportion of female professors in German HEIs has increased over the past few decades (Engels 2015), but also because unequal career prospects and minority status are not the unique experience of women belonging to the majority society. Talking about gender only in terms of either female or male contributes to invisibilising potential differential experiences *simultaneously* mediated by other social divisions such as citizenship. This can be critiqued as an articulation of methodological nationalism as talking about gender in terms of female–male dualism *presumes* homogeneous national belonging to the unspoken majority society. In the process of globalisation when HEIs pursue internationalisation strategies, the issue of gendered career inequalities is increasingly complicated by international migration and the mobility. It challenges a notion of a universal female experience in a straightforward way.

Career inequalities are also experienced by Black and minority ethnic (BME) scientists (for the U.K. context, see UCU [2013]). Yet, in a similar vein, career inequalities *within* BME academics may not show a homogenous pattern, if looked through an intersectional lens (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016). Intersectionality debates call for a more differentiated analysis, which examines the ways in which career progression is mediated through different social divisions, gender, and citizenship belonging in this case.

Whereas the proportion of German and non-German female academics becomes smaller with the advancement of career stages, there seems to be no such clear-cut tendency among non-German male academics in my sample. Their proportion *increases* to almost 10% from the predoctoral to the postdoctoral stage (an increase of 2%, Table 1). Although, at professorial rank, their proportion shrinks again and their absolute numbers are small, their *proportional robustness* is indicative of commonly known male dominance in the academia, on the one hand. On the other hand, it can be read as a result of their strong presence in male-dominated STEM disciplines at University A, which proactively and strategically seeks out international, early career researchers (see an earlier discussion and a later section).

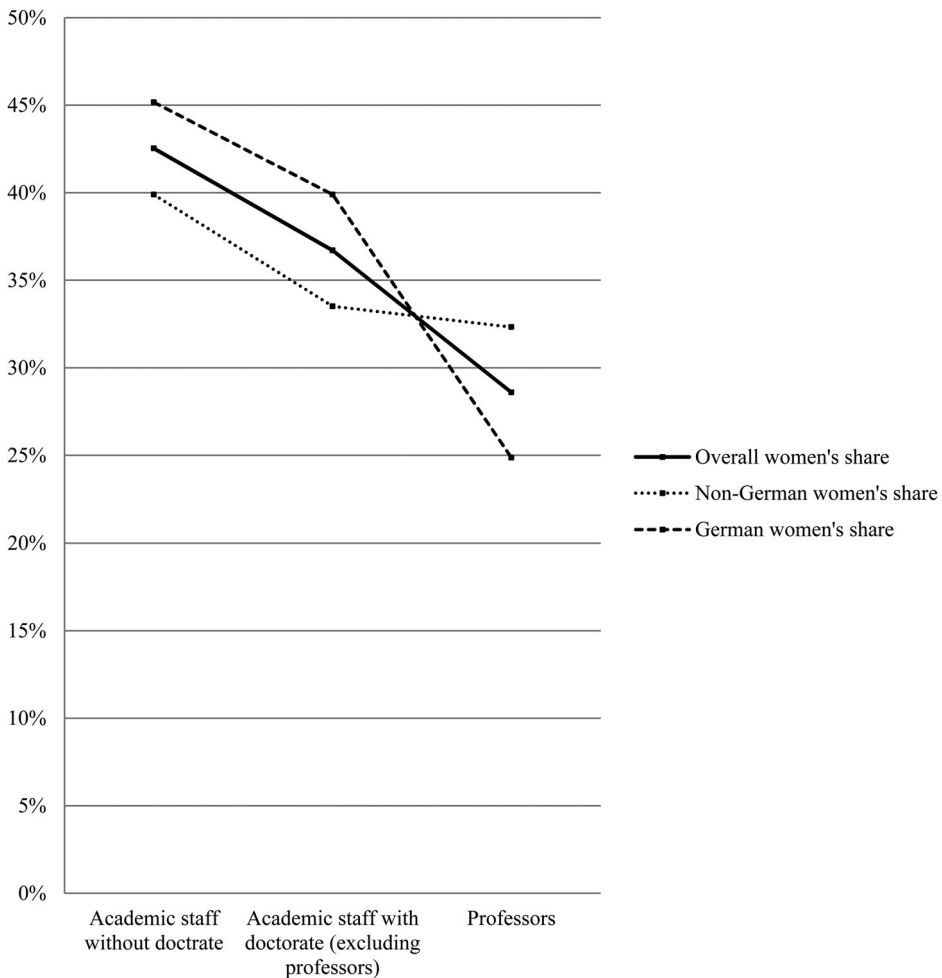
This said, however, non-German men have better career prospects than their female counterparts. The proportion of non-German female academics steadily declines as they move up the career ladder (from 5.6% among doctoral faculty members to 4.6% among faculty members with a Ph.D., and 3.2% at professorial rank), a tendency quite similar to that of their German female colleagues, discussed earlier (Figure 2 and Table 1). Does this mean that their minority status can be explained by gender-based inequality?

