The Work/Non-work Experiences of Highly Skilled Migrants
An Outline of an Emergent Research Field
MAJA POVRZANOVIĆ FRYKMAN, IOANA BUNESCU AND KATARINA MOZETIČ

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Abstract

The paper argues for the need of research on work/non-work experiences of highly skilled migrants and thereby outlines a research field at the intersection of work/non-work and migration studies. A critical overview of the selected literature indicates the gaps in knowledge concerning the well-being of highly skilled migrants. The paper suggests that these gaps are to be filled by research that connects the theoretical approaches and empirical investigations on transnational practices and the processes of emplacement in the context of migration. The paper argues for an original perspective on researching the relation between work and non-work domains through its links to transnational and local dimensions of migrants’ well-being. Empirically, it argues for the relevance to conduct research on migrants in two especially relevant professional groups in Sweden, namely, physicians (medical doctors, irrespective of specialisation) and academics (teachers and researchers working in higher education, in other disciplines than medicine).

Keywords

Work/non-work experiences; Highly skilled migrants; Transnational practices; Emplacement; Physicians; Academics; Sweden

Bio notes

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Introduction: motivations for research and societal relevance

More than a decade ago, researchers of migration noted that highly skilled migrants represent an increasingly large component of global migration streams. The phenomenon is not new but numbers and trends are changing rapidly. ... Types of movement include permanent settlement to major immigrant receiving countries, temporary migration both within and outside multinational corporations, refugee flows and family reunion. Few countries take highly skilled professionals on a permanent basis, but many seek them on a temporary basis. ... This increased level of mobility is one manifestation of the internationalization of professions or professional labour markets. (Iredale 2001: 8)

Still so today, highly skilled migrants represent a large and important aspect of international migration streams. In the context of globalization of labour markets and the emergence of knowledge-based economies, highly skilled migrants’ human capital is – in its ability to promote international competitiveness and to stimulate innovation – sought-after both within private and public sectors; praised both on national as well as transnational (EU) levels. Migration of the highly skilled is furthermore celebrated for its capacity to respond to the high demand for professions within specific sectors such as, e.g., health care (see, e.g., Gunnes et al. 2007; Millard 2005; OECD 2015). Thereby, the discourse of mobility-as-opportunity is projected also onto the individual level in terms of financial gains and career development.

However, is mobility of the highly skilled really a win-win for both employers and employees? The research approach outlined here sets its focus on the latter, emphasizing the necessity for exploring the experiences of highly skilled migrants themselves. As elaborated in more detail in the following section of this Working Paper, we argue that though professional factors as well as successful employment integration are indisputably important for high-skilled migrants’ trajectories and well-being, these rest not only on professional but also on non-work-related factors. The possibilities for managing work, family, private and social domains of life (Languilaire 2009) in satisfactory ways depend not only on macro structural and institutional factors that frame the migration experience (Reitz et al. 2014; Fang et al. 2009) but also on the micro forces of adaptation (Zikic et al. 2010) which are inherently subjective. While negotiation of different life domains is today a widespread societal
problem, it remains a private dilemma dealt with in individual ways (see, e.g., Schans 2009), a fact that calls for investigating the individual experiences with this issue.

Though employee-focused, the approach offers important insights also for the employer-side of the equation since highly skilled migrants’ ability to satisfactorily negotiate the work and non-work domains of their lives is one of the key measures of labour-market attractiveness. Therefore, when aiming to understand factors that contribute to attraction and retention of highly skilled migrants in the face of increased competition for this type of labour, we need to reach beyond the economic effects of migration and the conditions of labour market integration. It is namely not certain that economic inclusion necessarily brings about social and political inclusion (see Magnusson 2014).

Our call for exploring subjective perceptions of migrants’ well-being seen through the lens of work/non-work experiences and in connection to emplacement in specific contexts of their transnational lives joins numerous other academic pleas. In 2015, we could see a number of calls for papers on the changing relations between work and non-work domains of life that asked for papers based on empirical research. For example, the organisers of the International Conference of Labour and Social History (ITH) Work and Non-Work in Berlin¹ urged the participants to ‘investigate the agency of working people in concrete non/work situations’ in order to understand ‘how the – often ambiguous or even contradictory – boundaries between work and non-work have been invented, relocated, abolished and reconfigured’ and ‘how different actors, institutions and instruments have been involved in these processes’.

