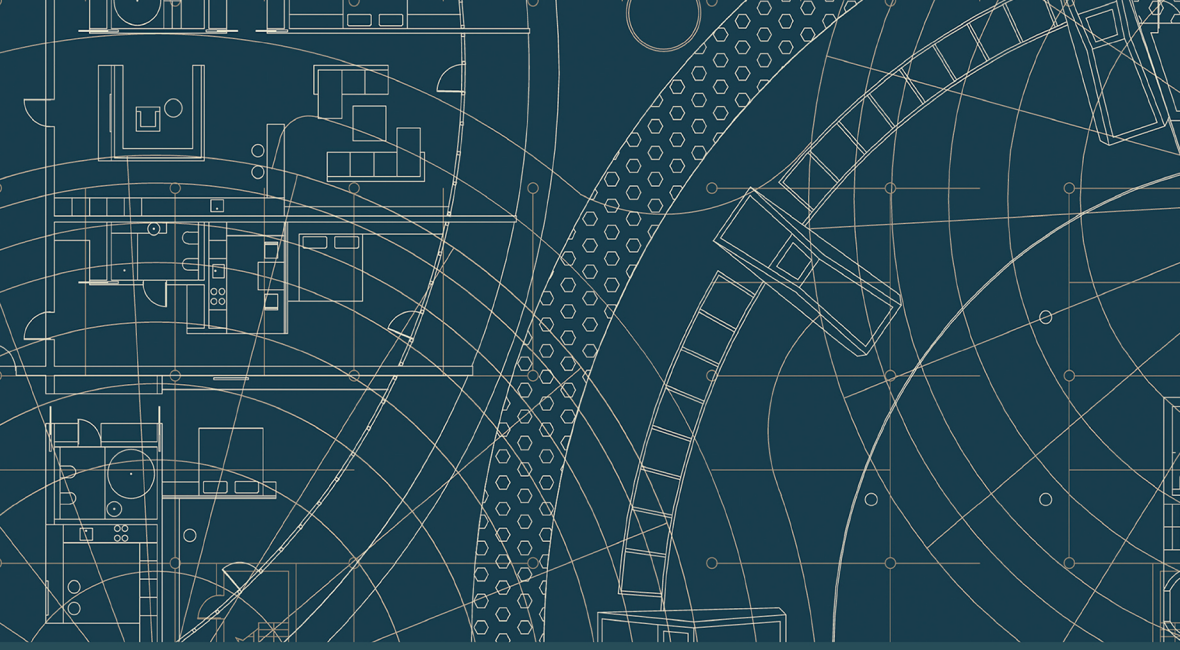

Routledge Research in Gender and Society

GENDER AND MIGRATION

TRANSNATIONAL AND INTERSECTIONAL PROSPECTS

Anna Amelina and Helma Lutz

Gender and Migration

From its beginnings in the 1970s and 1980s, interest in the topic of gender and migration has grown. *Gender and Migration* seeks to introduce the most relevant sociological theories of gender relations and migration that consider ongoing transnationalization processes, at the beginning of the third millennium. These include intersectionality, queer studies, social inequality theory and the theory of transnational migration and citizenship; all of which are brought together and illustrated by means of various empirical examples.

With its explicit focus on the gendered structures of migration-sending and migration-receiving countries, *Gender and Migration* builds on the most current conceptual tool of gender studies—intersectionality—which calls for collective research on gender with analysis of class, ethnicity/race, sexuality, age and other axes of inequality in the context of transnational migration and mobility. The book also includes descriptions of a number of recommended films that illustrate transnational migrant masculinities and femininities within and outside of Europe.

A refreshing attempt to bring in considerations of gender theory and sexual identity in the area of gender migration studies, this insightful volume will appeal to students and researchers interested in fields such as sociology, social anthropology, political science, intersectional studies and transnational migration.

Anna Amelina is Professor of Intercultural Studies at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany

Helma Lutz is Professor of Gender Studies at the Goethe-University of Frankfurt, Germany

Routledge Research in Gender and Society

https://www.routledge.com/sociology/series/SE0271

Girls, Aggression and Intersectionality
Transforming the Discourse of 'Mean Girls'
Edited by Krista Mcqueeney and Alicia A. Girgenti-Malone

Modern Motherhood and Women's Dual Identities
Rewriting the Sexual Contract
Petra Bueskens

Age, Gender and Sexuality through the Life Course
The Girl in Time
Susan Pickard

The Romani Women's Movement
Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe
Edited by Angéla Kóczé, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanović, and Enikó Vincze

Affective Inequalities in Intimate Relationships
Edited by Tuula Juvonen and Marjo Kolehmainen

Masculinities, Sexualities and Love
Aliraza Javaid

Body, Migration, Re/constructive Surgeries
Making the Gendered Body in a Globalized World
Edited by Gabriele Griffin and Malin Jordal

Gender and Migration
Transnational and Intersectional Prospects
Anna Amelina and Helma Lutz

Gender and Precarious Research Careers
A Comparative Analysis
Edited by Annalisa Murgia and Barbara Poggio

Gender and Migration

Transnational and Intersectional Prospects

Anna Amelina and Helma Lutz

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-47920-3 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-06630-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Taylor & Francis Books

Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Tables

List of films

List of Films in Chapter 6

Ali: Fear Eats the Soul (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974, drama)
Avalon (Barry Levinson, 1990, drama)
Girlhood (Céline Sciamma, 2015, drama)
Household Help: Working in Foreign Everyday Lives (Petra Valentin, 2007, documentary)
Intersexion (Grant Lahood, 2012, documentary)
The Namesake (Mira Nair, 2007, drama)
Neukölln Unlimited (Agostino Imondi/Dietmar Ratsch, 2010, documentary)
Paradise: Love [*Paradies Liebe*] (Ulrich Seidl, 2013, docudrama, German with English subtitles)
Promise and Unrest (Alan Grossman/Aine O'Brien, 2010, documentary)
Remittance (Patrick Daly/Joel Fendelman, 2015, drama)

Acknowledgements

The idea for this book goes back to a proposal made by our colleague Uwe Vormbusch, on whose initiative we then developed a preliminary version in the form of a module book for the University of Hagen. We would like to extend our sincerest thanks to him for the astute and knowledgeable comments he provided during the planning and preparation of the manuscript. As the authors of this book, we used earlier versions of our chapters in some of the courses we held at the "Gender, Diversity, and Migration" Unit at the Institute of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Goethe University Frankfurt; we would like to thank our students for their constructive feedback and for the lively debates we had the pleasure of engaging in with them.

We also thank Heike Strohmann and Jana Schäfer for their inspiring suggestions and their diligence in preparing the monograph. Our special thanks go to Rene Reinholz and William White for their careful translation and excellent editing of the German original text.

Our partners, Rudolf Leiprecht and Christian Heidling, supported us at every stage of the writing process. We know that we cannot take their support for granted, and we are grateful to our "caring husbands" for their help, their inspiration, and their sense of humor.

Helma Lutz and Anna Amelina
Frankfurt am Main and Cottbus, April 2018

Chapter 1

Gender relations and migration

Introduction to the current state of the debate

1.1 The social construction of gender

This introductory chapter presents some of the main analytical concepts, fundamental debates, and traditions both of women's and gender studies and of migration research. It will serve as the starting point for the subsequent discussion of these two areas, of the linkages between them, and of their commonalities and differences. Two central theoretical debates from gender studies will be of particular importance in that discussion. The debate to be introduced *first* is about the *social construction of gender*, which deconstructs the assumption of biological gender binarism and focuses on analyzing the production of gender. The *second* debate is about the methodological foundations and includes the debate about *intersectionality*, which not only criticizes the sole focus on gender but in particular makes a case for analyzing the interplay of gender, class, race/ethnicity, and other social categories—a proposition that is also relevant when analyzing transnational social inequality.

For a long time, mainstream social inequality research gave little attention to gender relations. Analyses of social asymmetries and fragmentations focused primarily on inequalities in education and employment or income, as a result of which social class/stratum differences became defined as the most important indicators of social inequalities. As sociologist Helga Krüger observes, "From the perspective of social structure analysis, and in view of the 'real' challenges with which our society is faced, gender inequality was regarded (and continues to be regarded today) more as a secondary phenomenon" (2007: 178, transl., HL).

Krüger criticizes this perspective as a "misperception," noting that gender, as one of several social structure categories, must be systematically taken into consideration in studies of social inequality.

Gender, or gender difference, is regarded as an ordering principle that creates the expectation that every member of society identifies with one of two genders. However, this identification does not remain optional and subjective but occurs at the intersection of institutional constraints, normative patterns,

and individual behaviors that influence people's entire life courses. The role of gender may change during the course of a life history; at the same time, the consideration of gender in relation to other categories, such as social class, ethnicity, nationality, and age, is indispensable. In doing so, it is necessary to avoid singularizing and static approaches, because gender relations are different at different points in time (in socialization, education, working life, family life, and old age). This is why inequality scholar Karin Gottschall (2004: 193) argues that gender relations must always be considered in terms of their temporal or process dimension.

However, there is not necessarily a consensus on the efficacy of gender. Stimulated by the second wave of the feminist movement of the 1970s, an accompanying, and eventually long-lasting, debate ensued within the emerging academic fields of women's and gender studies with regard to how gender should be defined. There is some consensus in this debate, particularly concerning the initial assumption that most societies are organized on the basis of gender binarism, which in turn is based on the dichotomic male/female principle; charged with cultural interpretation patterns, this difference is regarded as a socially produced category (as opposed to one *that exists in nature*). At first glance, such a perspective is confusing because it is contrary to widely shared common knowledge, as well as to many people's commonsense perceptions. After all, the perception of gender seems to be beyond doubt and, precisely for this reason, seems to require no explanation. Gender scholar Angelika Wetterer correctly notes:

> That there are two—and only two—genders; that everyone belongs to either one gender or the other; that gender identity is fixed from birth onward and never changes or disappears; that gender identity can be determined beyond a doubt on the basis of the genitalia, which makes it a natural and unambiguous biological fact on which we have no influence – all of these are basic rules of our "everyday theory of gender binarism" (Hagemann-White 1984: 78) that seem to be as unquestionably correct as the assumption that this has always been the case, and that it is no different in other cultures
>
> (Wetterer 2010: 126, transl., HL).

This "everyday theory" had already been called into question in the premodern era, but only in modern times was it criticized extensively, and only during the last third of the 20th century did such criticism become more comprehensive and complex. The book *The Second Sex* by the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, published in 1949, is widely regarded as a pioneering work that inspired the women's liberation movement that would start to emerge some twenty years later, as did, along with it, the study of gender. In her book, de Beauvoir traces the long history of discrimination against women as a process in which personal *autonomy and self-determination* were

considered a male prerogative, whereas the female sex was characterized as an *Other*, a deviation from the male. Her statement "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (de Beauvoir 1953 [1949]: 267) laid the foundations for the social constructivist perspective on sex and gender that continues to have a significant influence on the debate in gender research today. For this perspective to be able to establish itself, it was first necessary to accept the *null hypothesis* that "there is no essential, naturally prescribed gender binary, but that there are only different cultural constructions of gender" (Hagemann-White 1984: 230, transl., HL).

In the 1980s, the American historian Joan W. Scott (1988) caused quite a stir in the historical research community when she established the concept of "*gender*" as a central category of historical analysis. Scott called into question the distinction between sex as a biological characteristic and gender as a socialized, learned identity that until then had been used in the feminist debate, and instead emphasized the important role of discourses, which have always changed our understanding of sex/gender and sexual/gender differences.

The linguistic turn

The most radical revolutionizing contribution to the debate was made by the American philosopher Judith Butler (1993), who dismissed the distinction into sex and gender, noting that *language does not represent but rather constitutes reality* (*linguistic turn*), so addressing an individual with reference to that individual's gender (e.g., Mrs. or Mr. So-and-So) does not simply identify that gender, but it is generated anew every time that individual is addressed. Addressing an individual by means of language produces the unambiguity of gender identity that society expects, and this "is repeated and confirmed again and again until it seems like a natural characteristic" (Kraß 2013: 41, transl., HL). The benefit of Butler's approach is that not only has it drawn attention to the normative belief that there are only two genders, but it has also opened a new perspective on the relationship between gender and sexuality given that the social regulation of sexuality is based on a binary distinction as well, namely the distinction into heterosexuality and homosexuality. "If gender, including the body, is a social construct, then there is no reason to postulate any kind of natural orientation of desire and we must accept that heterosexuality, like the gender binary, is a performative act and discursive effect (Kraß 2013: 41, transl., HL). Thus, gender is neither "naturally" nor "divinely" given.[1]

These poststructuralist considerations from the linguistic turn have also played a role in the debate about social inequality, although these approaches have had a greater influence on the humanities than on sociological inequality research because of the complex requirements of an empirical design that result from the suggestion that the binaries of gender (male–female) and sexuality (heterosexual–homosexual) be abandoned and new ways of addressing them be sought. Admittedly, this would involve a variety of requirements

that are not that easy to meet, because every questionnaire and every interview invokes one of two genders and reproduces this classification, so that this structural category is reduced to these two genders.

Doing gender

A promising approach for inequality research is a version of constructivism that addresses the *production* of gender—known as *doing gender*—in everyday interactions. This approach was first developed in the 1960s by the American interaction theorists and ethnomethodologists Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman. In his case study of "Agnes," a male-to-female transsexual, Garfinkel (1967) was able to show that neither hormone replacement therapy nor plastic surgery, and neither female clothes nor make-up, is sufficient to convincingly change one's gender in everyday life. Instead, gender identity must be produced day in and day out, which can be successful only if it is constantly reproduced and *recognized* as either male or female. Thus, doing gender—that is, doing masculinity or femininity—involves *productive efforts* that are made so as to conform to the requirements of everyday behavior. Goffman (1977), drawing on Garfinkel's work, developed the theory of "*the arrangement between the sexes*," emphasizing that doing gender is by no means an arbitrary, individual activity, but that there is an *institutionalized framework* that suggests, pre-structures, and controls the form of this activity, so that rule violations that are monitored and punished during childhood ("boys don't wear skirts and don't cry") are eventually unconsciously avoided.[2] This behavior is practiced as part of primary (family) and secondary (school, sports clubs) socialization processes and also becomes an internalized matrix, or behavioral grammar (Bourdieu), that manifests itself in unconscious everyday behaviors. For transgender individuals, reorienting themselves to the matrix of the other gender is an arduous learning process that involves *working* on their voice, on a variety of other body-related performances (movements, clothes), and on their biographical narratives (see in this regard the many male-to-female voice-training videos on YouTube[3]).

Ethnomethodology has reversed the direction of the widely held assumption that gender derives from sex by starting from the *cultural interpretation* of nature rather than from nature itself:

> When we view gender as an accomplishment, an achieved property of situated conduct, our attention shifts from matters *internal to* the individual and focuses on interactional and, ultimately, institutional arenas.
>
> (West and Zimmerman 1987: 140, emphasis added)

In addition, it should be noted that the debate about the social construction of "the gender binary as a knowledge system" (Hirschauer 1996, transl., HL) opened the way for sociological approaches to comparable considerations of

other *social markers* that are virulent in modern societies, such as ethnicity/race, sexuality, social class, citizenship, "disability," and age (see the following section on intersectionality).

"Productive" vs. "unproductive" labor

Of particular importance for the debate about the gender dimension of social inequality is the observation that social inequality between the sexes is constitutive of our modern labor society (Arendt 1958). This inequality is the result of a hierarchization of *labor* that implies a gendered structural opposition of production and reproduction in which the sphere of production has always been favored over the sphere of reproduction; remuneration for productive labor (wage labor) in the value chain continues to be higher today than remuneration for reproductive labor (or "*care work*," as we have come to call it), which is generally considered to be unproductive (Lutz 2010a; see also Chapter 4 in this book). The inequality researcher Reinhard Kreckel has described this distinction between "productive" wage labor and "unproductive" care work in the modern labor society as follows:

> There, in the sphere of production, we find the primary power asymmetry between capital and labor, and that is also where we find the power asymmetry of the bureaucratic-capitalist labor market. That is where income is generated and distributed (unequally), and where the official hierarchy of social positions is anchored. The second, unofficial hierarchy, which is particularly unfavorable to women, is based on a distinction between paid productive labor and unpaid reproductive labor. For in the monetary economy, a twofold rule of thumb applies: work that is not paid does not count, and work that does not count is not paid.
>
> (Kreckel 2004: 270–71, transl., HL)

In a system in which it is only through wage labor that socialization can occur and that individuals can be recognized as honorable members of society—and this is exactly what happens in post-industrial late modern societies—power relations and recognition (or the withdrawal of recognition) in the gender order develop along these spheres as well. The concept of *double socialization* of women, developed by the gender scholar Regina Becker-Schmidt (1987), can be used to identify a pertinent disparity: Our society associates the socialization of masculinity primarily with the breadwinner role and with gainful employment, whereas femininity is ambivalently socialized as the dual role of being responsible both for reproductive labor and for contributing to the family income. This disparity results in a system of social regulation that in turn leads to a permanent gender-specific asymmetry, because men have no care responsibilities or, put differently, because their care responsibilities are limited to the male-breadwinner principle.

> Because of this double socialization, or double orientation, women are confronted with a multitude of endurance tests with which men are never confronted to the same extent. Women have developed a complex capacity for work that qualifies them for two 'workplaces'—the one at home and the one outside the home. If they want to experience both of these fields of practice, they risk running into the qualitative and quantitative issues this double burden involves
>
> (Becker-Schmidt 1987: 23, transl., HL)

Some 25 years ago, it was predicted that the *double socialization* of women would erode as women became better educated. However, now, in the early 21st century, we see that it is still difficult for women to participate in gainful employment: women work full-time to provide care work to children and to elderly or disabled family members,[4] or they try to balance work and family by working part-time,[5] or—and this applies primarily to full-time dual-earner families and to divorcees—they find a female substitute, whom they pay to assume the responsibilities involved in domestic and care work (see Chapter 4). The fact that the majority of women do not simply feel a responsibility for care work (gender knowledge) but actually assume that responsibility shows how persistent the gender asymmetry in doing gender continues to be—an asymmetry that is supported by institutionalized, legally recognized gender arrangements in the areas of taxation (joint tax returns), insurance (dependent coverage on the basis of the breadwinner principle), and social security (child care subsidies). Clearly, this comes at the expense of the equalization of incomes and pensions, in that on average, most women earn less than their male peers with the same qualifications (gender pay gap), which in turn has an influence on their pensions (gender pension gap).

As we can see, the meritocratic model of society, which is supposed to reward "achievements," and which promises appropriate appreciation and remuneration, turns out to be an illusion if we look at it in terms of social class and gender. However, as will become clear in the following, this conclusion should be qualified somewhat because these categories are each embedded in power relations, by which we mean the consideration and analysis of the entire spectrum in the relations of the genders and classes, from privileged positions to positions that are excluded from privileges.

1.2 Intersectionality: gender and its interdependence with other social markers

> Social inequality in the wider sense of the term exists wherever opportunities for access to generally available and desirable social goods and/or to social positions involving unequal power and/or interaction potentials are permanently limited in such a way as to either affect or favor the life chances of an individual, group, or society.
>
> (Kreckel 2004: 17, transl., HL; see also Lamont and Molnár 2002)

The study of social inequality is concerned with the unequal distribution of, and unequal access to, resources (financial, social, cultural, symbolic). A number of inequality researchers have argued that structuring categories must be further divided into *vertical* and *horizontal* generators of inequality. The factors that act as vertical generators of inequality are education and training, profession, and income in the *society of gainful employment* (Berger 2003; Butler and Watt 2007). In contrast, advocates of the horizontal-*differentiation paradigm*, such as Ulrich Beck or Stefan Hradil, believe that gainful employment is becoming increasingly differentiated—that is, de-standardized—and is having less and less influence on individuals' identity development and living conditions. Their research focuses on factors that promote inequality, the influence of which extends beyond the gainful employment process, and that run transversely in relation to class or socioeconomic-stratum distinctions, namely the differential categories of *sex/gender, sexuality, age, ethnicity, nationality*, and "*disability*." However, the challenge posed by the differentiation paradigm is not to ignore or obscure the traditional guiding categories of inequality analysis—power, dominance, exploitation, and oppression—by using symbolic representations of difference, but instead to continue to consider and critically reflect on their materialized, violent forms while never neglecting *labor* and its role as the foundation of the labor society.

From the matrix of domination to intersectionality

To overcome this challenge, we can draw on intersectional analysis, an approach that was first developed in the area of Anglo-American gender research. The intersectionality debate, which has its origins in the African-American civil rights movement (see Davis 1981), is concerned with the combined analysis of three key categories of social marking and positioning—race, class, and gender. Originally, this triad, which was cumulatively conceptualized as multiple oppression and multiple discrimination, has been further developed in response to the difference and constructivist debate of the last two decades. The African-American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990), for example, developed what she refers to as a "matrix of domination," an analytical model that can be used to describe the multidimensionality and complexity of discrimination experiences among African-American women in the United States; this model was developed as an alternative approach to the one-dimensional (single-axis) approach of white feminists, whose additive conceptualization of the cumulative effect of different forms of oppression (e.g., the triple oppression theory) was countered by the matrix-of-domination approach. Hill Collins insisted that the multidimensionality of race, class, and gender should be approached in their convergences, intersections, co-constructions, and interferences, as "interlocking systems of oppression." Collins's "matrix of domination" model was a precursor to the model of intersectionality that was later developed by the

African-American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Using the (road) intersection metaphor, which describes a point where several social markers overlap, Crenshaw analyzed the dilemma of female African-American laborers who had lost their jobs at General Motors in the 1970s and who went on to sue their former employer for unlawful termination. Crenshaw's conclusion was that the law of that time did not support these women despite passage of a landmark anti-discrimination law in the United States many years earlier, in the 1960s. A closer look revealed that the only two groups this law protected against losing their jobs were African-American men (as representatives of the category of "African-American") and white women (as representatives of the category of "women"). African-American women fell through the cracks of this legislation and became invisible, so to speak.

Since then, the term "intersectionality" has firmly established itself in the gender debate—first in the English-speaking world and then, with some delay, in Germany and the rest of continental Europe—although it is a concept that has been and continues to be hotly debated. Its proponents particularly stress its potential to serve as what one might call a *shorthand note*, or "catchall phrase" (Phoenix and Pattynama 2006: 187), for an inclusive consideration of social identity as a simultaneous positioning of multiple identities, which can be used as an alternative to reductionist, single-category approaches. Critics of this approach have been skeptical for a variety of reasons, one being that they believe that this approach cannot appropriately capture social *constitution processes* of race, class, and gender, because it is focused solely on, or limited to, the individual level (Klinger 2003: 25). Such criticism has in turn been criticized for being based on an insufficiently complex concept of discrimination and for ignoring the fact that intersectional discrimination concerns not only individual intentional exclusionary acts; rather, structural, institutional, intentional, direct, and indirect discrimination are distinguished. There appear to be translation difficulties between the anti-discrimination discourse and the inequality discourse, or difficulties in assessing the relationship between inequality and discrimination (see also Lutz, Herrera Vivar, and Supik 2011).

It should also be noted that experiences of discrimination are the result of socially rooted discrimination processes that are produced and reproduced in society, and that these experiences demonstrate an interplay of different power relations, which is to say that categories related to social structure have an influence on individuals and their individuation, and that the individuals generate *and* affirm these very same structures. As a consequence, we must always consider the structural/institutional contexts at the intersection of which collective and individual identities emerge. According to the American social philosopher Nancy Fraser, for example, one benefit of intersectional analysis is that social actors are no longer considered as members of an exclusive *status group* or (collective) identity category:

> After all, gender, "race," sexuality, and class are not neatly cordoned off from one another. Rather, all these axes of subordination intersect in ways that affect everyone's interests and identities. No one is a member of only one such collectivity. And individuals who are subordinated along one axis of social division may well be dominant along others.
>
> (Fraser 2003: 26)

Thus, categories of difference are no longer essentialist; rather, they are each conceptualized as symbolic capital that can be used differently in different situations. As a result, race/ethnicity, class, and gender come to play an important role as resources of discrimination and of action (see also Lutz and Davis 2005).

Race

The critical debate about the concept of race in the United States began as long ago as the 1920s. This discussion of scientific and institutional racism led to the deconstruction of race as a product of a world order based on a racist construction, and that the concept of race cannot be attributed to any real, supposedly biologically given "race." As early as the 1920s, the Chicago School introduced the term "ethnicity" in order to mark the social formation of "races" as a product of social construction—that is, of racialization processes—and, at the same time, to abandon the concept of "race" (see also Cornell and Hartmann 2007). However, "race" has prevailed as a term to describe the social situation of African-American women and men, the reason given being that as long as racism can be shown to persist within a given society, racist attitudes continue to have implicit and explicit effects. In contrast, "ethnicity" as a category has sometimes been used to identify various different groups of immigrants, not all of whom are also affected by racism, though many are.

How, then, should we translate the term "race" for the context of mainland Europe, now that it has made its way across the Atlantic? Klinger and Knapp (2005) rightly note that as a result of the race–class–gender debate, gender and "race" have been stripped of their supposed biological/biologist "naturalness." We should add, however, that the mechanisms behind the naturalization of differences are the same as those behind the construction of ethnicity on the basis of social references to "*cultural"* differences. As early as 1955, Theodor W. Adorno was farsighted enough to note that although "the elegant word 'culture' " was replacing the frowned-upon word "race" after the Second World War, the two terms were still used to denote similar things regardless of this nominal replacement. Rudolf Leiprecht, a scholar who specializes in research on racism, has drawn on Adorno to describe "'culture' as a linguistic hiding place for 'race'" (2001).

In the context of mainland Europe, in particular in the social scientific context of the German-speaking countries, "ethnicity" has come to be regarded as a *new* category of social inequality that is becoming increasingly important because it is considered to be a result of extensive processes of immigration into Western nation states (Müller and Schmid 2003: 9). However, what is overlooked here is not only that extensive migration processes also occurred *before* the so-called guest-workers started to immigrate, but that the *naturalization* of "cultural" distinctions has a long history—for example, in the era of colonialism. There was never a zero hour in this respect either, because a closer look shows that much of what used to be attributed to "race" is now included in descriptions of *ethnicity*. Therefore, in Germany and many other European countries, "ethnicity" is regarded as a scientifically neutral term that suggests that different "cultures" can coexist in the same place as equals who accept one another—for example, in a multicultural society—a view that ignores hierarchically organized power relations within societies. The term "race" is now largely avoided in sociological research in many European countries.[6] In particular, in Germany it is associated with fascism and is regarded as a "negative category" (Knapp 2009: 224), and because it is regarded as normatively charged, moralizing, or polemical when used in connection with the research subject of *racism*. There has been some controversy as to whether or not to use the German term "*Rasse*" and borrow the concept from the American debate, with one side arguing that the English word "race" should be used instead because it allows for racialized social positions to be identified as such, and the other side pointing out that not only might those who use "race" as a strategic essentialism fall into the trap of identity politics, but they might unwittingly perpetuate and reify racist logics. In this book, we use "ethnicity" and "race" to denote social positionings that are *ethnicized* and/or *racialized* on the basis of origin, religion, skin color, or social references to "culture."

Ethnicization/racialization

In the 1980s, social scientists started to analyze the phenomenon of *creeping ethnicization* as a process in which descriptive characterizations of immigrants are used across several immigrant generations as the basis for an artificial social distinction between natives and foreigners that promotes social exclusion and marginalization (e.g., Bukow and Llaryora 1988). Some of the resulting concepts and discourses have led to the emergence of ideas that can be used to legitimize ethnicized social hierarchies, and that are now common knowledge and have even been affirmed and reified in the social sciences. Stuart Hall (1993), a British cultural theorist who conducted extensive research on racism and was for many years the director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University, also described this process, but noted that the category of "ethnicity" should be redefined as an

element of self-ascriptions and ascriptions by others, as a characteristic of social differentiation. By doing so, Hall dissolved the common practice of ascription in which the (white) members of dominant groups that regard and present themselves as non-ethnic serve as the ethnically *unmarked* standard against which *the Others* are measured.

At the same time, however, the French philosopher Étienne Balibar (1989) notes that a form of *neoracism* has been emerging in Europe that says "culture" but means "race." This neoracism serves to legitimize postcolonial rule and is an element of the historical glue that has left its mark not only on many folk theories but on political and scientific discourses on both sides of the Atlantic.

Table 1.1 Bipolar axes of difference

Categories	*Fundamental dualism*	
	Dominating	*Dominated*
Gender	**Male**	**Female/transgender**
Sexuality	**Heterosexual**	**Homosexual/lesbian/ bisexual**
Ethnicity/race	**Dominant group**	**Ethnicized/ Racialized minorities**
National belonging	Those who do belong	Those who do not belong
Religion	Secular	Religious
Language	Dominant	Inferior position
Differences referred to as "culture"	Civilized	Uncivilized
Class/social status	**High/established** Rich/wealthy	**Low/not established** Poor
Health/Disability	**No disabilities/healthy (no special needs)**	**With disabilities/ill (with special needs)**
Generation/age	**Adults Young people**	**Children The elderly**
Space	**National**	**Transnational**
Sedentariness/origin	Sedentary (ancestral)	Nomadic (immigrated)
North–South/West–East	The West	The rest
State of societal development	Modern (progressive) (developed)	Traditional (backward) (underdeveloped)

Source: Own research, HL

Note: Individual axes of difference are in bold; lines not in bold are dimensions of given axis of difference.

Among other things, the intersectionality debate has for a long time been concerned with extending the categorical triad of race, class, and gender to include several more categories.

All axes of difference are concerned with social categorizations that have societal effects and are the basis of social dividends that are either distributed or withheld. Not every such categorization will play an equally important role in addressing issues related to social inequalities and experiences of discrimination; nonetheless, it is widely held among empirical intersectionality researchers that the minimum standard is to consider at least three categories (see Lutz 2014). The lively debate about whether we should also distinguish vertical and horizontal categories, and whether extending the range of categorizations might not ultimately erode and wear out the endeavor, is far from settled and in fact still continues to rage today. The same is true for the question of whether intersectionality should be regarded as a theory, methodology, method, or operationalization tool for heuristic analysis (see Anthias 2012b; Knapp 2013; *EWE* 2013; Lutz 2013, 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). A review of the current state of the intersectionality debate must also mention the recent developments toward a multilevel model. For example, the British sociologist Floya Anthias (1998: 512) suggested examining the effects of the interference of structuring categories on four levels: a) the level of experiences (of discrimination); b) the actor level (intersubjective practice); c) the institutional level (institutional regimes); and d) the level of representation (symbolic and discursive).[7] Anthias also suggested using a method that not only would distinguish different levels of analysis but would give equal weight to each of those levels.

To illustrate this suggestion, Chapter 4 in this book discusses a specific aspect of the intersectionality debate—the debate about care work.

In this chapter, we introduced intersectionality as an alternative to the debate about vertical and horizontal differences, arguing that this model has the potential to overcome the strict distinction between vertical and horizontal categories that produce inequality. Nora Räthzel has provided a succinct description of this position:

> In feminist research, the term [intersectionality] denotes a perspective that not only avoids reducing social positions to subjective identities, but also avoids considering social structures without also taking into account the individuals who actively reproduce or resist those structures
>
> (Räthzel 2010: 253, transl., HL)

1.3 Migration

The subject of this book is at the intersection of two areas of scientific work—women's and gender studies and migration and minority studies. Although these two areas are related through their focus on gender relations and

migration, they have established themselves independently of each other. The area of migration studies, like gender studies, is not characterized by a singular discipline-specific perspective but rather by multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. This double orientation also involves what we might call a *double bind* with regard to the subject of this field: Whereas mainstream migration research usually considers men to be the prototypical migrants, there has been a tendency for female migration to be characterized as an exception to the rule or as an aftereffect of male migration—in other words, as *dependent* migration. Paradoxically, however, gender relations are in fact indispensable when it comes to describing the relationship between a majority society ("we") and migrant communities ("they"), as we will show later (see also Lutz and Huth-Hildebrandt 1998: 159).

The difficult relationship between migration studies and gender studies also involves the dominance of a bipolar differential theoretical paradigm in both these fields that considers the migrant, and in particular the female migrant, as the respective *Other*, as a deviation, and as someone lower in the hierarchy. As a result, migration research has approached female migration as a *gender-specific* phenomenon, whereas gender research has approached it as an *ethnicity-specific* phenomenon.

As we have seen, the subject of migration has been, and continues to be, addressed from within a complex, potentially conflictual scientific field. The following account of major traditions and debates in these fields will focus on how previous research has approached female migration, and how it has discussed gender arrangements and differentiations more implicitly than explicitly.

Migration and mobility

Migration is neither a modern nor a postmodern phenomenon; in fact, migration movements across the boundaries of countries, states, and ethnicities have always been a driver in human history. However, it was primarily during the 20th century that migration became a global phenomenon with a new quality and magnitude. Today, in the age of globalization, we must reassess the range of motivations behind migration, regardless of whether we look at voluntary or forced migration or at individual or collective migration. It has been estimated that as many as 214 million people are currently living outside the borders of their country of birth or their country of origin, and that about half these people are women (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014: 7). The number of international migrants has more than doubled since the 1960s, although it should be noted that as a result of population growth, their proportion of the world's population has remained the same during that period (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014: 7). The United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) has estimated that there are an additional 740 million internal migrants who have been migrating from rural areas to the

new megalopolises, especially in countries with gigantic levels of urbanization, such as China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, and Nigeria; by 2015, of the 214 million people who were migrating throughout the world, an estimated 50 million were refugees. In addition, there are millions who spend almost their entire lives migrating back and forth between different locations (e.g., seasonal workers or merchants)—a phenomenon that is difficult to quantify, and one that official definitions of migration often neglect. Women and men are represented in equal numbers in all these areas, and in some areas, women are actually overrepresented. Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014) have referred to our time as "*the age of migration*," an age that, perhaps more than ever before, is a feminized phenomenon (see also Koser and Lutz 1998). Indeed, almost half of all migrants included in the statistics are women, and it is believed that they may actually be the majority among all migrants throughout the world. However, the conclusion that feminization has become one of the major trends in migration movements that used to be predominantly male (IOM/UN 2000) implies that female migration among these movements is a new phenomenon when actually it has always been an aspect of population migrations (INSTRAW 1994). What is really new is that researchers and policymakers have come to acknowledge that a large proportion of migrants are women, although even today there are migration studies and statistics that use exclusively male samples or do not consider the migrants' gender at all.

Migration research examines the reasons for, motivations toward, and purposes of migration and also considers the migrants' own perspectives and their motives for migration.

Traditionally, migration research (e.g., Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014: 25 ff.) distinguishes the following types of migration:

- Voluntary migration (work, au pair, migration, marriage, professional training)
- Forced migration (for political, religious, or ecological reasons; persecution of homosexuals; displacement; forced prostitution)
- "Betterment" migration (to improve living standards)
- Expert or career migration (also known as elite migration)
- Interior and international/intercontinental migration
- Permanent, temporary, and circular migration
- Transnational migration (see p. 33 and Chapter 2).

Three aspects must be taken into consideration with regard to this list.

First, the categories and characteristics used to distinguish the different types of migration are often not as clear-cut as they might seem. Most countries have separate legislation with respect to labor migration, education-related migration, and refugee migration, but the majority of categories are permeable, and motives and self-categorizations may change over the course of a migration trajectory depending on the migrants' opportunities for

successful admission and integration into the immigration country. There are international agreements concerning the admission of migrants fleeing persecution and of war refugees; however, most industrialized countries use restrictive quotas to either provide or restrict access to certain types of support. Since the beginning of the 21st century, control of expert immigration has been a standard part of the immigration policies of most member states of the European Union.[8] As a result of these policies, "unskilled work"—such as building and road construction work by male migrants and care work by female migrants (see Chapter 4)—slides into the twilight zone of undocumented work, with the state acting as a silent accomplice and turning a blind eye (Baldwin-Edwards and Arango 1999; Favell 2008; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2010).