### **Citizenship-based gender gap**

It is tempting to draw a parallel between the academic career chances of German women and non-German women on the basis of their common female gender belonging. The data do show that, independent of their citizenship status, the chance of career progression becomes smaller for women in the higher ranks. In fact, the rate of decline for both groups of women is similar over their career paths, if we simultaneously consider all four groups. On the other hand, if we look at the *citizenship-based, intra-categorical* gender gap, at the early career stage the gender gap among both German and non-German faculty members is the narrowest – followed by a tendency to decrease after they have obtained a doctorate – and at this career stage German female academics

achieve better than their non-German counterparts (the female ratio being roughly 45% and 40%, respectively; Figure 3). However, interestingly, Figure 3 shows that the extent of the gender gap does not remain consistent throughout; instead, it seems contingent upon career phase. A remarkable shift occurs during the transition period from the consolidating postdoctoral phase to the senior, professorial stage: while the proportion of German female faculty drops rapidly, there is hardly any change in the share of their non-German female colleagues during this significant career phase. Moreover, women's share among non-German professors exceeds that among their German colleagues (32% non-German female professors versus 25% German female professors of *their respective citizenship categories*; see Figure 3).

This observation raises the important question of why non-German women are proportionally better represented vis-à-vis their German female colleagues. Although the personnel statistics do not reveal a conclusive answer, there could be a number of reasons. They range from advantaged class belonging enabling young people to study



**Figure 3.** Proportion of women academics.

Sources: Human resource department, case-study universities A (2013) and B (2015).

abroad (Waters and Leung 2013), through personal, biographical trajectories (Carlson 2013), to an alternative, non-(western) German mode of socialisation in which women take on a professorial and leadership role. These are the potential assets that migrant and mobile women academics could bring with them and enact as their transnational cultural capital, that is ‘one way of elaborating systems of value alternative or oppositional to the “national capital” (Hage, 1998) validated by the nation states of residence and origin’ (Erel 2010, 650). Such transnational cultural capital can also be accumulated in the course of *multiple mobility experiences*, instead thinking mobility in terms of the conventional residence–origin dualism. Yet, it could also be a combined effect of policies promoting gender equality and internationalisation, the aspect to which I will return in a later section.

What else can we make of these observations? On the one hand, women academics, both non-German and German, face gender-based career disadvantages. On the other hand, looking at gender *across* citizenship categories (as opposed to *intra*-categorically, as discussed above), the proportion of migrant women, again, is the lowest among the four groups. Their share also continues to decline along with career progression, reaching their lowest at professorial rank. In contrast, there is no similar pattern discernible among migrant men and their share is twice as large as that of migrant women among professors. This suggests that highly skilled migrant female academics seem to face multiple, intersecting inequalities along the lines of gender and their own, or familial, migration experience (Bakshi-Hamm, Lind, and Löther 2008), along with racialisation, as the existing literature points out (Ahmed 2012; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016).

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to equate the small proportion of migrant academics with their underrepresentation in a straightforward way. Why? Because it may be argued that migrant academics’ overall minority status largely mirrors their status in the entire population of Germany, at slightly more than 4% (Table 1). Their ‘disappearance’ at professorial rank – in the case of migrant women, starting at the postdoctoral level – could be due partially to a generational and age effect, in that the overall age structure of non-German citizens is younger than that of Germans (Hoßmann and Karsch 2011). This could account for the small proportion of non-German academics more generally, and among professors in particular, who tend to be older. However, having said this, in relation to the population distribution and migrants’ general demographic structure, migrant academics’ share in the overall number of faculty members may indeed suggest their robustness, particularly when it comes to male migrant academics. Migrant women, too, fare relatively well, although not as well as migrant men in this respect. Still, the demographic structure alone *does not* provide a sufficient explanation for the smaller proportion of non-German women at professorial rank *vis-à-vis* their non-German male counterparts. Yet, the gender gap among non-German professors is significantly smaller than that among Germans, as discussed earlier. This suggests that it is not sufficient to examine the role of *either* citizenship *or* gender to understand the unequal access to career progression among scientists. Instead, it is necessary to conduct an intersectional analysis, as in the case of highly skilled migration more generally (Kofman 2014).