Several symposia pointed out the importance of paying specific attention to the experiences of migrants in international labour. A call for papers by the European Group of Organizational Studies² claimed the need for ‘formulating a multidisciplinary approach to better understand migrant relationships with the workplace, labour market, culture as well as society of the host country’. A conference on high-skilled migration organised by the Migration Research Group and Sheffield Centre for

¹ http://www.ith.or.at/konf_e/ith_cfp_2015_en.pdf [Last visited 8 January 2016]
International and European Law\textsuperscript{3} aimed to address a gap in this field of migration research, identified as the following:

While skilled migration policies have been often looked at from economics perspectives to assess the relative merits of sending countries’ ‘brain drain’ risks, and recipient countries’ ‘brain gain’ opportunities, their implications for legal, political, and sociological questions of membership and community have been under-studied.

Papers concerning high-skilled migration were also presented at the 6\textsuperscript{th} International Community, Work and Family conference\textsuperscript{4} in Malmö (including Povrzanović Frykman et al. 2015). The organisers of the Transnational Academic Spaces\textsuperscript{5} conference in Bielefeld claimed that further theoretical and empirical elaboration is much needed on changes in repositioning higher education institutions within the neoliberal economies and the related reshaping of student and staff exchanges. Moreover, in 2015, a summer school in Freiburg\textsuperscript{6} was devoted to ‘the complexities of mobile work-life arrangements as they play out in the everyday lives of an ever-growing number of people worldwide’, witnessing the interest for these issues among established scholars as well as among doctoral students in the field of mobility studies (see, e.g., also Vergés Bosch & González Ramos 2013).

Yet another confirmation of the internationally recognised societal importance of highly skilled migrants was displayed in the recent invitation of Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) to become a cooperation partner in the project Baltische Standards für die Erstintegration junger qualifizierter Drittstaatsangehöriger (Standardised Procedures for Promotion and Integration of Young Qualified Immigrants from Third-Countries in the Baltic Sea Region, or BASED) funded by the German Federal Office for Refugees and Migration (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) within the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) framework in 2015-18.

All these examples indicate a growing interest in the work/non-work experiences of

\textsuperscript{3} \url{http://library.imiscoe.org/news/news-from-members/365-call-for-papers-skilled-migration-conference} [Last visited 6 January 2016]
\textsuperscript{4} \url{http://www.mah.se/cwfc2015} [Last visited 6 January 2016]
\textsuperscript{5} \url{https://sfb882.uni-bielefeld.de/sites/default/files/cfp_tas_bielefeld_3.pdf} [Last visited 6 January 2016]
\textsuperscript{6} \url{http://www.come.uni-freiburg.de/summer-school} [Last visited 6 January 2016]
migrants, particularly among the highly skilled. The following outline of work/non-work experiences of highly skilled migrants as an emergent research field brings about the conceptual work based on literature review. It is currently at an initial stage and invites a critical discussion. However, while expecting to refine our ideas on the basis of the preliminary empirical research (see the Acknowledgment), we claim the innovativeness of this outline for its theoretical originality as well as the timeliness of its topic.

The development of research ideas presented in this paper was facilitated by our former research on transnational migration (Povrzanović Frykman 2004, 2007; Povrzanović Frykman & Humbracht 2013), refugee identifications and employment pathways/trajectories (Mozetič 2015; Povrzanović Frykman 2012), internationalisation of higher education (Bunescu 2012 and 2014) and the meanings of place (Povrzanović Frykman 2008 and 2011). Our backgrounds in ethnology, sociology and anthropology enable an interdisciplinary gridding of the complexity of the issues presented below. We hope that the outline presented in this paper contributes to the development of this field and thereby also to widening the scope of critical migration studies.

Central concepts

We define a highly skilled migrant as a person that possesses university education and/or extensive professional experience and that moves from one country to another (Iredale 2001). This includes both labour migrants who move for the purpose of work as well as non-economic migrants (like refugees and family migrants) who obtained their education in another country.

Transnational life implies social connections, obligations and practices across state borders (Levitt et al. 2003, Faist et al. 2013) and is closely related to the notion of transnational social space (Faist 2000) as a cluster of cross-border social processes in which various social actors, networks, institutional infrastructures and nation-states are interlinked.