Second, there are major differences and contradictions in how migration and mobility are assessed. Mobility has come to be regarded as a key aspect of late modern, dynamic social development, and the independence of movement and location (of capital, goods, and people) is considered to be the basis for successful, flexible corporate governance in the globalized economic area, especially in economics. Most of the time, the discourse of modernity appears to see the phenomenon of mobility, including all its social, geographical, spatial, economic, cultural, and material aspects, in a positive light. However, the other side of the coin is that the mobility of women, men, and children from war and crisis zones is rejected. The way the media portray people who are risking their lives to get into the European Union suggests that Europe is facing massive problems caused by non-Europeans' fierce determination to become mobile,[9] and that it must use (paramilitary) border control to protect its citizens.[10]

Third, the above list illustrates the wide range of migrant groups and how diverse the reasons for migration are; the migrants, in turn, draw on a variety of collective and individual resources. These actors use combinations of economic, social, cultural, symbolic, and other types of capital to successfully complete the migration process, such as degrees/diplomas, networks of friends and family, and risk management skills (see Chapter 2). Factors that cause people to migrate include, but are not limited to, dictatorships; racial, ethnic or nationalist, and religious discrimination; persecution of homosexuals; ecological disasters; the collapse and transformation of political systems (e.g., the Eastern Bloc); the reduction and devaluation of major industries and the resulting loss of employment opportunities in migrants' regions of origin. The demand for labor in what has become known as the Global North is characterized by hierarchic labor markets (technologies vs. farm labor and trades) and by a degradation of certain types of work (office work vs. dirty and dangerous manual labor).

Migration processes reflect the unequal economic relationships that exist throughout the world, and social inequalities are perpetuated and reorganized. The "disposal" of potential for social unrest (committed unionists and/

or political actors) or the loss of educational capital (brain drain) in a state or world region may coincide with a demand for cheap imported labor in another region, which in turn may cause or promote migration. As a result of such processes, a brain drain often leads to brain waste—the devaluation of educational degrees and loss of social status—in the immigration country, although this might be compensated for by higher incomes and by greater prestige in the countries of origin (see Chapter 2). In any case, mothers' migration always leads to a care drain (i.e., the emigration of care capital) (see also Chapter 4).

Classic paradigms of migration research

Chapters 2 and 3 of this book discuss the extensive scientific debates about the reasons for and the processes of migration in greater detail; the following section provides only a brief overview of those debates.

1) The push–pull model

Developed by the American economist Everett Lee (1966), this model holds that international migration occurs when a country that has a demand for labor (pull) can benefit from a surplus of labor in another country (push). Here, the migrating actors are young, healthy men, rational decision-makers who are looking for better opportunities for living, or indeed for survival. According to Lee, women and children must (reluctantly) follow the men's decisions and suffer the consequences: "Children are carried along by their parents, willy-nilly, and wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from environments they love" (Lee 1966: 51). As *dependents*, women and children are characterized as involuntary companions of male migratory actors and, ultimately, as victims of migration.

This theory of the maximization of individual benefits—the rational choice model—reflects the image of gender relations that was prevalent in the Western industrialized societies in the 1960s, but even in those days it had nothing to do with reality. Studies by female historians of the age of transatlantic migration to the "New World" (i.e., the United States, Canada, Australia) in the 19th and early 20th centuries show that even during that period, unmarried women were major actors in these migration processes (see Harzig 2003; Moch 1992), and that half of all migrants were female. Or to give another example, it is still widely believed—erroneously—that the recruitment of "guest-workers" by West Germany from 1955 to 1973 was an exclusively male phenomenon. In reality, women were also recruited for a wide variety of industries, including the healthcare and care industries, the hotel and catering industry, and the electronics, food, and textile industries, and women who had followed their husbands to Germany were integrated into the West German labor market as well. By the mid-1970s, more than 40 percent of female

migrants in West Germany were gainfully employed—a significantly higher proportion than that of West German women who were in employment at that time (for more detailed data, see, e.g., Mattes 1999). Even back then, the role of female migrants, as it was perceived by the general public, was limited to that of non-employed housewives.

2) *Integration vs. assimilation*

Beginning in the 1960s, migration research in Europe developed from research on "guest-workers" to integration research and, ultimately, to research on ethnic minorities that focused on whether it was possible to integrate or assimilate migrants.[11] At the center of these considerations, which started from the premise that there are significant differences (including "cultural" differences) between the "natives" and the immigrants, were ontologizing characterizations. The theory of migrant adaptation that has had the most profound influence on the research in many European countries is *the paradigm of cognitive action*, which includes a four-level typology that categorizes integration on a scale from "socially integrated and culturally assimilated" at the top to "ethnically segregated" at the bottom (see Esser 1983; Gordon 1964; and Chapter 2 in this volume). Wolf-Dietrich Bukow and Roberto Llaryora criticized this typology for implicitly postulating that there had been some kind of zero *situation*: "The migrant arrives with empty hands and must decide between assimilation and segregation. Depending on the situation, he may be able to act differently on different levels" (Bukow and Llaryora 1988: 133, transl., HL; see also Omi and Winant 1986).

The paradigm of cognitive action was refined and complemented by Heitmeyer, Müller, and Schröder's (1997) work on ethnic segregation and the emergence of what then became known as "parallel societies." This model was criticized mainly for its naive understanding of the concept of "assimilation," for failing to reflect heteronomous factors such as institutional and everyday racism and restrictive migration policies, and for failing to consider collective social references that provide orientation and may help to promote integration. This individual-centered learning theory (Bukow and Llaryora 1988: 133) has had, and continues to have, its equivalent in the educationalization of migration, which regards education as an appropriate means to control social problems and to respond to whatever current migration policies may require at any given time (for a discussion of the international debate about assimilation, see Chapter 2).

Perhaps the most poignant criticism of theoretical approaches that reduce individuals' motivation for migration to the *homo economicus* model came from the Spanish migration researcher Joaquín Arango.

> It is true that almost everything can be translated into costs and benefits, and even that a value in monetary terms can be attached to it, but the

> price of such effort may often be the practical irrelevance, close to tautology, of finding that people move to enhance their well-being. In practice, the cost of overcoming entry obstacles is often so staggering that it dissuades the majority of those who might be candidates for migration if economic considerations alone were at play
>
> (Arango 2004: 20)

3) Methodological nationalism in theories of migration

Many studies are implicitly based on the premise that migration is a unilateral, teleological process in which emigration (from one nation state) at some point simply turns into immigration (into another nation state). This assumption ignores the wide variety of different types of migration on the continuum between these two poles, such as transmigration and circular migration. The legal and symbolic implication of this view is that migrants relinquish their original citizenship and acquire a new one. As a result, much of the research consists of studies that evaluate measurements of and conclusions about migrants' assimilation and integration successes in relation to those migrants' willingness to acquire citizenship or marry a citizen from the country of immigration. Critics have rejected this epistemology, not only because of the *methodological nationalism* it implies (Amelina et al. 2012; Amelina and Faist 2012; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003), but also because it reduces migration processes to a duality (country of origin and country of arrival), linearity (emigration from country X necessarily leads to immigration into country Y), and unidimensionality (identity/belonging is limited to one ethnicity or nation).

Approaches such as this cannot explain complex migration processes, which may continue indefinitely between two or more different countries, and which might not necessarily lead migrants to sever their ties with their country of origin at all but might instead lead to "*place polygamy*" (Beck 2000), or to "multiple belongings" (Mecheril 2003; Colombo and Rebughini 2012) or "belonging" (Yuval-Davis 2006).

4) Transnational migration

More recently, there have been theoretical approaches that use the concept of "*transnational social spaces*" to reframe this relationship between social and spatial mobility (Faist 2000a; Pries 2008a). The theory of transnational social spaces is primarily concerned with the multiple indications of the important role that social networks play for migrants. Potential migrants usually choose a country of destination in which they will be able to rely on family members, circles of friends, or coworkers who can enable or make it easier for them to start and continue their migration biography. In many cases, networks have grown over the course of several generations, and they help migrants on their

arrival, act as social glue, and help to absorb the shock of a crisis situation that may occur during migration processes (see, e.g., Sassen 1996; de Haas 2010).

Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton-Blanc (1994: 7) define transnational migration as processes of border-crossing by individuals whose social relationships and practices involve two or more countries. These border-crossing processes create transnational spaces that are polycentric (in terms of resources, advocacy, and power relations), as well as durable and stable (in terms of the strength of the networks, the continuity of the social relationships involved, and the distribution of capital and nonmaterial goods) (see also Pries 2007, 2008a). An understanding of migration such as this requires a relational concept of spaces that are created by relationships and actions, unlike absolute geographical spaces, which are conceptualized as containers filled with people, things, symbols, and so on. Martina Löw (2016) proposed the concept of *duality of space* to stress that not only are spaces always structured, but they also have a structuring effect, that they are produced by processes of action, and that they cannot ignore the rules and orders governing them. There is a close relationship between the debate about transnational spaces and the globalization debate, but there are also some differences between them. Whereas analyses of global movements (of technology, capital, media, ideologies, and people) focus on how they are interconnected, the transnationalism approach critically examines the asymmetries among the different power interests involved and among those who pursue these interests. The research in this area distinguishes between transnationalization from above and transnationalization from below (see Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Guarnizo 2003). In this model, transnationalization from below is often regarded as an anti-hegemonic attempt by the actors involved to protect themselves from arbitrary treatment, despotic rule, violence, and discrimination. However, this does not necessarily have to be a conscious act of resistance; rather, migration may also be an attempt to evade a situation that restricts the development of personal resources.

Both these approaches address the following phenomena: (a) the multiplication of ways of life as a result of migration movements; (b) the despatialization of ways of life that both require and lead to a globalization or transnationalization of migrants' biographies; and (c) the limitation of that despatialization, which is legitimized by means of (national) migration regimes, and which is enforced through the use of a variety of different border control measures, the ultimate purpose of which is the selection of migrants.

The benefit of this shared focus of the two approaches is that it has the potential to make the conventional distinction between migrants and members of a majority society obsolete because, ultimately, every member of a society may be affected by these processes (although different members of a society have access to different resources and opportunities for action).

5) The feminization of migration

Stephen Castles and Marc J. Miller's book *The Age of Migration*, published in 1993, was probably the first study to increase awareness of gender-specific aspects of migration. In it, the two authors show that this new age is characterized by a *feminization of migration* by providing statistics that show that worldwide, women outnumber men in transnational migration processes—an observation that has since been confirmed by several international large-scale studies. The reasons for this unequal gender distribution are that the majority of refugees and displaced people are women, and that there has been an increase in the number of women who voluntarily cross national borders on their own (and as mothers). But just as the magnitude of these migrations has changed dramatically, so have the reasons why women migrate. A proper analysis must open itself up to a gender perspective, and it must do so in three respects: (a) with respect to *feminized* and *masculinized* occupational fields, (b) with respect to the unequal distribution of domestic and care responsibilities among migrants, and (c) with respect to the changes in the welfare regimes both in the countries of destination and in the countries of origin. In the following, we will elaborate on these points in some more detail.

a) The work relationships into which women migrate include feminized occupational fields such as domestic work and care, the entertainment industry, and sex work, as well as feminized occupations in agriculture or catering. The concept of *feminized occupational fields* derives from the observation that once the majority of employees in a given field are female, those employees face low pay, low social status, and a lack of opportunities for rising beyond their level in the hierarchy of their profession.

b) One would expect that the spouses or partners of women who are migrating on their own and are earning most of the income of their families back in their country of origin would take over these women's traditional domestic work responsibilities. However, this does not happen. Instead, most of the domestic and care work is usually done by female family members such as grandmothers, aunts, or older daughters, and in some cases, all this work is delegated to women in the extended network of family or friends (Lutz 2011; de Haas 2010). Migrant mothers develop what has been referred to as "*distant motherhood*," which involves a transnational way of life that allows mothers and their children to remain physically separated from one another for extended periods of time. New digital technologies enable them to keep in touch every day ("Skype mothering") to overcome feelings of estrangement that would otherwise result from long periods of absence.

c) The increase in the proportion of female migrants is also related to changes in the gender orders, the organization of the welfare state, and

the economic conditions in the countries of arrival. Recent processes that have been transforming the post-Fordist industrialized countries into finance-capitalist service economies are not only creating new employment opportunities in the high-income IT industry, but as a result of domestic women's increasing levels of education and involvement in the work sphere, these processes are also leading to a growing demand for workers who will do the domestic and care work that the highly skilled no longer do themselves. The demand for such workers is particularly high in this (low-income) sector, and this is where we find female migrants. Being able to rely on female migrants who are willing to do these types of work helps working women in the countries of destination to achieve a better work–life balance (see Chapter 4).

1.4 Gender in the migration process: between (in)visibility and dramatization

In this section, we discuss how the gender aspects of migration have been addressed in the research. As noted earlier, this debate was particularly inspired by research in the areas of women's and gender studies, with the first analyses motivated by feminist ideas starting to appear in the late 1970s. Simone Prodolliet (1999) provided an overview that distinguishes three phases in this research area (see also Nawyn 2010; Donato et al. 2006; Mahler and Pessar 2006):

Making women visible

The first phase criticizes the dominant thesis that migrant actors are male and is dedicated to *making migrating women visible*. The aim of this *compensatory* approach is to identify typically female migratory patterns and the specific characteristics of female migration. A review of the research shows that the focus of the relevant studies from the 1980s was primarily on employment relationships and working conditions (Morokvasic 1984, 1987; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). However, a disproportionately large number of female migrants appear to also have been victims of the patriarchal power relations in their countries of origin. This has largely been true for female migrants from Muslim countries, as the countless public debates about the headscarf as a *symbol* of female oppression have shown.

Specific experiences of migration

The second phase, known also as the *contributory* phase, saw the publication of studies that focused both on the role of women in the context of migration and on their specific experiences as migrants. This body of research included not only studies of employment relationships and working conditions but also

descriptions of a new understanding of the roles of female migrants from rural areas, a process referred to as "*housewifization*" (Firat 1987; Piper and Roces 2003).

Power relations

The third phase started in the mid-1980s, when studies in this area began to focus on the power dimensions of gender relations that are relevant in the specific situation of migration. This research addressed feminist issues such as the construction of masculinity and femininity or the role of privacy and publicity and examined the influence of experiences of migration on couples and family relationships. However, this was also the time when the first studies of power differentials between "native" and immigrant women appeared. Beginning in the early 1990s, under the impression of constructivism, the research critically examined the socialization of the female migrant as a victim figure that the majority society used for a variety of psychological projections (see, e.g., Gümen 1998; Rostock and Berghahn 2008; Kofman, Saharso and Vacchelli 2013). These critical studies rejected the widespread common knowledge of a significant difference in modernity between the majority society and the immigrants, which results in a kind of alien-ness that is constantly stressed and reaffirmed. This modernity discourse implicitly and explicitly draws a distinction between the supposedly emancipated egalitarianism of the majority society and the so-called patriarchal primacy among migrants and their successor generations. Female researchers with a migration background have also increasingly been rejecting some of the established views from this discourse and have been trying to contest the *canonical works* that have resulted from it. For example, these researchers have noted that the main purpose of this discourse is for the egalitarian gender order of the majority society to congratulate itself on its own achievements, and that the emancipated Western woman "needs the oppressed Other to be able to consider and live liberation in the first place" (Castro-Varela and Dhawan 2004: 207, transl., HL). The image of the female migrant as a canvas on which gender relations can be projected and addressed continues to be one of the unresolved issues within the feminist debate.

Poststructuralist, postcolonial, and queer

While all these epistemologies continue to exist, Mirjana Morokvasic (2003) has rightly noted that the existing paradigms are no longer suited to studying the migration movements of the 21st century; there currently appears to be an emerging fourth generation that is influenced by poststructuralist, postcolonial, and queer debates. Not only has this new generation been responding to recent developments in the constructivist debate by addressing gendered and ethnicized/"racialized" regimes of representation from a

postcolonial perspective. It has also responded to the geopolitical and geoeconomic upheavals and system transformations of the 1980s and 1990s that began with the collapse of old nation states and the foundation of new ones and that continued with the erosion and simultaneous reinforcement of territorial and national boundaries and the denationalization and deregulation of capital, labor, and manpower and of markets, consumer goods, and communication media.[12] In addition, a queer-sensitive perspective has been emerging that rightly complains that feminist migration research, among other disciplines, still largely ignores issues of sexuality, and that it considers homosexuality as an exception, which keeps it trapped in a heteronormative matrix (Kosnick 2011). This conclusion is also relevant for studies that address transnational migration processes, because, according to Hearn (2010), globalization and migration contribute to the diversification of sexual identities and practices.

More recently, there has been another major leap in the study of the situation of female migrant actors that involves a turn away from women's studies and toward gender studies and that focuses primarily on the intersection of migration (and migration biographies) and masculinity.

As with the representation of female migrants as victims of patriarchal oppression, male migrants have for a long time been presented almost exclusively as patriarchal fathers or spouses who violently oppress their wives and daughters or interfere with their personal development, or as young men who display deviant behavior, especially in school and in public (Scheibelhofer 2014). Recent publications have described young male migrants in particular as prone to violence and as potentially dangerous. In the public discourse, male violence is not considered as violence against women or other men but primarily as a phenomenon of "other" cultures, meaning it is instead ethnicized and culturalized (Spies 2010; Philips and Bowling 2003; Albrecht 2009). In the characteristic style of the ethnicization process discussed earlier, this way of representing male migrants constructs a difference between hypermasculine "male foreigners" and male members of the majority society who are marked as egalitarian, emancipatory, and tolerant (of homosexuality as well). The new perspective on the social construction of masculinity focuses not only on violence and crime, however, but also on care and a wide variety of other relevant everyday phenomena (see Pascoe and Bridges 2015; Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013a).

1.5 Conclusion and outlook

This chapter has shown that the paradigm shift toward a social constructivist perspective on gender and migration allows researchers to take into consideration the complex relationship of the gender relations involved in migration. The turn from an ontologizing perspective to a description of the continuous production of masculinity and femininity—that is, of doing

gender—has made it possible to explain the production and reproduction of binary sexual orders. It also helps to redefine ethnicity as a social position by asking how ethnicity is produced in hierarchic social orders that require all individuals to accept and resign themselves to their position within these orders. Intersectionality provides the tools necessary to describe the interplay of gender, ethnicity/race, class, nationality, sexuality, and other such categories: doing gender is situated within the relationship of the classes; doing ethnicity is always *gendered* and is always marked by class-related characteristics; and identities exist at the intersections of different axes of difference. This makes intersectionality a useful method and methodology for operationalizing "doing difference" (West and Fenstermaker 1995).

There still remain many research gaps and desiderata. One is that we have yet to examine the effects that the different ways in which social everyday life is being globalized and the resulting transitory social spaces are having on changing gender identities and arrangements (see Hearn 2015; Black and Brainerd 2004). Another question that must still be addressed is how increasingly complex analytical models for deconstructing terminologies and folk theories can be related to real migration processes in which developments of exploitation and inequality relationships can be seen to emerge and in some cases can have dramatic implications.

Thus, not only must we focus on the de-dramatization of differences and the re-dramatization of social inequality, but we must also always focus on questions concerning situating and positioning, both on the side of the sample we study and on the side of the researchers.

Notes

1 Discourse-analytical historical studies such as those by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1978) have shown that from classical antiquity through to our modern era, the social regulation of sexuality has always been flexible, and that the pathologization of homosexuality is a product of modernity.
2 One of the many convincing examples Goffman presents is a description of arrangements for sex-segregated rooms (e.g., public toilets); violations against this segregation rule are regarded as paramount to violations against an unwritten law and are socially sanctioned.
3 See, for example, the video "Transgender Voice Feminization: Hear Rachel's Before and After Voice Transformation" at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5lGq_m6jaPI.
4 In 2011, 26 percent of mothers in charge of a child below the age of 15 years were not employed (Federal Statistical Office of Germany—Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b).
5 In 2014, the majority of working women in Germany who were 35 years or older were working part-time (WSI 2016).
6 This is also true for research in the Netherlands (Wekker 2016) and France (Benbassa 2010).
7 Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele's (2009) multilevel analysis model draws on Anthias's model.

8 All immigration legislation is still passed by the parliaments of the nation states and is not regulated by the European Parliament.
9 However, a closer look at the global statistics shows that mass flight movements still have the greatest effect on regions neighboring the regions of origin.
10 Frontex is a European agency for operative collaboration at the external borders of the European Union that was established in May 2005. Today, the organization builds and funds externalized detention and deportation camps along the European Union's external borders with North Africa, Ukraine, and Turkey. The Frontex budget has been increased significantly in the past few years, from about €85 million for 2013 (Frontex 2013) to €254 million by 2016 (see Frontex 2017).
11 It should be noted that only the male person was considered to be an active subject.
12 On the paradigm change to transnationalism, see Faist (2000a); see also p. 33.

Chapter 2

Migration and gender

Researching migration in national, global, and transnational frameworks

2.1 Gender and social inequality: the challenges of migration research

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the central classical theories of migration and settlement and to discuss the lack of scholarly attention to gender relations. Its particular attention to the subject of social inequality serves as a sound basis for the discussion of linkages between gender relations and migration processes. As I will show, nation state–focused approaches to assimilation, as well as migration theories with a global scope, neglect gender relations in such processes. They also ignore the gendered distribution of social chances, which must always be considered in its interplay with ethnicized/racialized and class-specific forms of inequality (Anthias 2001; Becker-Schmidt 2007). In addition, this chapter stresses that theories of migration and in particular the transnational approaches are increasingly open to discussing gender relations, and I will explore the benefits of the transnational perspective in analyzing the interplay of the categories of difference of *gender, ethnicity/race*, and *class*. This chapter concludes with a summary of the different theories, which I will then use in Chapter 3 to develop conceptual alternatives for the study of migration, gender relations, and the unequal distribution of social chances.

2.2 Key questions and limitations of assimilation theories

Much of the research on migration that uses the classical theories analyzes the settlement and incorporation processes of migrants that occur after the act of migration itself. As indicated in Chapter 1, these studies consider social stratification—understood as a division into social classes—as the central pattern of inequality organization, which they situate within the framework of national societies. However, neither do these concepts take gender relations into consideration, nor do they relate to the social constructivist perspective on gender introduced in Chapter 1. This is true both of the classical assimilation theory developed by Milton M. Gordon (1964) and of the theory of

segmented assimilation by Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut (2006), who consider assimilation processes in relation to migrants' social mobility.

In the late 1960s, Milton M. Gordon described processes of migrants' assimilation into American society as the adoption of dominant behavioral patterns of the "majority society" (core group) by the immigrating minorities. Although Gordon did not rule out the possibility of a reciprocal process in which the "majority society" adapts to the minorities' patterns of behavior, he conceptualized assimilation as a targeted seven-stage process that ends with a complete adaptation and, thus, a complete *absorption* of the minorities into the "majority society." The question that guided this theory was: How exactly do the immigrating minorities adapt to the social patterns of the "majority society"? According to Gordon, in the late 1970s, this core group of American society consisted of members of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle class. The seven stages of this assimilation process are:

1 *Acculturation*: Adoption of language, values, and behavioral patterns;
2 *Structural assimilation*: Successful integration into the labor market and access to the institutions of the "majority society";
3 *Marital assimilation*: Assimilation on the basis of the practice of interethnic marriage;
4 *Identification assimilation*: Assimilation that requires a feeling of belonging to the majority society;
5 *Attitude-receptional assimilation*: The stage when there is an absence of prejudice against the newcomers;
6 *Behavior-receptional assimilation*: The stage when there is an absence of attempts of discrimination; and
7 *Civic assimilation*: The stage when the "majority society" and the minorities live together without conflict.

(Gordon 1964: 71)

Gordon considered the processes of *cultural* and *structural* assimilation of the immigrating minorities into the "majority society" to be crucial for the success of the assimilation process as a whole. However, he also noted that only certain types of minorities—namely, those from European, Protestant backgrounds—can be structurally assimilated into the institutions of the dominant social groups, and that in many cases, attempts to structurally integrate the immigrating minorities into the institutional fields of American society are unsuccessful despite the fact that most immigrants are familiar with American culture and that they know that they are expected to act in conformity with Anglo-Saxon customs.

Gordon noted that while cultural assimilation could be successful, structural assimilation would probably fail because of possible attempts at discrimination, and he concluded that the reasons for this failure were to be found in the fundamental structure of American society, which he saw as

being differentiated into "ethnic classes," or "*ethclasses*." According to this concept, every social class is structured horizontally into segments that represent the different ethnic groups in a society, and every ethnic group is stratified vertically into classes. Together, these types of differentiation—ethnic differentiations within classes and class-specific differentiations within ethnic groups—generate the "ethnic classes," which consist of individuals with similar ethnic and class-related memberships. Hence, failed assimilation processes are considered to be a result of the hierarchization of "ethnic classes" within the immigration society.

Despite his particular interest in the interplay of ethnicity and class, Gordon occasionally conceptualizes these dimensions as static variables. This means that concepts such as *doing ethnicity* (see Chapters 1 and 3) would be inconceivable from this perspective. For example, Gordon's concept of ethnicity—as of an ethnic group's imagined shared past and future—has certain naturalizing features, in that the immigrating minorities are conceptualized as maintaining their ethnic belonging, which prevents both their successful structural assimilation (into the labor market) and their successful cultural assimilation into the immigration society (e.g., the acquisition of language and values). A proper conceptualization of socially produced racialized relations is also absent in Gordon's concept.

The concept of segmented assimilation, developed about 30 years after Gordon's approach by Alejandro Portes and his colleagues (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 2005), abandons the normative expectation that assimilation is always a targeted process with one single possible result. However, these authors, like Gordon, situate their analysis within the context, and from the perspective, of the immigration society—that is, within the framework of one particular nation state. The question their theory addresses is "into what sector of American society a particular immigrant group assimilates" (Portes and Zhou 2005: 90). Drawing on research on the "second generation" of "new immigrants" whose parents originally immigrated to the United States from Asia, Latin America, or the Caribbean, these authors distinguish three possible assimilation trajectories—*upward, downward*, and *selective assimilation*—and they use terms such as "class-specific stratification" and "ethnicity" (the latter understood as a set of cultural resources) to analyze the assimilation processes.

The first of these possible assimilation trajectories is migrants' *upward assimilation* into the middle class of the "majority society," which is likely to occur if they acquire the "culture" of the white middle class of the immigration country, and if they succeed in their efforts to become upwardly occupationally mobile (Portes and Zhou 2005: 90). The second possible trajectory—*downward assimilation*—can be observed when immigrants become members of one of the domestic low-status groups. In the relevant research, it is considered likely that this assimilation trajectory will occur among immigrants who emphasize their ethnic identity and settle in the same

(urban) areas as the minorities among the domestic lower class. The main characteristic of the third assimilation trajectory—*selective assimilation*—is that migrants outwardly maintain their ethnic identity but use appropriate ethnic resources that ensure upward class mobility. Portes and Zhou (2005) note that "immigrants who join well-established and diversified ethnic groups have access from the start to a range of moral and material resources well beyond those available through official assistance programs" (p. 92). According to these authors, then, it is selective assimilation into the American "majority society," manifested in the maintenance of the immigrants' ethnic identity that allows for successful social mobility.

But, although this pluralistic concept breaks with the traditional view that assimilation is a linear, targeted process, it still considers the immigrants' socioeconomic mobility as a process that can be experienced only by a particular "ethnic group" as a whole. According to this interpretation, the social positions of all members of an "ethnic group" follow the same class mobility trajectory as if it were inevitably and inextricably connected to the fate of an entire "ethnic group."

To sum up, the two approaches introduced above make major contributions to the study of the settlement and assimilation practices of immigrants *within* the boundaries of immigration countries. However, they fail to appropriately account for the cross-border, transnational interactions of immigrants and for the significant role of social gender relations in the context of migration and settlement processes for three reasons. First, they *ignore gender relations*—as reflected, for example, in the gender-neutral assumption that assimilation trajectories are the same for men and women (for criticism, see Anthias et al. 2013). Second, the assimilation theories primarily presuppose *a one-dimensional logic of inequality production*, in that they are based on the premise that the *class* dimension plays a crucial role in understanding the emergence of social hierarchies, whereas the variable "*ethnic belonging*" is considered to be a resource of secondary importance that either promotes or prevents upward social mobility depending on how it interacts with "class." Third, these assimilation theories assume a *sedentarist perspective* that considers the sedentist ways in which social life is organized as naturally given and problematizes geographic mobility as a deviation from the norm (for criticism, see Büscher and Urry 2009 and Büscher, Urry, and Witchger 2010). As a result, inequality analyses from the perspectives of these approaches fail to consider the process of geographic mobility itself, focusing instead on the processes of immigrant incorporation that occur upon the immigrants' arrival, and international migration is understood as a one-time, linear geographic movement from a country of origin to a country of destination. Moreover, these theories ignore the fact that there are several categories of permanently mobile migrants, nor do they consider the transnational ties and obligations between migrants and their immobile significant others in the countries of emigration. As a result,

immigrants' social chances are usually considered in relation to (gender-neutral) class hierarchies, which are situated in rigid social spaces in the immigration countries.

Do approaches to international migrations on the global scale have similar limitations? This question will be addressed in the next section.

2.3 The neoclassical approach and world-systems theory: analyzing international migration in a globalized context

The two most widely established approaches to international migration that consider the importance of the global scale are the neoclassical migration theories (Lewis 1954; Todaro 1969) and world-systems theory (Portes and Walton 1981). These approaches overcome, at least in part, the nation state focus of assimilation research, but they lack a gender-sensitive lens on migration processes in general and a social constructivist perspective on gender relations in particular.

Conventionally, the neoclassical tradition of migration research differentiates between micro-oriented approaches to individual movers' decision-making[1] and macro-oriented approaches to migrations on a global scale. The macro-oriented approaches consider international labor migration as a result of an economic-inequality divide between countries of emigration and countries of immigration. From the neoclassical perspective, labor migration occurs when low-income countries have an oversupply of labor and high-income countries simultaneously have an increasing demand for labor. "Countries with a large endowment of labor relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited endowment of labor relative to capital are characterized by a high market wage" (Massey et al. 1993: 433).

Labor migration, the representatives of this approach argue, reduces rather than increases economic inequalities between the migration-sending and migration-receiving countries because the mechanism of factor price equalization organizes the exchange of capital and migrant labor in opposite directions. Labor is usually attracted by countries that have a high demand for labor (the migration-receiving countries), whereas capital is usually attracted by countries that have a high demand for capital (the migration-sending countries). "As a result of this movement, the supply of labor decreases and wages rise in the capital-poor country, while the supply of labor increases and wages fall in the capital-rich country" (Massey et al. 1993: 433). Accordingly, labor migration leads to a dynamic process that in the long run will reduce economic inequalities between sending and receiving countries. A similar argumentation is used in the classical push–pull models of international migration that were discussed in Chapter 1.

Whereas the concept of factor price equalization (also known as Lerner–Samuelson theorem) neglects the importance of remittances in migration

processes, some neoclassical studies of migration and development have stressed the crucial role of remittances in the stabilization of emigration country currencies on the macro-level (see Penninx 1982; Papademetriou 1985). In addition, it has been argued that, on the micro-level of individuals, remittances help to improve the living conditions and to increase the general income levels in the sending countries. Some authors of development research have also argued that highly skilled migration has a compensating effect on the national economies of sending countries, because highly skilled migrants are expected to eventually return to their countries of origin and to provide their domestic economies with expertise and technical innovations (Beijer 1970).

As noted earlier, the neoclassical theories focus on the interplay between inequality (particularly economic equality) and migration. They consider international migration as a result of economic asymmetries between high-income and low-income countries and are based on the premise that factor price equalization, the migrants' remittances, and the eventual return of the highly skilled to their countries of origin will minimize the economic inequalities between migration-sending and migration-receiving countries. However, there is no empirical evidence that this is indeed the case.

In contrast to research based on the neoclassical theories, a number of studies based on *world-systems theory* have contested the claim that international migration reduces inequality and have argued instead that the relationship between inequality and migration should be conceptualized as a relationship in which the two processes reinforce each other (see, e.g., Lipton 1980; Penninx 1982; Zachariah et al. 2001). Studies of this type analyze the global expansion of capitalist market economy on the basis of Marxist considerations, with the primary focus on the positions of individuals and collectives within the dynamics of capitalist production and on how much access they are given to the means of production. Another major aspect in studies of globalized inequality is the *international division of labor* among the core, periphery, and semi-periphery countries. From their perspective, international migration is linked to the mechanism of "unequal terms of trade,"[2] as a result of which the peripheral migration-sending regions of the world become economically and politically dependent on the migrant-receiving core regions. World-systems theory, which is largely based on the *dependence theory* developed by Andre Gunder Frank (1969), is primarily interested in the mechanisms behind the production of globalized inequalities that promote what researchers have called the "development of underdevelopment" in peripheral regions. According to Hein de Haas, world systems-based approaches understand international migration as a "natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that are intrinsic to the process of capitalist accumulation" (de Haas 2007: 15). Being a result of the existing international division of labor, international migration actually exacerbates global inequality relationships among the core, peripheral, and semi-peripheral regions. Thus, it is seen as a

process that "ruined traditional peasant societies by undermining their economies and uprooting their populations" (de Haas 2007: 5).

The proponents of world-systems theory take a critical view of analyses in respect to the migrations of low-skilled and highly skilled movers. According to Rinus Penninx (1982), labor migration of low-skilled and semi-skilled workers leads to a labor shortage in the sending countries (*brawn drain*), which has severe consequences (*lost-labor effects*). Penninx argues that the mass exodus of young people has negative effects on local production in many industries, such as agriculture. In addition, studies of the phenomenon of *brain drain* indicate that labor migration is selective, given that fairly well-off middle-class populations migrate as well (see, e.g., Lipton 1980; Zachariah et al. 2001). These authors argue that when the educational elite of peripheral regions decides to migrate, this results in a shortage of labor needed for successful independent development (Baldwin 1970). Another group of studies has noted that remittances have negative effects because the national economies of migrants' countries of origin are becoming increasingly dependent on these financial transfers (Rubenstein 1992), which exacerbates the inequality divide between the receiving countries in the core regions and the countries of origin in the peripheral regions.

What all these approaches to international migration have in common is that they focus exclusively on the economic dimension of inequalities while ignoring the embeddedness of migration in social gender relationships. One weakness is that they assume an almost exclusively economic perspective (for criticism, see Faist 2010), which not only restricts the necessary gender-sensitive lens but also ignores the fact that there might be other dimensions of inequality besides economic factors that interact in the context of migration processes, including *gender, ethnicity/race, sexuality, age*, and *health/disability*. Furthermore, world-systems theory focuses primarily on the international division of labor and the resulting economic inequalities among different regions, but it approaches the global geography from an essentialist perspective in which "the world" is "naturally" divided into "regions"—a perspective that ignores the social production of complex gendered power asymmetries in the cross-border realm.

Another weakness of the two approaches is that they consider international migration as a unidirectional process—that is, as a movement in a single direction: from the periphery to the core, or from economically weak to economically strong regions. Only a few neoclassical development studies even consider the possibility that highly skilled migrants might eventually return to their countries of origin (see, e.g., Beijer 1970). These studies do not conceptualize migrations as potentially bi- or multidirectional movements, nor do they explicitly consider the cross-border (i.e., transnationalized) ties of mobile individuals—not even those focusing on the circulation of remittances. For this reason, we might say that these approaches assume a sedentarist perspective that normalizes sedentist ways of life, and that they problematize

geographic mobility. It is precisely this image of a rigid "global arena" serving as a container for national "compartments" that makes it impossible to analyze cross-border mobilities and transnational practices between different geographical-political units.

But what terminology would allow us to overcome these conceptual limitations? I will address this question in the next section, and I will begin with a review of a number of the more recent transnational studies of migrations.

2.4 The transnational perspective in migration research and gender-sensitive inequality analysis

Transnational migration: a general overview

Beginning in the early 1990s, migration scholars, particularly those engaged in qualitative research, noted that even long after emigrating, most migrants maintained close and durable ties with their sending countries and hometowns (Glick Schiller et al. 1995). Some also continued to be highly mobile and to change their places of residence and work several times throughout their lives or even on a regular basis, whereas other migrants who were not permanently mobile maintained familial, economic, or social ties with their sending countries and hometowns. Not only did this finding contradict the traditional view of migration as a one-time, unidirectional type of emigration, it also served as a basis for the development of an alternative theoretical perspective—the transnational approach.

The transnational approach conceptualizes migration as an *unfinished bi- or multidirectional process* and includes cross-border ties, relations, and obligations in the analysis of migration and of migrants' settlement or incorporation practices. This allows us to consider the role of different patterns of short-term, circular, rotational, and seasonal mobility at a depth appropriate for migration research (see Wallace 2002). However, this is not to say that the transnational approach neglects the classical unidirectional migration flows; rather, it considers them as one of many possible migration patterns. The conceptualization involved in this approach draws on two major theories—*migration system theory* (see Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989; Kritz et al. 1992) and the *theory of cumulative causation* (Massey 1990; Massey and Espinosa 1997), which will not be discussed here in any detail.