### ***Some major place-based, institutional differences***

While persistent citizenship-based and gender-based hierarchies pertaining to career progression commonly exist at the two case-study HEIs, there are also some institutional

specificities. To begin with, non-German academics are more strongly represented at HEI A than HEI B at all three career stages. This tendency is most pronounced during the post-doctoral phase, when they make up 17% (Table 2). In addition, we also notice that the percentage of non-German academics is much higher among female professors at University A (4.02%) than at University B (2.28%), this being considerably higher than the national HEI average of 1.77% (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013). If we look at the gender gap in the respective citizenship categories throughout the three different career stages, overall this gap tends to widen as the career progresses, with professorial rank registering the biggest gap (Figure 4). One exception here is non-German female professors at University A. They close the gender gap that occurred at the postdoctoral transition, creating a reverse trend and reducing citizenship-based *intra-categorical* gender career inequalities.

Why these differences? It can be attributed to at least three factors. Firstly, it pertains to the socio-economic structures of locality. Although Cities A and B are both home to several HEIs within their respective urban metropolitan regions, City A is internationally far better known, ethnically and culturally more diverse, economically more robust and dynamic, and has developed to be one of the country's transportation hubs. These factors may make City A more attractive to international academics and to international corporations seeking to set up branch offices. This may explain why Economics and Business, one of the largest departments at University A, hires a disproportionately large number of non-German faculty members; even at professorial rank, this is roughly 28% (16 out of 58 professors): Men reach 19%, women about 9%. Likewise, Computer Science, a strategically important area for knowledge production and economic competitiveness (OECD 2008), has a high proportion of non-German faculty members (a total of some 16%, of whom 14% are men and 2% women among professors). It can be argued that this HEI and the general socio-economic structures of its locality mutually build on each other.

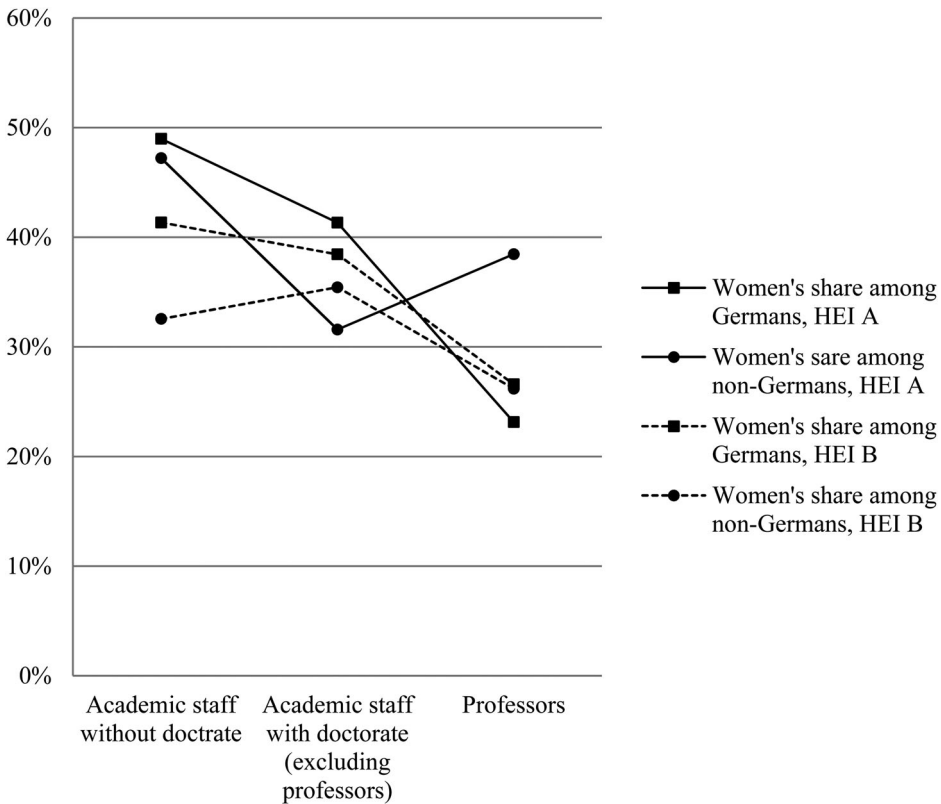
Secondly, while having an IO is no longer a unique feature of 'elite' institutions, the kind of services provided is likely to make some institutions more attractive to international scientists. Both Universities A and B have active IOs situated directly under their respective University Rector, which provide incoming guest researchers with various kinds of support. Alongside the fairly common post-arrival services, what is noteworthy is the practice of proactive international recruitment, which is particularly pertinent to STEM disciplines. Here we can recall our earlier discussion of HEI A's IO recruitment practices at international HE fairs in order to directly approach potential young talent. Such transnational brokering practices bring the IO's role to the fore, which promotes the international mobility of young academics from certain countries in certain disciplines which are deemed strategically significant. The IO Director of University A emphasises the strategic importance of recruiting 'hard-working, focused' young scientists from China (cf. Brown, Lauder, and Ashton 2011). This explains the large presence of 'international postgraduates' in Computer Science and Quantitative Economics is significant (roughly two-thirds, and slightly more than half, respectively), to the extent that 'Our Master's [offered in English] and Doctoral Programmes in Computer Science could not be sustained if they [Chinese and Indian scholars] weren't enrolled', as the IO Director comments. Likewise, it seems that a disproportionately high percentage of non-German postdoctoral researchers in other STEM fields such as Physics and Biochemistry at HEI A (nearly 38% and 27%, respectively) mirrors the IO's strategic regional focus.