Processes of emplacement encompass a variety of ways in which migrants contribute to place-making (see Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2016), i.e. their ways of relating to and using the place. Processes of emplacement are conditioned
not only by individual migration histories, but also by geographical, infrastructural as well as historical and present-day socio-economic features of places. By conceptualising work/non-work negotiations as emplaced within specific local and regional contexts, we highlight the importance of localities in people’s lives (Oakes & Schein 2006) and refer to the threefold dimension of place: the material dimension, the relational dimension and sense of place (Agnew 1987). In the processes of emplacement, material infrastructures of transportation and services are crucial to the relational domains of life, which, in turn, may colour a sense of place.

*Work/non-work experience* refers to subjective perceptions of the interrelations between the four major life domains – work, family, social and private (see Languilaire 2009). These interrelations are not understood as a fixed experience or a stable achievement, but as a ‘continued negotiation of a set of practices which is likely to fluctuate on a daily, weekly or on a more long-term basis due to employees’ changing circumstances’ (Wattis et al. 2013: 6), but also due to the life course and changing family circumstances. We thus see work/non-work experiences as an ongoing process of ‘managing’ (see Languilaire 2009), yet without normative presumptions. We therefore abstain from using the dichotomy of *work-life* and especially the notion of *work-life balance* found in the literature, since we do not presuppose that a person’s well-being can be experienced only if all life domains are ‘balanced’. As suggested by Wattis et al. (2013: 6), ‘balance’ suggests an oversimplification of the everyday negotiations of work, family, social and private domains.

Although we do not discuss methodological issues in this paper, we argue that such an approach demands exploratory research that would help establish research priorities and help determine the research design for further studies.

**The state-of-the art and beyond**

The field of work/non-work research (see, e.g., Duxbury & Higgins 2002; Kinman & Jones 2008; Kinman & Wray 2013; Languilaire 2009; Muhonen 2012) has been dominated by the studies of work-family relations, and studies related to job and life satisfaction, and issues such as anxiety and depression across different cultures (Haar et
al. 2014). However, only a few studies have addressed these issues in relation to migrants (Masselot 2011; Vergés Bosch & González Ramos 2013).

The research on high-skilled migration has been dominated mainly by the economic aspects of ‘brain drain/brain gain’ debate (Brücker et al. 2012; Chikanda & Dodson 2013; Connell 2008; Connell 2010; Labrianidis 2014) and related to the discussion of development (see, e.g., Varzari et al. 2014), thereby often relying on quantitative methodologies. The research outlined in this paper brings into focus a less researched dimension of migrants’ experiences of well-being in relation to work/non-work issues in a transnational context and with a special emphasis on processes of emplacement. Furthermore, it argues for the importance of qualitative approaches that can capture the processual character of work/non-work negotiations and how they change over time.

We claim the relevance of researching the well-being of allegedly ‘unproblematic’ migrants with high professional status, while, for example, Swedish migration research has been typically devoted to groups deemed ‘problematic’. Migrants who are relatively privileged in terms of education and employment might at the same time encounter specific psychological, emotional, social, financial and career challenges due to their transnational lives and experience problems in the realms of socio-cultural integration (as suggested in Magnusson 2014).

Existant research shows that highly skilled migrants generally tend to be ambitious, conscientious and devoted to their work, while meeting difficulties in integrating international careers and private lives (Kinman & Wray 2013, Shaw & Ward 2014) when trying to accommodate family responsibilities with job-induced mobility, foster private relations that span across borders, and establish continuity in the face of mobility, novelty and insecurity related to temporary employment (Vosko et al. 2014; Raghuram 2014). Time and energy are needed to establish new social and professional networks in the country of immigration, while at the same time maintaining social and family relations abroad, albeit that can vary for different people in different professions and in different family circumstances. Reasons for migration, geographical distance and visa regimes play an important role here. Furthermore, in the context of professional lives, the complexity of negotiating work, family, social and private domains requires material resources, psychological strength and coping skills.
Work/non-work issues may become even more complex for migrants who manage their personal lives without close friends and relatives as a support system at hand. However, these aspects may or may not be experienced as burdensome by different individuals, and they might carry different weight in various professional fields. Moreover, it is important to differentiate between the geographical relocation of employees that occurs within and with the assistance of transnational corporations from the individually organised mobility of, for example, scientists (Ackers 2003; see also Ryan & Mullholand 2014).