Key approaches to the study of transnational migration and transnationalized ties

The transnational lens provides many insights into the patterns of the cross-border ties that mobile and immobile populations maintain over long distances with their significant others. This section introduces three approaches to the conceptualization of transnational relations (for an extensive overview,

see Khagram and Levitt 2008) and discusses their commonalities: (a) the theory of transnational spaces (Faist 2000a, 2000b), (b) the theory of transnational social fields (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), and (c) the relational theory of space (Pries 2008b).

(a) At the core of the *theory of transnational social spaces* is the premise that different types of transnational practices (economic, political, intrafamilial interactions, etc.) contribute to the emergence of *transnational social spaces*, such as *contact fields, themed networks, kinship groups, organizations*, and *diaspora communities* (see Table 2.2). Transnational practices vary depending on their durability (which ranges from temporary to permanent) and on their degree of formalization (less formalized to strongly formalized). Each of these four types of transnational spaces is the result of a set of particular social mechanisms that are linked to the social and cultural capital invested by the migrants.[3]

The first of these mechanisms—*mass action*—reproduces the transnational spaces of *contact fields*, a good example being short-lived labor markets for rotational migrants in border regions (e.g., seasonal workers). The second mechanism—*reciprocity as exchange*—is observed in the transnational space of *themed networks*, such as the cross-border occupational networks of IT specialists or the political networks of protest activists. The third mechanism—the interplay between *specific reciprocity* and *focused solidarity*—is the crucial foundation of transnational kinship groups, the most common example being transnational families that are dispersed across two or more countries. The fourth mechanism—the interplay between *generalized reciprocity* and *diffuse solidarity*—reproduces durable transnational spaces, such as *organizations* (political, economic, etc.; e.g., Amnesty International), *diaspora communities* (e.g., the Kurdish diaspora), or transnational *communities* (e.g., migrant associations). Thus, specific reciprocity and focused solidarity make it possible to maintain kinship relations that are characterized by familial ties,

Table 2.1 Typology of transnational spaces

Degree of formalization/ Durability potential	*Low Networks*	*High Organizations*
Short-term	Contact fields	Small kinship groups
	Mass action	Specific reciprocity and focused solidarity
Durable	Themed networks	Communities and organizations
	Reciprocity as exchange	Generalized reciprocity and diffuse solidarity

Source: Adapted from Faist (2000b: 35).

whereas generalized reciprocity and diffuse solidarity lead to the emergence of (imagined) communities whose members do not necessarily have to be in touch with one another.

(b) In contrast to the concept of transnational social spaces, which draws on the conceptual tools of reciprocity and solidarity, the *theory of transnational social fields* combines the concept of multilocality and the theory of social fields developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1985). According to Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, the ability of individuals, organizations, and institutions to maintain multilocal, tight, and durable social networks that extend beyond the boundaries of nation states, cities, and locales plays a major role in the emergence of transnational fields.

> Once we rethink the boundaries of social life, it becomes clear that the incorporation of individuals into nation states and the maintenance of transnational connections are not contradictory social processes. Simultaneity, or living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally, is a possibility that needs to be theorized and explored. Migrant incorporation into a new land and transnational connections to a homeland or to dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity can occur at the same time and reinforce one another.
>
> (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1003)

This means that scholars must consider not only mobile individuals, but also immobile individuals "who do not move themselves [but] maintain social relations across borders through various forms of communication" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1009). To show that social relations are structured by power, the authors build on Bourdieu's theory of social fields, according to which social fields can be considered as specific configurations of social relations that are organized around specific "rules of the game" within specific institutional macro-areas (e.g., the fields of economics and politics, among many others). Bourdieu himself distinguishes the fields of the economy, culture, politics, science, and bureaucracy, each of which is based on a peculiar logic that organizes the routines related to the social practices and experiences within it (see Bourdieu 1985). Given this, it might be argued that transnationalization is a field-specific process because specific social fields organize their transnational relations in accordance with the proper rules of their particular "game." Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) draw on Bourdieu's theory primarily for heuristic purposes, and their perspective provides an understanding of transnational social fields as resulting from the relational positions of actors involved in a struggle over the power of definition and over symbolic resources.

According to this understanding, transnational fields are organized around multilocal occupational, family, and other types of relations, and they rest on network-like structures of social relations that emerge when (im)mobile

individuals simultaneously access organizations and institutions in different national locales. On the other hand, mobile and immobile actors who do not have a transnational network of their own are excluded, and the only level on which they can play a role as relevant actors, if at all, is the national level (Nedelcu 2012). Thus, geographic mobility and the maintenance of transnational relations appear to be constitutive elements of the transnationalization of social fields.

(c) The third concept to be introduced here is Ludger Pries' (2008b) *relational approach* to the study of transnational contexts, which provides a solution to the problem of contextualizing multilocal relations and practices. Pries conceptualizes transnational contexts as *relational orders*, and he criticizes studies that take an essentialist approach to spatial analysis and migration (for criticism, see Brenner 2004). Pries' relational approach is based on the premise that sociospatial configurations are generated by individuals and/or collectives and their social routines, and that these configurations are *not by definition* bound to particular territorial landscapes.

According to the relational approach, the scope of social practices and social life is not restricted by the territorial boundaries of particular nation states or places; rather, dense, durable transnational social spaces are reproduced by social practices that take place in several different locales or even in a deterritorialized form. For this reason, many scholars who study transnational relations focus on the plurilocally or multilocally organized settings that are reproduced by interpersonal networks and by families, associations, and diaspora communities. For example, Polish care workers in the households of employers in Germany maintain family ties with their relatives back in Poland or in other countries. This means that the entirety of their manifold commitments is framed by a multilocal relational context (see also Chapter 4).

To conclude, transnational studies of migration and mobility use a variety of different concepts (see Khagram and Levitt 2008), but they also show some similarities:

- By defining migration as an unfinished process and by focusing primarily on the bi- and multidirectional dynamics of migration, they expand the narrow sedentarist perspective in migration research that considers sedentism as a natural form of social life.
- By emphasizing the multilocal quality of social contexts that emerge in the context of geographic mobility and transnational ties, they avoid a problem found in many migration studies—namely, that geographic spaces are naturally equated with social formations. In addition, this approach makes it possible to consider the heterogeneity of migration patterns and cross-border ties (Amelina et al. 2012; Amelina and Faist 2012).

The specific conceptual and empirical orientation of transnational migration research has also proved useful in empirical studies of gender and

inequality relations. In the next section, I will show how studies of this type analyze the multidimensional quality of social inequalities.

2.5 The interplay of gender, ethnicity/race, and class from a transnational perspective

Toward gender-sensitive transnational research

These central elements—the premises that *international migrations have an unfinished quality* and that *there are a wide variety of transnational, multilocally organized practices*—are found in many transnational studies, be it in research on transnational motherhood and transnational families or in the form of concepts such as care chain and care circulation (see Chapter 4). The aim of this section, however, is to introduce and discuss three central elements of *transnationally oriented inequality analysis*.

The first of these elements is the scientific observation of a hierarchical stratification of social positions that takes place *within a multilocal frame of reference*, which implies that social actors compare their own social positions in a complex multilocal setting with those of other actors, and not only in relation to other mobile actors but also in relation to immobile significant others in the countries of emigration and immigration. Thus, *multilocality* becomes the central element in the production of transnationally organized inequality relations (see, e.g., Anthias 2012a).

Second, in the multilocal frame of comparison, social actors face a variety of dimensions of social inequality: not only *class*, but *gender, ethnicity/race*, and possibly other "axes of inequality" as well, become relevant in the hierarchic positioning of social actors (see, e.g., Parrenas 2001 and Goldring 1998).

Third, mobile and immobile social actors within such a multilocal framework are confronted with the *simultaneity of hierarchic attributions* related to *class, gender, ethnicity/race*, and so on. For example, a female Polish labor migrant in Germany can simultaneously have different marginalized positions in the receiving context, whereas in Poland she might be defined as a respectable member of the middle class (see Nieswand 2011; Barglowski et al. 2015b). Thus, transnationalized inequalities cannot be regarded as cumulates of national inequality patterns, but instead must be considered as stratifications in which acts of *crossing a border* are essential.

To illustrate these aspects in more detail, the next section introduces the approach of *contradictory social mobility*.

Contradictory social mobility approach

Most notable among the research into multidimensional inequalities are Rhacel S. Parrenas' (2001) and Luin Goldring's (1998) analyses of

transnational ties that simultaneously influence the migrants' social positions in their sending and receiving countries. These two seminal studies provide insights into the phenomenon of *contradictory social mobility*, which is experienced by many movers and in particular by highly skilled migrants. Contradictory social mobility is linked to a variety of different forms of institutional discrimination in the receiving country—such as restrictions on residence and work permits for certain categories of movers and limited recognition of university degrees. For example, the Filipino women who are employed as domestic workers in Italian private households, and whose lives Parrenas (2001) describes in her study, work in one of the low-wage sectors of their country of destination, where they provide services in the areas of domestic work and care. Their social mobility is contradictory because when in Rome, they experience social downward mobility, but in the Philippines the greater purchasing power of their remittances gives them a higher social and economic status. In other words, these female migrants are simultaneously situated within and across the respective stratification orders of their sending and receiving countries. Hence, the contradictory quality of their social positions is the result of their simultaneous positioning in the stratification orders of *several countries or locales*.

The main focus of Parrenas' and Goldring's analyses is not just on aspects of *class* and *social mobility*—gender and race play an important role as dimensions of social inequality as well. For example, when Parrenas traces the mobility trajectory of Filipino women in Rome, she does so with a special focus on the racialized and gendered domestic work sector in which these female migrants are employed. Parrenas does not herself use the term "*intersectional analysis*,"[4] but the logic of her argument implicitly indicates the multidimensional character of inequalities. Such an understanding of inequality makes it possible to analyze relationships of *gender, ethnicity/race*, and other dimensions of unequal social relations and to overcome the conventional primary research focus on *class*.

Another important approach that should be mentioned is the *translocational frame* approach developed by Floya Anthias, a major proponent of intersectionality theory. It is particularly useful for theorizing the phenomenon of contradictory social mobility. Anthias uses the concept of translocational frame to refer to the ambivalent "dislocations and relocations [of a social position] at a number of different levels, including those of class and gender" (Anthias 2012a: 103). In her review of transnationality research, Anthias argues that the term "translocational" is more comprehensive than the terms "transnational" and "translocal" because "it recognizes the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales, and the contradictory processes in play" (Anthias 2011: 49). According to Anthias, the concept of translocational frame is useful for examining the "interplay of a range of locations and

disclocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class, and racialization" across borders (Anthias 2012a: 108).

However, Anthias also notes that the term "translocational frame" should not be taken to mean that transnationally active social actors experience only contradictions in and of their social positioning between two or more nation state contexts. There are of course intersections of social relations that may reinforce one another and produce disadvantaged social positions across borders: "minority, working-class woman may live in the worst social space, in many different political, economic and cultural contexts" (Anthias 2012a:108). Still, the concept of translocational frame allows us to also consider the possibility of contradictory intersections of actors' social positions on different levels, such as when we analyze the situation of a "working class man [who] is in a relation of subordination to his employer [and simultaneously] in a relation of domination to his wife" and to (distant) kin (see Anthias 2012a: 108).

2.6 Summary and outlook

This chapter showed that many theories of migration ignore gender relations in the context of international migration and incorporation processes. For example, approaches to assimilation that use sedentarist patterns of argument lack a gender-sensitive perspective, and the neoclassical approach and world-systems theory largely ignore the important role of gender relations with respect to migration processes and practices. In addition, their hypotheses adhere strictly to economic reductionism, which is founded on the primacy of economic relations in the constitution of social orders. Transnational approaches, by contrast, show a tendency to use gender-sensitive patterns of argument, but analysis of gender relations is by no means included in all concepts stemming from this area. Some authors, such as Parrenas (2001) and Goldring (1998), for the most part assume the social constructivist perspective on *gender*, focus on the *doing of gender*, and occasionally heuristically draw on intersectional theory (see Chapters 1 and 4). Because intersectional analyses of migration and inequality processes explicitly consider the gender relations, the next chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the central ideas of intersectional theory.

Notes

1 Neoclassical research focusing on the micro-level is primarily concerned with migration decisions and considers migrants as economic actors who compare employment opportunities in a number of different countries of destination and then decide, on the basis of a cost–benefit analysis, to move to one of them. Thus, in this reading, individuals tend to invest in migration just as they tend to invest in educational resources (Chiswick and Hatton 2003; Borjas 1990).

2 The concept of *the unequal terms of trade* suggests that the trade between less developed countries (with low capital intensity) and developed countries (with high capital intensity) under the situation of equal productivity contributes a transfer of surplus value from less developed to developed countries as wages differ between both of them. Because less developed countries have to sell goods below their value to developed countries, while buying goods from developed countries above their value, this process of exchange generates and perpetrates (economic) inequalities between centers and peripheries of the world system.
3 Thomas Faist defines social capital as access to social ties and interpersonal networks, and cultural capital as the shared foundations of interpretation and understanding. Whereas the social mechanisms of *specific and generalized reciprocity* are based on social capital, the mechanisms of *focused and diffuse solidarity* are constituted by cultural capital (see Faist 2000b: 35 and Table 2.2 above).
4 Chapter 3 provides a more detailed discussion of the field of intersectional studies.

Chapter 3

Doing migration and doing gender

Intersectional perspectives on migration and gender

3.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter of this book analyzed gender relations as socially produced phenomena, showing that by considering heteronormativity as a result of performative speech acts (Butler 1997) and of everyday social attributions (West and Zimmerman 1987), scholars can avoid naturalizing the gender relations they study and interpret them as relations that are historically specific and changeable.

Such a social constructivist perspective is also used in this chapter to analyze processes of migration and transnationalization. The chapter begins with an overview of approaches that conceptualize the various different forms of migration as socially generated. In doing so, it combines the social constructivist perspective with a critique of sedentarist premises which view sedentism as a natural way of organizing social life. Three concepts are particularly important in this regard. The first is *motility*, which understands mobility as a specific form of capital (see Flamm and Kaufmann 2006); the second is the *mobile turn* in the social sciences (Büscher and Urry 2009), which was inspired by ethnomethodology and actor–network theory (Latour 2005); and the third is the social constructivist concept of the social production of space, also known as the *doing-space approach* (Amelina 2017a), which considers the interplay between the social production of migration (*doing migration*) and of transnationality (*doing transnationality*).

The second part of the chapter demonstrates that a social constructivist perspective on migration and transnationality has several benefits when it comes to analyzing linkages between migration and gender relations. Chapter 2 showed that only some of the more recent approaches to transnational migration have a gender-sensitive focus. For this reason, this chapter centers on the linkages between gender relations and migration processes *from an intersectional perspective*, because this perspective allows us to analyze the interplay of various *axes of inequality* that accompany these processes (see, e.g., Anthias 2001; Crenshaw 1989; Klinger and Knapp 2005; Lutz et al. 2011; McCall 2005; Walby 2009). This chapter uses the terms "*axes of difference*,"

"*axes of inequality*," "*categories of inequality*," "*dimensions of inequality*," and so on synonymously and considers them as *types of unequal social relations* because they denote the emergence of multidimensional unequal social relations (Walby et al. 2012). To stress the multidimensional quality of the production of social inequality, intersectional research abandons the conventional distinction between class-specific inequalities and gender- and ethnicity-related inequalities. The "grid" metaphor Floya Anthias introduced to illustrate social hierarchization processes shows that processes and patterns involved in the unequal distribution of life chances should be studied from a multidimensional and relational perspective:

> […] in terms of social relations that are hierarchical, it is not purely a question of a hierarchy of individuals within a category [of inequality], for there are complex forms of hierarchy across a range of different dimensions [of inequality]. If the constructs [e.g., "class," "ethnicity"/"race," and "gender"] are read as "grids," their salience will not only vary in different contexts, but the interplay of the different grids needs to be always considered in any analysis of social outcomes or effects
>
> (Anthias 2001: 386)

What makes the intersectional perspective so unique, then, is that it proposes considering the complex interplay of hierarchizing attributions *not only* within a given dimension of inequality (e.g., the dimension of gender relations) *but also* among the different dimensions (class, ethnicity/race, gender, etc.). The only way we can properly understand the complex stratification of individual life chances in the context of (transnational) migration is by considering an analytical distinction between the two above-mentioned forms of hierarchizing attributions.

3.2 Doing migration: the social constructivist perspective in migration research

The social constructivist perspective on migration and mobility considers these two processes as being socially produced phenomena and as a result of specific (routinized) practices that occur against the backdrop of historically specific complexes of knowledge and power and of historically specific institutional configurations (see Amelina et al. 2016a). Social practices of migration are channeled by specific political regulations, but they also occur with a degree of autonomy (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013), which makes it necessary for mobile individuals to actively navigate through a web of political requirements and regulations. Both the practices of migration and their political regulation are embedded in contested social discourses (Yuval-Davis 2011a) that situate migrations within specific symbolic horizons and connote them as either positive or negative, and either in a solidary or scandalizing manner.

The concept of motility: the competence to be mobile as a form of capital

The concept of *motility*, which was developed by Michael Flamm and Vincent Kaufmann (2006), is not explicitly based on the social constructivist perspective but still considers mobility as a socially generated effort that can either succeed or fail. Although Flamm and Kaufmann are primarily concerned with (domestic) mobilities, their concept is also very useful in analyzing international migrations. According to this concept, spatial mobility has become an established social "ideology" that, because of "its relationship to individual freedom (freedom to travel anywhere at any time, freedom to choose one's relationships, freedom of residential location, etc.)," has consequences for individuals' actions (Flamm and Kaufmann 2006: 167).

Flamm and Kaufmann's main argument is that a number of competences play a crucial role in whether individuals will succeed or fail in their attempts to move. Sets of such competences can be grouped under the concept of *motility*, which is defined "as how an individual or group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects" (p. 168), although this is not to say that every capacity of mobility is necessarily transformed into concrete movements. Motility, according to Flamm and Kaufmann, is constituted by three aspects: a) *access*, or specific opportunities to access mobility (understood as a ready availability of opportunities to travel); b) *skills*, or acquired professional or amateur knowledge and the capacities necessary to plan such a journey; and c) *a cognitive approach*, which involves a cognitive analysis of all available movement options that guide the mobility-related capacities. When viewed from this perspective, then, motility is "the capacity to be mobile" (p. 167).

The concept of motility also enables us to understand the capacity for spatial movements as a specific type of capital akin to the different types of capital (economic, social, cultural) introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1985). "Access rights' portfolios, skills, and representations related to the cognitive appropriation of transportation supply differ from one person to another," and although opportunities for access to mobility are determined, in part, by economic capital, individuals' capacity for mobility is also the result of aspects that cannot be reduced to economic capital alone—that is, "of a person's adherence to the social values of travel independence, social status of the possession of vehicles, or awareness of environmental problems" (Flamm and Kaufmann 2006: 184).

In addition, Flamm and Kaufmann emphasize the important role of *transportation and communication technologies* in the process of mobility. A variety of transportation technologies now provide a multiplicity of ways for individuals to move in time and space. Some technologies—most notably, the possibility of creating *virtual communities*—can have promoting or restricting effects on geographic movements because it is in such communities that information relevant for individual decisions to move is articulated.

Finally, the two authors highlight the importance of social legitimizations of mobility. Analysis of the different ways in which mobility is legitimized can provide new insights for research on international migration movements. For example, we know from media discourses that movements of asylum seekers are often regarded as illegitimate types of movements, whereas the geographic mobility of the highly skilled is socially and politically accepted (Crawley and Skleparis 2018). Most importantly, such legitimizations become incorporated into political regulations concerning migration and mobility and may manifest themselves in the form of restrictions on immigration for certain categories of mobile individuals.

The mobility turn

One of the most stimulating developments in migration research of the last few years was instigated by the mobility turn in the social sciences (see Urry 2007, 2012; Büscher and Urry 2009, 2011). This paradigm shift was based on a basic yet plausible critique of the conventional premise that sedentism is a natural way of organizing social life (see Chapter 2). If one takes this critique seriously, one must call into question not only the very foundations of classical migration research itself, but also the fundamental tenet of the social sciences that sedentism is a "natural" practice, whereas migration and mobility are "deviations."

This critique has at least two consequences for migration research. One is that scholars must first denaturalize migration and mobility to understand the social constitution of these processes as historically specific and changeable. Obviously, the migration movements within Europe in the context of the "guest-worker" migrations in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s were embedded in complexes of knowledge and power that were different from those in which the current refugee movements to Europe and other regions are embedded. This makes using an essentialist (naturalized) understanding of migration movements highly problematic (Amelina 2017a).

Another consequence is that migration and mobility processes should be considered as being dialectically interwoven with immobility (Büscher and Urry 2009). Proponents of this view have warned not to overestimate the role of either mobility or immobility because too close a focus on one of the two might quickly lead scholars to overlook the interdependence of these processes. For example, if scholars focus exclusively on mobile individuals' ways of settling (immobility) while ignoring these individuals' simultaneous mobility practices, their findings concerning how the relevant actors *become immobile* are of limited generalizability.

In view of these considerations, Monika Büscher and John Urry (2009) proposed an innovative set of methods for the study of the everyday routines of mobility and immobility. These methods enable us to consider the imaginary and virtual mobility of individuals and objects, as well as the physical

movements of individuals. For example, Büscher and Urry propose using the *method of mobile ethnography* to analyze the physical movements of individuals because it allows scholars to observe and trace individuals' geographic movements and to participate, as it were, in these individuals' interactions during their movements. This involves not only traveling along with them on the bus, train, or plane, but also the use of time–space diaries. Scholars who seek to study imaginary or virtual mobility can select websites, discussion groups, blogs, and many other types of publications and then perform ethnomethodological analyses to gain insights into the *grammars of mobility* (Büscher and Urry 2009)—that is, the ways in which mobility is organized and interacts with other phenomena. In addition, the authors propose examining immobility by means of an ethnography of "place-making" in order to study practices of settlement and incorporation.

The articulation of the *mobility turn* in the social sciences and the concept of *motility* are closely related, particularly because they both consider geographic movements as socially generated phenomena that are embedded in a variety of complexes of knowledge and legitimizations that promote or restrict movement.

Doing space by doing migration: a synthesis of the social constructivist perspectives on space and migration

If one considers geographic mobility and migration as socially produced phenomena, one must first critically reassess the premise that migration occurs within static geographic spaces (see Amelina 2017b). In other words, scholars should question essentialist concepts of space that presuppose a natural correspondence between territorial spaces and their social contents. Such essentialist conceptualizations are used in migration studies that situate social relations within the closed territories of an immigration country. This approach, which is known as methodological nationalism, has been challenged in recent migration studies (see p. 00; see also Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003; Amelina et al. 2012). Moreover, this criticism requires a more detailed discussion of space-sensitive approaches. Therefore, this section introduces three key elements of a social constructivist theorization of space (see Amelina 2017b) and discusses the analytical relationship of space, migration, and transnationality.

The first of these three elements is articulated by the social geographic theory of scales (see Brenner 1998, 2004; Leitner 2004; Swyngedouw 1997; Taylor 1982, 2004), which approaches *space* as a socially produced phenomenon. This theory of scales is social constructivist in that it holds that rather than being static, unchangeable contexts of social relations, *spaces* are historically specific social configurations generated by social practices and their interactions with material artifacts (Brenner 2004). From this perspective, migration and mobility do not occur in empty geographic spaces, but must be

understood as themselves being a social practice of *space formation*, or *spatialization* (Amelina 2017b). For example, the migration movements between Poland and Germany constitute cross-border spaces of social relations that migrants who move between these two countries share with their friends and families in Poland and Germany (Barglowski 2018).

The second element of the social constructivist theorization of space suggests that social practices of spatialization incorporate specific classification systems and patterns of interpretation of geographic movements, mobility, and immobility (Amelina 2017b). This implies not only that *space* is socially produced by the interplay of social practices and material artifacts, but also that it is generated, in part, by interpretation patterns that are attributed to a variety of spatial categories, such as *global/local* and *national/transnational*. To give a basic example, the category *global* is often socially interpreted as the configuration of worldwide social relations, and whereas critics of globalization have established a negative connotation of the term "global," representatives of business corporations usually see it in a positive light because they equate it with economic growth. This emphasis on interpretation, then, takes into consideration the potential variety of significations of various space-related categories. It considers narratives of the spatial as being incorporated into the concrete social practices of families, networks, organizations, and institutions (e.g., in the form of interpretations of distance and proximity or in the form of Othering).

Thus, migration and mobility must be understood not as social practices but as *practices of spatialization* that incorporate specific readings, interpretations, and narratives. An example of space-related narratives can be found in the research on multilocal families (see Chapter 4), whose cross-border care practices, telephone calls, and remittances are embedded in specific interpretations that imagine *spaces* between a *here* and a *there* as being a result of emotionalizations and dramatizations of cross-border relations (Amelina 2017b).

The third element suggests that *space* must be analyzed as a phenomenon consisting of several relationally generated *scales* (e.g., the *local* and the *global*, and the *national* and the *transnational*). What is important to note here is that the relational constitution of the sociospatial scales takes place on the basis of specific social interpretations and classifications of the spatial. For example, the category "global" is generated on the basis of the image of a planetary unit (Earth, "the globe"), whereas the category "transnationality" is created on the basis of metaphors relating to *networks, horizons*, and *milieu*s (for a detailed discussion, see Marston et al. 2005: 420 and Jonas 2006). Thus, transnationality, as a specific sociospatial scale, emerges both as a result of specific multilocally organized practices of movement[1] and as a result of the interpretation patterns embedded in these practices (e.g., narratives of social distance/proximity, family solidarity, or experiences of Othering) (see Chapter 4).

This overview shows that all *space*-related social practices (migration, geographic mobility/immobility, migrants settling in their country of destination, and many others), can be understood as *spatialization practices*. In other words, social *doing migration/mobility* processes can be considered as elements of social *doing space* processes. In addition, *transnationality* must be approached as one of many spatial scales that are socially produced through the cross-border practices of various actors (e.g., the mobile individuals themselves, families, networks, and [migrant] organizations) (Amelina 2017b).

The main benefit of this social constructivist perspective (which also includes elements of cultural sociology) is its emphasis on the uniqueness and relative temporality of sociospatial practices. It allows us to analyze the interplay and mutual shaping between migrations as spatialization processes and gender relations. Instead of implicitly associating space with static contexts, we can identify a number of conditions under which the social practice of spatialization is transformed into specific forms of unequal social relations. Thus, it becomes possible to analyze the category *space* as an actual or potential dimension of inequality, not only separately but also with a focus on their interplay with other axes of social inequality such as *gender, class*, and *ethnicity/race*.

3.3 Studies of intersectionality: analyzing the interplay of migration and gender

Studies of intersectionality provide a number of theoretical approaches to analyzing the interplay of (sociospatial) migration practices and the social production of gender relations from an inequality-sensitive perspective. Although it is true that a variety of heterogeneous concepts and terms are used in intersectional theories (see, e.g., Anthias 2001; Crenshaw 1989; Klinger and Knapp 2005; Lutz et al. 2011; McCall 2005; Walby 2009), they all work from the same premise that analyses of inequality must not be limited to one of the many dimensions of unequal social relations alone (e.g., to *class* or *gender*), and that, on the contrary, a variety of dimensions play a role in the unequal distribution of valued resources, including *class, gender, ethnicity/race, sexuality, age/generation, health/disability*, and, as we will see later, *space*.

A short history of intersectional research

The first to develop the intersectional perspective were members of the Combahee River Collective, a group of Black lesbian feminists that was founded in Boston in 1974 and whose aim was to challenge the idea of a female sisterhood, then a popular element of feminist theory (see Lutz et al. 2011: 10 ff.; Davis 2008). The members of the Combahee River Collective criticized feminists who were primarily concerned with the life worlds of women from the white middle class but claimed to speak for all women (Anthias 2012a: 107). They argued that the traditional feminist theory of that time neglected

not only the domination–subordination relations among *women* but also the power relations between subordinate men and powerful women. Abolitionists such as Sojourner Truth (for a detailed discussion, see bell hooks 1981) might be regarded as the precursors of the Combahee River Collective because they considered involvement in slavery as a result of the interplay of gendered, class-related, and racialized inequalities.

The first author to use the term "intersectionality" was Kimberlé Crenshaw, in her study "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (1989), in which she addressed the seemingly invisible mechanisms of suppression at work at the time of the mass layoffs at General Motors, which mostly affected Black female workers (see also Chapter 1). According to Crenshaw (1994), one must be aware that the inequality experiences of Black women are fundamentally different from those of white women (see also Anthias 2012a: 107; Collins 1986; King 1988). The critical discussion of the special socioeconomic situation of Black women in the United States was one of the first steps that enabled critical social scientists to draw attention to the simultaneity and interdependence of different dimensions of social inequality and to emphasize the unique character of experiences that are shaped by these interactions. This intersectional perspective first became established in the English-speaking world and, since the early 21st century, has also spread across continental Europe (Lutz 2014: 4).

Several typologies of intersectional studies have been developed in the last few years (e.g., Anthias 2012a; Walby et al. 2012; Choo and Ferree 2010). This is not the place to discuss them in detail, so I shall discuss only the most prominent one—the typology developed by Leslie McCall (2005), who distinguishes (1) *intercategorical*, (2) *intracategorical*, and (3) *anticategorical* intersectional research.

1 According to McCall, the proponents of *intercategorical analysis*—most of whom are quantitative researchers, including McCall herself—focus primarily on the interplay of a limited number of axes of inequality. These researchers do not go so far as to suggest that there is one single category of inequality that serves as some kind of umbrella category, but by considering the interplay between various categories of inequality as being more or less static (and, in some cases, even essentialist), they ignore the socially conditioned emergence of the axes of inequality in question.
2 The proponents of the *intracategorical perspective*—mostly qualitative researchers—work from the premise that axes of inequality are socially produced. These researchers are aware of the inherent problems of essentialization in intersectional analyses, but they argue that dimensions of inequality should be considered as stable, historically produced categories (McCall 2005: 1774).
3 The proponents of the *anticategorical perspective*—most of whom are qualitative researchers as well—leave no doubt that the axes of inequality

> are socially produced. Drawing on poststructuralist approaches, these researchers endeavor to denaturalize the categories of inequality and to reveal the societal legitimization processes linked to them. For this reason, anticategorialists reject the idea that the categories of inequality are static—essentially, these scholars are relatively sceptical intersectionalists (Lutz 2014: 5).

What dimensions of social inequality are analyzed?

Analyses of intersectional inequalities address a wide variety of dimensions. As noted above, in this section, I use terms such as "*categories of inequality*," "*dimensions of inequality*," "*axes of difference*," and "*axes of inequality*" synonymously and define them as *types of unequal social relations* that produce and reproduce unequal life chances (see Walby et al. 2012). According to the intracategorical and anticategorical understandings (which are the preferred understandings in this book), processes of social categorization play the significant role in the emergence of social hierarchies,[2] the premise being that classification systems involving binary or nonbinary distinctions, such as *male/female, we/the Other*, or *skilled/unskilled*, if linked to *hierarchizing categorizations*, channel an unequal distribution of social chances and socially valued resources. These processes of categorization typically involve two interrelated subprocesses: social attribution (e.g., attribution of specific "traits" to individuals and [imagined] collectives) and social allocation (e.g. the assigning of individuals and collectives to particular positions in societal hierarchies) (Becker-Schmidt 2007). Thus, the hierarchizing classification systems become sedimented in everyday social practices and organizational and institutional routines, but we must consider them as being historically specific—that is, as being changeable and temporary. The most important axes of inequality in intersectionality studies are gender, ethnicity/race, class, sexuality, health/disability, age/generation, and, as we will see later, space (see Amelina 2017b; Anthias 2001; Garland-Thomson 2002; Hearn 2011; Hopkins and Pain 2007; Meekosha 1990; Williams 1989). In the following, I will provide a brief—nonexhaustive—overview of the current state of the research on several different axes of inequality (see also Chapter 1).

The inequality dimension *gender* is produced by socially created distinctions such as *male* vs. *female* vs. *transgender* that include a variety of in-between categorizations. These distinctions focus on "the production and reproduction of sexual difference and [socially constructed] biological reproduction" (Anthias 2001: 377). The power effects of gender-specific categorizations can be observed in many areas, such as in the assignment of household roles or in the hierarchically organized division of labor. As a consequence, it is often women and transgender people who remain in low-status and low-income occupations, and social closure resulting from such

gendered distinctions leads to income inequality among individuals who are socially identified as men, women, and transgender people.

The process of *Othering* often plays a major role in the social construction of the inequality dimension *ethnicity/race*. This process is based on the social distinction between "we" and "the Other," the aim of which is "the production and reproduction of collective and solidary bonds relating to origin or cultural difference" (Anthias 2001: 377). Ethnicizing and racializing distinctions not only establish identity, they also regulate individuals' access to social and political rights, which are granted to the socially privileged but not to the disadvantaged Other, who are often excluded. This is evident in many areas, including in school education, where ethnicizing premises promote the emergence of unequal educational chances (Bhopal and Preston 2012).

The inequality dimension *class* is based on a variety of social distinctions (e.g., *skilled/unskilled*) and on additional dichotomous classifications (e.g., *rich/poor*). These and other similar classifications are in turn based on habitus-related distinctions (see Bourdieu 1984) and establish a relation to the "production and reproduction of economic life" (Anthias 2001: 377). Whereas the dimension *ethnicity/race* may prevent access to political and social rights, class-related distinctions put marginalized groups at a disadvantage by preventing their access to a variety of resources—most notably, economic resources. This is evident in the hierarchy of labor market positions, which reveals "what is regarded as a marketable skill" (Anthias 2001: 378).

The inequality dimension *sexuality* points to the social reproduction of intimate relationships (Hearn 2011). It is produced by social references to the hegemonic premise of heteronormativity—a process in which the social distinction between *heteronormative* and *homosexual* plays a crucial role. Continuous discrimination against non-heterosexual relationships reinforces the idea that some forms of intimate relationships are desirable and identifies other forms as problematic. This may result in restrictions on access to specific rights, such as the right to adoption or the right to marriage for same-sex partners.

The inequality dimension *health/disability* is based on social references to human bodies as either healthy or sick, which means that the social distinctions relevant for this dimension relate to the supposed constitution of the body (Garland-Thomson 2002; Meekosha 1990). In practice, this goes hand in hand with constructions of common-sense expectations and body norms, which simultaneously produce a social hierarchy of individuals or groups. So powerful are these social distinctions (e.g., healthy/sick) that they promote stigmatization and exclude the individuals and groups affected by them from access to social resources such as political, social, and economic rights, as well as, in many cases, recognition as proper citizens (Erevelles and Minear 2010).

Another dimension of inequality that should be mentioned here is *age/generation*, which is based on social distinctions related to the life course in

general and to the organization of life over the course of time in particular (see Hopkins and Pain 2007). The relevant difference is produced by references to socially defined age differences and by references to *generation* and other related categories. The age-related distinctions go hand in hand with attributions related to power and wealth. They result in processes of social hierarchization on the basis of age-specific distinctions, which are evident in such phenomena as age-related restrictions to labor market access or age-related hierarchies within families.

Space-related social classifications, including migration-related ones, also have the potential to constitute a separate *space* axis of inequality (see Amelina 2017b). The main argument here is that space-related categorical distinctions (e.g., *global/local, national/transnational*) can lead to the formation of social hierarchies if they become linked to hierarchizing attributions: As soon as a discursive connection between space-related classifications (e.g., *global*) and hierarchizing categorizations (e.g., *poverty*) is established in certain social contexts (e.g., face-to-face interactions, social networks, families, organizations, institutions), these classifications are transformed into spatialized hierarchies, a good example being UN programs that are aimed at combating "global" poverty but that actually reproduce unequal life chances.

Spatialized inequalities manifest themselves in unequal life chances (e.g., limited access to education or the labor market as a result of the immobilization of certain categories of individuals). According to this interpretation, transnational and transnationalized inequalities can be regarded as a subtype of spatialized inequalities that result from hierarchical attributions related to multilocal cross-border practices. An empirical example of such inequality patterns is the field of the European regulation of migration and mobility, which privileges the transnational movement of specific categories of individuals (e.g., EU citizens) while simultaneously restricting that of others (e.g., non-EU citizens) (Carmel and Paul 2013).

The following passage from a study by the feminist geographer Rachel Silvey further illuminates the concept of spatialized inequalities in respect to migration and gender relations.