**Table 2.** Number and percentage of academic staff in three career stages by citizenship and gender (HEIs A and B)<sup>a</sup>

		Academic staff without doctorate			Academic staff with doctorate (excluding professors)			Professors		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
HEI A	German	656 (43.68%)	630 (41.94%)	1,286 (85.62%)	325 (48.65%)	229 (34.28%)	554 (82.93%)	342 (68.81%)	103 (20.72%)	445 (89.54%)
	Non-German	114 (7.59%)	102 (6.79%)	216 (14.38%)	78 (11.68%)	36 (5.39%)	114 (17.07%)	32 (6.44%)	20 (4.02%)	52 (10.46%)
HEI B	German	427 (52.46%)	301 (36.98%)	728 (89.44%)	389 (54.71%)	243 (34.18%)	632 (88.89%)	323 (67.01%)	117 (24.27%)	440 (91.29%)
	Non-German	58 (7.13%)	28 (3.44%)	86 (10.57%)	51 (7.17%)	28 (3.94%)	79 (11.11%)	31 (6.43%)	11 (2.28%)	42 (8.71%)

<sup>a</sup>Sources: Human resource department, case-study universities A (2013) and B (2015).



**Figure 4.** Proportion of women faculty members by career stage, citizenship and institution.

Sources: Human resource department, case-study universities A (2013) and B (2015).

Postdoctoral academics from East Asia, and Russia and Eastern Europe together make up a total of 37% of the non-German staff in Physics. In Biochemistry, they comprise even 50% of the international academics. Effectively, these two fields push up the presence of non-German academics in HEI A. However, unlike Economics, their gender profile is overwhelmingly male dominated; in Physics 9% of postdoctoral researchers are non-German women, while 29% are non-German men; among postdoctoral staff in Biochemistry, only 4% are non-German women, while their male counterparts make up 23%.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, DCSs, offered by both Universities A and B, may play an important role. These are intended to provide the spouse of a newly hired faculty member with support in finding employment, to enable scientist couples to live together while simultaneously pursuing their own careers. This could be a currently vacant internal position, or an external position. In fact, administrators in charge at both HEIs say that they have established collaborations with a range of sectors, from research and HE to administration, schools, and private companies in order to locate potential employment opportunities. The professorial hiring manager of University B takes care of DCSs *as a part of his job* in the human resource department and emphasised that it is essential to offer DCSs because of the university's location and the lack of available job opportunities resulting from this:

City B has only a few attractive international employers, so it's scarcely possible for the spouses of our newly hired professors, who are almost without exception also highly qualified, to find adequate employment if they do this [job search] alone. Job hunting is a challenge for any couple, but particularly tough if you come directly from abroad. They think twice about whether they really want to come to University B if their spouses' career prospects are uncertain. If you can commute [to City B], [then it is] OK, but for international professors, the situation is just different. (...) Once we had a case where he [the candidate who got the position] declined his appointment [because of the lack of career prospects for his wife]."