Furthermore, we are interested in the transnational aspects of well-being in relation to different professional affiliations. This outline thus intertwines migration research with that of professions. Here, the potential contribution to critical migration studies is related to our focus on migrants as members of professional groups, which complements and potentially questions the usefulness of the ethnic lens (see Glick Schiller 2008) that is still often taken for granted in research on migrants.

We see the need for investigating migrants’ emplacement holistically, which implies workplace being only one part of the ‘equation’. Consequently, the issues such as flexible and family-friendly workplace practices, but also government policies, care strategies and means of support as well as gendered attitudes towards childcare and work (see Wattis et al. 2013: 5) are considered important to the extent the migrants’ themselves find them important.

In sum, in order to understand how highly skilled migrants experience the integration of work and family, private and social domains in the context of their transnational lives, we find it relevant to determine 1) which specific challenges are experienced relative to gender, age, distance to the country of origin, profession and employment conditions as well as family and social obligations in more than one country; 2) how these challenges are affected by life in a particular place, region and country; and, finally, 3) which similarities and differences between migrants in different professions can be traced from their personal narratives on work/non-work issues and how can they be explained.
References to the Swedish context

To our best knowledge, there is no published study combining research on work/non-work with research on high-skilled migration in Sweden, although highly skilled migrants are increasingly important for the country’s welfare and economic competitiveness. This kind of research is also of importance for the regions that are being profiled as knowledge-intensive and with high innovation potential. For example, as part of the efforts to promote economic development, the region of Skåne strengthened its cross-border ties with Denmark in the area of science and research. The emergence of international research and development clusters is an indispensible part of this development, with higher education and research institutions as well as hospitals playing a major role in it. Such clusters build upon highly skilled labour and aim to attract international professionals that bring along additional capital to this ‘knowledge economy’ (see Nauwelaers et al. 2013). For instance, in Skåne there is a pronounced emphasis on high-tech clinics, and the corresponding need for physicians is high (see, e.g., Primärvården Skåne n.d., and the promotional video Vi jobbar för livet – SUS 2011). The region is marked by the presence of institutions of higher education like Lund University, ‘an international university with global recruitment’7. Malmö University, too, is represented as an ‘international university’8 and internationalisation is defined as ‘a vital part of Malmö University’s mission’9.

Sweden is one of the seven OECD countries that have higher high-skilled immigration than emigration (Brücker et al. 2012: 44). This can be ascribed to several factors, yet here worth mentioning is the fact that in 2008, Sweden changed its labour migration legislation and allowed labour migrants from non-EU/EEA countries to migrate to Sweden, something that has been heavily restricted since the 1970s (see Emilsson et al. 2014; Magnusson 2014). The impacts of employment conditions in different professions, career and life stages as well as Sweden’s local policies and infrastructures for a ‘family-friendly’ society also need to be taken into consideration.

We claim the importance of investigating physicians (medical doctors, irrespective of specialisation and workplace) and academics (university teachers and researchers in

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7 [http://www.lunduniversity.lu.se/about/about-lund-university](http://www.lunduniversity.lu.se/about/about-lund-university) [Last visited 10 January 2016]
any other discipline than medical sciences) as two professional groups increasingly marked by a high presence of international migrants in Sweden. Furthermore, the different career trajectories and employment conditions of the two professional groups may expose the role of profession – at an intersection of structural and economic factors and those pertaining to transnational lives and to individual and family resources – in negotiating the relations between work and non-work domains.

Demographic challenges related to an aging population lead to an increase in expenditure in the health sector, and the need for specialised competence and labour force in the health sector is expected to increase dramatically. It is therefore relevant to pay special attention to physicians. Though there exist national norms and local traditions, the medical professional field can be characterised as transnational since medical knowledge is not nationally bounded and since medical competences are – at least theoretically – transferrable across national systems. This enables medical practitioners to work across the world, something that characterises the medical profession now and did so in the past (Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2011).