> The rights of migrant domestic workers, for instance, can be framed as a "global issue," a "women's issue," or an issue that is primarily a result of the "national economic needs" of low-income countries. […] In discourses that consider migrants' rights primarily "local" rather than "global," abuse tends to be construed as the responsibility of an individual migrant, her family, or her nation of origin. When migrants' issues are represented as global issues, the global stage may be opened up as an arena, a scale, and political space through which to confront the migration issues that involve sending and receiving communities.
>
> (Silvey 2006: 74)

According to Silvey, then, the life chances of female migrants who work in care are influenced by specific discursive linkages between *space-related* narratives, the hierarchizing notions they include, and the gendered organization of care labor markets (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 4).

To sum up, the intersectional interpretation in question has three implications for the conceptualization of space as a dimension of social inequality. First, it is necessary to consider the mutual constitution of the categories *global* and *local* and of the categories *national* and *transnational*. Second, spatialized inequalities emerge when space-related classifications coincide with hierarchizing notions—only then do categorization processes transform space-related distinctions (which also means migration-related distinctions) into unequally distributed life chances. Third, by considering the dimension *space* in intersectional analysis, it becomes possible to gain insights into the complex interplay between this and other relevant inequality dimensions, such as *gender, class*, or *ethnicity/race*. This approach allows us to de-essentialize *space* and, thus, to analyze it as an actual or potential dimension of inequality, not only separately but also in terms of how it interacts with other dimensions of social inequality.

Analyzing the interplay of individual dimensions of inequality

There is a general consensus among intersectionality researchers that it should be possible for analyses of the interplay of different dimensions of inequality to consider opposing and contrary processes. Scholars in this area use a variety of concepts, terms, and metaphors to describe the linkages and interplay of axes of inequality, such as "multiple jeopardy" (King 1988), "interlocking system of oppression" (Collins 1990), "matrix of domination" (Collins 1986), and "mutual shaping" (Walby et al. 2012) (see also Chapter 1).

What are the most useful research strategies for analyzing the processes involved in the interplay of the various axes of inequality? The main proposition in this regard is that we should not make a priori assumptions about any given axes of difference or about the relationships between them (Lutz et al. 2011; Matsuda 1991), and that, instead, we should make them the subject of empirical investigation. For example, in analyzing the exploitative relationships in the context of the care work performed by female migrants, we must keep in mind that the different dimensions of social inequality involved are not dominant or equally important per se. For now, we must therefore consider both the axes of inequality and the relationships among them on the basis of empirical investigation.

This approach is built on three principles. The first is that social classifications that have hierarchizing effects (e.g., *male/female/transgender*) should be considered to be historically specific and contingent, even if, despite their fluidity, they are temporarily or permanently sedimented in the routines of organizations and institutions. The second principle is that, rather than being

a naturally given process, the interplay of axes of inequality such as *gender, ethnicity/race*, and *class* occurs depending on specific social and historical contexts—in other words, it does not follow a universally applicable pattern. The third principle is that, although the different dimensions of inequality influence and shape each other, they cannot be analytically reduced to one another. The crucial benefit of this *open approach* to the relationships of individual axes of inequality is that it avoids a static and ahistorical understanding (for details, see Amelina 2017b).

3.4 Migration and gender in the focus of intersectionality: the current research on the intra-European migration and mobility

How exactly can we use the intersectional perspective to analyze the interplay of gender relations and migration processes? The answer to this question has been provided by studies of the current migration and mobility processes within Europe in the context of the EU enlargements (e.g., Anthias et al. 2013; Favell 2008; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011a, 2011b). The recent history of intra-European movements has been highly dynamic. The collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe and the fall of the Iron Curtain at the end of the 1980s led to waves of large-scale emigration from the former socialist countries to Western Europe (Wallace 2002). However, in the mid-1990s, emigration from Eastern and Central Europe slowly began to decrease, and it continued to do so after the Eastern enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and 2007. Permanent emigration was gradually complemented by patterns of temporary and circular migration (Dietz 2007; Leon-Ledesma and Piracha 2001; Wallace 2002).

Many studies, and in particular gender-sensitive studies of intra-European movements, consider migration and mobility processes from the intersectional perspective, and they prefer transnationally oriented approaches that focus not only on mobile individuals in their contexts of arrival but also on their significant others (relatives and friends) in their contexts of departure. In addition, such studies pay attention to the role of immobile actors in the contexts of arrival (in most cases, this would be the role of employers). As will be shown below, these studies analyse transnational cross-border practices as involving processes of hierarchization that affect several categories of movers:

- The category of female migrant care workers whose position is a result of the interplay of gendered, ethnicized/racialized, and class-related categorizations;
- The category of highly skilled migrants that emerges at the intersection of *class* and *gender*;
- The category of immobile others in the contexts of emigration, which includes the problematized categories of children and older people; and

- The category of immobile others in the contexts of immigration, who are either described as diaspora cosmopolitans or as profiteers who benefit from ethnicized and racialized exploitative relationships.

The following section discusses a number of relevant studies to illustrate how the intersectional perspective is used in analyses of gender relations and migration.

Female migrant care workers at intersections of gendered, ethnicized/racialized, and class-specific categorizations

According to some of the most recent studies in this area, female care, domestic, and sex workers currently belong to the most precarious categories of employees among intra-European movers (Anthias et al. 2013; Lutz 2007, 2008, 2010b, 2016a). These social groups include movers from the new EU member states (e.g., Poland, Romania, Bulgaria) and the EU borderland countries (e.g., Albania, Ukraine, Moldova). As a result of deskilling processes and of the gendered structure of the labor markets in the countries of arrival, those who fall into these categories are forced to accept relatively precarious employment in the formal and informal economies, where they have to work in exploitative conditions (Dumont and Isoppo 2005; for a detailed discussion, see also Chapter 4).

Highly skilled movers between deskilling, visible masculinities, and invisible femininities

The research on the immigration of young skilled laborers from new EU member states or non-EU countries to old EU member states shows that these movers often experience a devaluation of their professional skills or academic degrees, a process referred to as "deskilling" (Favell 2008; Nowicka 2014; Trevena 2013; Currie 2008). However, the majority of these studies analyze the social mobility of these movers without using an explicit gender-sensitive perspective; instead, they implicitly consider them as "labor migrants" and as a homogeneous "group" (Galgoczi et al. 2009). Studies based on a methodological individualism, on the other hand, focus on individual migrants' life scripts and usually imply that these movers are male (see, e.g., Salt 1988). At the same time, according to Eleonore Kofman (2000a), some of the few studies with an explicit focus on female migration and mobility overemphasize the proportion of unskilled laborers among female movers.[3] To address this gap in the research, researchers should focus on processes of a mutual shaping of class-related categorizations, gendering, and ethnicization/racialization that accompany processes of deskilling. A number of hierarchic positions can be distinguished:

- Some mobile men, regardless of whether they are EU citizens or not, manage to convert their professional skills or academic degrees into economic capital and into appropriate professional positions on the labor markets of their countries of arrival (Kahanec et al. 2013).
- However, the vast majority of male migrants face deskilling because their professional skills or degrees are not recognized at all or only in part, and even movers who do achieve recognition often experience social downward mobility as a result of ethnicized/racialized attributions (Nowicka 2014; Kilkey 2014).
- Male movers who only have a primary education are forced to work as unskilled laborers in the formal and/or informal labor markets—for example, as gardeners, cleaners, taxi drivers, or paperhangers. The mobility of these migrants may be temporary or permanent (Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013a, 2013b).
- In the public discourses of the receiving countries, these men are often associated with negative and sometimes ethnicized/racialized notions of masculinity, as reflected in such epithets as "macho patriarch" or "homophobic Other" (Scheibelhofer 2016).

As indicated earlier, it would be wrong to not also consider mobile women in the category of highly skilled movers. However, the challenge here is that female migrants are usually not the focus of analyses of highly skilled migration because scant data exist concerning the proportion of highly skilled women among migrants and concerning processes of institutional and institutionalized deskilling (also known as "brain waste"). Nevertheless, recent studies have shown that mobile women experience deskilling more often than do mobile men. Eleonore Kofman and Parvati Raghuram (2009: 6) note that women are more likely to be overqualified for their jobs than men are for theirs, and that women are *invisible* within this category of *highly skilled migrants* (see also Kofman 2000a). Women with permanent and women with temporary mobility patterns may be equally affected by these processes (Anthias et al. 2013; Lutz 2010b).

In order to make these women more visible, it is important to consider the following differentiation:

- Skilled or highly skilled women who have managed to convert the professional skills and/or academic degrees they acquired in the sending countries into appropriate professional positions in the labor markets of the receiving countries (Kofman 2000a; Kofman and Raghuram 2006); and
- Skilled or highly skilled women whose skills or degrees are not recognized at all or only in part, and who experience a devaluation of their formal education as a result (Lutz 2010b, 2016a).

Immobile others in contexts of emigration: children and elderly people as problematized categories

Whereas the unequal life chances of mobile women and men have been the subject of numerous empirical studies, research on the transnational and transnationalized life chances of immobile others in migrants' countries of departure is still in its early stages, and very few qualitative studies provide insights into this issue in the European context. Some of these studies show that immobile actors in the sending contexts (e.g., family members and kin) experience changes in their social positions according to the social mobility of their mobile peers in the receiving contexts, which in turn depends on the migrants' ability to convert their skills or degrees into usable economic capital (see, e.g., Amelina 2011; Sienkiewicz et al. 2015).

Studies of multilocal families (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Baldassar and Merla 2014a) show that the discursive figure of the "Euro-orphan" has recently emerged in the sending countries' media, which suggests that, as far as access to life chances is concerned, it is the children of mobile mothers who are the most disadvantaged group in the transnational and transnationalized social landscape (for a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 4 and Lutz 2010b). Another group of studies shows that older people who remain in the countries origin are sometimes regarded as members of the socially constructed category of the helpless and unprotected (see, e.g., Vullnetari and King 2008; Piperno 2012). Studies with a primary focus on the cross-border mobility of grandmothers find that these women play a very important role in the reproduction of ethnicized and gendered semantics and meaning patterns within multilocal families in the context of their adult children's migrations (Barglowski et al. 2015b). Other research suggests that grandmothers not only maintain transnational ties with their children who moved to another country, they also become mobile themselves. Because no studies have investigated whether EU citizenship has any effects on the mobile life worlds of these grandmothers, it can only be assumed (but not be proven) that in the context of EU-internal movements, grandmothers are more likely to engage in temporary or circular mobility. (Incidentally, there are no data concerning mobile grandfathers.)

Immobile others in contexts of immigration: "diasporic cosmopolitans" or "profiteers of ethnicized and racialized exploitation"?

Likewise, few studies of the relationship between migration and mobility (whether intra-European or other types) and social inequalities focus on the relations between migrants and their immobile significant others in the contexts of the receiving countries. The studies that do exist can be divided into two categories.

The first category includes empirical studies of what has become known as "diasporic cosmopolitanism" (Glick Schiller et al. 2011). These studies

emphasize the mutual recognition of "migrants" and "nonmigrants" and the emergence of close personal ties between them, which manifests itself in the form of work and family relations in contexts of urban neighborhoods (see, e.g., Nowicka 2006). Studies from the second category challenge such an optimistic view and focus on migrants' experiences of subordination that result from gendered and ethnicized/racialized categorizations. A study by Katarzyna WolanikBoström and Magnus Öhlander (2012) shows that highly skilled Polish physicians who live and work in Sweden experience subordination in hospitals, and there are studies of migrants who work in the care that focus on the ethnicized/racialized and gendered language employers use when talking to migrant employees (see, e.g., Lutz 2007). Research from the first category tends to focus more on making general statements about migrants' immobile significant others, whereas most studies from the second category are primarily concerned with exploitative relationships between migrant workers and their employers (see also Anderson et al. 2006; Janta et al. 2011).

In conclusion, it should be noted that although the outline of current research on the intra-European migration and mobility provides some insights into the interplay of some types of intersectional categorization processes, the studies cited here do not consider all of the axes of difference identified earlier but only the selected dimensions of social inequality. What is important is that space-related categorizations such as *being mobile/being immobile* or *transnational ties/no transnational ties* have also been considered as "dimensions inequality" that influence life chances in relation to a variety of other dimensions.

3.5 Conclusion and outlook

This chapter provided an overview of social constructivist approaches to migration research and a discussion of the intersectional perspective on gender relations and migration. Among other things, it showed that the social constructivist lens is particularly useful for making migration research compatible with social constructivist concepts from the area of gender studies (see Chapter 1), and that social constructivist migration research and intersectional gender research are mutually compatible. In addition, it introduced the category *space* as a specific *axis of inequality*.

The chapter showed that we can use the intersectional perspective to consider social hierarchies that emerge in contexts of migration processes in the form of multidimensional stratifications that are generated by different types of inequality relations. It also stressed the process quality and changeability of intersectional categorizations, which make naturalizing conceptualizations of *gender, ethnicity/race, class*, and *space* obsolete. One of the benefits of this open approach to intersections of different *axes of inequality* is that empirical research does not have to rely on a priori assumptions about the number of inequality dimensions involved or about the types of relationships among them.

Notes

1 The multilocal practices of mobility and migration require the maintenance of social ties between migration-sending and migration-receiving contexts (e.g., a country or locale).
2 In particular, the cultural sociological interpretation of intersectional processes highlights the primacy of processes of categorization (Amelina 2017b).
3 According to Kofman (2000a: 54), Saskia Sassen (1991) reinforced the impression that all female migrants are unskilled laborers who work in sweatshops, households, and the informal service economy.

Chapter 4

Care

An intersectional analysis of transnational care work and transnational families

4.1 Care as (un)paid labor

This chapter is concerned with working conditions and labor relations in the area of care work, which is currently the most important labor market for female migrants across the world. Care work, as understood here, includes childcare and care for the elderly and the diseased, as well as domestic work in employers' households. This area is referred to internationally as "domestic and care work"; another term used for this type of work is "reproductive work" or "social reproduction", which was derived from Marxist theory. An argument in favor of using the concept of social reproduction (see Kofman and Raghuram 2015) is that for over a hundred years, there has been a debate about the dissimilar yet mutually dependent "siblings" that are *productive* and *reproductive* labor. Around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, socialist and social utopians proposed that women should be set free from "household slavery" and demanded that they be given access to productive gainful employment, not only in (collectivized) agriculture, but also in factories and offices (see Engels 1902 [1884]; Federici 2010). They believed that men and women should work side by side for the good of the community, and that a collective infrastructure should be created (day care centers, kindergartens, cafeterias, industrial laundries, professional cleaners, etc.) to make the reproductive work easier by outsourcing it from women's households. But it was not just Marxist theory that considered the interdependency of productive and reproductive labor as one of the foundations of a labor society—no reproduction without production, and vice versa. In his treatise *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, published in 1884, Friedrich Engels noted that it was not until the advent of the institution of private property that these two areas became hierarchically gendered. Bourgeois society, according to Engels, cemented the domination of women by men:

> The domestic labor of women was considered insignificant in comparison to men's work for a living. The latter was everything, the former a

> negligible quantity. […] The emancipation of women becomes feasible only then, when women are enabled to take part extensively in social production, and when domestic duties require their attention in a minor degree.
>
> (Engels 1902 [1884]: 196)

Indeed, it was primarily the countries of the socialist/communist bloc that implemented this vision of women's contribution to gainful employment, with the result that the proportion of fully employed women in the state socialist countries was rarely lower than 75 percent. However, this revolution never reached the households, where the lion's share of the reproductive work was still done by women.

Neither capitalism nor socialism has done away with the asymmetric characterizations of reproduction as female and of production as male.[1] The same is true of the distinction between "paid" and "unpaid" labor, with women still doing most of the unpaid reproductive work. What welfare states of the Western variety, deregulated *liberal* market systems (including systems that have always been deregulated, such as the United States), and the transformed systems of the post-socialist countries all have in common is that sectors in which paid, full-time care work is performed—whether in the context of state-provided social security and support or commercially—are feminized; that is, labor in these sectors is usually characterized as women's work and is not well paid.

At the turn of the 21st century, increasing levels of education have led to the integration of a growing number of women into gainful employment in a wide variety of countries, including the post-industrial countries. However, this did not lead to a redistribution of domestic care responsibilities between men and women, nor did governments invest in additional extensive care infrastructures to relieve the burden.[2] Instead, a transnational market emerged that now makes it possible to delegate domestic care work to female migrants and gardening and other handymen work to male migrants, especially for members of the middle class (see Lutz 2017a; Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2015; Romero 2014).

This chapter is primarily concerned with the care work conditions faced by female migrants who work in their employers' households.[3] It focuses on analyzing the fraught relationship between transnationally performed work and the transnationalization of families in the context of migration processes, and does so from the perspective of the sociology of gender. Questions addressed in this chapter include not only how social inequalities in the transnational service economy are being restructured (namely, on a transnational level), but also how and based on which theories this phenomenon can be explained (see Anderson and Shutes 2014; Lutz 2018a).

4.2 Care as gainful employment

Care as an occupation: housemaids

Historically, care work has long been transnationalized. Under colonialism, the people snatched from African countries included large numbers of women and girls, who had to "serve" as domestic slaves in their owners' households—an aspect of colonialism that is conveniently brushed under the carpet. Historians often note that the presence of nursemaids or eldercare nurses in private households is not a new phenomenon, but that such care providers were members of the servant society of the 18th and 19th centuries. In those days, the provision of services in middle-class households was elevated to the status of an occupation characterized by subordination and dependence, and it was not until the turn of the 20th century that employers' arbitrary *rule* was gradually limited as a result of struggles for collective and individual employment rights. Being able to afford domestic staff who had to do the lowly but necessary domestic tasks was regarded as a privilege of the middle-class family. Employing domestic staff not only raised the employers' social status; it also endowed them with social power. This advantage was aptly described by Trutz von Trotha, who noted in his study of the colonial family that by employing African servants, "in full view of everyone, the conquerors visibly turned into the ruling class" (von Trotha 1994: 216, transl., HL).

In Europe, domestic work became increasingly feminized during the 19th century, and during the German Empire, around the turn of the 20th century, about one million women were employed as housemaids. Young women who came from poor families or who had grown up in orphanages and many who had moved from the country to the fast-growing urban centers easily found employment as housemaids. Housemaids usually received their training on the job, so they did not require a high level of education, and even young women who had no educational capital at all could find employment in this area. Gender affiliations, class affiliations, and—as rural–urban migration intersected in this occupation, and in the context of the colonies—affiliation with what was then referred to as a "servant race" was another virulent axis of difference.

Migration is not a new phenomenon in this occupational field either. Beginning in the early 20th century, young German women were increasingly recruited for employers in other countries, such as the Netherlands or France, but most of them migrated to Canada and the United States. Working as a housemaid was an opportunity for these women to start an emigration project. In many immigration countries, white women were wanted for white settlers (for marriage or other reasons) (Harzig 1997). This is also true for the German colonies, where fear of "miscegenation" and of a slide into "sexual degeneracy" among male settlers created a great demand for white housemaid wives (see Walgenbach 2005).

German fascism, finally, reactivated the discursive figure of the German woman as mistress of her own home, as opposed to being a servant in other people's households. An interesting example in this regard is the *Dienstmädchenheimschaffung* ("repatriation of housemaids") from the Netherlands back home to the *Reich* in 1938, for which the German government used chartered trains. During the Second World War, the fascist construct of a "Slavic worker race" led to the emergence of a discourse that legitimized the deportation and forced recruitment, by the German army, of a total of 500,000 girls and women between the ages of 15 and 35 from the occupied territories (e.g., Russia, Poland, Ukraine, and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), of whom an estimated 100,000 were made to perform "forced labor in the nurseries" of German private households (Mendel 1993; see also Winkler 2000). It is interesting to note in this connection that the survivors of this group were at first excluded from the negotiations that began in 2000 over compensation for forced labor in German private households during the Second World War. The Bundestag rejected such claims on the grounds that this was unproductive labor (Leuther 2000; Deutscher Bundestag 2008), whereas forced labor in agricultural settings and in factories, for example, was considered to be worthy of compensation. This decision reflects an understanding of "productive" and "unproductive" labor that is still current today.

At the end of the Second World War, the only households that still had housemaids were the highest-earning upper-middle-class households in the Western industrialized countries. The second half of the 20th century was the period when the male-breadwinner model reached its zenith, and the middle-class ideal of what was referred to as "housewife marriage" materialized for large swaths of the population, including skilled workers—a lifestyle that back in the 19th century had been the prerogative of the upper-middle class. The fact that millions of wives were prepared to perform what one might regard as servant work in the background led the economist John Kenneth Galbraith to cynically remark that what made this an "economic accomplishment of the first importance" was the fact that housewives, without being forced to do so, made themselves subservient to almost the entire male population. However, this situation gradually changed, even in the Western industrialized countries now referred to as the "Global North": in welfare states of the Western variety, for example, welfare state infrastructure was expanded, as a result of which some of that "servant work in the background" was outsourced from the households and "occupationalized" (e.g., through the creation of day care centers, kindergartens, and retirement homes), financially backed by a range of legally regulated social insurance programs and transfer payments.

Care as an occupational field: the globalized housemaids

The past decade has seen an exponentially increasing demand for female care workers, not only in the industrialized countries of the West, but also in the

middle- and upper-class households in South and East Asia (e.g., India, Singapore, Hong Kong), Western Asia and North Africa (Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt), and Central and Latin America. According to conservative estimates by the International Labour Organization, as many as 67.1 million female migrants are domestic workers (ILO 2015), although a couple of years earlier, the same organization had also noted that the actual number of individuals in this sector is more likely to be closer to 100 million, of whom 83 percent are female (ILO 2013: 19).

In some regions and countries, such as Singapore (Teo 2014) or, less explicitly, the United States and Canada (Michel and Peng 2012), the recruitment of female migrant care workers is officially regarded as a major element of regional or national labor market policies for bringing female citizens into waged work. Others regions, such as Latin America and parts of Asia and Africa, continue the long-standing middle-class tradition of delegating domestic and care work to domestic workers. In the European Union, the redistribution of social benefits among the state, the families, and the market is currently in the process of being readjusted as a result of neoliberal interventions, with the state gradually withdrawing from institutional care provision and introducing cash-for-care policies, especially in the areas of care for the elderly, the sick, and people with "disabilities." As a result, care work responsibilities remain within, or are transferred to, the domain of private households, though with private rather than institutional employers and with no state control—a situation comparable to that at the end of the 19th century (Williams 2010, 2018).

Most of those working in the care labor markets of China and many African countries are women who are migrating from rural areas to the cities; at the same time, however, a growing number of such migrants are crossing national borders. For example, Filipinas work in households in Asia, the Arab world, Israel, North America, and many European countries, and Latinas work not only in the United States, Spain, Italy, and Germany, but (indigenous) female Bolivians and Ecuadorians are also employed in neighboring countries in Latin America that are more affluent than their own, such as Argentina and Chile.

The vast majority of female care migrants in "old" Europe come from Eastern Europe, which reflects patterns of East-West migration that in turn involves East-East migration and a differentiation of migratory trends within Eastern Europe. For example, the largest groups of female migrant care workers who are working in rich households in the major cities of Poland and the Czech Republic are from Ukraine and Belarus, but also from Moldova and Georgia, while Polish women from rural and economically underdeveloped regions of Poland are employed in Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, or Austria.

This multifaceted global trend is caused by a variety of different factors and is no longer unidirectional (i.e., from the "Global South" to the [post-]

industrial "Global North"); rather, it is a phenomenon that involves various different types of both internal and cross-border migrations, such as South-South migrations within Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or East-West and East-East migrations within Europe. Given this plurality of migratory movements, "Global South" does not appear to be a particularly useful term for describing recent developments in care work migration. Instead, this phenomenon should be analyzed with a focus on the complex conditions of the constitution and perpetuation of care work in the context of gender, migration, and welfare regimes (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011a). However, what all these different types of care work migrations have in common is that women (more about men later) from economically underdeveloped and relatively poor countries are migrating—temporarily or permanently, legally or illegally—within a global labor market of commodified domestic and care work.

A win-win situation?

Unlike their historical counterparts, most of those who are migrating today are highly skilled, and many even have university degrees. However, in many cases, these migrants do not work in the occupations for which they were trained, which leads both to a loss of social status within the field of their occupational hierarchy and to a loss of educational capital in their country of origin (brain drain). In the countries of immigration, the women are paid below the national wage rates, but because of the asymmetric socio-economic conditions, migrants consider this to be a better alternative to the unemployment or low wages in their countries of origin (see Lutz 2011; Amelina 2010).

Global care migration is often regarded as a win-win situation, especially by those in favor of the commodification of domestic and care work, because it is believed that it not only promotes economic upward mobility for migrants and their families, but it alleviates care worker shortages in the countries of destination. This position must be criticized from the perspective of social inequality. Research has convincingly shown that the position of female transnational care workers is more aptly described as a diachronous, inconsistent mode of social mobility because, as members of the middle class, these women maintain their social status in their countries of origin by sending remittances, as can be seen from the fact that the relatives of many migrants are able to buy homes, electric household devices, and consumer goods for children in the countries of origin (see Chapter 3; see also Amelina 2017b). To be able to send remittances, many of these migrants accept a major loss of social status in their countries of destination, where they work in precarious settings (e.g., as 24-hour live-in care workers in their employers' households) and where they are also confronted with various different forms of (institutional) discrimination, such as when their university degrees are not

officially recognized, when they do not have a work permit, when their residence status is irregular, or when they lose social and citizen rights (see also Chapters 3 and 5).

Another aspect that makes it appear unlikely that global care migration is a win–win situation is that the care migrants' places of employment and their families' places of residence are extremely disparate, a condition which, if continued over extended periods of time, results in a physical separation of mothers from their children and partners and of daughters from parents who are in need of care. The most prominent concept for exploring theoretically this phenomenon is that of global care chains. The following section presents a case study to illustrate how transnational and transnationalized mobile family relationships emerge.

4.3 Global care chains: transnational motherhood and care circulation

When Halina went to work in Germany for the first time, she was already 42 years old. It had been a difficult decision to migrate from Poland to Germany; her father, an Auschwitz survivor, had tried to dissuade her from leaving. At that point in her life, Halina had already been a widow for seven years, and she was trying to feed herself and her three children on her meager salary as a payroll accountant; in addition, her late husband had left her with substantial debt, which she had to pay off. Despite her M.A. in European administrative law, she had been unable to find a position appropriate to her qualifications. During the first four years after arriving in Germany, she provided care to elderly and sick people, staying with the care recipients on 24-hour call for two or three months at a time. After working without papers for a while, she signed with an agency that kept a portion of her income. Her monthly salary was €1,000. She had to pay part of this money into the Polish social security system. Like all other female care migrants, she regularly returned to her hometown for a few weeks to see her children and to organize her own household. During those periods of absence from her place of employment she was replaced by another female migrant. Over the course of four years, she changed employers, either because the care recipients had died or because their families had moved them to a retirement home. In some cases, she also provided end-of-life care, for which she had never received any training and for which she did not speak German well enough. At the time she started her first job in Germany her younger daughter was six and a half years old, and her son, who had learning difficulties, was sixteen. At first, the children back in Poland were raised by the older daughter, and after she graduated from high school and went abroad, their care was taken over by various family members and a female friend of their mother. Halina managed to pay her rent every month and to support her sick parents and her children, but being so far away in her place of employment, having to shoulder the

mental burden of working with patients who were chronically ill (cancer, Alzheimer's), and being separated from her children all started to get to her. Four years later, she returned to Poland, primarily because of the precarious care situation of her younger daughter, but her chances of finding employment in the Polish labor market were still as slim as ever.[4]

The term "global care chains," first coined by the American sociologists Arlie Hochschild (2000) and Rhacel Parreñas (2001), is widely regarded today as the most important analytical category for understanding feminized care migration.

First of all, the care chain concept describes the personalized relationships in the care service market that have emerged on a global scale. Global care chains are characterized by what has been referred to as a "care drain" of migrating women away from their families in their countries of origin and the resulting shortage of care workers, as well as by a "care gain" for the families in the countries of destination, who benefit from the extreme flexibility and cost efficiency of this group of female migrants (see also Lutz 2011). Thus, the term "care chain" outlines the interplay of the provision of care work, post-Fordist employment relationships, and new social inequalities that are emerging on a global scale. Hochschild (2003) identifies as the winners in this chain the well-to-do families at the upper end of the global care chain who can also benefit from what she calls the "emotional surplus value" of this personalized type of work, and as the losers those family members back in the countries of origin who must pay the social emotional cost of the mothers' migration. Hochschild's critical feminist assessment is directed against the position of macroeconomists at powerful global institutions such as the World Bank, who consider the remittances that migrants send to their home countries as the most important driving force for economic developments in regions of origin (see, e.g., the OECD report by Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007). This position takes into consideration that hard currency in the form of migrants' remittances is the most important source of income in the budgets of many national economies, but as indicated above, it ignores the social cost for the individuals involved—that is, the migrants and their families. A third, conservative position with respect to the care chain which can be found both in sending countries and in countries of destination is the expectation that women should not neglect their traditional responsibilities as mothers and wives because of their work as care workers, and that they should ultimately give up these jobs for the benefit of their families. The debate about transnational lifestyles, which are also manifest in new forms of cross-border motherhood or transnational parenthood, is key to analyzing global care chains.

Transnational motherhood

Halina's case study illustrates that many mothers decide to migrate in order to improve their children's educational opportunities while also maintaining

the children's home. Mirjana Morokvasic has aptly referred to this as a motivation to become "settled in mobility" and to "*leaving home* and going away [… as] a strategy of *staying at home*" (2004: 7, emphasis in original).

The vast majority of female care workers have already started a family of their own, which increasingly leads to the emergence of transnational households and motherhood arrangements (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). References to motherhood and the often significant differences in attitudes toward the situation of the migrants' children back in the countries of origin continue to spark heated debates in the study of care migration. Nor has more recent research into this phenomenon provided a less ambiguous picture—transnational motherhood cannot be characterized as exclusively negative or exclusively positive. Rather, for any such assessments to be reliable, a number of factors must be taken into consideration:

a the relationship between the care arrangements back in the countries of origin, including the effects of these arrangements on the children in transnational families;
b the gender relationships that play a key role in these arrangements;
c the intrafamilial and extrafamilial distribution of the care work; and
d the frequency and quality of communication between mothers and children, particularly by means of digital media.

In the following, I will elaborate on each of these four factors in some more detail.

a) What all studies in this area have in common is the observation that mothers' absence is best compensated for if one of her significant others assigns household responsibilities, manages the family budget, and can be relied on to care for the children and for sick and elderly family members. Upon their return, mothers usually do household work that was neglected during their absence and try to compensate for any emotional harm their children may have suffered. Visiting their families back home thus results in a double burden. As noted earlier, transnational mothers from Eastern Europe prefer a three-month rotation system that allows them to visit their families on a regular basis. This goes along with an attempt to achieve a balance between the frequency and quality of their being with the family and that of their "substitute." However, because of the large distance between their family and their place of employment, most of the transnational mothers in the global context are unable to travel several times a year to physically keep in touch with their children. Instead, they will use Internet telephony, online chat services, or video conference software provided by social media to stay in touch with their children and their children's care workers (see also under *d* below).

Well-functioning care arrangements are always characterized by a comprehensive, all-encompassing organization of the children's day-to-day lives and

by clearly defined responsibilities. In some regions of the world, only biological mothers are regarded as the "mother norm," whereas in African countries and the Caribbean, nonbiological mothers or fathers are widely accepted as a form of social parenthood which is not stigmatized. Valentina Mazzucato (2013) shows that the children of Ghanaian transmigrants do not regard their parents' absence as a failure but as just another form of caring (see also Poeze and Mazzucato 2014), and Karen Fog Olwig (2014) notes that a culture of transnational migration, such as the one in the Caribbean that she describes in her study, can be continued only with the help of foster-mothers drawn from the family network:

> […] the migration of single mothers for care work abroad is not viewed as an aberration or a challenge to the family, as long as they arrange adequate everyday care for their children and other dependents left behind, send generous support, and remain in regular contact through letters, phone calls and/or visits.
>
> (p. 147)

On the other hand, in many sending countries in Eastern Europe, public debates have been emerging that stigmatize migrating mothers, with the children left behind by female migrants being referred to as "Euro-orphans" and mothers being accused of walking out on their children (Lutz 2017b; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2010).

b) A common element of all these studies is the observation that migrating fathers and mothers are confronted with different expectations—gender norms and ideologies that are directly related to a gendered division of labor and that play an important role for the care arrangements within the transnational families in the sending countries. Fathers are expected to provide financial support, whereas mothers are primarily expected to provide emotional support in the form of direct physical and mental care. Rhacel Parreñas (2005) describes how children who are staying behind respond to the fact that their mothers are migrating as follows: the mothers' absence is perceived as emotional neglect; these feelings of being neglected are compensated for by expensive gifts; although these gifts give the children a privileged position compared with their friends and peers, the migrant mothers' children see these gifts as a weak substitute for their mothers' presence. Alan Grossman and Aine O'Brien's empathetic ethnographic documentary "Promise and Unrest" from 2011 tells a different story. This film shows how a Filipina care migrant who is working in Dublin gets along with her daughter, who was raised by her grandparents for the first 14 years of her life and then decided to follow her mother to Ireland. At first, the daughter evaluated her mother's migration project as a complicated relationship to a female stranger who had nothing to do with her everyday life in the Philippines, and to whom she did not get any closer when her mother visited the family once a year. The

daughter also states that she rebelled against her mother's decision to take her with her to Dublin. However, after living together with her mother in a tiny apartment for a few years, the daughter's view changed, and she began to regard her mother's decision as an act of motherly self-sacrifice that helped to significantly and lastingly improve the daughter's life and educational chances.

The mother portrayed in this documentary was always the sole breadwinner whose remittances supported her parents, her sister, and her two children back in the Philippines. As is generally known, migrants who are in such a situation have a particularly strong motivation to migrate; in studying single mothers such as the one just described, it is usually unnecessary to ask how gender-specific household responsibilities are redistributed between spouses—an aspect that will be addressed in the following section.

c) For a long time, many migration and gender researchers took it for granted that a change in the breadwinner role and the resulting shift in the power relations within families in which one parent decided to migrate would also inevitably lead to a change in the distribution of household responsibilities, and that the fathers in those families would take on the migrating mothers' responsibilities (Sassen 1998). However, many studies have shown that gender orders are not actually transformed in response to what the Austrian public lawyer Georg Jellinek once referred to as the "normative power of the factual", but that they are in fact durable. For example, in their study of the redistribution of care responsibilities within the families of Polish and Ukrainian migrants, Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2011b, 2014) note that the fathers who stay behind usually do not give up their jobs when their wives decide to migrate, even if they earn only a fraction of what their wives make later in the country of destination. In contrast, the wives of migrating men leave the labor market and become *housewives*, thus establishing a new model that had not existed during the era of state socialism. Fathers who are staying behind prefer care responsibilities to be redistributed so that the grandmothers not only assume the role of substitute mothers but also provide everyday care to the fathers—that is, their sons or sons-in-law. In families with no grandmothers, it is the older daughters, aunts, and members of extrafamilial networks, such as female friends or neighbors, who take on everyday care responsibilities for which they are paid either directly (in cash) or indirectly (in the form of consumer goods as presents or as a way to help them pay off their rent and other arrears). The debate about the intrafamilial redistribution of care work also shows that fathers who take on the mothers' responsibility to care for their children are in the minority, and that they are afforded very little social recognition (see Lutz 2018b). By insisting on continuing to work, they instead try to adhere to the hegemonic ideal of the father even after this ideal has already started to erode—that is, when it is no longer financially sustainable. In doing so, they try to comply with the requirements of the *sole-breadwinner model*, which they cannot possibly fulfil

under the economic conditions they are in—a phenomenon Irina Koshulap (2007: 371) describes as being "breadwinners despite themselves."

Generally speaking, the substitution of mothers by fathers remains an understudied aspect of migration. There is much evidence to suggest that is the traditional gender order within families is rarely transformed when the mothers migrate, because in the countries of origin, as in the countries of destination, no masculine dividend is paid for the fatherhood of "*mothering fathers*" (see Palenga-Möllenbeck and Lutz 2016).

d) Now, in the early 21st century, mothers and their children can stay in touch by using new means of communication: letters and home videos are being replaced by high-tech digital media (such as text messages and images/emoticons) or by daily video chats or voice calls (through Skype, WhatsApp, etc.). These new media allow for co-presence in ways that were inconceivable until recently. In their study of children in transnational families in the Philippines and the influence of these new media, Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller (2011) describe the rapid spread of providers of mobile telephony, which has replaced landline telephone services in the island country. The Philippines has come to be regarded as the "text messaging capital of the world," and every year, several of the economically powerful and influential providers offer awards for "Best Domestic/Care Worker of the Year" or "Migrant of the Year."