City A is more cosmopolitan, with a number of diplomatic institutions and international companies in its Greater City Area. In addition, what University A's DCS Officer sees as distinctive about her office is its origin. It was set up as part of the measures taken by the Gender Equality Office to redress the conventional gendered academic career model of a 'female trailing spouse': once a male academic has obtained a professorship, a female partner who is also an academic tends to give up on her own career in order to follow him. As such, DCSs are offered not simply as a means to address the issue of human resources, but also as a service provision which aims to realise gender equality. Anchored directly under the Rector's Office with its own financial and human resources as an organisational unit, it is probably safe to state that University A's Dual Career Office (DCO) has a politically and institutionally stronger standing than anything a hiring manager can or does on top of a long to-do list related to new professorial appointments.

DCSs involve gender equality, either explicitly (HEI A) or implicitly (HEI B). Accordingly, in the former it is more prominently addressed as a logic (to move away from the traditional 'female trailing spouse' model), which has later gone hand in hand with the internationalisation of academic personnel. In the latter, DCSs were introduced primarily as a means to make international (and national) appointments attractive, although they may also in effect de-traditionalise the gendered career model. This difference may partially explain the higher rate of non-German female professors at HEI A. DCSs are valued resources as they can help to compensate for a lack of knowledge and information about the local labour market and the language barriers. The DCO and division in charge can be seen as organisations that contribute to reducing the gender-based career inequalities triggered by male-dominated transnational highly skilled mobility (Kofman 2014; Shinozaki 2015b).

That said, however, the services cannot be accessed by every academic in need of support; instead, they are rank and resource driven: at both universities, the primary target is newly hired professors who have successfully gone through a competitive job screening. At University A, exceptions are made for research team leaders and 'top' post-doctoral and senior researchers whose positions are financed by prestigious funding. These exceptions do not exist at University B. This raises the question of the career-stage-based distribution of valued goods and resources and how the intersection of gender and citizenship shaping the academic career ladder influences access to them as a result.

## Conclusions

This article took its point of departure in the lack of knowledge about unequal access to academic career progression from an intersectional perspective of gender and citizenship.

While ‘internationalisation’ is high on the agenda in the German HE landscape, throughout all career stages, it is still German men who predominate. This tendency becomes increasingly noticeable as we go higher up the career ladder to the rank of professors. Non-German academics form a numerical minority in all three key career stages among academic staff in the case-study HEIs, paralleling the national trend. At professorial rank, the proportion of non-German academics becomes the smallest compared to the preceding doctoral and postdoctoral phases. This suggests that international migration and mobility, in this article operationalised in terms of citizenship, may have a differentiated rather than homogeneous impact on academic career progress. Return or circular mobility and short-term exchange may, by contrast, enhance career progression, as some observers have noted (Ackers 2010). On the other hand, access to a professorship seems to be limited among non-German academics, which raises the question of whether different types of migration and mobility have an impact on career prospects, despite the positive discourse around internationalisation.

If we simultaneously consider gender in relation to citizenship, we arrive at a more differentiated interpretation: while the proportion of non-German women declines at the more senior levels, this is not the case for their male counterparts. Indeed their share becomes slightly or considerably bigger (HEIs B and A, respectively) at the postdoctoral level, although it falls back again among professors. This demonstrates the importance of examining the intersecting impact of gender and citizenship on inequality.

However, it would be misleading to equate non-German citizenship status with the category of inequalities only. To begin with, among professors, the proportion of non-German men is higher than the national population average. As for non-German women, although their proportion in professorial rank is lower than non-German women’s share in the census, it is far higher than that of their German female colleagues. Moreover, when we examine the *intra*-categorical gender gap *within* the respective citizenship categories, we see that the proportion of non-German women substantially exceeds that of their German female colleagues, suggesting that gender may not have as straightforwardly a disadvantageous effect as one might assume. In addition, the lower proportion of non-German academics could also be attributed to potentially fewer job applications arriving, or a ‘time lag’ in internationalisation policies coming to fruition. This temporal dimension calls for comparing application success rates on the one hand, and engaging with a longitudinal analysis of the ways in which gender equality and internationalisation policies mutually interact, on the other.

The case-study analysis has also shown that, although there is an overarching trend and some of the important insights summarised above are also confirmed at the national level, there are some local, institution-specific results. Local opportunity structures, such as employment prospects for spouses/partners and the economic prosperity of the location, along with organisational actors, such as the IO and DCSs, may vary considerably, thus affecting the structure of inequalities – for better or for worse. This attests to the need to critically scrutinise a methodological approach that is nationally driven, by adopting a transnational perspective, instead of simply uncritically subsuming individual HEIs into units constituting the aggregated ‘national’ whole.