In Sweden, the immigration of physicians is promoted in response to the high demand for medical professionals. The shortage of health care personnel is linked to, among other things, a relatively low number of newly examined physicians compared to a relatively high number of physicians retiring as well as to an increased interest among Swedish doctors and nurses in working abroad. The deficit is being countered by an extensive recruitment process of physicians from other EU/EEA countries, such as Germany and Poland as well as by a number of support projects for health care personnel from non-European countries whose medical licences are not automatically approved (Andersson 2010; Berbyuk et al. 2005).

In Swedish hospitals, it is no longer uncommon to meet physicians who come from another country (Salomonsson 2014). Among physicians working in Sweden, the percentage of those trained abroad amounted to 24% in 2011 (Socialstyrelsen 2014: 24), compared to 18% in 2008 (Socialstyrelsen 2011). Tjadens et al. (2012:155) write that in 2004, more than 23% of all physicians in Sweden were foreign-born. The presence of foreign physicians is however not limited to Sweden only. They are common in many other European countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany and Finland, but also in the USA, Australia and Canada (Berbyuk et al. 2005; Berbyuk
Lindström 2008), so our research ideas may be relevant also in a comparative international perspective.

Similarly, the competition for academics (here: university teachers and researchers in other disciplines than medicine) has increased internationally as a result of the emergence of the knowledge economies mentioned above. The fixed-term nature of their employment contracts leaves many little option but to search for their future employment outside of not only their local but also national context (Ackers 2003). In Sweden, nearly 25% of university teachers and researchers have foreign background (Eliasson 2012), while 31% of all university teachers and researchers have temporary contracts (Viktörsson 2014). While these figures include university teachers and researchers in all fields, physicians in Sweden generally enjoy more stable employment conditions than people we call academics in this paper. According to the survey conducted by the Swedish Junior Doctors' Association (SYLF 2012), almost 95% of all resident physicians (ST-läkare) have a permanent contract. Fixed-term contracts are prevalent only in the earlier phases of physicians’ careers. According to the same survey, two thirds of the resident physicians had one or more temporary contracts before they started their residency. In that respect, there is some similarity between the two professional groups, as both younger academics as well as physicians need to work through their way to obtain more stable employment conditions. Nevertheless, the prospect of obtaining a permanent contract seems to be easier and faster for physicians than for many academics. Hence, the research outlined here has the potential of contributing to the overlapping research field of internationalization of labor markets and insecuritization of work.

In Sweden, as elsewhere, academic mobility is promoted and characterised in positive terms at the policy level. It is encouraged for its capacity to enable the exchange of expertise and has become indispensable for individuals’ career trajectory, especially so at early career stages (Leemann 2010). At the same time, reports from the UK which show that mental health problems are on the rise among academics and that nearly half of academics show symptoms of psychological distress (Shaw & Ward 2014). A survey by the University and College Union revealed that academics experience higher stress than those in the wider population (ibid.) and that work-life balance amongst UK academics continues to be poor. Findings indicate that they frequently neglect their
personal life and miss out on important activities due to the demands of their work (Kinman & Wray 2013).

Similar trends might be at work in Sweden, where the higher-education sector is increasingly driven by the quest for internationalisation. Whereas much thought is given to the mobility of students and the efforts to create strong international research links, less attention is paid to the complexities related to the mobility of academic staff. In combination with high competition for jobs and research funding, the expectation of mobility might add to the high requirements, competitiveness and stress related to academic careers. The Swedish trade union journal Universitetsläraren recently reported that academics are the professional group with the fastest growing sick leave rate, reportedly due to work-overload (Viktorsson 2014).

While these negative trends have been observed for academics as a professional group at large, we presume that a comparison between international migrants, internal migrants and academics who did not migrate for work would add to the understanding of migration and well-being.

With regard to mobile academics, there exist a handful of studies within the literature on career-making that point to the difficulties particularly mobile female scientists face when trying to reconcile partnering and parenting with their international career-making (see, e.g., Ackers 2003; Stalford 2005). The issues of integrating career and private life among mobile scientists have also been touched upon in Sweden (see, e.g., Pettersson 2011); however, there exists no study in Sweden that would systematically explore the transnational aspects of the negotiation between different life domains that migrant academics engage in. Similarly, though there exist numerous interview-based studies on foreign physicians in Sweden (Andersson 2010; Berbyuk et al. 2005; Berbyuk Lindström 2008; Salmonsson 2014; Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2012), none of these focus on the work/non-work experiences of these migrant professionals.