Madianou and Miller regard mobile phones as catalysts in recent developments in intrafamilial communication, albeit with mothers rather than fathers taking on the responsibility to monitor their children's telephone traffic, by which they practice a strong form of supervision with regard to their children's day-to-day routines (an annoyance particularly loathed by young adolescents). The children's SIM cards are paid for by their mothers, which allows the latter to monitor their children's texting and online activities. Madianou and Miller conclude in their study that using mobile phones is a way for mothers and their children to maintain some level of closeness and attachment. In addition, mobile communication serves as a way for migrating mothers to care for their children across long geographical distances and to accompany them throughout their everyday lives. Although this tool does reduce the cost of migration to a degree, the authors also note that it primarily helps the mothers to come to terms with their ambivalences and sense of guilt, whereas for their children it is often a mixed blessing.

In their study of female Polish care workers and their children, Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2011b) made similar observations: they refer to their subjects' Internet-based everyday communication as "Skype mothering"—a form of maternal care that allows for a sensitive combination and coordination of emotion management. Mothers can discuss aspects of everyday life at length with their children, their own mothers, and their husbands; they can keep abreast of what has been going on in their household back in the country of origin; and children can contact their mothers in a self-directed

manner—although mothers cannot always respond immediately. The Internet enables family members to express what is on their minds and how they are feeling despite being spatially separated from one another. Couples send each other "love messages"; women give their husbands back in their country of origin the opportunity to play a protector role by letting them know via text message that they have safely reached their destination; children and mothers say how much they miss each other; and many providers of instant messaging even make it possible to supervise and check the children's homework. These examples show how transnational motherhood by means of the Internet leads to the emergence of a practice of doing gender/doing family in everyday life.

However, such long-distance family relationships have their limitations, even in cases where all those involved have been socialized with this form of telecommunication. Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2011b) note that none of their interviewees regarded virtual contacts as a true substitute for physical presence and closeness, despite the fact that calls were frequent and that both sides eventually got used to them. The children among the interviewees stressed how much they would love to have their mothers around, acknowledging that the virtual character of the way they kept in touch with their mothers served as a kind of "substitute" and normalized it to a degree, but they did not consider it a desirable state of affairs. For very small children, telephone calls are not an option, and for introverted children, keeping in touch via the Internet or telephone can be very difficult if they have not developed any expressive communication skills. In addition, virtual long-distance family relationships enable, and perhaps even require, that both sides hide their feelings or what has been on their minds: Children learn not to tell their mothers if there is bad news from school or if there are any problems within the family; and adults and children learn (and have to learn) how to spare one another potentially upsetting news. The geographical distance between them plays a role in all of this, because each side understands that finding a direct solution without being physically present is impossible. Finally, it should also be noted that not all migrants have unlimited access to telephones. Not only are there no telephone lines and/or Internet servers in many rural and even some urban regions in the sending countries, which makes virtual contact impossible, but it also bothers the employers—care recipients or family members—when their care workers are talking to someone on the telephone in a language they do not understand, or they outright forbid them to use the telephone at all or only at certain times (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2010).

Care circulation

In recent years, the care chain concept has been criticized for being rigid and unidirectional. Many studies, according to the critics, are dominated by the dichotomous idea that migrants move in a single direction only (i.e., from the

South to the North) to earn money and then send their income in the other direction, with the relation between the two poles remaining static. It has also been stressed that the care chain concept fails to give proper consideration to each member of a given care exchange network, and that it is too focused on the bilateral care relationship between mothers as givers of care and family members back in the country of origin as recipients of care (see Kofman 2012). In a similar vein, Loretta Baldassar and Laura Merla note the following with regard to the chain metaphor:

> Thus we argue that the idea of a "chain" is not the most suitable way of portraying the mobilities of care from a family perspective. The "chain" metaphor tends to limit these mobilities to back-and-forth movements between two nodes of a chain, where migrant and nonmigrant exchange various types of support, thus reinforcing the distinction between the two sets of actors.
>
> (2014b: 29)

Baldassar and Merla also criticize the care metaphor for suggesting that care is embodied in the person of the migrant, which in turn suggests that care is these migrants' incorporated capital. In addition, they note that this is only true if the focus is narrowed to a labor market perspective, which does indeed create a physical separation between family members, whereas including the concept of the moral economy of families in the analysis can extend the focus to include a different perspective that can help to reveal bilateral flows of virtual forms of care. For this reason, Baldassar and Merla introduce the concept of *care circulation*, which makes it possible to consider mobility of care as multidirectional, simultaneous, and diachronous, to avoid reducing care exchange to migrants and their family members back home, and instead to conceptualize it as an aspect of the extensive network of care exchange relationships. In addition, they note that care movements are not necessarily symmetric but are asymmetrically reciprocal, and that care as a resource is unequally distributed both within and among families (Baldassar and Merla 2014b: 30f.).

Thus, the concept of care circulation builds on and extends the debates about transmigration. At first glance, the criticism of the chain metaphor seems legitimate, given that chains bind people in prisons or slaves on ships, and so on. On the other hand, necklaces are round, which implies a connection between their individual links. Critics of the chain metaphor rightly note that relationships within networks are much more complex than an exchange between two ends (see also Chapters 2 and 3), and that the study of social relations in the context of migration should not focus exclusively on the labor market. Proponents of the concept of care circulation also rightly stress that the transformative potential of migration can be considered appropriately only if proper attention is given to what is known as the moral economy of

kin, meaning that the moral responsibilities family members have to one another must be included as part of a family economy.

However, from the perspective of inequality research, one shouldn't overlook is that the asymmetric relationships between the givers and the recipients of care make reciprocity difficult or even impossible: what the concept of care circulation does not take into consideration are the poor working conditions and the fact that many care migrants are without rights (especially the right to live together with their families in the country of destination). As with the debate about the circulation of educational capital ("brain circulation," see Chapter 3)—a concept that stands in opposition to the brain drain/brain gain dichotomy—an approach with this focus not only fails to consider the social cost of migration, which may become virulent in the form of "emotional inequalities" (Yeates 2009), but it might also ignore neoliberal exploitative relationships across the world and thus the question of how social inequalities are being recalibrated on a global scale (see also Lutz 2018a). However, the more important point in this debate, which is also implied in the concept of care circulation, is that, in the 21st century, the characterization of the transnational family as a deviation from the supposedly "natural" sedentarist family has become obsolete (see Chapter 3).

4.4 Transnational families between stigmatization and recognition

By creating spatial distance among family members, migratory movements lead to the emergence of transnational families. It has often been assumed that in the long run, spatial separation will result in emotional distance and in the fragmentation and disintegration of families. Families that are separated in this way are referred to in the research as "incomplete families." The temporary absence of one parent (usually the father) has always been accepted in many regions across the world as long as that parent worked in unusual occupational areas—for example, as a seaman, career soldier, salesman, artist, or seasonal worker. Recent family research has found that around the turn of the 21st century, only a small proportion of the various different types of families today actually corresponds to the traditional nuclear-family model, and that in the context of increasingly widespread occupational mobility requirements, a growing proportion of families must be without one parent (again, usually the father) for extended periods of time (Schneider 2014). Instead of the traditional nuclear family, what we are more likely to find today is "family diversity," which is characterized by a diversification of households and very different social arrangements and relationships that exist simultaneously and in multiple locations (e.g., single-parent families, stepfamilies, and families with more than one mobile parent). For this reason, recent studies have suggested establishing a dynamic concept of family that no longer draws on the traditional middle-class nuclear family as a reference

category (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). The transnational family, although still regarded in the dominant discourses as the exception to the rule or as "deviant," fits into the typology of diverse family types; one of its main characteristics is that household and family are not identical; rather, they are scattered across several different countries, and the family members are connected with one another. Establishing and maintaining this connection is an active, constructive effort every family member must make. These constellations include not only biological relatives, but also significant others (e.g., friends of the parents, childcarers) who take on care responsibilities. The emergence of such care constellations requires a new concept of family that does not neglect the biological basis of familial bonds but that appropriately contextualizes this basis and captures the connection between the biological and the social units. Most people believe that families consist of "natural" rather than voluntary relationships. However, just as with belonging to a nation or an ethnic group, belonging to a family is not a given but is the result of social negotiation processes (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 10). James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium (1995) note that the established concept of family is problematic because it perpetuates a legal, moral, and biological concept of family relationship that fails to consider some of the most important aspects of people's everyday lives—dedication, involvement, loyalty, care, and self-commitment. Holstein and Gubrium's constructivist concept of families is based on the assumption that interactions, public discourses, and interpretations—not kinship—produce domestic orders. According to these authors, the relevant questions that should guide the empirical study of everyday family organization are who or what defines the substance and organization of domestic life and how are the parameters of the role of family established. Family must therefore be considered to be a constellation of ideas, images, or terminologies that serves to assign domestic importance to the aspects of everyday life.

At first glance, this approach may seem difficult to understand, but it is similar to the concepts of doing gender and doing ethnicity described in Chapters 1 and 3—family is produced on the *level of everyday life through actions*. Studies of female migrants who are considered "family members" by their employers (see Lutz 2011), and who also see themselves as family members, show that this concept of doing family is far from implausible. Nevertheless, doing family cannot be conceived of without reference to *legal, biological, and moral concepts of family*.

Rhacel Parreñas (2005) suggests integrating these levels into one single level. *First*, family is produced through the everyday activities of men, women, and children, which involves making decisions every day about the distribution of available material resources and about showing mutual physical and emotional affection. *Second*, family is an institution based on legal and moral foundations that is constructed by way of meanings, norms, and power relations, which means that it is ideologically charged and may be

perpetuated or changed. It is important to note that social inequalities exist on both levels and are caused by gender-, generation-, ethnicity-, and class-specific factors. At the same time, boundaries are being defined to produce and reproduce a definition of the "proper family" that is shared by as many members as possible. The production of family through actions—the doing of family—requires a family habitus and a moral family economy that, as in other types of groups, act as the glue that facilitates a consensus within a family (e.g., between generations or between the genders) and that are used to define and maintain inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms. However, every family system also involves friction and conflicts over the distribution of power and of positions in the hierarchy. Such conflicts are difficult enough to resolve within families in cases where all family members live and reside in the same place. As we will see later, transnational families are faced with a variety of additional factors that complicate matters.

Transnational families, thus, are social units whose members have to move and define themselves within a potentially conflictual environment that involves multiple relationships and multiple spaces. This is true not only of family members who actually become mobile and physically cross borders, but also of those staying behind in the places of origin, because they too play an active part in shaping transnational exchange relationships (care, remittances, network capital, etc. see various examples discussed in the chapters in the volume edited by Baldassar and Merla 2014b.) With regard to the two levels introduced above, this means that the extension of the geographical space should go along with changes in the coordinates related to legal meanings and power relations. As long as migrants do not enjoy civil rights in the country in which they are living and working, the governments of their country of origin retain primacy of access, particularly with respect to jurisdiction (for a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 5). Many sending countries, particularly those dependent on foreign money in the form of remittances, try to influence migrants' moral ties with, and loyalties to, their families and their country of origin. A very good example of this is the honors the Philippine government bestows on exemplary migrants, such as the title "Hero of the State" (see Shinozaki 2015). By honoring these migrants, the state not only recognizes the major contribution they make to the national economy, but it also reminds them where they are investing parts of their income and where their loyalties should lie.

Recent changes to family law that reflect the realities of transnational families ensure that family-specific support and benefits meet the particular needs of biological mothers and fathers who are away from their families for many years (Shinozaki 2015). Of course, through family legislation and migration regimes, governments in the migrants' destination countries influence transnational family lives as well (see Chapter 5). For example, because of Germany's highly restrictive legislation, mothers and fathers who do not have a residence permit, do not have the right to family reunification either,

and even if they find a way to get their children to their country of destination under the most difficult conditions, they and their family members will not be eligible for healthcare (see Lutz 2011; see also Chapter 7). Thus, the agency of transnational families is restricted in various ways (for a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 5). While geographical mobility contributes to a blurring of national boundaries, at the same time, national migration regimes restrict migrants' scope of action in ways that cannot simply be ignored (Brennan 2004: 42). This leads to a situation in which different members of the same family may have very different citizenship rights, which in turn leads to the emergence of power differentials within transnational families that are characterized by gender-specific differences (Parreñas 2005).

These examples indicate that a constructivist approach that makes the level of doing family across national borders the starting point of analysis without also considering the levels of law and moral discourse is still largely reduced to the level of interactions. The "Euro-orphan" discourse in the post-socialist countries of origin might be regarded as an expression of a collective "moral panic," as a response to the rapid, dramatic changes brought about by the transformation of the socialist system (e.g., the impoverishment of large segments of the populations) and the resulting migratory movements. When transnational motherhood is considered to be child neglect, the moral pressure on mothers to justify their motherhood practices increases (Lutz 2017b). However, we also see that loyalties within transnational families are not weakened as a result of migration; rather, familial ties are maintained and strengthened by means of virtual intimacy and substitute routines (e.g., when family members blow kisses at one another during a video chat, or when couples assure each other of their love).

To conclude, in many places, relevant legislation still fails to reflect the existing practices of lived transnationality: Even within the European Union, social rights are not always portable (Barglowski et al. 2015a); migrants do not have a legal right to live with their families; and the public stigmatization of transnational family management is rarely sanctioned by courts.

In order to be able to draw final conclusions about the phenomenon of care, the next section will focus on its macro-level.

4.5 The Intersection of regimes of gender, care/welfare, and migration

On the macro-level, we can identify three different *regimes* that overlap or interact with one another: *first*, gender regimes, which understand household and care work as expressions of a specific gendered culture script (see Chapter 1); *second*, care regimes, which are an element of the welfare regime that materializes in the form of a wide variety of government regulations and distributes the responsibility for the good of the national population among the state, the family, and the market; and *third*, migration regimes, which for

different reasons either permit or prohibit employment of female migrants as domestic workers (see Figure 4.1).

The concept of "regime" (see Esping-Andersen 1990) distinguishes a number of different models of national social policy, focusing on the relationship of the state, the family, and the market that is relevant in each case (see Figure 4.2).

Two distinct European models are distinguished in analyzing the interplay of these actors: (1) the Nordic social security regime, which is characterized by high female employment rates and substantial involvement of the state in childcare and eldercare; and (2) the Southern European family care regime, which is characterized by low female employment rates and a rudimentary care infrastructure. Two groups of countries are somewhere between these models: (a) Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, where the family is responsible for preschool-age children and for schoolchildren when they are not in school, regardless of whether or not the mother is working; and (b) Belgium and France, where female employment rates are traditionally higher than in most other European countries, and the state offers all-day care services even for preschool-age children. Another model was the Eastern European model, which was also used in East Germany, where female employment was considered a civic duty, and the state provided a comprehensive care infrastructure to ease the burden of childrearing for employees.

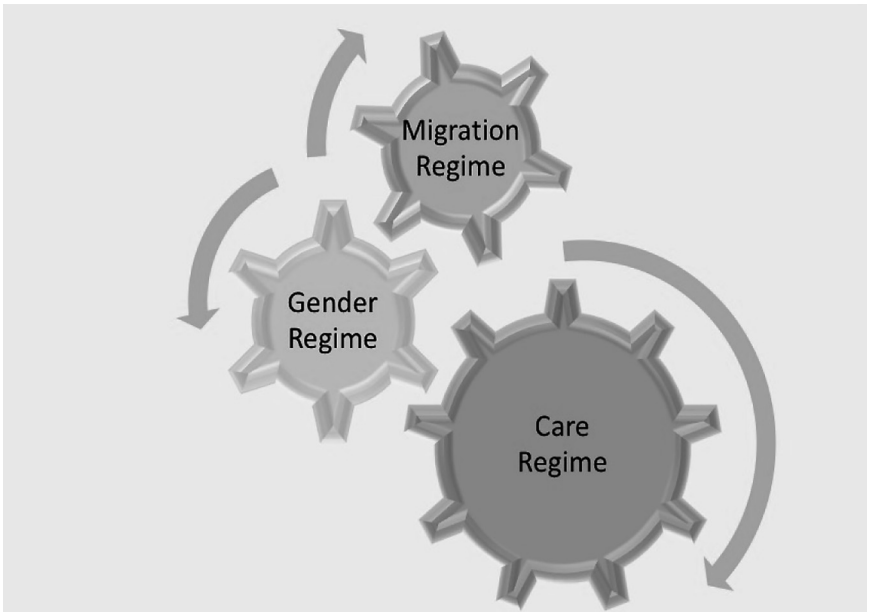

Figure 4.1 Three types of regimes
Source: Own research, HL

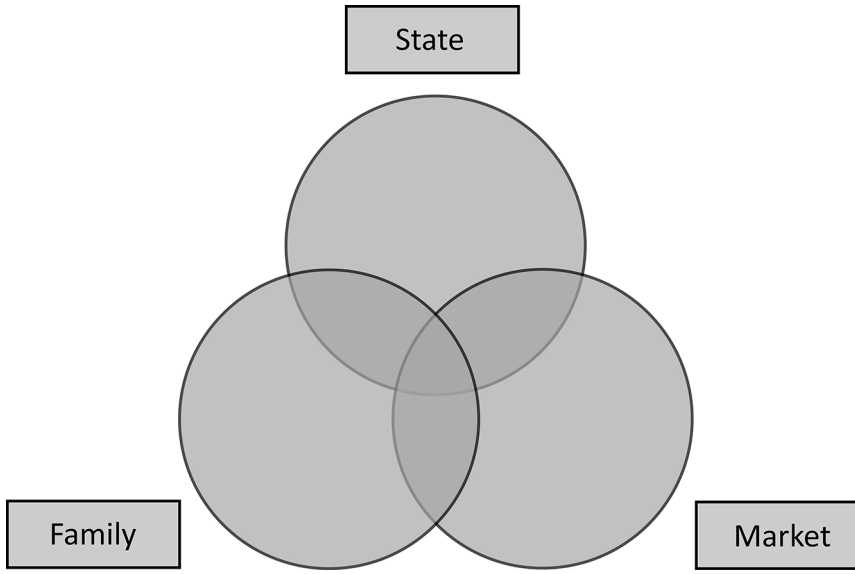

Figure 4.2 Relationship of the state, the family, and the market
Source: Own research, HL

In the following section, I will discuss the German care system to illustrate an ideal type of interplay among the three macro-level regimes (see also Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011a).

The German care system

In many cases, the German care system cannot offer elderly patients who need care and their families reasonably practical solutions and must rely heavily on foreign care workers instead (Neuhaus et al. 2009; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2010). The German care system, when viewed from an analytical perspective, is based on obsolete premises, for example, that families (and female family members in particular) will care for elderly family members, that family members live close by, and that providing such care will take only a couple of hours each day. Official around-the-clock care by professional mobile caregivers is very expensive, and the idea of moving to a retirement home as the only financially viable alternative is not considered acceptable by those affected. Some of those in need require 24-hour live-in care, but all a German care provider can offer in such cases is an emergency house-call service. The care regime of the German welfare state has been referred to in the relevant research as conservative-corporatist (Esping-Andersen 1990) and "familialist" (Backes 2008: 20) and is similar to the care regimes in Southern European countries and Austria. Some 70 percent of

those in need of care receive care at home; in these cases, most of the care is provided by family members (70 percent) or by family members and professional care service providers (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013a). In the early 1990s, long-term care insurance was introduced in Germany to fund care services through an insurance system rather than through taxation. However, this neoliberal legislation does not provide sufficient protection against the financial risks posed by dependence on long-term care, so people are forced to buy private insurance in addition to the state care insurance. Family members who care for relatives at home receive transfer payments from the state (*Pflegegeld*, or a "carer's allowance"), whereas family members who would otherwise be supported by private professional care providers are now paid directly by the state ("cash for care"), so that they can buy their own care. However, the allowance for 24-hour live-in care that the state provides is far too low to cover the cost of appropriate care arrangements by a professional care provider, with up to only one third of the actual cost being reimbursed. Moreover, in arrangements provided by commercial care services, care workers rotate all the time. It would appear, then, that insufficient financial support for commercial care service and the unchecked direct transfer payments to families are the main reasons why an increasing number of female migrant live-in caregivers are employed in private households (van Hooren 2008). This shows that the German care system tacitly acknowledges that it must rely on informal work performed by migrants and that this is a consequence of the specific culture, policy, funding scheme, and infrastructure of care in Germany (see Figure 4.3).

Nevertheless, German policymakers remain ambivalent about employing migrant care workers. In an attempt to find "domestic" solutions to the dramatic caregiver shortage, and to counteract undesirable, irregular migration, some have even proposed that the long-term unemployed should be recruited to provide eldercare (Dowideit 2010)—a suggestion that has not found much support. Meanwhile, familialist care policies are being pursued through a variety of measures, such as the Family Care Leave Act of 2011 (*Familienpflegezeitgesetz*), which supports employees who are caring for relatives at home in balancing work and family. One might say, therefore, that the official stance on care work provided by migrants is that of a *silent accomplice*: officially, the state combats the undocumented migration often found in this area, but when it comes to caring for the elderly by female migrants in private households, there is a tendency for state officials and public servants to remain silent. As a consequence of these developments, the cheap and flexible caregivers have become a major element of the German care regime, to the point where the system would simply collapse without the "angels" from Eastern Europe. The key role Eastern European migrants play in this regard, though not officially acknowledged, features prominently in the public discourse about care in Germany. A study by Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2010) of how migration and care were covered by the German media

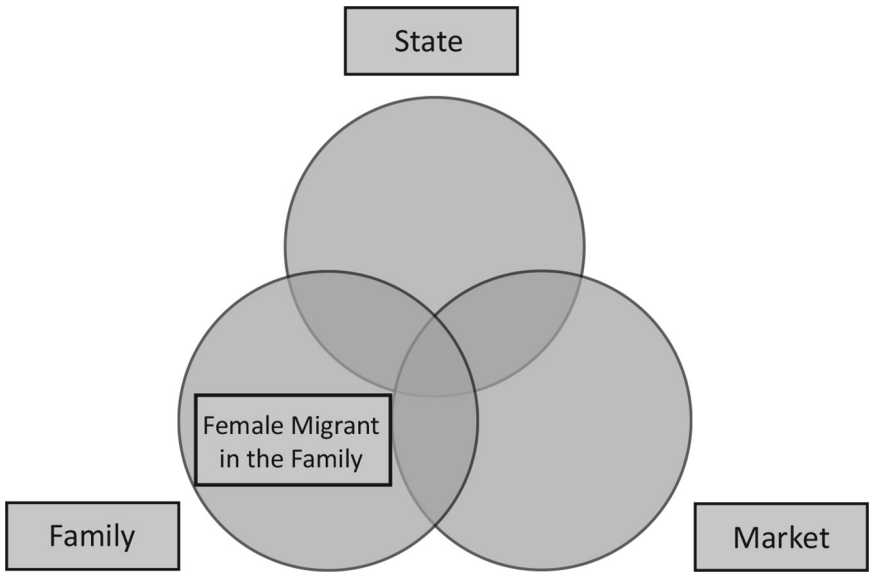

Figure 4.3 Female migrant in the family
Source: Own research, HL

between 1997 and 2008 found that there was indeed a lively debate about the care worker shortage in eldercare and that the role of migrant care workers was actually presented in a positive light. Generally speaking, one of the things that people whose opinions were published in the media were particularly critical of was the disparity between the services and facilities offered by the healthcare system and people's actual needs.

Finally, the German care system reflects major shifts and contradictions that have been emerging at the intersections of gender, care/the welfare state, and migration regimes. Far from being coordinated with one another, these regimes reveal fault lines caused by transformations within the gender regime, such as when adult women are encouraged to work full-time while the familialist care regimes continue to rely on them to care for family members, and the resulting demand for a care worker in the home must then be met through the migration regime.

4.6 Conclusion: the redistribution of social inequality

Care, and all that it entails, is one of the most important issues of the 21st century, not only because of the aging populations of the industrial and post-industrial countries and the resulting demand for eldercare, but also because many welfare states are pushing for further neoliberal policy shifts from

institutional care that is guaranteed by the state toward a cash-for-care model for private households. This goes along with a commercialization of care in every area of life, including even surrogate motherhood (see, e.g., Zippi Brand Frank's documentary "Google Baby"). It is safe to say that private households will come to play an increasingly important role as *employers* in the foreseeable future, because a growing proportion of those with care responsibilities (e.g., parents of small children, or children of elderly parents in need of care) will be unlikely to give up their jobs even temporarily and will instead use some of their own income or transfer payments from the state, or a combination of the two, to hire a migrant as a live-in care worker to whom they can outsource or delegate care responsibilities. The commodification and privatization of care, along with the extension of the care market, contribute to existing social inequalities among recipients of care—along the prevalent income hierarchies (see Lutz 2017a).

"The private household is the employment sector with the largest proportion of unprotected employment relationships," the authors of the Seventh Family Report noted as long ago as 2006 (BFSFJ 2006: 159). Even so, the state has not yet addressed the question of how these unprotected and dangerous employment relations might be improved. For the population at large this means that people will be increasingly likely to become private employers at some point in their lives. This reveals the role of the state as a silent accomplice—in the tacit approval of precarious, and in many cases undocumented, employment relationships. Jacqueline Andall (2003: 39) notes that a new "service caste" system is being established in Europe, and Arlie Hochschild (2003) even believes that the phenomenon of migrant care and domestic work is only the beginning of a second Copernican Revolution that will ultimately result in a major global skew in the distribution of care work.

Whether we can compare the phenomenon of *transnational services* to the servant society of the 19th and 20th centuries is a question to which there is no clear-cut answer. What we do know at this point is that we are observing the emergence of new, globalized social inequalities, but, in the context of a democratic society suffused with egalitarian rhetoric, the well-known traditional metaphors and concepts may no longer be appropriate for describing these inequalities. However, the late capitalism of the 21st century is conducive to the development of an information and service society in which new hierarchies are emerging along with the power to control people, capital, and technologies. For example, a number of countries have been making efforts to advance technological rationalization as an alternative to the recruitment of migrants in the area of care (Aulenbacher and Dammayr 2014). In which direction this will go—that is, whether more female migrant care workers will be "imported" or whether the use of information technology will increase—will depend on a variety of factors, including how the political discourses and public debates about this issue are going to develop in the near future. Research that takes this issue seriously cannot ignore the interplay among the

regimes of gender, care, and migration. The migrants who are working in this area will always feel ambivalent about the phenomenon of care work, because although this segment of the labor market is fairly easy to access, only a small proportion of care workers will ever be able to use this work area as a stepping stone to employment that is appropriate to their qualifications and to leave it for a job that pays better. In addition, simultaneously living in two households causes problems even the new technologies cannot solve, because these technologies would require a stable coordination of care in those two households.

The example of migrant care workers shows how inequality is currently being redistributed on a transnational scale in various ways, such as in the form of emotional inequality or a loss of the right to a family life in which family members are not separated. Social positions and social mobility have both a positive and a negative side (Lutz 2018a). As we have seen in the previous chapter, migration, mobility, and space serve as a resource that might also be regarded as social capital, because it can create additional sources of income that allow migrants to maintain, or achieve in the first place, a better social-class position in their countries of origin. On the other hand, this loss of boundaries goes along with a lower position in the social hierarchy of the country of destination, which in turn leads to a loss of respect and recognition—with the result that cultural capital acquired in the country of origin (education and qualifications) is destroyed, whereas what is referred to as gender capital becomes the key to employment.

Notes

1 Alison Jaggar and William McBride (1989) regard this as a "male ideology."
2 The exception is investments in childcare services.
3 At the same time, female migrants also work in state and private care institutions.
4 This case study was taken from a study entitled "Landscapes of Care-Drain: Care Provision and Care Chains from the Ukraine to Poland and from Poland to Germany" (2007–10), which was funded by the German Research Foundation.

Chapter 5

The changing face of citizenship

From the national model to the transnational and intersectional approaches

5.1 Key dimensions of citizenship

The classical theories of citizenship have undergone significant transformations since the early 1990s. The erosion of the national citizenship model in the context of globalization and transnationalization processes has received particular attention in the theoretical debates that have emerged since the collapse of the bipolar world order. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the most recent developments in the field of migration-sensitive and gender-sensitive citizenship studies. What all of these approaches have in common is that they allow us to reflect not only on processes of citizenship deterritorialization and fragmentation but also on various current forms of symbolic struggles over belonging and membership.

Recent citizenship theories build on a conceptualization developed by the British sociologist Thomas Marshall (1950), who made substantial contributions to the *sociological* study of political participation and membership.[1] Following Marshall, many of the more recent approaches have abandoned the traditional, strictly legal conception of citizenship and instead analyze relationships between individuals or collectives and the political community when addressing questions of (political) participation and belonging(s) (e.g., Bauböck 1994; Leydet 2014; Turner and Isin 2007; Soysal 1994). Recent approaches have considered several dimensions of citizenship.

The first of these dimensions is the dimension of the *rights and obligations* associated with membership. Obligations include military service and various forms of political participation. As for rights, three types are distinguished: (a) civil and political rights, which provide for civil liberties and participation in the political sphere; (b) economic rights, which govern access to the labor markets; and (c) social rights, which ensure access to the welfare state (Carmel and Paul 2013).

The second dimension of citizenship is the *legitimization basis of citizenship*, which frames the rights and obligations of every individual actor and influences identity formation in the context of membership. Rhetoric of legitimization (e.g., the rhetoric of national identities) contributes to the

establishment of individual and collective relationships between citizens and the political community (Soysal 1994).

The third dimension is the *participatory dimension*, which refers to the specific ways in which citizens exert their rights and perform their duties (Mackert 2006). Analysis of this dimension is rooted in the traditional civic-republican political philosophy of (national) citizenship, according to which citizens' public practices and political participation play a particularly important role in the reproduction of the political community (Rousseau 1994 [1762]).

The *territorial dimension* of citizenship should be mentioned here as well, because it refers to the political-territorial reach of the rights and obligations associated with membership (e.g., the territory of a city state, nation state, the EU).

While the term "nationality" merely refers to political membership in a nation state (including an individual's legal status),[2] the concept of citizenship has a more general scope, because it refers to individuals' membership in a political (and social) community. Such communities exist in historically specific forms—for example, in the form of the ancient Greek city state, the medieval city, the modern nation state, or the European Union.

The approaches that will be introduced in this chapter reflect the current citizenship debates in the areas of transnational migration and feminist studies. The first part (Section 5.2) introduces approaches to citizenship that address *processes of deterritorialization of citizenship*, which play an important role, particularly in the context of migration (Soysal 1994; Kivisto and Faist 2007). The main thrust of these approaches is to identify new forms of membership whose reach is no longer limited by the territorial boundaries of nation states. Transnationally oriented concepts such as *postnational citizenship* (Soysal 1994) and *multiple citizenship* (Kivisto and Faist 2007) focus on examining how (political) belonging and participation are organized in a globalized world in which the importance of nation state borders itself has become a site of struggle. In addition, the classical national model of citizenship has been criticized from the perspective of postcolonial theory (Isin 2002, 2015). *Criticism of orientalism* in classical citizenship research has drawn attention to the fact that the mainstream still adheres to Max Weber's concept of citizenship as a rational, genuinely European form of membership without properly considering alternative forms of citizenship.

The second part of this chapter (Sections 5.3 and 5.4) introduces recent approaches to citizenship in feminist and intersectional theory. These concepts challenge the rhetoric of national identity inscribed in the national citizenship model and stress that there are a variety of different constructions of identity and belonging (see Oleksy et al. 2011). For example, as early as 1989, in their book *Woman–Nation–State*, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias analyzed ways in which national belongings are gendered; Eleonore Kofman (2000b) identified processes of gendering of various different national models of

citizenship; and intersectional approaches have emphasized the complexity of the social production of belonging, which underlies the *white androcentrism* of the national citizenship identity rhetoric (see Yuval-Davis 2011a, 2011b). These approaches also emphasize that feminist and anti-racist movements, along with the institutionalization of anti-discrimination programs, have challenged the legitimacy of the national citizenship model (see Yuval-Davis 2011a).

What all of these approaches—a) the trasnationally oriented and the post-colonial citizenship research and b) the feminist and intersectional approaches to citizenship—have in common is that they cast doubt on the universality of the national model of membership.

5.2 Transnationally oriented citizenship studies: citizenship in the process of deterritorialization

This section provides an overview of a number of concepts and theories of citizenship that focus on processes of membership deterritorizalization and fragmentation—the concept of *postnational citizenship, multiple citizenship approach* (which includes the concepts of *dual and nested citizenship*), and *postcolonial criticism* of classical citizenship research. The general consensus of these concepts and theories is that the classical, national model of citizenship no longer has an epistemological privilege in analyses of membership (Bauböck 1994, 2017). A key feature of the national model is that rights and obligations associated with membership are clearly delineated by the territorial boundaries of nation states, and that they correspond to the rhetoric of national identity (see, e.g., Bendix 1964). These and other similar premises dominated the relevant research in sociology and political science until the early 1990s, but they have very little explanatory potential when it comes to analyzing more recent forms of political membership that are constituted in the context of cross-border migration and transnationalization (see Shinozaki 2015).

5.2.1 Postnational citizenship

As noted above, recent academic debates have cast doubt on the analytical strength of the national citizenship model, according to which the provision of rights and obligations is bound exclusively to the territory of a particular nation state (Bauböck 1994; Soysal 1994; Mackert 1999). In this regard, cross-border migration has been identified as one of the important processes that contribute to the deterritorialization of rights, which is reflected in a disassociation of rights from the articulations of identity, and from the territorial reach of those rights. For example, as is commonly known, (long-term) immigrant residents in European countries may apply for certain welfare benefits in the receiving welfare states, and they may vote in some types of local elections in the receiving country while at the same time having the right to vote in the national elections of their sending countries (Soysal 2001).

This process of "decoupling" of rights and obligations from the national identity rhetoric and from the territorial boundaries of nation states is referred to as *postnational citizenship*. This widely discussed concept was developed by the British political scientist Yasemin Soysal (1994), who analyzed the fundamental transformation of the national citizenship model in the context of postwar immigration to Western European countries. Soysal's main claim is that the national model of citizenship has been eroding since the Second World War, which is why scholarly debates would benefit from a new, postnational approach to citizenship. She traces this process of erosion by focusing on three dimensions of citizenship: the *territorial dimension*, the *dimension of rights and obligations*, and the *dimension of legitimization*.

According to the *national model of citizenship* (which is critically reflected by Soysal), there are three connected aspects—i) the provision of rights and obligations to individuals (with the nation state as the main responsible actor); ii) the anchoring of these rights in a rhetoric of national belonging; and iii) the territorial reach of rights, which is limited to the territory of the nation state that assigns them. This connection is believed to correspond to an ideal-typical state in which all citizens of a nation state have equal rights and duties (Soysal 1994; see also Mackert 1999). As a result, the territorially bound population is included in the political community by being given certain rights and privileges, whereas all noncitizens continue to be excluded from it. This principle of (imagined) equality is supported by a rhetoric of national identity that employs one, or both, of two types of identity projects. The prevalent national rhetoric of identity in countries such as Germany is an ethnocultural one (*ethnic citizenship*), which is based on the principle of "right of blood" (*jus sanguinis*) and on a shared "leading culture" (*Leitkultur*). Identity projects such as this define a political community on the basis of belonging to a particularistic identity. According to this identity project, a state is brought about by a nation. The prevalent national identity rhetoric in countries such as France, on the other hand, is a civic-republican one (*civic citizenship*), which is related to the *jus soli* principle of birthright. It defines political belonging as a result of rights being exercised, of duties being performed (*participation*), and of loyalty to the political order. In contrast to ethnocultural national identity, the rhetoric of civic citizenship holds that a nation is brought about by a state. The idea of multiculturalism might be regarded as another strategy for legitimizing national identity, in that the premises of multiculturalism provide for minorities' relative cultural autonomy under the continued dominance of the "majority society," particularly in countries such as the United Kingdom and Canada (Taylor 1994; Kymlicka 1995).