In this light, the critique of methodological nationalism and a sedentary bias, which has thus far been debated mainly in relation to migrants, should also be extended to organisational practices (Pries 2008). HEIs are meso-level transnational brokers between the state

(migration regime) and individual highly skilled academic migrants, who matchmake potential employment relationships across nation-state borders not only reactively but also proactively. Organisational practices may play a significant part when migrant and mobile academics validate their cultural capital to make it a transnational one.

Moreover, future research and data collection needs to further engage with different types of international migration/mobility experience, as recent research has demonstrated (Neusel and Wolter 2016). Citizenship is but one way to render migration visible, but there is no congruency between juridical status and actual migration/mobility experiences. Likewise, the experience of racism, both institutional and in a personalised form, need to be embedded in future data collection and analysis. Such an endeavour would enable us to capture how mobility-related heterogeneity in the long run interacts with other much-debated axes of difference that influence career progression (or hindrance), such as gender, social class, racialisation, as well as parenthood and caring responsibilities.

Finally, as well as obtaining a more differentiated and accurate picture of the impact of mobility on career, we need to listen to the experiences and expectations of migrant academics, especially given that existing studies on academic labour migration raise the issue of racism and discrimination (Föbker et al. 2012), often in combination with gender inequalities (Ahmed 2012; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016). What strategies do migrant academics develop in order to come to terms with these and to be able to achieve a degree of career development despite their numerically minority status? In particular, recalling the much narrower citizenship-based gender gap among non-German academics, it would be intriguing to investigate the role of non-German women's previous socialisation in diverse cultural and academic contexts.

## Notes

1. My translation.
2. [https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/LETERME%20BERLIN%20ENG\\_final.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/LETERME%20BERLIN%20ENG_final.pdf) (accessed 7 May 2015).
3. In the European context, too, although not using the term 'intersectionality', scholars such as Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis have been theorising the links 'between the concepts of racism and ethnicity as well as attempting to relate ethnic divisions to those of gender and class.' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983, 63) Addressing broader contexts of migration, instead of the black-white division, their conceptualization has been broad enough to examine the structural locations occupied by different groups of migrant women.
4. There are four main types of people with a 'migration background' according to the official definition by the Federal Statistical Office. For details, see: <https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/PersonsMigrationBackground/MigrationBackgroundMethods.html> (accessed 3 March 2016).
5. According to the figures based on the personnel statistics compiled by the human resource department, University A.
6. See [https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/CurrentPopulation/Tables/Census\\_SexAndCitizenship.html](https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/CurrentPopulation/Tables/Census_SexAndCitizenship.html) (accessed 17 March 2016).

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## References

- Ackers, L. 2005. "Moving People and Knowledge: Scientific Mobility in the European Union." *International Migration* 43 (5): 99–131.
- Ackers, L. 2010. "Internationalisation and Equality: The Contribution of Short Stay Mobility to Progression Science Careers." *Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques* 41 (1): 83–103.
- Adick, Ch. 2008. "Transnational Organisation in Education." In *Rethinking Transnationalism*, edited by L. Pries, 127–154. London: Routledge.
- Ahmed, S. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Amelina, A., and A. Vasilache. 2014. "Editorial. The Shadows of Enlargement: Theorising Mobility and Inequality in a Changing Europe." *Migration Letters* 11 (2): 109–124.
- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the Dirty Work?* London: Zed Books.
- Anthias, F. 2008. "Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: An Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging." *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* 4 (1): 5–20.
- Anthias, F., and N. Yuval-Davis. 1983. "Contextualizing Feminism: Gender, Ethnic and Class Divisions." *Feminist Review* 15 (1): 62–75.
- Baldassar, L., and L. Merla, eds. 2014. *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bakshi-Hamm, P., I. Lind, and A. Löther. 2008. "Wissenschaftlerinnen mit Migrationshintergrund aus der Sicht der Gleichstellungspolitik." In *Wissenschaftlerinnen mit Migrationshintergrund. cews.publik.12*, edited by I. Lind, and A. Löther, 25–60. Bonn: CEWS.
- Bauder, H. 2015. "The International Mobility of Academics: A Labour Market Perspective." *International Migration* 53 (1): 83–96.
- Beaufäys, S. 2012. "Führungspositionen in der Wissenschaft: Zur Ausbildung männlicher Sozialibilitätsregime am Beispiel von Exzellenzeinrichtungen." In *Einfach Spitze? Neue Geschlechterperspektiven auf Karrieren in der Wissenschaft*, edited by S. Beaufäys, A. Engels, and H. Kahlert, 87–117. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Beaufäys, S., A. Engels, and H. Kahlert, eds. 2012. *Einfach Spitze? Neue Geschlechterperspektiven auf Karrieren in der Wissenschaft*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Becker, R. 2011. "Integration von Migranten durch Bildung und Ausbildung: Theoretische Erklärungen und empirische Befunde." In *Integration durch Bildung: Bildungserwerb von jungen Migranten in Deutschland*, edited by R. Becker, 11–36. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Bilecen, B., and Ch. Van Mol. 2017. "Introduction: International Academic Mobility and Inequalities." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Special Issue on International Academic Mobility and Inequalities. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300225.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) 1988. *Homo Academicus*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson, 241–258. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Brown, P., H. Lauder, and D. Ashton. 2011. *The Global Auction: The Broken Promises of Education, Jobs and Incomes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brubaker, R. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carlson, S. 2013. "Becoming a Mobile Student – a Processual Perspective on German Degree Student Mobility." *Population, Space and Place* 19 (2): 168–180.
- Castles, S. 1984. *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*. London: Pluto Press.
- Crenshaw, K. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist theory and Antiracist Politics." *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1): 139–167.
- DAAD and DZHW. 2015. *Wissenschaft weltoffen*. Bielefeld: Bertelsmann.
- Engels, A. 2015. "Einleitung: Chancengleichheit in der Wissenschaft." In *Bestenauswahl und Ungleichheit: Eine soziologische Studie zu Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern in der Exzellenzinitiative*, edited by A. Engels, S. Beaufäys, and N.V. Kegen, 16–44. Frankfurt : Campus.