A better understanding of health-related issues – in a broader context of subjectively experienced well-being – involved in the mobility of the highly skilled, is needed in the context of intense internationalisation of both higher education and health care sector. Empirically based knowledge is needed for the strategic development of policies and practices of fostering work/non-work integration of migrant academics and physicians, with special regard to the role of their places of work and life.
Conclusion

Research on high-skilled migration is an upcoming theme in migration studies. However, there is a gap in the literature concerning the well-being of highly skilled migrants. This paper claims that research is needed in order to better understand high-skilled migration and its consequences for individuals’ well-being. We suggest that this can be done by examining the possibilities for managing the work, family, private and social domains of life (Languilaire 2009) that involve transnational relations and obligations (Levitt et al. 2003; Faist et al. 2013). By intersecting the research fields of work/non-work and high-skilled migration, we offer a novel perspective on work/non-work issues by emphasising the transnational dimensions of private, family and social contexts and obligations. This outline also fills a gap in migration studies by focusing on the migrants’ experiences of well-being in relation to their work/non-work negotiations.

This research outline aims to establish a missing connection between migration and work/non-work research fields, and to develop theory by interpreting empirical findings acquired in both fields while intersecting them with the research on professions. From a Swedish and a regional point of view, we explained the relevance of exploring and comparing how these challenges are experienced by migrants within two professional groups that are characterised by an increasingly high presence of international employees, i.e. physicians and academics.

By focusing on personal experiences in order to grasp the interplay between gender, age, distance to the country of origin, profession and employment conditions, as well as family and social obligations in more than one country, this outline potentially proposes a more nuanced understanding of the category of ‘highly skilled migrants’. It aims at theory development in the field of migration studies also by overcoming the biases of the ethnic lens and intersecting the migrants’ origin with their professional belonging. It does so by suggesting a comparison between two professional groups in one country, but it may be useful also in a cross-country comparative designs. Furthermore, we believe that empirical research in this emergent field could also contribute to the development of theory in migration studies by a consistent attention to the processes as emplacement – both in local and transnational realms – that develop in an interplay between professional and private lives.
Last but not least, by including not only labour migrants but also family migrants and refugees within the category of highly skilled migrants, the research outline might offer further refinements to the analytical category of ‘highly skilled migrant’ as well as to the more popular understanding of who highly skilled migrants are (see Mozetič 2015). In light of the high demand of professionals in a number of branches ranging from IT to health care, there are mounting voices in Sweden pleading for more effective labour market integration measures for highly skilled migrants (Anjou 2015; Avellan 2015). Moreover, Swedish counties as well as national politicians increasingly recognise the labour market potential of refugees coming to Sweden, thereby acknowledging the need to – parallel to the active recruitment of professionals from abroad – make use of the professional qualifications and skills already present in the country (see, e.g., Öst 2014). For instance, in July 2015, Swedish migration minister Morgan Johansson emphasised the importance of thinking about the benefits of refugee migration instead of focusing only on its challenges, giving an example of Syrian doctors who came to Sweden as refugees and were recruited in order to tackle the shortage of health care professionals within the region of Västra Götaland (Europahuset i Almedalen 2015).

Along with the recent calls for papers mentioned in the introduction, the currently intensified public debate in Sweden confirms the timeliness of this outline and the relevance of the field of studies addressed by this paper. The issue of these migrants’ well-being remains to be investigated in the years to come. It is essential to articulate possible obstacles that both highly skilled labour and non-economic migrants face in national, regional and local contexts in order to offer clues about how to support such kinds of international employees, both at the institutional and the policy level.
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*Vi jobbar för livet – SUS (2011)* Promotional video, SUS. Available from: [https://www.skane.se/sv/Webbplatser/Skanes-universitetssjukhus/Om-Skanes-universitetssjukhus/Filmer-om-SUS/Om-SUS1/Vi-jobbar-for-livet](https://www.skane.se/sv/Webbplatser/Skanes-universitetssjukhus/Om-Skanes-universitetssjukhus/Filmer-om-SUS/Om-SUS1/Vi-jobbar-for-livet) [Last visited 19 October 2015].