According to Soysal, four historical conditions contributed to the erosion of the national citizenship model in the second half of the 20th century. One was the internationalization of the labor markets, which resulted in increased, continuous labor migration, not only from countries of the Global South to

countries of the Global North, but also in other, unexpected directions, "with new combinations that are undermining political and geographical distances and rationalities (for example, Vietnamese in Romania, Chinese in Moscow, Nigerians in Turkey, Turks in Israel, etc.)" (Soysal 2001: 66). Second, decolonization processes occurred during the postwar era that in many cases contributed to the formation of new states that claimed universal rights for themselves and promoted global equality discourses that had emerged during their struggle for decolonization. Third, in the early 21st century, cross-border, transnational, and supranational forms of governance that coincided with a steady loss of national sovereignty became increasingly important, such as the development of the European Union and other supranational formations and the emergence of "postnational" forms of governance such as the UN and UNESCO. Fourth, these processes went hand in hand with increasing dominance of globalized human rights discourses and semantics that allowed for rights to be given to individual actors on the basis of international agreements and treaties (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948), and that did and continue to do so regardless of any national regulations. According to Soysal (2001: 68), the interplay of these four processes has challenged the "natural" citizens–aliens dichotomy. As a result, cross-border institutions and discourses have played an increasingly important role in the transformation of linkages among key dimensions of citizenship (e.g., rights and obligations, the rhetoric of legitimization, and the territorial reach of rights).

A key characteristic of postnational citizenship is the detachment of relevant rights and obligations from the territorial "containers" of national societies—"the [territorial] boundaries of postnationalist citizenship are fluid" (Soysal 2001: 69), meaning that access to rights and duties is no longer bound exclusively to the territory of one nation state. Such deterritorialization processes may coincide with a multiplication of membership. Increases in the numbers of individuals with dual citizenship might be interpreted as an indicator of such multiplication processes.[3] Multiple membership may also take other forms; to return to the example above, many immigrant residents in European states may be granted access to political (Lafleur 2013), social (Levitt et al. 2015), or economic rights (Ong 1999) in more than one state, usually in both the migration-sending and the migration-receiving states.

As a result of the (potential) multiplication of membership, such rights and duties may contribute to more equality for some categories of migrants and to more inequality for others. To give an example from the context of the European Union, the rights of long-term migrants (*permanent residents*) from non-EU countries are being made increasingly congruent with those of (immobile) EU citizens, and various rulings of the European Court of Justice have helped to improve the economic and social rights of those of long-term immigrants.[4] Whereas some groups, such as (naturalized) citizens and long-term migrants, are privileged by the (immigration) countries, other groups of

mobile individuals, such as temporary migrants and asylum seekers, are disadvantaged by residency and other related restrictions that result from the legal status assigned to them (e.g., temporary/permanent residence with/without a work permit) (on the situation in the EU, see Carmel and Paul 2013). The postnational citizenship approach challenges the normative idea of equal access to the rights and obligations for all that was postulated by the national model of citizenship.

Another important element of the postnational citizenship approach is its emphasis on an identity rhetoric that relates to globalized human rights, which provides the foundations for the legitimization of the deterritorialization of rights and privileges, in that it rests on the idea of the universality of human dignity. At the same time, as Soysal notes, there is a major contradiction inherent in the globalized identity rhetoric: by granting everyone universal status, the human rights undermine the legitimacy of nation states; at the same time, however, the political right to self-determination is one of the universal human rights, which makes the idea of national sovereignty an element of the globalized human rights discourse. This idea is legitimized and maintained by postnational (UN, UNESCO) and supranational (EU) political bodies.

It should be noted that the postnational citizenship approach has been a subject of intense debates in the last few years (see, e.g., Koopmans 2012). One of the main criticisms that has been leveled at it is that it is based on the premise that national institutions are increasingly being replaced by supranational or postnational constructs—an assumption that was considered to be problematic. However, Soysal's main argument is not that nation states are disappearing as such, but that national membership has been undergoing processes of fundamental transformation. Unlike the national model of citizenship, which describes social reality from the perspective of immobile populations, the postnational approach makes it possible to examine the substantial changes that have been occurring in the institutional frameworks that provide rights and obligations. It also allows scholars to pay attention to a variety of strategies mobile individuals use to get access to rights and duties across the boundaries of nation states. Rather than claiming epistemological privilege for itself, this approach identifies major changes in the formation of membership beyond the frameworks of the national containers of societies.

5.2.2 Multiple citizenship: the concepts of dual and nested citizenship

Authors such as Rainer Bauböck (1994), Seyla Benhabib (2004), and Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist (2007) have also noted that the national model of citizenship has been eroding. Benhabib, a prominent political philosopher, describes this change as follows:

> The modern nation-state system has regulated membership in terms of one principal category: national citizenship. We have entered an era when state sovereignty has been frayed and the institution of national citizenship has been disaggregated or unbundled into diverse elements. New modalities of membership have emerged, with the result that the boundaries of the political community, as defined by the nation-state system, are no longer adequate to regulate membership.
>
> (Benhabib 2004: 1)

The political sociologists Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist argue that the recent globalization and transnationalization discourses have been changing the role of the nation state by facilitating "new modes and loci of belonging that transcend existing political borders" (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 102). According to these authors, the transformation of the national citizenship model manifests itself in two general trends: an increase in the number and importance of dual citizenships and the emergence of "*nested membership*," which is particularly relevant to the European Union. Both these types of membership—dual and nested membership—can be viewed as forms of *multiple citizenship* (Meehan 1993).

Dual citizenship

The phenomenon of dual citizenship casts doubt on the notion that citizenship can—and should—be granted only by one single sovereign nation state. As a result of (transnational) migration, "citizens in border-crossing social spaces" develop "multiple ties and loyalties" that contradict the assumption of nation states' primacy when it comes to defining membership, because "dual citizenship […] calls into question any one state's right to claim a monopoly on the membership of its citizenry" (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 103–104).

In some countries, dual citizenship has been a reality for many years, and whether and to what extent individuals may acquire or retain it will depend on the laws of their and their parents' countries of birth. A principle of citizenship law that plays an important role in this regard is *jus soli*, commonly referred to as "birthplace citizenship," which confers the right to citizenship of a given state on everyone who is born in that state's territory. In contrast, the principle of *jus sanguinis* (commonly known as the "right of blood") makes it possible for a child at birth to acquire the citizenship of one or both parents or that of another blood relative living in the country in which that child is born. The nationality of a country may also be conferred through a married partner or after having resided in that country for a number of years. These principles and conditions cannot be considered separately. This means that migration may eventually result in dual citizenship for mobile individuals under the conditions of both *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* (Martin 2003):

"Immigrant-receiving nations tend to favor *jus soli*, as this best reflects the needs of both the nation and the settlers themselves. On the other hand, emigrant-sending nations—including most European nations historically—tend to favor *jus sanguinis*" (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 106).

For a long time, dual citizenship was met with much public criticism and disapproval, because it was not clear how countries should treat individuals with dual citizenship (Koslowski 2003). Generally speaking, hegemonic discourses also constructed individuals with dual citizenship as being disloyal, because they could not be identified as belonging exclusively to one single nation. Laws and regulations that prohibit dual citizenship have a long history (Spiro 2002). In the early 20th century, many nation states went by the rule "that naturalized individuals who left the country in which they naturalized and returned permanently to their homeland lost their naturalized citizenship" (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 110), and the Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws, passed during the League of Nations Codification Conference in The Hague in 1930, provided that every individual should have the citizenship of one and only one country. However, when no general agreement could be reached on this point among the countries that participated in that conference, individual countries began to pursue different agendas. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted in 1979, eased or lifted a number of restrictions on dual citizenship—for example, women who married a "foreigner" no longer necessarily lost their original citizenship. Beginning in the 1990s, opposition to dual citizenship gradually waned, and between 1996 and 2000, the number of countries that allowed dual citizenship grew from 40 to 93, which resulted in an increase in the number of individuals with dual citizenship.

According to Kivisto and Faist (2007: 107), a number of conditions are conducive to an increase in the number of dual citizenships (see also Legomsky 2003). Over the last 30 years, the effects of transnational migration, which goes hand in hand with the maintenance of ties among kin in the migration-sending and the migration-receiving countries, has led to an increasing level of acceptance of dual citizenship. In addition, changing gender relations, along with relevant gender equality laws, have resulted in the recognition of the dual citizenship of married women. In many countries during the 18th and 19th centuries, married women had to obtain the citizenship of their husbands to avoid dual citizenship. After the liberalization of these laws, it was possible for children of binational families to have as many as three nationalities if they were born in a country that followed the principle of *jus soli*. One reason many emigration countries also support dual citizenship is that they benefit from this citizenship status in many ways, including economically—namely, in the form of migrants' remittances to their home countries. Another factor that played a role in these developments was the dissolution of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, which

led to an increase in the number of individuals with dual citizenship, because many of those who previously were Soviets or Yugoslavs were now living in newly established countries without ever having left the territory of their former country.

The phenomenon of dual citizenship indicates that the once closely connected and interrelated dimensions of the national model of citizenship have been undergoing processes of "decoupling," and that the territorial dimension and the dimension of rights and obligations have been drifting apart: individuals with dual citizenship are subject to the rights and duties of two or more countries, so their rights are not restricted to the territory of one single nation state. In addition, the very fact that dual citizenship exists calls into question the semantics of national identity, because the border-crossing, transnational loyalties of individuals with dual citizenship deviate from the idea of nation state-centered identity.

Nested citizenship

Whereas dual citizenship is potentially important for the countries of both the Global North and the Global South, the research on nested citizenship is primarily important for understanding membership formation within the European Union. This type of multiple citizenship indicates that rights and obligation can be conferred on several different sociospatial scales, from the local to the national to the supranational level. In addition, the relevant levels on which this occurs may be tied to specific loyalties and semantics of identity. Kivisto and Faist (2007) define nested citizenship as "a form of multiple citizenship, but one in which multiple citizenship connotes full membership on multiple governance levels […]. The notion of nested citizenship presumes that the different levels of citizenship are interconnected, rather than operating autonomously" (p. 122).

According to these authors, the concept of nested citizenship is also highly relevant for analyzing membership patterns within the European Union, and not only because the rhetoric of human rights has become the main basis for the legitimization of supranational EU citizenship. In the wake of the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, the EU institutionalized the freedom of movement for workers, the principle of equal treatment of mobile Europeans in the receiving countries' labor markets, and equal access to welfare for all mobile EU citizens (Kogan et al. 2008). In contrast to the postnational citizenship approach, which focuses on global and transnational institutional settings for the provision of rights, the concept of nested citizenship is more concerned with the interactions between the supranational and national scales of citizenship governance. One example of such multiscalar governance processes are the regulations on the portability of social rights (particularly Regulations 883/2004 and 987/2009), which make it possible for mobile EU citizens to transfer their social security entitlements in the areas of unemployment

benefits, healthcare, family benefits, and pensions from the sending to the receiving EU member state (and back), and which ensure that entitlements accumulated before the time of migration are not lost (see Moriarty et al. 2016).[5]

Kivisto and Faist (2007) note that, on the whole, the nation states have not completely been replaced by supranational political structures, but that national belonging is becoming less and less important, with the result that "the structural basis of national citizenship continues to be undermined" (pp. 123, 212). However, what is not yet clear is what identity rhetoric legitimizes nested citizenship. Whereas Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (2004) stress the fundamental role of the cosmopolitan discourse, Kivisto and Faist emphasize that the construction of European belonging is still in its early stages and has not yet established itself to a sufficient degree.

The conceptual considerations on which the concepts of "postnational" and "multiple citizenship" (including its variants "dual" and "nested citizenship") are based might be regarded as being complementary. Both approaches are closely related to the forms and practices of transnational migration introduced in Chapters 1 to 4, in that they reflect the effects of these forms and practices on the institutional structures of citizenship.

5.2.3 Questioning Orientalism in citizenship research

Like the postnational and multiple citizenship theories, postcolonial approaches (Isin 2002, 2015)[6] call into question the universalizing claims of the national citizenship model. The aim of postcolonial criticism is to reveal and overcome *Orientalist assumptions* in classical citizenship research. According to the political scientist Engin Isin, the national model of citizenship is based on specifically "Western" foundations: "Orientalism mobilized images of citizenship as a unique occidental invention that oriental cultures lacked and of the citizen as a virtuous and rational being without kinship ties" (Isin 2002: 117). Another fundamental element of the national citizenship model, according to Isin, is *synoecism*, a perspective that regards the polity as a result of the entanglement of territorial and political aspects: "Synoecism generated images of citizenship as fraternity, equality, liberty, expressing a unified and harmonious polity, and of the citizen as a secular and universal being without tribal loyalties" (Isin 2002: 117).

Taking a closer look at some of the works of the classical sociologist Max Weber (1917, 1918, 1922, 2011 [1924]) from the perspective of postcolonial theory is a good way to demonstrate just how powerful Orientalist assumptions have been. Weber's writings on the sociology of religion and analysis of non-Western societies were the subject of broad scientific debates and provided the foundations for Orientalist and synoecist analyses of (national) citizenship. In his studies, Weber presented "the West" as more progressive than "the Orient," but he did so without considering the role of imperialism

in colonization processes and the development of non-Western societies, and he emphasized the primacy of religion in the organization of social orders, which in turn supported his Orientalist reasoning.

According to Weber, the emergence of Occidental cities was a major aspect of the development of citizenship as a form of political membership:

> Not every "city" in the economic sense, nor every garrison whose inhabitants had a special status in the political-administrative sense, has in the past constituted a "commune" (*Gemeinde*). The city-commune in the full meaning of the word appeared as a mass phenomenon only in the Occident. […] To develop into a city-commune, a settlement had to be of the non-agricultural-commercial type, at least to a relative extent, and to be equipped with the following features: 1. a fortification; 2. a market; 3. its own court of law and, at least in part, autonomous law; 4. an associational structure (*Verbandscharakter*); and, connected therewith, 5. at least partial autonomy and autocephaly, which includes administration by authorities in whose appointment the burghers could in some form participate.
>
> (Weber 1922: 1226, transl., AA)

Weber notes that although developments such as these also existed in China, Japan, the Middle East, and Egypt, it was only in "the West" that all the conditions necessary for the development of a capitalist system were met to a sufficient degree, whereas those in non-Western societies who lived in the cities were unable to become independent and were excluded from political participation, which is why the majority remained rooted in more rural structures. According to Weber, "in any case, the normal state of affairs [in the non-Western cities] was such that only the communes [i.e., kinship-based structures] existed, and perhaps the professional associations alongside them, but not the community of city burghers as such" (Weber 1922: 526, transl., AA). Weber further notes that because cities as understood in this sense existed only in the West, it could only be in the West that the idea of a community of burghers (*Bürgertum*) as a form of political membership could develop. What Weber does not seem to realize, however, is that "tribal structures" existed in the West as early as Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Instead, Weber argues that political membership has nothing to do with belonging to a specific (ethnic or kinship) group, but rather with the fact that "at this point of social life the individual, for once, is not as he is everywhere else, considered in terms of the particular professional and family position he occupies, nor in relation of differences of material and social situation, but purely and simply as citizen" (Weber 1917: 22, transl., AA).

Descriptions such as the above are problematic today for at least two reasons. The first is that border-crossing processes of globalization and transnationalization call into question the correspondence between the territorial

dimension of citizenship and the dimension of the rights and obligations. In fact, these dimensions are currently drifting apart, which in turn calls into question the idea of synoecism—that is, the idea of the convergence of the modes of territorial and political governance. The second reason is that we observe processes of an increasing multiplication of identity constructions, which cast doubt on the primacy of a national rhetoric of legitimization of citizenship. What we see is "a process of fragmentation through which various group identities have been formed and discourses through which 'difference' has become a dominant strategy" in symbolic struggles over recognition (Isin 2002: 122). However, this articulation of identities is often essentialized in political debates and struggles.

Given these debates, some proponents of postcolonial theories (e.g., Isin 2015; De Genova 2016) argue that new theories of citizenship should consider two premises. First, they should be able to reflect the sheer multitude of possible identity constructions: "The question facing us today […] is not whether to recognize different ethnic identities or to protect 'nature' or to enable access to cultural capital or to eliminate discrimination against women and gays or to democratize computer-mediated communications, but how to do them all at the same time" (Isin 2002: 124). The second premise is that not only should new approaches to the study of citizenship avoid Orientalist perspectives, but they should also consider the "hermeneutic difference" (p. 124) between different identity positions within current struggles for political participation.

5.3 Challenging "white androcentrism": feminist and gender approaches to citizenship research

How citizenship approaches might consider different constructions of identity and belonging, and how specific forms of membership privilege specific forms of belonging, are questions that have been addressed by proponents of feminist and intersectional theories[7] of citizenship. Their key ideas will be introduced in this section.

5.3.1 The gendering of citizenship: findings from feminist migration research

Because citizenship research has considered the national citizenship model for many decades as being "universal" (for criticism, see Mackert 2006), it has failed to take into account its androcentric origins. Moreover, while citizenship research has acknowledged the fact that women in Europe were excluded from citizenship until the early 20th century (Mackert 2006), little research had been done until very recently to analyze processes of gendering of citizenship (Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky 2016).

Consequently, recent studies that criticize the national citizenship model analyze the way male dominance and female subordination are inscribed into

institutional structures, and how such structures provide or prevent access to political, economic, and social rights (see, e.g., Okin 1998; Kofman 2000b). The origins of this androcentric pattern, which defines women as mere "dependents" of male citizens and as beneficiaries of "derived rights," can be found in the patriarchal European regimes of the 19th century. At that time, only men were able to confer citizenship on their wife and children, with the result that women who married a foreigner became foreigners themselves, or even stateless (Kofman 2000b: 77).

The incorporation of heterosexual androcentrism is also reflected in the fact that the dichotomy of public sphere and private sphere is inscribed into the legitimizations of the national citizenship model:

> […] the public/political sphere [is regarded] as the realm of liberty and equality: it is there that free, male citizens engage with their peers and deliberate over the common good, deciding what is just or unjust […]. The political space must be protected from the private sphere, defined as the domain of necessity and inequality, where the material reproduction of the polis is secured. Women, associated with the "natural world" of the reproduction, are denied citizenship and relegated to the household.
>
> (Leydet 2014)

As early as the 1970s, feminist theorists revealed that the dichotomy of "public" and "private" is the result of a division of societal life into a male-dominated and a domestic-cum-female sphere (see, e.g., Okin 1992, 1998; Lister 1993, see also Chapter 1 in this book). Not only is this division conducive to patriarchal subordination of women in private households; it also supports the patriarchal structure of the gender relations in society as a whole, which codes the "public sphere" as a decision-making space of heterosexual men. The institution of heterosexual marriage stabilizes the androcentrism of the institution of national citizenship, in that "even under welfare state conditions, marriage defines women as dependents of their husbands, ties and confines them to the domestic sphere, and keeps them in a permanent state of disfranchisement" (Mackert 2006: 112, transl., AA; see also Vogel 1991). Thus, both in its ethnocultural and its civic-republican form, the national identity rhetoric is based on the idea of a binary gender order as the crucial element in the reproduction of a "nation" (Yuval-Davis 2011a). However, the coding of "nation" as a heterosexual construct inevitably leads to the exclusion of sexual minorities and migrant identities from national semantics of legitimization (Richardson 2000; Oleksy et al. 2011). In the wake of the women's movements, women in Western European and other countries received rights that were (formally) equal those of their male counterparts.[8] At the same time, the ways in which political, economic, and social rights are conferred on migrants continue to be inscribed into the patriarchal narratives outlined on p.96. One example of this is the patriarchal *male breadwinner*

model, which is inscribed into regulations on migrant rights. When a married couple from a non-EU country enters a EU member state, in most cases it will be the husband who is automatically regarded as the head of the household (Krzystek 2013). Another example is the political regulation of *family reunifications*: a migrant married woman's legal residence status depends on the legal residence status of her husband. This coupling is problematic because it determines the rights of female migrants by means of a perpetuated patriarchal subordination. Mandatory probationary periods in cases of marriage migration also are evidence of the incorporation of the patriarchal subordination of women in the area of migration regulation. In most countries, when a male citizen marries a female foreigner, the couple must complete a probationary period before the female partner can apply for citizenship in her immigration country. During this period, the woman continues to be dependent on her husband, and in some cases, this dependence continues far beyond the original probationary period (Lutz 1997; Kofman 2000b; Krzystek 2013).

The European feminist debates did not address the situation of female migrants until the mid-1980s (see Chapter 1). The International Organization for Migration (IOM), for example,[9] has pointed out that many public forums do not give migrants the recognition they deserve; the International Labour Organization (ILO) has dedicated many of its efforts to the strengthening of migrant rights; and in 1990, after a decade of lengthy and onerous negotiations, the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was signed. This last-mentioned treaty, which was not ratified until 2003 but nonetheless has been partly successful in combating discrimination against migrants, has been criticized for failing to address the gendered differentiation of the labor markets and the sexual exploitation of women. In many cases, whether female married migrants will be granted certain rights will still depend on the legal status of the "family head"-cum-husband.

5.3.2 Gender-specific narratives in governmental incorporation policies

How and to what extent (transnational) migrants may participate in the social life of their destination countries is determined, in part, by the respective countries' gendered incorporation policies. Many migration scholars rely on terms such as "integration" or "assimilation" when analyzing mobile individuals' access to political, economic, and social life that often have problematic connotations because of the normativity inscribed into the concepts that these terms represent (for criticism, see Amelina 2010). The benefit of the term "incorporation" is that it does not presuppose one particular outcome of interactions between mobile individuals and the "majority society"; rather, it is more open to non-normative empirical analysis of such interactions. Therefore, the political scientist Eleonore Kofman—whose findings will be

discussed further below—regards "incorporation" as "the ways in which migrants and minorities are treated in relation to the wider society and the degree to which the identity of groups is recognized" (Kofman 2000b: 95). With regard to the gendered incorporation of migrants, Kofman distinguishes four ideal-typical patterns of incorporation: the imperial, the ethnic, the republican, and the multiculturalist pattern. Most importantly, Kofman argues that the political regulation of incorporation processes includes gendered narratives that assign a specific role to migrants in the context of incorporation. The following is an overview of three[10] of the above-mentioned patterns—the ethnic, the republican, and the multicultural—with the main focus on the ideal images of female migrants in political incorporation strategies.

The *ethnic pattern of incorporation* can be traced back to the ethnic pattern of citizenship introduced earlier, which defines national belonging as "passed on by descent" (Kofman 2000b: 97; see also Brubaker 1992). Being based on the principle of descent ("right of blood," or *jus sanguinis*), this pattern excludes immigrant minorities from political membership while allowing minorities regarded as ethnically and culturally similar to the native population to participate in political, economic, and social life without any difficulty (e.g., the so-called *Spätaussiedler* [late emigrants]—that is, ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe who moved to Germany after the fall of the Iron Curtain). The ethnic pattern makes it difficult for new minorities to establish ethnic communities of their own and to voice political interests in their destination country. According to Kofman, the ethnic pattern creates obstacles to access to the labor market of an immigration country, particularly for married female migrants, and the aim of such policies of constraining economic participation for (married) migrant women is to prevent immigration through family reunification (Kofman 2000b: 98). In addition, the ethnic pattern defines female migrants as preservers of "ethnic traditions," and their social activities as potential barriers to the incorporation of minorities into the "majority societies."

The *republican pattern of incorporation* is based on a model of citizenship that incorporates newcomers if they accept the political norms of the society into which they migrate (e.g., France). In this pattern, female migrants are regarded as promoters of incorporation processes that may be conducive to a fairly quick adaptation of new minorities. French politics, which is often presented as a perfect example of this pattern, is increasingly making female migrants the focus of attention because it regards them as interfaces between "tradition" (associated with the sending countries) and "modernity" (associated with the receiving country).

The third pattern, the *multicultural pattern of incorporation*, is based on the principle of pluralism, which grants "ethnic groups" "cultural"[11] autonomy on the condition that they adhere to the political norms of the immigration country (Taylor 1994; Kymlicka 1995), and as long as the existence of

minority groups does not challenge the dominance of the "majority society." The idea of multiculturalism goes hand in hand with demands for equal economic and social rights for (immigrant) minorities. Such demands can contribute to the institutionalization of anti-discrimination measures, which in turn can lead to sanctions in cases of noncompliance. Multicultural policies are characterized by a fairly high degree of openness to minority incorporation, which, among other things, allows for public debates about the perpetuation of gender-specific inequalities in the context of (post-)migration incorporation practices. However, owing to the essentialist definition of ethnic groups that is inherent to it, multiculturalist policies are also conducive to societal structures in which the "majority" and the "minorities" in a receiving state continue to live side by side instead of interacting with one another. In addition, feminist critics have stressed that these policies might cause members of minority groups to accept and, thus, perpetuate (potential) patriarchal subordination within their community (see, e.g., Kofman 2000b: 101; Okin 2005), and in many cases, multiculturalist forms of migrant incorporation continue to be characterized by the dominance of (gender) stereotypes of the "white" middle class of the receiving countries.

The above overview identifies a variety of gendered narratives contained in the incorporation policies of receiving states. These narratives play a crucial role in migrant incorporation and naturalization practices. However, it should be noted that citizenship is conferred not only on the basis of migrants' residence status, but also on the basis of their marital status, social class position, country of origin, and many other categorizations attributed to them. Instead of regarding migrants as a single homogeneous group, research should therefore analyze the interplay of a variety of aspects that determine the extent to which male, female and transgender migrants can acquire substantial rights and, eventually, the citizenship of their destination country. The intersectional approaches to citizenship are particularly useful in studying this interplay of heterogeneous aspects.

5.4 "The limits of gendered citizenship": the intersectional perspective in citizenship research

In addressing the national citizenship model, feminist researchers have paid particular attention to the gendered structuring of membership and, by extension, to gender relations. However, recent publications such as *The Limits of Gendered Citizenship* (Oleksy et al. 2011) have pointed out that gender-sensitive citizenship research must consider a variety of "axes of difference," such as "ethnicity"/"race," "class," "sexuality," and "health"/"disability" (see also Caldwell et al. 2009; Stella et al. 2015). The intersectional perspective assumed in recent studies "addresses the problem of analyzing and developing gendered citizenship in isolation from other social dimensions" (Oleksy et al. 2011: 8). One aim of intersectional approaches to

citizenship is to show that (national) rhetoric used to legitimize (modern) citizenship privileges some constructions of belonging while simultaneously excluding others. In addition, intersectional studies take into consideration that minorities that are excluded from membership have increasingly been demanding recognition of a *variety of identity constructions*. Studies of aspects such as "sexual citizenship" (Richardson 2000), "ecological citizenship" (MacGregor 2006), or "indigenous citizenship" (Wiebe 2014) have shown that (protest) activism of "minorities" is becoming increasingly visible—a development that these studies take into account by drawing attention to the *participatory dimension* of political membership. One of the key questions in this regard is how theories of citizenship conceptualize the interplay of universal and particularistic aspects within symbolic struggles over *the citizenship legitimization*.

In the following, the focus will be on the writings of the British sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis, and in particular on her book *The Politics of Belonging* (2011a), to illustrate how citizenship is addressed from the perspective of intersectional theory. The aim of Yuval-Davis' intersectional research is to show exactly how individuals or groups engage in symbolic struggles over the articulation of belonging in the context of (political) membership. This makes citizenship, and *the politics of belonging* related to citizenship, one of the most important political projects of our time. Yuval-Davis' main point in this context is that it is important to differentiate between *belonging* and *politics of belonging*.

Belonging is the result of references being made to "emotional attachment, [to] feeling 'at home' " (Yuval-Davis 2011b: 4). Such references to "feeling at home" may be crucial, but they are also vague and diffuse. Yuval-Davis, citing Ghassan Hage (1997: 103), notes that "home is an on-going project entailing a sense of hope for the future," and following Michael Ignatieff (2001), she describes home as a "safe space" (Yuval-Davis 2011b: 4). According to Yuval-Davis, three aspects play a major role in processes in which belonging is formed: "social locations" (e.g., in the form of social class), "identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings," and "ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging/s" (Yuval-Davis 2011b: 5). This last-mentioned aspect—judging others' belonging(s)—is particularly important because the perspective of an (imagined) group determines how that group—be it right-wing populists or leftist youth groups—perceives and articulates belonging(s). Political "ideologies" also influence the permeability of the boundaries of collectives (p. 6). At the same time, constructions of belonging are naturalized and thus are made a part of everyday practices, with the result that they are no longer noticed or mentioned (Fenster 2004a, 2004b, as cited in Yuval-Davis 2011b: 4). Images of belonging become explicitly articulated and politicized only when groups and collectives feel that their identities are threatened in some way (p. 4).

According to Yuval-Davis, *politics of belonging* can be understood as specific strategies that are used in political struggles and negotiations. But what aspects are relevant to belonging are not specified until after such struggles. Politics of belonging consist of "specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivity/ies which are themselves being constructed in these projects in very specific ways and in very specific boundaries" (pp. 5–6). An example of such articulations are gendered and racialized projects of membership, which emerged after a wave of media reports on the sexual assaults during the 2015/16 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne, Germany (Boulila and Carry 2017). These assaults on women who were identified as non-migrants by perpetrators who were described as "migrants" added to the imagery of dangerous migrant sexuality and led to calls for the deportation of "criminal migrants." Yuval-Davis notes that citizenship is one of the most important political projects in the context of *politics of belonging*. She also emphasizes the important role of nations and nationalism, both of which she regards as phenomena that are independent of states and citizenship because the connection between state and nation "is hegemonic only within specific locations and in specific historical moments" (p. 6). "Nationalist ideologies usually construct people, states, and homelands as inherently and immutably connected" (p. 6).[12] Current migration flows, transnationally organized business corporations, and social movements influence such nationalist political projects to a degree and can challenge nationalist ideologies by means of transnational strategies. However, when national or nationalist constructs of belonging are threatened, the result will likely be a debate about the significance of national or nationalist identities and, consequently, a politicization of that debate (p. 4).

From Yuval-Davis' perspective, the project of nation is a gendered construct. An obvious indicator that supports this assumption, according to the author, is the willingness of men to die and kill for their own "group" as constructed in the heteronormative discourse, whereas women are constructed as "the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation" and as "men's "helpmates," who may or do play roles in the labor market in addition to performing traditionally "female" care work (p. 9). A large proportion of women today are active in the labor markets, so that the care work previously performed by these women is now often performed by migrants. Once these women's dependence on migrants increases in general and in this area in particular, debates about ethnicized and racialized boundaries of the nation take on added urgency (see Chapter 4).[13]

In addition to struggles over the legitimization of belonging and citizenship, Yuval-Davis also addresses the *participatory dimension* of citizenship. From the perspective of intersectional theory, specific (citizenship) practices are of particular interest because of the fundamental changes in the semantics of legitimization, which come in a variety of forms, such as in the form of activities of popular resistance. Examples include indigenous movements that

interpret political membership on the basis of the cosmopolitan human rights discourse, and anti-neoliberal protest movements such as Blockupy that struggle against neoliberalization. Yuval-Davis also proposes to extend the scope of analysis in studying the territorial dimension of political membership, noting that it is crucial to also analyze "the multi-layered structures of people's citizenships that include, in intersectional ways, citizenships of sub-, cross-, and supra-state political communities" (Yuval-Davis 2011b: 6). Given that specific practices of political participation may extend beyond the boundaries of nation states, transnational and border-crossing aspects must be considered and conceptualized as well. Studies concerning such concepts as "postnational citizenship" and "multiple citizenship" have already made some valuable contributions to this particular debate.

According to Yuval-Davis, analysis of membership from the perspective of intersectional theory should include three major elements. The first is that such analysis must consider the socially contested character of belonging because identity rhetorics (incorporated into legitimizations of citizenship) are always temporary projects and, thus, are changeable. Analysis of the conflict-laden negotiations over these identities must consider both the rhetorical struggles over the legitimization of citizenship and the various different forms of political participation. Second, intersectional theory stresses the fact that constructions of belonging connect a variety of intersectional narratives that, under certain conditions, gender "nation" and ethnicize and racialize gender relations. Performative effects are also brought about by a variety of other axes of difference, such as health/disability, sexuality, and class. Third, intersectional analysis also draws attention to the deterritorialization of the spatial reference frame of citizenship, in that in most cases, neither symbolic struggles over citizenship legitimizations nor specific practices of political participation are limited to the territory of one single state.

5.5 Conclusion

The overview of different citizenship theories provided in this chapter shows that migration-related and gender-sensitive research has critically addressed the national model of citizenship. The aim of theories of postnational and multiple membership is to reveal how the central dimensions of (national) citizenship—the territorial dimension, the dimension of rights and obligations, and the dimension of legitimization rhetoric—are drifting apart, and to identify the specific conceptual challenges involved in analyzing these processes. One of the major challenges in this regard is to analyze both the simultaneity of the emergence of new border-crossing and/or transnational forms of citizenship and the erosion (though not the disappearance) of the traditional—that is, the national—form of citizenship.

The proponents of feminist and intersectional citizenship research are also interested in identifying "blind spots" in the national citizenship model.

Studies carried out from these perspectives point to the androcentric origins of (patriarchal) gender narratives and to the fact that these narratives are inscribed into the semantics used to legitimize the national citizenship model. They also show that specific (protest) activism of "minorities" challenges the legitimacy of national identity rhetoric. Activism of this kind (i.e., the participatory dimension of citizenship) occurs against the backdrop of *multiple* overlapping constructions of belonging along several different axes of differences, such as gender, ethnicity/race, class, sexuality, age, health/disability, and space.

What all of the above approaches have in common is that they call into question the universalism of the national citizenship model. They also show that the border-crossing practices and targeted campaigns of the migrants and protest activists among the social actors in a society contribute to the struggles over the erosion of the national model, which persist alongside cross-border citizenship configurations—many social actors regard citizenship as a contested arena of struggles over the recognition of belonging in a globalized and insecure world.

Notes

1 Talcott Parsons (1966, 1971) is another classical theorist whose works had a deep and lasting influence on the sociological study of the concept of (national) citizenship during the postwar era.
2 Nationality is based on a specific "definition of the national citizenry" that distinguishes between nationals and non-nationals and "thus guarantees limitations to the rights and duties of the national citizenry" (Mackert 2006: 84, transl., AA).
3 Experts estimate that the number of individuals with dual citizenship has been increasing, particularly since the early 1990s; however, it is currently unclear how many actually have dual citizenship. Between 1996 and 2000, the number of countries that permit dual citizenship increased from 40 to 93 (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 107).
4 Long-term residents who have economic, social, and, in some cases, political rights but are not eligible to vote in national elections are referred to in the literature as "*denizens*"—that is, members of a political community who have limited voting rights (Hammar 1990; Soysal 1994).
5 Recent research on mobility from the new to the old EU member states has shown that although the principle of equal treatment for all EU citizens is institutionalized in EU laws and regulations, the implementation of these regulations on the national levels has not been without problems (Amelina et al. forthcoming).
6 Postcolonial studies is a research field involving a number of approaches that challenge Eurocentric and ethnocentric premises in the social and cultural sciences (see, among many others, Fanon 1967 [1952]; Said 1979; Spivak 1988; Bhabha 1994).
7 As detailed in Chapters 1 and 3, intersectional approaches are concerned with multiple intersecting forms of identity-cum-inequality constructions.
8 However, there are still many debates in European and global contexts as to whether gender equality has really been achieved. Analyses of gender regimes in Europe have shown that access to labor markets and social rights continues to be gendered (see, e.g., Bang et al. 2000; Forsberg et al. 2000).

9 See, for example, the Migration Research Series that IOM has been publishing since 2001 (http://publications.iom.int/about-iom-publications).
10 For reasons of space, the imperial model will not be described in more detail.
11 The multiculturalist model uses an essentialist understanding of culture that defines "culture" as "ethnic culture," and that is based on the premise that the division of a society into "ethnic groups" reflects a "natural" division of the social world.
12 Yuval-Davis also discusses Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities*, in which Anderson emphasizes the non-rational character of nationalism while also noting that the phenomenon of nationalism developed in the wake of the Enlightenment (Anderson 1983, as cited in Yuval-Davis 2011b: 10). Yuval-Davis objects to Anderson's premise that nationalism replaced religion, but she agrees with him when he notes that nationalism, like religion, is based on emotional involvement, not on rational reasons or self-interest.
13 Yuval-Davis (2011b) also analyzes the area of care in the context of politics of belonging, but for reasons of space, no detailed discussion will be provided here.

Chapter 6

Teaching intersections of gender, migration and transnationality

6.1 Cultural representations and signifying practices

This final chapter summarizes the most important results of our considerations and establishes explicit relationships among the previous chapters. It reflects Chapters 1 to 3, which provided a theoretical and conceptual introduction, and Chapters 4 and 5, which discussed the research fields of care work and migration, to explain our analytical framework. In addition, it recommends several dramas and documentary films that can be used to illustrate the points made in each of the previous five chapters and provides questions which teachers can use in their classes.