- Erel, U. 2010. "Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies." *Sociology* 44 (4): 642–660.
- Europäische Kommission. 2001. *Wissenschaftspolitik in der Europäischen Union. Förderung herausragender wissenschaftlicher Leistungen durch Gender Mainstreaming*. Brussels: Europäische Kommission.
- Findlay, A. M. 2011. "Assessment of Supply and Demand-Side Theorizations of International Student Mobility." *International Migration* 49 (29): 162–190.
- Föbker, S., J. Nipper, C. Pfaffenbach, D. Temme, G. Thieme, G. Weiss, and C.-Ch. Wiegandt. 2012. "Ausländische Hochqualifizierte in städtischen Gesellschaften – das Beispiel der Universitätsmitarbeiter in Aachen, Bonn und Köln." In *Urbanisierung und internationale Migration*, edited by F. Kraas and T. Bork, 59–74. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Giddens, A., and P. W. Sutton. 2013. *Sociology*. 7th ed. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E. 2016. "Sensing Dispossession: Women and Gender Studies Between Institutional Racism and Migration Control Policies in the Neoliberal University." *Women's Studies International Forum* 54: 167–177.
- Hoerder, D. 2002. *Cultures in Contact*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hoßmann, I., and M. Karsch. 2011. *Germany's Integration Politics*. Online-Handbook Demography. Berlin: Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung. Accessed April 15, 2016. <http://www.berlin-institut.org/index.php?id=746&type=98>.
- Hradil, S. 2000. "Soziale Ungleichheit." In *Soziologie-Lexikon*, edited by G. Reinhold, S. Lamnek, and H. Recker, 589–593. München: R. Oldenbourg.
- HRK. 2015. *Building upon International Success: The HRK-“Internationalisation of Universities”. Advancing Strategic Internationalisation*. Bonn: HRK.
- Kahlert, H. 2012. "Was kommt nach der Promotion? Karriereorientierungen und -pläne des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses im Fächer- und Geschlechtervergleich." In *Einfach Spitze? Neue Geschlechterperspektiven auf Karrieren in der Wissenschaft*, edited by S. Beaufaÿs, A. Engels, and H. Kahlert, 57–86. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Knight, J. 2007. *Cross-border Tertiary Education: A Way Towards Capacity Development*, 21–46. Paris: OECD and World Bank.
- Kofman, E. 2014. "Towards a Gendered Evaluation of (Highly) Skilled Immigration Policies in Europe." *International Migration* 52 (3): 116–28.
- Lillie, N., and I. Wagner. 2015. "Subcontracting, Insecurity and Posted Work: Evidence from Construction, Meat Processing and Ship Building." In *The Outsourcing Challenge: Organizing Workers Across Fragmented Production Networks*, edited by J. Drahokoupil, 157–174. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Löther, A. 2012. "Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler mit Migrationshintergrund." *Die Hochschule* 21 (1): 36–54.
- Lübke, F. 2014. "Ausländische Professoren: Ganz schön verlockend." *Zeit online*, September 1. Accessed 17 February 2016. <http://www.zeit.de/2014/02/auslaendische-professoren-deutschland/komplettansicht>.
- Lutz, H. 2011. *The New Maids: Transnational Women and the Care Economy*. London: Zed Books.
- Lutz, H., L. Supik, and M. T. Herrera Vivar, eds. 2011. *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Maddrell, A., K. Strauss, N. J. Thomas, and S. Wyse. 2016. "Mind the Gap: Gender Disparities Still to be Addressed in UK Higher Education Geography." *Area* 48 (1): 48–56.
- Marx, K. (1867–1894) 2000. *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. CD-ROM. DB Spektrum 4. Berlin: Directmedia-Publ.
- Neusel, A., and A. Wolter. 2016. "Auf dem Weg zur Transnationalität? Eine explorative Studie über Professorinnen und Professoren mit Migrationsbiographie an deutschen Hochschulen," *HSW* 64 (1 + 2): 42–54.
- Nohl, A.-M., K. Schittenhelm, O. Schmidtke, and A. Weiß. 2009. *Kulturelles Kapital in der Migration: Hochqualifizierte Einwanderer und Einwandererinnen*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Nowicka, M. 2013. "Positioning Strategies of Polish Entrepreneurs in Germany: Transnationalizing Bourdieu's Notion of Capital." *International Sociology* 28 (1): 29–47.