Analyses of visual media can assume a variety of different perspectives: they can focus on a film's content, form, and design, or on the context and discourse it involves. Until recently, film analysis was largely the domain of scholars from the disciplines of film and media studies who have developed various relevant concepts (e.g., psychoanalytical, semiotic, discourse-analytical). However, sociological film analysis is now receiving increasing attention as well (see, e.g., Schroer 2007; Heinze et al. 2012; Hickethier 2012). Anja Peltzer and Angela Keppler published a detailed textbook in which they regarded film analysis as social analysis; according to these two scholars, film analysis is relevant as medialized knowledge has become "an integral part of the communicative household" of our everyday communication (Peltzer and Keppler 2015: 10, transl., HL). These authors also provide a research design that guides students in asking sociological research questions and in addressing these questions by means of *sequence logs* and codings of individual film sequences from micro- and macro-analytical perspectives. For example, students who are required to submit a term paper are asked to create film transcripts and to discuss "the interplay of description and interpretation" (Peltzer and Keppler 2015: 149, transl., HL). In principle, this method can also be used to analyze the films I present in this chapter. Alternatively, teachers may experiment by using individual components of these authors' methodical framework to analyze the films to be discussed below.

However, in this chapter, I am concerned not so much with analyzing these films from the perspective of film theory as with establishing a relationship between their content and the gender and migration theories that were detailed in the previous chapters. What I have in mind is to present a visual illustration and illumination of the different elements of sociological theory presented in each chapter, which is perfectly compatible with the approach proposed by Peltzer and Keppler, who suggested addressing films as "instances of interpretation" that constitute, wholly or in part, societal knowledge (Peltzer and Keppler 2015: 10, transl., HL).

The following brief introduction to combining film and text is largely based on Stuart Hall's (1997) reader *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*—the first publication to provide an elaborate methodology for analyzing *Othering processes* within contexts of migration societies. The questions to be addressed in the context of our own methodology are modelled on the concepts developed by Hall and his colleagues, particularly those of representation and of encoding and decoding, in which the combining of images and text plays an important role.

This chapter is structured as follows. After providing a brief summary of each of the previous five chapters, two types of films which are relevant to each of this chapters are described and contextualized—in most cases, one drama (or comedy) and one documentary. Each of these sections then concludes with a number of questions concerning each film as a whole. This means that, ideally, students should watch the films in their entirety, although it is also possible to analyze individual scenes or fragments.

According to Stuart Hall (1997: 28), representation is the production of meaning through language. However, this is not to say that language acts as a mirror, reflecting the world; rather, it draws on existing systems of representation and on their inherent codings and sign systems. Colonialism is part of the legacy of modern European systems of representation. At the height of colonialism, the governance of more than two thirds of the world was divided up among the major European powers, and its system of legitimization was based on what was then known as racial anthropology, which has left a permanent mark. This racial anthropology constructed hierarchies of social groups on the basis of skin color or other phenotypic traits, an approach that viewed white Europeans at the top of the hierarchy of a culturally and religiously homogeneous continent and viewed strangers as *the Other*, that is, those who were situated *outside* that continent. Such practices of *Othering* are still extant in everyday life when one regards individuals or groups as *the Other* (even though racial anthropology has long been officially abandoned, such as when people refer to "the Orient" and its counterpart, "the Occident" [see Said 1979]), and they allow one to privilege *one's own* position as *unmarked* by emphasizing, and thus marking, another individual or group as *the Other*. This power/knowledge connection serves as the basis for these signifying discursive practices. Although a number of postcolonial

theorists have noted that hegemonic knowledge and the discourses it involves are difficult to penetrate, Hall takes a somewhat different approach. He notes that regimes of representation have hegemonic effects, but that it is also possible to reinterpret and shift particular elements of these regimes. In "Encoding/Decoding" (Hall 1980), Hall outlines a model of communication that opposes a deterministic understanding of the relationship between *sender* and *recipient* and of a movement that recognizes only one direction—from *sender* to *recipient*. Instead, according to Hall, communication involves processes of circulation, but in doing so, he does not ignore the fact that the media (the producers) have a much greater power to define. Starting from the side of the producers, Hall describes the process of encoding as a social practice: The content of news, information, or media does not express "reality" but only representations of reality that are coded in the form of messages and meanings, with those who are doing the encoding drawing on their social knowledge (and the representations and discourses contained in it, as well as images of their audiences and their interpretations and responses) and trying to implement *preferred meanings* (sometimes in anticipation of their audiences' interpretations and responses):

> The different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meanings. (…) But we say "dominant" because there exists a pattern of "preferred readings"; and these both have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalized.
>
> (Hall 1980: 134).

In most cases, however, a simple transmission remains incomplete, perhaps because the message being transmitted is vague or ambiguous, but mainly because the recipients develop their own interpretations of the message that are neither free nor arbitrary but rather draw on the recipients' available "universe" of representations and discourses. Not only do recipients' interpretations range from those favored by the encoders to alternative interpretations, but interpretations are generally inconsistent and contradictory. In the case of mass media, we might say that the spectrum of possible interpretations ranges from the dominant, or hegemonic, position of the producers to the oppositional position of the consumers. Ultimately, only the resulting ruptures between the processes of encoding and of decoding can explain why powerful institutions such as the (mass) media, which are also referred to as the Fourth Estate, do not have complete access to the decoding processes—that is, to their audiences.

In the following sections, I will apply this approach to the use of films in teaching and learning processes, and I do so because I believe that films can contribute to social transformation and that they are well suited to intervening in unquestioned everyday knowledge. Questions can help draw attention not

only to different modes of Othering but also to a variety of different privileged and unprivileged (speaker) positions. Thus, the purpose of the questions provided in each of the following sections is to inspire reflection on the fraught relationship between encoding and decoding, with a focus on the level of reception to provide students with opportunities for self-reflection.

6.2 A proposal for gender-sensitive migration research: summary of Chapter 1

The introductory chapter provides an overview of the contents of this book. Its purpose is to combine two work areas/research fields—women's and gender studies and migration studies—which for decades had not communicated with one another, despite being connected through the common subject of gender in migration society. Starting from the social constructivist turn in gender research, this first chapter focuses on the relationship between gender and migration. It begins by discussing how the paradigm shift toward a social constructivist perspective on gender and migration can account for the complex relationship among gender relations in contexts of migration. Far from being based on the belief that "anything goes" in terms of optional identification and self-optimization, the understanding of social constructivism outlined in this chapter replaces conventional essentializations and normalizations of social inequalities. By shifting the focus away from a naturalizing perspective toward a description of the everyday production and performance of masculinity and femininity—the "doing" of gender—one can describe and analyze the continuous production and reproduction of binary gender orders, as well as changes in such orders. In addition, this shift in focus enables us to redefine the social category of *ethnicity/race* by asking how every single member of society produces, perpetuates, and varies ethnicity in everyday social life by doing ethnicity/race in accordance with the requirements of a hierarchic social order in which class, gender, and ethnicity/race act as social markers. Intersectional analysis allows us to describe the interplay of gender, ethnicity/race, class, nationality, sexuality, and so on. Doing gender is situated in the class relationship; doing ethnicity is always *gendered* and involves specific class characteristics; and identities are located at intersections of various axes of difference. Intersectionality, this book argues, is a useful method and methodology to operationalize the doing of difference (see West and Fenstermaker 1995). By assuming the transnational perspective throughout this volume, I also leave the national container as a social space and turn our attention to the many different ways everyday social life is being globalized. In doing so, I am examining the effects of the newly emerging transitory social spaces on changing gender identity and arrangements. Theoretical approaches from postcolonial and queer theory indicate a wide spectrum of diversity (sexual, gender, and ethnic) that must be taken into consideration. This debate is far from settled, and it remains to be determined how

increasingly complex analytical models that seek to deconstruct terminologies and everyday understandings can be applied to societal conditions in which new forms of exploitative and inequality relationships are appearing on the horizon. Not only are these efforts aimed at de-dramatizing differences and at re-dramatizing social inequality, but, in this process, questions about situating and positioning are arising, both on the side of the subjects being studied and on the side of the researchers.

Of the following two films, the first can be discussed in relation to the social construction of class, ethnicity/race, age, and gender, whereas the second can be discussed in relation to the social construction of gender and sexuality.

Films

Ali: Fear Eats the Soul (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974, drama)

A) CONTEXT

The period of recruitment for the West German labor market referred to as "guest-worker immigration" (1955–1973) is wrongly regarded as the beginning of the then West German migration society, given that the numbers of people who immigrated to West Germany before and after that period were significantly larger than the number of those who moved to Germany during that 18-year period. During the period of German fascism, millions of prisoners of war were displaced and forced to work as foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiter*) in agriculture and the war industries. After 1945, millions of displaced persons and refugees from the former eastern territories of Germany, together with millions of East Germans who had migrated to the West between the founding of the two German states in 1949 and the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, made up a vast pool of labor. The conservative family values adhered to by the West German government under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer implied that, for native German women, quitting their jobs and assuming the role of housewife should be considered a biographical normality. By the mid-1950s, the country's thriving economy desperately needed cheap labor, so in 1955, West Germany signed its first bilateral recruitment agreements with Italy, later to be followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964), Tunisia and Morocco (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968). The 1973 oil crisis led to what then became known as a recruitment ban. By that time, about 14 million laborers had moved to West Germany; of these, 11 million returned to their countries of origin. The remaining three million benefited from European legislation concerning family reunification that allowed their families to move to West Germany as well. From this point on, West Germany became an immigration country against its will, not passing legislation on immigration until 2005, when it eventually accepted the reality of immigration. Although about one third of

the laborers that had been recruited were women employed primarily in the food and electronics industries, the literature regarding immigration to West Germany during this period has been, and continues to be, focused on depicting this form of immigration as being largely male-dominated. Most migrants were housed in sex-segregated facilities and had little contact with their German co-workers. Unlike other labor-importing European countries, such as Sweden, West Germany did not offer any language courses for laborers.

B) PLOT

Ali: Fear Eats the Soul won several awards and is still considered to be one of the classic films about how society treats migrant workers. It is also one of the most important films in Rainer Werner Fassbinder's oeuvre.

The Moroccan "guest-worker," who is referred to as "Ali" because no one can pronounce his real name, spends his free time after work in a bar with friends. One night, Emmi Kurowski ducks inside the bar, not only to seek shelter from the rain, but also because she is attracted by the "exotic music." Emmi orders a cola, and Ali asks her to dance with him to the popular tango "Du schwarzer Zigeuner" (You Black Gypsy). Ali takes her home, and after Emmi hears that he must share a small room with five other men ("six men in one room, that's inhuman"), she invites him to stay overnight in the guest room of her apartment. Later Ali visits her again, and Emmi soon realizes that she has fallen in love with him. Emmi, a cleaning woman, has raised three now grown-up children on her own after the early death of her husband, a Polish "guest-worker." Because of their feelings for each other, Emmi and Ali are described as "soulmates," and although Emmi's children as well as her female neighbors and co-workers oppose and disapprove of their relationship, the two decide to get married, and Ali moves in with Emmi. Every day the odd couple—Emmi is in her early 60s, Ali about 30—is confronted with insults, exclusion, and discrimination. Some of Emmi's female neighbors classify Ali as a "Negro" and watch the couple wherever they go, calling the police as soon as they hear them playing Arabic music; some restaurants refuse to serve them; Emmi's co-workers exclude her from their lunch-break conversations; the greengrocer Angermayr refuses their patronage; and when Emmi's son, Bruno, hears that the two are engaged to be married, he reacts by destroying Emmi's television set. Confronted with "so much hatred," Emmi is desperate. The couple then goes on vacation, and when they return, things seem to be starting to change: Bruno needs his mother as a babysitter; the greengrocer realizes that Emmi was a good customer and wants her back; Emmi's female neighbors are happy because Ali helps them with heavy-duty household work; and Emmi's co-workers are allowed to touch Ali's biceps and to see for themselves that he is "clean." But now the relationship between Ali and Emmi is getting difficult: Ali goes to the pub more often and

gambles, and he sleeps with Barbara, the bartender, and stays the night with her. Eventually, Emmi goes to the pub to get him back, telling him that she understands that he has certain needs and that he is free to do what he wants to do. Again, Ali asks her for a dance, but then he collapses. We last see Ali in the hospital, where the doctor explains to Emmi that Ali, like so many "guest-workers," has a stomach ulcer that requires an operation but will most likely recur. The doctor also tells her that Ali would benefit from in-patient treatment but is not eligible to receive it.

C) QUESTIONS

1 At several points throughout the film, we hear statements about the "guest-worker" discourse. What are they? What processes of ethnicization/racialization do they reflect? For example, at one point, when Ali is talking about the relationship between a "dog" and its "owner," he points out that the relationship between Germans and Arabs has become worse "since Munich" (probably a reference to the capture and murder of several Israeli athletes by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich).
2 What categories of difference appear throughout the film? What intersectional relationships between social class, gender, age, and ethnicity/race become apparent? How do relations of dominance change over the course of the film? What can we say about the film from a queer and postcolonial perspective?

Intersexion (Grant Lahood, 2012, documentary)

A) CONTEXT

Intersexion addresses the struggles of intersex people in a heteronormative world. It won several international awards, including "Best New Zealand Documentary" and "Best Editing" at the Documentary Edge Festival in 2012; the Derek Oyston Film Prize at the London BFI Lesbian and Gay Film Festival 2013; and the Audience Award for Best Documentary at the 2012 Hamburg International Queer Film Festival.

B) PLOT

When a baby is born, the first question its parents are asked is, "Is it a boy or a girl?" However, in 1 in 2,000 cases, the answer to this question is "neither." The documentary was directed by Grant Lahood and is presented by Mani Mitchell, who was born in 1953 with female and male reproductive organs and now lives as a woman. Lahood and Mitchell interview intersex people from the United States, Ireland, Germany, South Africa, and Australia to

explore their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood experiences and the struggles they face because of their gender and sexual identity. The interviewees also reveal details about the social challenges medical interventions have caused for their bodies since their birth. They talk about surgeries they had to undergo during childhood to "fit" into society and about related medical problems. The personal stories of intersex people challenge the predetermined societal notions of "real" men and "real" women. For example, one of the interviewees from New York, who has been treated as a man all his life, reveals how he discovered that his body had female XX chromosomes, saying that he/she "wasn't a partially developed male" but an "underdeveloped female."

The documentary is both an informative educational tool and a powerful reflection on hegemonic heteronormativity. It shows how intersex people negotiate their identity in the face of socially constructed labels related to gender and sexuality. But the film not only addresses the sufferings of intersex people, it also is a plea against physical mutilation and abuse in the name of science and society.

C) QUESTIONS

1 Throughout the film, we see interviews with intersex people from different age groups. How do their life stories reflect developments in the societal discourse about intersexuality?
2 Many of the intersex people in the film regard the surgical procedures they underwent as violent interventions. In doing so, how do they also call into question the gender binary as a societal norm?
3 What challenges would arise if a multitude of genders were accepted by society?

6.3 Deconstructing classical migration research from the perspectives of gender and transnational studies: summary of Chapter 2

Whereas the first chapter introduced and correlated the central analytical categories of gender and migration, the second chapter showed that even today, the classical theories of migration and the settlement process are rarely, if ever, concerned with gender relations. Inequality-related issues are usually addressed by exploring questions concerning social-class situations and ethnicity/race. According to this approach, "*ethnic culture*" is regarded as a major factor in the production of social inequalities, with gender relations playing a secondary role, if they play any role at all. This is the case both for sedentarist *assimilation approaches* that focus on nation states and for more globally oriented migration theories, such as *world-systems theory*. These approaches ignore not only the gendered distribution of social chances but

also the interactions between gender and other social markers. In addition, these approaches, particularly world-systems theory, reduce social orders to the primacy of economic conditions. However, Chapter 2 also pointed out that some theories, especially the more recent transnational migration theories, are increasingly (though not consistently) more willing to address gender relations as well. The chapter also identified the benefits of assuming a transnational perspective in studying migration and analyzing the interplay among the categories of difference of gender, ethnicity/race, and class. In addition, it offered a comparison of the different theories, which then served as a basis for describing conceptual alternatives for the study of migration, gender relations, and the unequal distribution of social chances that were then presented in Chapter 3.

The first of the following two films can be discussed in relation to classical and neoclassical assimilation theory, while the second film can be discussed in relation to world-systems theory.

Films

The Namesake (Mira Nair, 2007, drama)

A) CONTEXT

Based on the 2003 novel by Jhumpa Lahiri and directed by Mira Nair, *The Namesake* explores the negotiations and identity conflicts of a multigenerational Indian family in the United States. To illustrate the searches and conflicting notions of belonging between the sending and receiving countries, and the different expectations of the old and the young generations, the film focuses on the importance of names and the power of giving meaning to something through naming. The protagonist changes his name several times throughout the film, striving each time for a set and stable notion of identity which that particular name seems to carry. *The Namesake* received favorable reviews internationally and won several awards, including the 2007 Gotham Award for Best Film, and the National Board of Review in New York included it in its Top Ten Films of 2007.

B) PLOT

The film begins with a train crash in India in the 1970s. The young Bengali man Ashoke, one of a small number of survivors, is found holding a page of the book *The Overcoat* by Nikolai Gogol, which he had been reading on the train. The film then jumps a few years ahead. Ashoke is now studying in the United States and is coming home to Calcutta to meet his potential bride, Ashima, for an arranged marriage. Ashima and Ashoke get married, move to the United States, and slowly become friends and lovers. However, Ashima,

struggling to adapt to the new social context far away from her home country, is missing her family and feeling alienated. The couple has two children—Gogol, named after his father's favorite author, and Sonia. Gogol becomes the focus of the story, as both he and his sister become increasingly indifferent to their parents' country of origin. When Gogol learns about the peculiar character of his namesake in school—the writer Nikolai Gogol, who had paranoia and was suicidal—he is embarrassed and soon decides to drop his birth name, adopting his middle name, Nikhil, instead, which is soon abbreviated to Nick. When Gogol goes on to study architecture, living and working away from his parents, the distance between Ashoke and Ashima and their children increases. One day, Gogol brings home his American white upper-class girlfriend Maxine, who is ignorant of Gogol's origins. During the encounter, both parents are hesitant and reserved. Later, while on vacation with Maxine and her family, Gogol gets a telephone call—his father has died of a heart attack. With the burial and the reunion of the family, Gogol strives to turn his life around, deeply regretting having lost his father and worrying that he may not have lived up to his parents' expectations. He leaves Maxine and starts dating a Bengali American friend of the family, Moushumi, whom he soon marries. The marriage is happy at first, but conflicts emerge when the two partners realize that they have different goals and expectations. The relationship ends when Moushimi has an affair with a Frenchman. Meanwhile, although she is missing her husband, Ashima has been able to lead a self-sustained life. She decides to fulfill her and her husband's dream of mobile living between the United States and India, switching every six months, and she resumes singing. In the end, Gogol appears to have gained a more balanced and eased sense of himself, relieved of previous pressures and expectations to fit into the ideal frame.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What elements of the classical assimilation theories can be identified in the film?
2 What visual means does the filmmaker use to create a feeling of Otherness? To what "canon" of knowledge about "the Other" does the film refer?
3 Does the film also question the idea of patriarchal domination, and if so, how does it do so? Which axes of difference that generate multidimensional social inequalities can be identified in the film?

Remittance (Patrick Daly/Joel Fendelman, 2015, drama)

A) CONTEXT

Remittance tells the story of Marie, a Filipina domestic worker in Singapore who is torn between her duties as a maid in a hyper-urban cityscape and

society's expectations toward her as a mother, wife, and the main breadwinner of her family. To capture the realities of low-paid migrant workers in Singapore, the film team conducted interviews in the community and filmed the interviewees in their real-life environments. The cast includes only three professional actors; all other characters, including the protagonist, are played by immigrant workers. According to the directors, the character Marie is fictional, but the problems addressed in the film (inhumane workloads, failing families, abusive husbands, disrespectful employers, sexual harassment, etc.) have all been experienced by several of the interviewed workers. The film also aims to show another side of their story—the potential of self-determination experienced away from home despite harsh circumstances. *Remittance* captures the global phenomenon of labor commodification, in which females, and in particular females from the Global South, are "imported" to provide cheap care work in the households of their wealthy employers, with entire families or even communities at home relying on their remittances. The film won several awards, including "Best Feature" at the Richmond and Flyway Film Festivals, as well as "Best Screenplay" and "Best Actress" for the lead role at the Brooklyn Film Festival.

B) PLOT

The young Filipina migrant Marie takes up a job as a maid for a rich expatriate family in Singapore to pay for her daughter's college education and to support her husband and her extended family in the rural Philippines. In Singapore, her days are filled with doing housework and caring for the five children. When one day she meets a group of long-time domestic and care workers, she is quickly introduced to their large worker community, where she finds a network of support. She thrives among her newly found friends and engages in NGO activities at her church. When she hears that the employment agency will withhold her first salary, she desperately looks for a solution. Secretly, she works extra night shifts in a karaoke club, where she is faced with harassment by male customers. She then learns from her daughter that her husband is seeing another woman, at which point Marie decides to move on, telling her husband she will leave him, and to put the management of the finances into her daughter's hands. Determined to have a self-sustained life, Marie keeps her two jobs and also takes business classes to learn how to run a hair salon after her return to the Philippines. She still supports her family—but not her husband, who had tried to get her back—and starts dating a construction worker. Marie's world is shattered again when her daughter tells her that she is pregnant. Feeling both guilty and responsible, Marie returns home and, along with her daughter, moves in with her mother. After several unsuccessful reunion advances, Marie's husband steals all the money she has earned. Left with nothing, Marie adapts her hair salon business idea to her actual financial means and opens a laundry service instead.

The film ends with Marie happening to be walking past her former employment agency during a laundry delivery, which makes her consider working abroad again.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What is the connection between the phenomenon of the "remittances industry" shown in the film on the one hand and the neoclassical assimilation theory and world-systems theory on the other?
2 What role do remittances play in terms of the transnational perspective of migration research?
3 How and at what points does the film reveal opposite trends in the migrants' social mobility with regard to their countries of origin and of destination?

6.4 Intersectional tools for transnational migration research: summary of Chapter 3

This chapter began with an introduction to three, more recent social constructivist approaches that are relevant to the analysis of migration and transnationalization processes. One element common to all three of these approaches is that they criticize sedentarist perspectives—that is, the assumption that sedentariness is the only natural organizational form of social life. Chapter 3 discussed the concept of *motility* (according to which mobility can be regarded as a particular type of social capital), articulations of the *mobile turn*, and the social production of space (*doing space*). As a social constructivist approach, the concept of doing space makes it possible to consider both migration and transnationality as being socially produced and, thus, as being changeable, and to consider space as an important axis of difference in the production of social inequality. These aspects then served as the foundation for a more detailed discussion of the concept of intersectionality, which allows for analyzing the interplay of gender relations and migration processes. Here, the focus is on the interplay of different axes of difference involved in the production of social inequality, which are also sometimes referred to as axes, or dimensions, of inequality and which are understood as particular types of unequal social relationships. Unlike many of the other classical theories of inequality, the intersectional approach does not require the conventional separation and quantification of class-specific and of gender- and ethnicity/race-related differences; instead, it emphasizes the multidimensional quality of the social production of inequalities. What this means is not only that processes of social hierarchization are correlated with an unequal distribution of life chances, but also that such processes must always be studied from a multidimensional, relational perspective.

This perspective is unique for two reasons. The first is that it involves a two-pronged analysis of the complex interplay both of hierarchizing ascriptions within a given dimension of inequality and among sets of different dimensions. The second reason is that intersectional approaches, unlike other methods, do not identify master categories in analyses of social inequality—that is, a priori specifications of the most important or crucial category. Thus, Chapter 3 combined the social constructivist perspective on gender relations introduced in the first chapter with social constructivist approaches to analyzing space, migration, and transnationality, as well as with relationally oriented intersectional approaches.

The following two films illustrate the interplay of relevant categories of difference in very diverse ways. The first film can be used to discuss the relationship of adolescence (category of age), gender relations, social marginalization, racism, and social space; the second film can serve as a basis for discussing the relationship of gender relations with respect to the North–South divide, sexuality, racism, and age.

Films

Girlhood (Céline Sciamma, 2015, drama)

A) CONTEXT

The film's director, Céline Sciamma, has stated that this film captures the story of a real girl gang that she observed at the Gare du Nord station and Les Halles, the food market in Paris, and whose blogs she followed for an extended period of time; she says in an interview that she was fascinated by the girls' energy, creativity, and style.

Sciamma is known for her interest in (female) adolescence which she has dealt with in a range of films. The movie received much praise for its rejection of "misery-mongering" stereotypes and its recklessness in portraying the toughness of this gang, but also criticized for painting a distorted picture of life in suburbia.

B) PLOT

This film revolves around the everyday lives of a girl gang in a Parisian banlieue. The 16-year-old Marieme shares a cramped apartment with her older brother, who bosses her around; two younger sisters, whom she takes care of; and her single mother, who works as a cleaning woman. She is in a difficult situation because she must leave school but does not feel like training for a job. The life of a cleaning woman, such as her mother's, is simply unimaginable to her. One day, she runs into a gang of girls in her neighborhood who are looking for another member, so she decides to join them. Marieme is

given a necklace that bears her new name, "Vic," short for "Victory"; the gang's motto—"Do what you want"—appeals to her, and soon she joins in the gang's activities: she extorts money from former classmates, steals clothes from clothing stores, gets involved in brawls with other girl gangs from her neighborhood, and has parties with her new friends in a hotel room where they sing their favorite hit, "We Are Diamonds in the Sky." She enjoys her new life and sees it as a way to gain independence and escape the option of getting married and becoming a housewife.

The film has been praised as a feminist manifesto that defies gender stereotypes and concedes to these girls everything that young girls from the banlieues are usually denied—confidence, courage, toughness, and assertiveness.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What gender stereotypes does the film defy, and what stereotypes does it reproduce? What new gender roles does Marieme/"Vic" assume, and how are these new roles reflected in her *doing of gender*?
2 Which axes of difference do the characters embody, and which axes of difference does the film address or not address? For example, does race/racism play a role?
3 How does the film present life in the banlieue from the perspectives of different characters? In which situations is their neighborhood depicted as a place of social discrimination, and in which situation is it depicted as a place of self-empowerment? (These questions should be addressed from the perspective of the doing space approach.)
4 What does the film say about, and how does it visualize, the life chances, opportunity spaces, and career options of these girls? What scenarios for the future life courses of these girls can be anticipated? What would the future of these characters be like if they were male teenagers?

Paradise: Love *[Paradies Liebe] (Ulrich Seidl, 2013, docudrama, German with English subtitles)*

A) CONTEXT

This film revolves around a phenomenon found on many beaches in African holiday paradises—local young men who earn a living as the temporary "lovers" of white female tourists, referred to here as "sugar mammas." The director of the film worked both with professional female actors (particularly with white Austrian women) and with African amateur actors who work in the tourism industry. In the past, this type of sex tourism has not drawn much attention in either academe or film.

B) PLOT

Teresa, a social worker from Vienna in her early fifties and a single mother, takes her daughter, who is about 14 years old, and her pets to a friend's house and flies to Kenya to spend her vacation in a beach hotel. There she is introduced by a female acquaintance to what her friend says are the pleasures of being a "sugar mamma," telling her that the skin of the black boys—she refers to them as "Negroes"—smells of coconut, as if it were "just made for being licked." As it turns out, she has known her lover, Musa, for as long as eight years; she praises his physique ("like a predator/gorilla"), his sexual potency, and especially his talent as a dancer which, she says, is only for her benefit ("This is my bedtime treat"). The first thing Teresa does when she arrives at her luxury hotel is clean the toilet and the bathroom with the sanitizer spray she has brought along. When she summons up the courage the next day to step out of the hotel and walk to the beach, she is soon surrounded by young men who say hello to her in English and German, offering her a ride on a moped or a boat and trying to sell her jewellery. Over the course of her vacation, Teresa has three lovers who are all about 30 years younger than she. She eventually falls in love with Munga, whom she chooses because he is the only one who is not pestering her. Several times throughout the film, Munga tells her about the precarious situation of his parents and siblings, so Teresa gives him money. When she learns that Munga is married with two children and that the sister with two sick children he introduced her to is actually his wife, she feels betrayed; she hits him and returns to the hotel, broken-hearted. She tries to give all three of her lovers a lesson in erotic play, telling them not to "tweak" her but to be gentle, and not to treat her "like an animal" but to explore her body and its erogenous zones. She also takes very detailed photos of the naked, sleeping Munga. At one point, four Austrian women who met at the hotel talk about their experiences with their lovers and give one another intimate advice. What particularly excites them is that these young men consider the women's curvy—or, by Western standards, chubby—figures to be a sign of beauty, and that the women feel desirable and 20 years younger. Sad and feeling as disappointed by her third lover as she was with the first two, Teresa is spending her birthday alone in her hotel room, when her female friends come to surprise her with a cake and drinks, telling her that they want to celebrate with her in her room. They also brought Musa along with them, whom they present to her as a gift: "He's yours, all yours. From head to cock." What follows is reminiscent of the depiction of orgies in pornographic films and fantasies. This scene is particularly disturbing for several reasons, and of course teachers should watch it beforehand and decide whether or not they want to show it to their students. Alternatively, they could show *Bezness*, a 1992 film directed Nouri by Bouzid about sex/love tourism in Tunisia from the perspective of one such lover and his family.

C) QUESTIONS

1 How does each of the characters (clients and sex workers) interpret the type of return mobility of the women depicted in the film? What social practices and narratives lead to the social production of migration/mobility and transnationality with respect to the type of sex/love tourism that is the focus of the film (see the doing space approach)?
2 Whereas the sex/love tourism of white men from the "Global North" has been a major segment of the tourism market for decades, particularly in Asia, the perspective of white women from the "Global North" who travel to Africa for the same purpose has only recently started to draw scholarly attention. What differences play a role in this phenomenon? If you found this film disturbing, what exactly was it that made you feel this way?
3 What intersections does the film address? Which role does the race/racism axis of difference play here? Which actor perspective does the film assume?
4 The film shows that white women regard social space as a resource they can use for their own purposes—it allows them to temporarily escape from the social norms and restrictions of everyday life. But what does the gender order look like from the perspective of the local men—in this case, the Kenyan men?

6.5 Intersectional analysis of transnational care relations: summary of Chapter 4

Chapters 4 and 5 discussed the paradigmatic examples of interdependence between gender relations and migration processes from an intersectional perspective.

Chapter 4 analyzed transnational care work and relationships within transnational families. In the past few decades, care work has come to be the most important labor market for migrants worldwide; it includes childcare, elderly care, and domestic and care work in private households. Activities referred to in Marxist theory as *reproductive work* became a contentious subject as early as the first feminist movement that took place in the 19th century, when the skewed distinction between "productive" and "unproductive" labor became a major characteristic of modern society. It was also at that time that care work first became gendered as female. As life expectancy began to increase in the industrial and postindustrial countries at the beginning of the 21st century, so did the demand for domestic and care work in many areas, including care of the elderly. Although gainful employment for all adult men and women has become the standard model of socialization, which is increasingly transforming the gender order, it remains unclear who is supposed to do the work in private households that was traditionally done by

women. In areas where the state is withdrawing from providing institutional care or where it provides only the most basic services, we observe a major increase in the proliferation of cash-for-care models in private households, and there is strong evidence to suggest that private households will play an increasingly important role as *employers*.

A growing number of individuals who have care responsibilities will use a portion of their income or government transfer payments, or a combination of the two, to outsource or delegate care work and to employ domestic women or, more likely, female migrants in their households. The commercialization and privatization of care, along with the growth of the care market, will exacerbate social inequalities among care recipients, and this will happen along the traditional class and income hierarchies. The vast majority of migrant care workers are women from the "Global South" and from post-socialist Eastern Europe. Their working and living conditions indicate contradictory trends in social mobility: On the one hand, their countries of origin lose valuable education and care capital, given that most of these women have had a good education and leave a care gap in their families; on the other hand, their remittances pay for the education of their children, the health insurance for family members of any age, and the consumption needs of family members who are staying behind. At this point it is impossible to assess how the mothers' absence affects the biographies of their children, an arrangement that is increasingly being scandalized in their countries of origin. What we can see is that new technologies now allow for the establishment and maintenance of family ties, and that families are becoming increasingly stable as a result. However, in some countries of origin in Eastern Europe, the migration of mothers has led to a social panic, and children who remain behind in the care of their grandparents or other relatives are being referred to as "Euro-orphans." In such cases, transnational motherhood is being dramatized in ways unheard of during the period of male-dominated labor migration in earlier decades.

In addition, Chapter 4 addressed the interconnection of gender, care, and migration regimes at the macro level. As a result of neoliberal welfare state policies, care work has been commercialized into an increasingly deregulated growth market that is saturated with cheap and willing laborers who, because of their precarious residence status, have little influence on their particular working conditions.

Both films recommended here for the visualization of these phenomena are documentaries, the first addressing the heterogeneity of (migrant) actors in domestic work and the second focusing on the effects of transnational family life on the daughter of a female migrant.

Films

Household Help: Working in Foreign Everyday Lives (Petra Valentin, 2007, documentary)

A) CONTEXT

This documentary required many years of research and confidence building, which the director Petra Valentin obviously managed to achieve. Some of the migrant protagonists were undocumented workers and lived in a twilight zone in constant fear of being detected. The film was shown in many movie theatres and at (anti-racism) festivals and received much praise from critics. It was and still is used as material in school and university teaching. There are a long version (93 min) and a short version (20 min) of this film; the latter is quite sufficient for course work.

B) PLOT

The film explores the microcosm of the private household from the perspective of seven domestic workers, one of whom is male. They take care of the children, clean, iron, cook, tidy up, tend balconies and gardens, and so on. They are au pairs, domestics, and cleaners who work in the shadow economy of private households. In the film, they provide detailed descriptions of this work, for which they are usually paid little and which is rarely appreciated. None of them sees this work as their dream job but rather as a means to an end: It helps the au pair leave her home country of Peru, where she sees no future for herself, and to start a new life; the German horse-loving girl is able to finance her hobby; the Polish domestic worker and the Filipina live-in domestic can earn money to pay for their children's education—always afraid that the authorities might become aware of their unregistered employment and illegal residence status. These workers describe their experiences and feelings at work, their hopes and dreams, and the pain of separation, sometimes with humor and sometimes with sadness.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What differences does the film show in the way German and migrant women are negotiating their working conditions? Please address this question with reference to the global care chain approach.
2 Working and living conditions also differ among the migrant women in the film. What axes of difference can be observed? What do you notice about these axes of difference?
3 What effect does a legal or illegal residence status have on the characters' situations? Please address this question with reference to the analysis of gender, care, and migration regimes presented in Chapter 4.

Promise and Unrest (Alan Grossman/Aine O'Brien, 2010, documentary)

A) CONTEXT

This documentary includes material collected of a period of five years. The directors, Alan Grossman and Aine O'Brien are ethnographic film makers and Grossman is director of the Centre for Transcultural Research and Media Practice at the Dublin Institute of Technology. Together with Aine O'Brien, he produced various documentaries about transnational migration and transcultural story telling. *Promise and Unrest* was shown at many international documentary festivals and won prices.

B) PLOT

This film follows the Filipina migrant Noemi Barredo and her family over the course of five years. Noemi, a single mother of two, leaves her family in the mid-1990s to work as a domestic worker in Malaysia to support her children, her parents, and some of her siblings. In the year 2000, she migrates to Dublin, Ireland, where she works as a nurse in a retirement home and shares a tiny two-bedroom apartment with one of her female co-workers. She manages to establish a few small businesses with the remittances she sends to the Philippines and to use the proceeds to build a house and to pay for her children's education, for her gravely ill father's medical care, and for training for her sister, who (along with her parents) takes care of her children. All the while, she keeps in close touch with her family across the large geographic distances and supervises the course of affairs in her hometown, Babatngon. One day, Noemi decides to relocate her daughter, Gracelle (who was seven months old when her mother left her hometown), to Dublin so she can provide her with a better education and take care of her at her now difficult age of 14. Noemi's son, who has dropped out of school and has quit professional training several times, now stays with his grandparents and his aunt. Reunifying the mother and daughter turns out to be difficult, not least because Gracelle, who had a room of her own in Babatngon and barely knows Noemi, now suddenly has to share a bed with her mother and face her reprimands. Gracelle is miserable, particularly because her grandfather, who had substituted for her father, is dying and she cannot be there to say goodbye to him. She spends a lot of time online to escape her everyday life in Dublin. Later in the film, Gracelle joins her mother in an activist group that campaigns against restrictions on migration, and she eventually realizes that her mother willingly embraced a hard life in order to support her family back in the Philippines.

The film is based on letters exchanged between mother and daughter, both of whom agreed to have the letters edited by the filmmakers as a montage rather than reading the letters aloud themselves.