- OECD. 2008. *The Global Competition for Talent: Mobility of the Highly Skilled*. Paris: OECD.
- Parreñas, R. S. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Phizacklea, A., and R. Miles. 1980. *Labour and Racism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pries, L., ed. 2008. *Rethinking Transnationalism: The Meso-Link of Organisations*. London: Routledge.
- Raghuram, P. 2013. "Theorising the Spaces of Student Migration." *Population, Space and Place* 19 (2): 138–154.
- Ruhs, M., and P. Martin. 2008. "Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-offs and Guest Worker Programs." *International Migration Review* 42 (1): 249–265.
- Schaer, M., J. Dahinden, and A. Toader. 2017. "Transnational Mobility among Early-Career Academics: Gendered Aspects of Negotiations and Arrangements within Heterosexual Couples." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Special Issue on International Academic Mobility and Inequalities. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300254
- Shinozaki, K. 2012. "Transnational Dynamics in Researching Migrants: Self-reflexivity and Boundary-Drawing in Fieldwork." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (10): 1810–1827.
- Shinozaki, K. 2014. "Career Strategies and Spatial Mobility among Skilled Migrants in Germany: The Role of Gender in the Work-Family Interaction." *Journal of Economic and Social Geography* 103 (5): 526–541.
- Shinozaki, K. 2015a. *Migrant Citizenship from Below: Family, Domestic Work and Social Activism in Irregular Migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shinozaki, K. 2015b. "Exploring the Intersecting Impact of Gender and Citizenship on Spatial and Academic Career Mobility." In *High Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives*, edited by A. Triandafyllidou and I. Isaakyan, 215–237. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Statistisches Bundesamt. 2013. *Personal an Hochschulen: Fachserie 11 Reihe 4.4*. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- SVR. 2014. *Deutschlands Wandel zum modernen Einwanderungsland: Jahresgutachten 2014 mit Integrationsbarometer*. Berlin: SVR.
- Triandafyllidou, A., and I. Isaakyan, eds. 2015. *High Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- UCU. 2013. *The Position of Women and BME Staff in Professorial Roles in UK HEIs*. London: UCU.
- Van Mol, C. 2015. "Het glazen plafond van de Nederlandse wetenschap." *Demos: bulletin over bevolking en samenleving* 31 (9): 8. Accessed 17 March 2016. [https://pure.knaw.nl/portal/files/1723867/2015\\_Van\\_Mol\\_demos\\_publ\\_version\\_0085.pdf](https://pure.knaw.nl/portal/files/1723867/2015_Van_Mol_demos_publ_version_0085.pdf).
- Waters, J., and M. Leung. 2013. "Young People and the Reproduction of Disadvantage Through Transnational Higher Education in Hong Kong." *Sociological Research Online* 17 (3), <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/3/6.html>.
- Weber, M. (1922) 2009. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Gemeinschaften. Studienausgabe*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Weiss, A. 2005. "The Transnationalization of Social Inequality: Conceptualizing Social Positions on a World Scale." *Current Sociology* 53 (4): 707–728.
- Wimmer, A., and N. Glick Schiller. 2003. "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology." *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 576–610.
- Yuval-Davis, N. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 193–209.