The camera follows Noemi as she visits her relatives in Babatngon and during her everyday life in Dublin. The filmmakers also provided her with a home camera, which she could use as she saw fit. Thus, the film includes passages in which members of the film crew are absent, providing intimate insights into the relationship between the mother and her daughter.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What views on care does the film show from the perspectives of the various protagonists, the children, the grandparents, and Noemi herself? Please address this question with reference to the concepts of transnational family relationships discussed in Chapter 4.
2 How does Noemi arrange her distant motherhood? How does she supervise the family household back home? What happens when she goes to visit her relatives back in her hometown?
3 The relationship between Noemi and her daughter became extremely difficult once Gracelle began living in Dublin. How do these difficulties manifest themselves, how do the two deal with them, and what is it that eventually leads to the conciliatory statements at the end of the film?

6.6 Citizenship theories beyond the national paradigm: summary of Chapter 5

This chapter explored the debate about citizenship and belonging from a transnational and intersectional perspective. In addition to providing an overview of various recent theories about citizenship that included a discussion of the key dimensions of citizenship and the erosion of the conventional national model in relation to global migration processes and the further blurring of territorial boundaries, Chapter 5 showed how gender-sensitive migration research critically engages with issues of citizenship.

The aim of theories of postnational and/or multiple belonging is to describe how territorial frames of reference and national semantics of legitimizing the national citizenship model have been drifting apart, resulting in the erosion (though not the disappearance) of the traditional, national model of citizenship and belonging. This model has been challenged both by the emergence of new cross-border or transnational forms of membership and by the identification of blind spots in the national model with regard to gender relations. These blind spots point to androcentric origins of (patriarchal) gender narratives and to the fact that this narrative is inscribed in the semantics of legitimizing the national model—for example, in relation to the male breadwinner model, which associates citizenship with gainful employment but not with care work.

The national model has also been challenged by social movements of majorities (ethnic/ethnicized or sexual). This type of activism belongs to the

participatory dimension and occurs against the backdrop of multiple overlapping constructions of belonging along a variety of axes of difference (gender, ethnicity/race, class, sexuality, age, health/"disability," and social space). In addition, postcolonial theory reveals Orientalist assumptions in classical citizenship research, criticizing the mainstream debates about citizenship for still adhering to Max Weber's concept of citizenship as a rational, genuinely European form of political membership, thereby excluding all other forms of regulations on belonging.

An essential similarity between the approaches introduced in Chapter 5 is that they challenge the universalist claims of the national citizenship model, which is oriented toward the circumstances of male, heterosexual (and white) members of the majority society. In the past, protests by a variety of activist groups have challenged the narratives of legitimization but in most cases have not been able to dissolve them completely. As a result, political membership has become a highly contested terrain that involves struggles over the recognition of belonging.

Films

Avalon (Barry Levinson, 1990, Drama)

A) CONTEXT

Avalon, the third film in the semi-autobiographical "Baltimore Films" tetralogy, won the Writers Guild for America Award for "Best Original Screenplay" and was nominated for Golden Globes and Academy Awards. It sheds light on the various challenges related to family ties and changing traditions experienced by an immigrant Jewish family in the United States over a period of five decades.

B) PLOT

The film begins with Sam Krichinsky arriving in Baltimore from Russia in 1914 to join his four brothers in a neighborhood of Baltimore. The family collectively raises funds to bring more relatives to the United States. To raise their families, the brothers toil as paperhangers during the day and perform as musicians on weekends. As time goes by, the family grows larger, and by 1948, Sam and his wife, Eva, are living together with their son, Jules; Jules's wife, Ann; and Jules and Ann's son, Michael. The family members slowly detach themselves from the traditional Jewish customs, but on some (religious) occasions regularly engage with heritage.

The gradual loosening of the family ties is accompanied by the increased popularity of television. Watching television together replaces the family stories the family used to share with one another. This process culminates

when Sam's son Jules and his cousin Izzy change their last names. Reluctant to continue their fathers' upholstering profession, Jules and Izzy decide to open the first discount appliance store in Baltimore. When the business turns out to be a success, Jules and Izzy relocate their families to the suburbs while the other relatives remain in Baltimore. Eventually, the distance between the family members grows and their connections deteriorate. What was once a large, tightly knit family is now a nuclear, isolated unit. The resentment the elders feel for this break-up of family ties and values is reflected toward the climax of the film when, at Thanksgiving, the family cuts the turkey without Uncle Gabriel and his wife. Gabriel was against the family moving to the suburbs, and cutting the turkey without the entire family being present is to him the deconstruction of family values. New lifestyles in new places push the Krichinsky family apart and they continue to carry on separately. Toward the end, Sam's grandson Michael visits him at a retirement home, with a television show playing in the background. There is a flashback to Sam's arrival in America and the film ends with a note of longing for the past.

C) QUESTIONS

1 The film focuses on how the different family members see the United States. How exactly do the characters' perceptions change over their life courses? And how does the film's narrative differ from that of *The Namesake*?
2 Although the film makes no explicit references to citizenship, the question of belonging still is one of its central themes. What references to multiple or postnational belonging does the film include?
3 How does the film portray gender relations? How have the gender relations changed from generation to generation? How does the film address the transnational dimension of these gender relations?

Neukölln Unlimited (Agostino Imondi/Dietmar Ratsch, 2010, documentary)

A) CONTEXT

This documentary is about the life of a refugee family from the perspective of three siblings of the Akkouch family. The filmmakers, Agostino Imondi und Dietmar Ratsch shot in total 160 hours over a period of three years which were reduced to 90 minutes; they capture pivotal moments in the everyday dealings of refugees whose "life on demand" is dependent on contradictory political decisions. The film has been praised as a "battle over the right to stay," with "battle" also denoting turn-based dance competitions, an essential element of breakdancing. It won the Crystal Bear for Best Feature Film at the 60th Berlin International Film Festival, 2010 and the DVD includes

interviews with the family that were conducted two years after the film's premiere and provides some interesting topics for discussion.

B) PLOT

This film is about one year in the life of the Akkouch family, a single mother with four children who fled from the civil war in Lebanon with her husband, from whom she is now separated. The Akkouch family lives in a social housing apartment in the Berlin borough of Neukölln, which has an immigrant population of 300,000 people from 160 different nations and is known as an urban neighborhood in crisis. The film is told from the perspective of the two oldest children, Hassan and Lial. At the time the film is being made, Hassan is preparing for his high school graduation, and Lial, who left school after tenth grade, has started training as a promoter of a boxing club. The two siblings are anxious about their family's right of residence in Germany. The family had been deported to Lebanon and then managed to return, but must now have their exceptional leave to remain renewed every two months. During their deportation, the mother had an epileptic seizure, and Lial later suffered from bulimia.

The family member who has changed the most, according to Hassan, is his younger brother Maradona, who has been suspended from school several times for bringing weapons to school, skipping classes, and sometimes being aggressive and defiant.

Hassan, who has his own band with whom he performs self-written rap songs at large events, is a German breakdancing champion. He is also the trainer of the junior hip-hop team, with whom his brother Maradona has won several awards. The camera follows Maradona as he is trying to be discovered in a reality television talent show. We also see the brothers traveling to various breakdancing events in Germany and Paris, and their sister Lial performing in front of an audience with a girl band and different mixed-sex breakdancing groups. When Hassan and Lial seek legal advice in an attempt to improve their family's residence situation, they are told that neither Lial's trainee pay and the money she occasionally gets for her performances, nor Hassan's income from his breakdancing and music shows are enough to replace the welfare payments on which their family relies. When Hassan has the opportunity to meet a member of the Berlin government, he tells him about his family's precarious situation, but nothing comes of it. He also tries to talk some sense into Maradona, telling him that he will ruin his chance to have a better life later if he does not try harder in school to obtain proper qualifications upon leaving school. But neither the mother nor Hassan or Lial are able to persuade Maradona to start thinking sensibly—not even through severe punishments. In the end, however, Maradona tells them that he has had a serious talk with his father and has decided to mend his ways.

C) QUESTIONS

1 What do the protagonists say with regard to the question of their belonging?
2 Please do some research into the current state of the legislation on the right of residence and the exceptional leave to remain. What groups of individuals can obtain an exceptional leave to remain? At one point during the film, the legal adviser tells the siblings that every case is different, which is why she generally cannot predict what might happen to the family in the future. Who makes decisions concerning issues related to the right to residence?
3 From the perspective of citizenship theory, the family's situation can be considered in reference to the multiplicity of citizenship and post nationality. What arguments could be used to support this position? Divide the class into two groups and argue in favor of one of the two positions.

References

Adorno, T.W. (2010 [1955]) *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialism in Postwar Germany* (transl. J. Olick and A.J. Perrin), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Albrecht, H.-J. (2009) "Criminalization and Victimization of Immigrants in Germany," in Pallida, S. (ed.), *Criminalisation and Victimization of Migrants in Europe*, Milan: Agenzia X.

Amelina, A. (2010) "Transnationale Migration jenseits von Assimilation und Akkulturation," *Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 257–279.

Amelina, A. (2011) "An Intersectional Approach to the Complexity of Social Support within German–Ukrainian Transnational Space," in Ngan-Ling Chow, E., Texler Segal, M., and Tan, L. (eds.), *Analyzing Gender, Intersectionality, and Multiple Inequalities: Global, Transnational and Local Contexts*, Bingley: Emerald.

Amelina, A. (2012) "Socio-spatial Scales as Social Boundaries? Or: How Do Migration Studies Profit from Including 'Space' in the Sociology of Social Boundaries," *Migration Letters*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 273–288.

Amelina, A. (2014) "Jenseits des Primat-Paradigmas? Zum Verhältnis von Intersektionalität und Differenzierungsformen aus der poststrukturalistischen Perspektive: Ensembles, Hierarchien und Wissensregimes," in Löw, M. (ed.), *Vielfalt und Zusammenhalt: Verhandlungen des 36. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Bochum und Dortmund 2012*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Amelina, A. (2017a) "After the Reflexive Turn in Migration Studies: Toward the Doing Migration Approach," "Gender, Diversity and Migration" Working Paper No. 13, Frankfurt am Main: Goethe University Frankfurt, Department of Social Sciences.

Amelina, A. (2017b) *Transnationalizing Inequalities in Europe: Sociocultural Boundaries, Assemblages and Regimes of Intersection*, London: Routledge.

Amelina, A., and Faist, T. (2012) "De-Naturalizing the National in Research Methodologies: Key Concepts of Transnational Studies in Migration," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 35, no. 10, pp. 1–18.

Amelina, A., and Vasilache, A. (eds.) (2014) *Mobile Inequalities in a Mobile Europe*, special issue of *Migration Letters* (vol. 11, no. 2).

Amelina, A., Horvath, K., and Meeus, B. (eds.) (2016a) *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Amelina, A., Markova, H., and Fingarova, J. (2016b) "A Comparative Analysis of the Portability of Social Security Rights within the European Union: Bulgaria–Germany

Case Study," WSF Policy Brief No. 2/2016, Frankfurt am Main: Welfare State Futures.

Amelina, A., Carmel, E., Runfors, A., and Scheibelhofer, E. (forthcoming) *The Boundaries of European Citizenship: Governance, Discourses and Experiences of European Social Security.*

Amelina, A., Nergiz, D.D., Faist, T., and Glick Schiller, N. (2012) *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Andall, J. (2003) "Hierarchy and Interdependence: The Emergence of a Service Caste in Europe," in Andall, J. (ed.), *Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Europe*, Oxford: Berg.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Anderson, B., and Shutes, I. (2014) *Migration and Care Labour: Theory, Policy and Politics*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B., and Spencer, S. (2006) Fair Enough? Central and East European Migrants in Low-Wage Employment in the UK, http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2006-Changing_Status_Fair_Enough.pdf

Anthias, F. (1998) "Rethinking Social Divisions: Some Notes towards a Theoretical Framework," *Sociological Review*, vol. 46, no. 3, pp. 505–535.

Anthias, F. (2001) "The Material and the Symbolic in Theorizing Social Stratification: Issues of Gender, Ethnicity and Class," *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 367–390.

Anthias, F. (2011) "Mobilities, Gender, Intersections and Translocations: New Configurations of the Gender, Ethnicity and Migration Matrix in a Transnational World," in Johler, R., Matter, M., Zinn-Thomas, S. (eds.), *Mobilitäten: Europa in Bewegung als Herausforderung kulturanalytischer Forschung*, Münster: Waxmann.

Anthias, F. (2012a) "Transnational Mobilities, Migration Research and Intersectionality," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 102–110.

Anthias, Floya (2012b) "Intersectional What? Social Divisions, Intersectionality and Levels of Analysis," *Ethnicities*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 3–19.

Anthias, F., and Yuval-Davis, N. (1992) *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*, London: Routledge.

Anthias, F., Kontos, M., and Morokvasic-Müller, M. (eds.) (2013) *Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Arango, J. (2004) "Theories of International Migration," in Joly, D. (ed.), *International Migration in the New Millennium: Global Movement and Settlement*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Arendt, H. (1958) *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Aufhauser, E. (2000) "Migration und Geschlecht: Zur Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion von Weiblichkeit und Männlichkeit in der internationalen Migration," in Husa, K., Parnreiter, C., and Stacher, I. (eds.), *Internationale Migration: Die globale Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts?*, Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel.

Aulenbacher, B., and Dammayr, M. (2014) "Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Die Ganzheitlichkeit und Rationalisierung des Sorgens und der Sorgearbeit," in Aulenbacher, B., Riegraf, B., and Theobald, H. (eds.), *Sorge: Arbeit, Verhältnisse, Regime*, special issue no. 20 of *Soziale Welt*.

Backes, G.M., Amrhein, L., and Wolfinger, M. (2008) *Gender in der Pflege: Herausforderungen für die Politik*, Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/05587.pdf

Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (eds.) (2014a) *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (2014b) "Locating Transnational Care Circulation in Family Studies," in Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (eds.), *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Baldwin, G.B. (1970) "Brain Drain or Overflow?," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 358–372.

Baldwin-Edwards, M., and Arango, J. (1999) *Immigrants and the Informal Economy in Southern Europe*, London: Frank Cass.

Balibar, É. (1989) "Is There a Neo-Racism?," in Balibar, É., and Wallerstein, I. (eds.), *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, London: Verso.

Bang, H.P., Jensen, P.H., and Pfau-Effinger, B. (2000) "Gender and European Welfare States: Context, Structure and Agency," in Duncan, S., and Pfau-Effinger, B. (eds.), *Gender, Economy and Culture in the European Union*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Barglowski, K. (2018) *Cultures of Transnationality in European Migration: The Making of Inequalities*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Barglowski, K., Bilecen, B., and Amelina, A. (2015a) "Approaching Transnational Social Protection: Methodological Challenges and Empirical Applications," *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 21, no. 3.

Barglowski, K., Krzyzowski, L., and Switek, P. (2015b) "Caregiving in Polish–German Transnational Social Space: Circulating Narratives and Intersecting Heterogeneities," *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 257–269.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., and Szanton-Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterrritorialized Nation States*, Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.

Bauböck, R. (1994) *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Bauböck, R. (2017) *Transnational Citizenship and Migration*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Baumann, M. (2016) "Frontex: Fragen und Antworten," Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/179679/frontex-fragen-und-antworten.

Beauvoir, S. de (1953 [1949]) *The Second Sex* (transl. H.M. Parshley), London: Jonathan Cape.

Beck, U. (2000) *What Is Globalization?*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U., and Grande, E. (2004) *Das kosmopolitische Europa: Gesellschaft und Politik in der zweiten Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Becker-Schmidt, R. (1987) "Die doppelte Vergesellschaftung—die doppelte Unterdrückung," in Unterkirchner, L., and Wagner, I. (eds.), *Die andere Hälfte der Gesellschaft*, Vienna: Österreichischer Soziologentag 1985.

Becker-Schmidt, R. (2007) "'Class,' 'Gender,' 'Ethnicity,' 'Race': Logiken der Differenzsetzung, Verschränkungen von Ungleichheiten und gesellschaftliche Strukturierung," in Klinger, C., Knapp, G.-A., and Sauer, B. (eds.), *Achsen der Ungleichheit: Zum Verhältnis von Klasse, Geschlecht und Ethnizität*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Beijer, G. (1970) "International and National Migratory Movements," *International Migration*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 93–109.

bell hooks [i.e., Gloria Jean Watkins] (1981) *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, Boston, MA: South End Press.

Benbassa, E. (2010) *Dictionnaire des racismes, de l'exclusion et des discriminations*, Paris: Larousse.

Bendix, R. (1964) *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Benhabib, S. (2004) *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, P. (2003) "Kontinuitäten und Brüche: Herausforderungen für die Sozialstruktur- und Ungleichheitsforschung im 21. Jahrhundert," in Orth, B., Schwietring, T., and Weiß, J. (eds.), *Soziologische Forschung: Stand und Perspektiven*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

BFSFJ [Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend] (2006) "Siebter Familienbericht: Familie zwischen Flexibilität und Verlässlichkeit: Perspektiven für eine lebenslaufbezogene Familienpolitik," Berlin: Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth, https://www.bmfsfj.de/blob/76276/40b5b103e693dacd4c014648d906aa99/7–familienbericht-data.pdf.

Bhabha, H.K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge.

Bhopal, K., and Preston, J. (eds.) (2012) *Intersectionality and "Race" in Education*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Black, S.E., and Brainerd, E. (2004) "Importing Equality? The Impact of Globalization on Gender Discrimination," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 540–559.

Borjas, G.J. (1990) "Self-Selection and the Earnings of Immigrants: Reply," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 80, no. 1, pp. 305–308.

Boulila, S.C., and Carri, C. (2017) "On Cologne: Gender, Migration and Unacknowledged Racisms in Germany," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 286–293.

Bourdieu, P. (1984): *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1985) "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups," *Theory and Society*, vol. 14, no. 6, pp. 723–744.

Boyd, M. (1989) "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas," *International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 638–670.

Brennan, D. (2004) *What's Love Got to Do with It? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Brenner, N. (1998) "Between Fixity and Motion: Accumulation, Territorial Organization and the Historical Geography of Spatial Scales," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 459–481.

Brenner, N. (2004) *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, R. (2002) "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 163–189.

Bryceson, D.F., and Vuorela, U. (2002) *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, Oxford: Berg.

Bukow, W.-D., and Llaryora, R. (1988) *Mitbürger aus der Fremde: Soziogenese ethnischer Minoritäten*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Büscher, M., and Urry, J. (2009) "Mobile Methods and the Empirical," *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 99–116.

Büscher, M., and Urry, J. (2010) "Introduction: Mobile Methods," in Büscher, B., Urry, J., and Witchger, K. (eds.), *Mobile Methods*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Büscher, B., Urry, J., and Witchger, K. (eds.) (2010) *Mobile Methods*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997) *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Butler, T., and Watt, P. (2007) *Understanding Social Inequality*, London: Sage.

Caldwell, K.L., Coll, K., Fischer, T., Ramirez, R.K., and Siu, L. (eds.) (2009) *Gendered Citizenships: Transnational Perspectives on Knowledge Production, Political Activism, and Culture*, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carmel, E., and Paul, R. (2013) "Complex Stratification: Understanding European Union Governance of Migrant Rights," *Regions & Cohesion*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 56–85.

Castles, S., and Miller, M.J. (1993) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.

Castles, S., Haas, H. de, and Miller, M.J. (2014) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (5th ed.), Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.

Castro-Varela, M. do Mar, and Dhawan, N. (2004) "Horizonte der Repräsentationspolitik: Taktiken der Intervention," in Roß, B. (ed.), *Migration, Geschlecht und Staatsbürgerschaft: Perspektiven für eine antirassistische und feministische Politik und Politikwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden: VS.

Castro-Varela, M. do Mar, and Dhawan, N. (2009) "Queer mobil? Heteronormativität und Migrationsforschung," in Lutz, H. (ed.), *Gender Mobil? Geschlecht und Migration in transnationalen Räumen*, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

CEDAW (1979) "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women," General Assembly Resolution 34/180 of December 18, 1979, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw.

Chiswick, B.R., and Hatton, T.J. (2003) "International Migration and the Integration of Labor Markets," in Bordo, M.D., Taylor, A.M., and Williamson, J.G. (eds.), *Globalization in Historical Perspective*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Choo, H.Y., and Ferree, M.M. (2010) "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 129–149.

Collins, P.H. (1986) "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems*, vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 14–32.

Collins, P.H. (1990) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*, Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.

Colombo, E., and Rebughini, P. (2012) "Multiple Belonging," in Colombo, E., and Rebughini, P. (eds.), *Children of Immigrants in a Globalized World*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cornell, S., and Hartmann, D. (2007) *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Crawley, H., and Skleparis, D. (2018) "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's 'Migration Crisis'," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 48–64.

Crenshaw, K.W. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, vol. 1989, no. 1, pp. 139–167.

Crenshaw, K.W. (1994) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," in Fineman, M.A., and Mykitiuk, R. (eds.), *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Currie, S. (2008) *Migration, Work and Citizenship in the Enlarged European Union*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Davis, A.Y. (1981) *Women, Race & Class*, London, New York, NY: The Women's Press, Random House.

Davis, K. (2008) "Intersectionality in Transatlantic Perspective," in Klinger, C., and Knapp, G.-A. (eds.), *ÜberKreuzungen: Fremdheit, Ungleichheit, Differenz*, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Davis, K. (2011) "Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful," in Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M.T., and Supik, L. (eds.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Dayton-Johnson, J.T., Katseli, L., and Xenogiani, M.A. di (2007) *Policy Coherence for Development: Migration and Developing Countries*, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

De Genova, N. (2016) "The 'European' Question: Migration, Race, and Post-Coloniality in 'Europe'," in Amelina, A., Horvath, K., and Meeus, B. (eds.), *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Deutscher Bundestag (2008) "Sechster und abschließender Bericht der Bundesregierung über den Abschluss der Auszahlungen und die Zusammenarbeit der Stiftung "Erinnerung, Verantwortung, Zukunft" mit den Partnerorganisationen, Drucksache 16/9963, July 9, 2008, https://www.stiftung-evz.de/fileadmin/user_upload/EVZ_Uploads/Stiftung/Geschichte/auszahlungen_bericht-bundestag_de.pdf.

Dietz, B. (2007) "Die Integration mittel- und osteuropäischer Zuwanderer in den deutschen Arbeitsmarkt," in Nowicka, M. (ed.), *Von Polen nach Deutschland und zurück: Die Arbeitsmigration und ihre Herausforderungen für Europa*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Donato, K.M., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan, M., and Pessar, P.R. (2006) "Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies," *The International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 3–26.

Dowideit, A. (2010) "Pfleger wollen keine Hilfe von Hartz-IV-Empfängern," *Die Welt*, March 14, 2010, www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article6766397/Pfleger-wollen-keine-Hilfe-von-Hartz-IV-Empfaengern.html

Dumont, J.-C., and Isoppo, M. (2005) *Migrant Women and the Labour Market: Diversity and Challenges*, Brussels: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and European Commission.

Engels, F. (1902 [1884]) *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State: In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* [transl. E. Untermann], Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

Erevelles, N., and Minear, A. (2010) "Unspeakable Offenses: Untangling Race and Disability in Discourses of Intersectionality," *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 127–145.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Esser, H. (1983) *Die fremden Mitbürger*, Düsseldorf: Patmos.

Esser, H. (2003) "Ist das Konzept der Assimilation überholt?," *Geographische Revue*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 5–22.

EWE (Erwägen—Wissen—Ethik) (2013) "Intersektionalität," vol. 24, no. 3.

Faist, T. (2000a) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Spaces*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Faist, T. (2000b) "Grenzen überschreiten: Das Konzept der transstaatlichen Räume und seine Anwendungen," in Faist, T. (ed.), *Transstaatliche Räume: Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur in und zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Faist, T. (2010) "Towards Transnational Studies: World Theories, Transnationalisation and Changing Institutions," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, no. 10, pp. 1665–1687.

Faist, T. (2013) "Staatsbürgerschaft," in Mau, S., and Schöneck-Voß, N.M. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch zur Gesellschaft Deutschlands* (3rd rev. ed.), Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien.

Fanon, F. (1967 [1952]) *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York, NY: Grove Press.

Favell, A. (2008) "The New Face of East–West Migration in Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, no. 5, pp. 701–716.

Fawcett, J.T. (1989) "Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems," *International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 671–680.

Federici, S. (2010) "Feminism and the Politics of the Commons in an Era of Primitive Accumulation," in Hughes, C., Peace, S., and Van Meter, K. (eds.), *Uses of a Whirlwind, Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*, Edinburgh: AK Press.

Fenster, T. (2004a) *The Global City and the Holy City: Narratives on Knowledge, Planning and Diversity*, Harlow: Pearson.

Fenster, T. (2004b) "Belonging, Memory and the Politics of Planning in Israel," *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 403–417.

Firat, G. (1987) *Der Prozess der Hausfrauisierung am Beispiel der Migration von Frauen aus der Türkei in die Bundesrepublik*, Saarbrücken: Breitenbach.

Flamm, M., and Kaufmann, V. (2006) "Operationalising the Concept of Motility: A Qualitative Study," *Mobilities*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 167–189.

Forsberg, G., Gonas, L., and Perrons, D. (2000) "Paid Work: Participation, Inclusion and Liberation," in Duncan, S., and Pfau-Effinger, B. (eds.), *Gender, Economy and Culture in the European Union*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1978 [1976]) *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (transl. R. Hurley), New York, NY: Random House.

Frank, A.G. (1969) *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Fraser, N. (2003) "Soziale Gerechtigkeit im Zeitalter der Identitätspolitik," in Fraser, N., and Honneth, A. (eds.), *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung?*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Fraser, N. (2003) "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation," in Fraser, N., and Honneth, A. (eds.), *Redistribution Or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*, London: Verso.

Frontex (2013) "Frontex Budget Report 2013," European Border and Coast Guard Agency, https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Key_Documents/Budget/Budget_2013.pdf.

Frontex (2017) "Frontex Budget Report 2017," European Border and Coast Guard Agency, https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Key_Documents/Budget/Budget_2017.pdf.

Galbraith, J.K. (1973) *Economics and the Public Purpose*, Boston, MA: Mifflin.

Galgoczi, B., Leschke, J., and Watt, A. (eds.) (2009) *EU Labour Migration since Enlargement: Trends, Impacts and Policies*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Garfinkel, H. (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Garland-Thomson, R. (2002) "Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory," *NWSA Journal*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 1–32.

Gildemeister, R., and Wetterer, A. (1992) "Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden: Die soziale Konstruktion der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit und ihre Reifizierung in der Frauenforschung," in Knapp, G.-A., and Wetterer, A. (eds.), *TraditionenBrüche: Entwicklungen feministischer Theorie*, Freiburg: Kore.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., and Szanton-Blanc, C. (1995) "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropology Quarterly*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 48–63.

Glick Schiller, N., Darieva, T., and Gruner-Domic, S. (2011) "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age: An Introduction," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 399–418.

Goffman, E. (1977) "The Arrangement between the Sexes," *Theory and Society*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 301–331.

Goldring, L. (1998) "The Power of Status in Transnational Social Fields," in Smith, M.P., and Guarnizo, L.E. (eds.), *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Gomolla, M., and Radtke, F.-O. (2002) *Institutionelle Diskriminierung: Die Herstellung ethnischer Differenz in der Schule*, Opladen: VS.

Gordon, M.M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gottschall, K. (2004) "Soziale Ungleichheit: Zur Thematisierung von Geschlecht in der Soziologie," in Becker, R., and Kortendiek, B. (eds.), *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung: Theorie, Methoden, Empirie* (3rd rev. ed.), Wiesbaden: VS.

Guarnizo, L.E. (2003) "The Economics of Transnational Living," *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 666–699.

Gümen, S. (1998) "Das Soziale des Geschlechts: Frauenforschung und die Kategorie 'Ethnizität'," *Das Argument*, vol. 40, no. 224, pp. 187–203.

Haas, H. de (2007) "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective," IMI Working Paper No. 9, Oxford: International Migration Institute, https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/publications/wp-09-08.

Haas, H. de (2010) "The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, vol. 10, pp. 1587–1617.

Hage, G. (1997) "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, 'Ethnic Food' and Migrant Homebuilding," in Grace, H., Hage, G., Johnson, L., Langsworth, J., and Symonds, M. (eds.), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press.

Hagemann-White, C. (1984) *Sozialisation: Weiblich—männlich?*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Hall, S. (1980) "Encoding – Decoding," in Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A., and Willis, P. (eds.), *Culture, Media, Language*, London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1991) "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in King, A.D. (ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Hall, S. (1993) "Reflections upon the Encoding/Decoding Model: An Interview with Stuart Hall," in Cruz, J. (ed.), *Viewing, Reading, Listening: Audiences and Cultural Reception*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Hall, S. (ed.) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage.

Hammar, T. (1990) *Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens Denizens and Citizens in a World of International Migration*, Aldershot: Avebury.

Harzig, C. (1997) *Peasant Maids—City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Harzig, C. (2003) "Immigration Policies: A Gendered Historical Perspective," in Morokvasic-Müller, M., Erel, U., and Shinozaki, K. (eds.), *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries, Vol. I: Gender on the Move*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Hearn, J. (2010) "Global/Transnational Gender/Sexual Scenarios," in Jónasdóttir, A. G., Bryson, V., and Jones, K. (eds.), *Sexuality, Gender and Power: Intersectional and Transnational Perspectives*, London: Routledge.

Hearn, J. (2011) "Sexualities, Work, Organizations and Managements: Empirical, Policy and Theoretical Challenges," in Jeanes, E., Knights, D., and Martin, P.Y. (eds.), *Handbook of Gender, Work and Organization*, London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hearn, J. (2015) *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times*, London: Sage.

Heinemann, T., and Lemke, T. (2014) "Biological Citizenship Reconsidered: The Use of DNA Analysis by Immigration Authorities in Germany," *Science, Technology & Human Values*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 488–510.

Heitmeyer, W., Müller, J., and Schröder, H. (1997) *Verlockender Fundamentalismus: Türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Heinze, C., Moebius, S., and Reicher, D. (eds.) (2012) *Perspektiven der Filmsoziologie*, Konstanz: UVK.

Hickethier, K. (2012) *Film- und Fernsehanalyse*, Stuttgart: Metzler.

Hirschauer, S. (1996) "Wie sind Frauen? Wie sind Männer? Zweigeschlechtlichkeit als Wissenssystem," in Eifert, C., Epple, A., and Kessel, M. (eds.), *Was sind Frauen? Was sind Männer? Geschlechterkonstruktionen im historischen Wandel*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Hochschild, A.R. (2000) "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value," in Giddens, A., and Hutton, W. (eds.), *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, London: Jonathan Cape.

Hochschild, A.R. (2003) *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Holstein, J., and Gubrium, J. (1995) "Deprivatization and the Construction of Domestic Life," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 894–908.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001) *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., and Avila, E. (1997) "'I'm Here, but I'm There': The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood," *Gender & Society*, vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 548–571.

Hooren, F. van (2008) "Bringing Policies Back In: How Social and Migration Policies Affect the Employment of Immigrants in Domestic Care for the Elderly in the EU-15," Paper prepared for "Transforming Elderly Care at Local, National and Transnational Levels" international conference at the Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI) Copenhagen, June 26–28, 2008, http://gl.sfi.dk/Admin/Public/DWSDownload.aspx?File=%2FFiles%2FFiler%2Ftransforming+care%2FFranca-van-Hooren.pdf.

Hopkins, P., and Pain, R. (2007) "Geographies of Age: Thinking Relationally," *Area*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 287–294.

Huth-Hildebrandt, C. (2002) *Das Bild von der Migrantin: Auf den Spuren eines Konstrukts*, Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel.

Ignatieff, M. (2001) *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

ILO (2013) "Domestic Workers across the World: Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection," Geneva: International Labour Organization, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—dgreports/—dcomm/—publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf.

ILO (2015) "ILO Global Estimates on Migrant Workers: Results and Methodology: Special Focus on Migrant Domestic Workers," Geneva: International Labour Organization, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_436343.pdf.

IOM/UN (2000) "World Migration Report 2000," Geneva/New York, NY: International Organization for Migration/United Nations, https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2000_edited_0.pdf.

INSTRAW (1994) *The Migration of Women: Methodological Issues*, Santo Domingo: United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Isin, E.F. (2002) "Citizenship after Orientalism," in Isin, E.F., and Turner, B.S. (eds.), *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, London: Sage.

Isin, E.F. (ed.) (2015) *Citizenship after Orientalism: Transforming Political Theory*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jaggar, A., and McBride, W. (1989) "Reproduktion als männliche Ideologie," in List, E., and Studer, H. (eds.), *Denkverhältnisse: Feminismus und Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Janta, H., Ladkin, A., Brown, L., and Lugosi, P. (2011) "Employment Experiences of Polish Migrant Workers in the UK Hospitality Sector," *Tourism Management*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 1006–1019.

Jonas, A.E.G. (2006) "Pro Scale: Further Reflections of the 'Scale Debate'," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 399–406.

Kahanec, M., Zimmermann, K.F., Kureková, L., and Biavaschi, C. (2013) "Labour Migration from EaP Countries to the EU: Assessment of Costs and Benefits and Proposals for Better Labour Market Matching," IZA Research Report No. 56, Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labour, http://legacy.iza.org/en/webcontent/publications/reports/report_pdfs/iza_report_56.pdf

Karasek, H. (1988) "Die Liebenden von Altona," *Der Spiegel*, May 2, 1988, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13527586.html

Khagram, S., and Levitt, P. (eds.) (2008) *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Kilkey, M. (2014) "Polish Male Migrants in London: The Circulation of Fatherly Care," in Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (eds.), *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care*, New York, NY: Routledge.

King, D.K. (1988) "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," *Signs*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 42–72.

Kivisto, P., and Faist, T. (2007) *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, and Transnational Prospects*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Klinger, C. (2003) "Ungleichheit in den Verhältnissen von Klasse, Rasse und Geschlecht," in Knapp, G.-A., and Wetterer, A. (eds.), *Achsen der Differenz: Gesellschaftstheorie und feministische Kritik*, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Klinger, C., and Knapp, G.-A. (2005) "Achsen der Ungleichheit—Achsen der Differenz: Verhältnisbestimmung von Klasse, Geschlecht, 'Rasse'/Ethnizität," *TRANSIT: Europäische Revue*, vol. 29, pp. 72–96.

Knapp, G.-A. (2005) "Intersectionality—ein neues Paradigma feministischer Theorie? Zur transatlantischen Reise von 'Race, Class, Gender'," *Feministische Studien*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 68–81.

Knapp, G.-A. (2009) "Resonanzräume—Räsonierräume: Zur transatlantischen Reise von Race, Class und Gender," in Lutz, H. (eds.), *Gender Mobil? Geschlecht und Migration in transnationalen Räumen*, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Knapp, G.-A. (2013) "Zur Bestimmung und Abgrenzung von 'Intersektionalität': Überlegungen zur Interferenz von 'Geschlecht,' 'Klasse' und anderen Kategorien sozialer Teilung," *Erwägen—Wissen—Ethik*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 341–354.

Kofman, E. (2000a) "The Invisibility of Skilled Female Migrants and Gender Relations in Studies of Skilled Migration in Europe," *International Journal of Population Geography*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 45–59.

Kofman, E. (2000b) *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare, and Politics*, London: Routledge.

Kofman, E. (2012) "Rethinking Care through Social Reproduction: Articulating Circuits of Migration," *Social Politics*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 142–162.

Kofman, E., and Raghuram, P. (2006) "Gender and Global Labour Migrations: Incorporating Skilled Workers," *Antipode*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 282–303.

Kofman, E., and Raghuram, P. (2009) "Arbeitsmarktmigration qualifizierter Frauen," Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/57291/arbeitsmarkt

Kofman, E., and Raghuram, P. (2015) *Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kofman, E., Saharso, S., and Vacchelli, E. (2013) "Gendered Perspectives on Integration Discourses and Measures," *International Migration*, vol. 53, no. 4, pp. 77–89.

Kogan, I., Gebel, M., and Noelke, C. (eds.) (2008) *Europe Enlarged: A Handbook of Education, Labour and Welfare Regimes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Koopmans, R. (2012) "The Post-Nationalization of Immigrant Rights: A Theory in Search of Evidence," *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 63, no. 1, pp. 22–30.

Koser, K., and Lutz, H. (1998) *The New Migration in Europe: Social Constructions and Social Realities*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Koshulap, I. (2007) "Images of Fatherhood in Ukraine: Past and Present," in Hankivsky, O., and Salnykova, A. (eds.), *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine*, Toronto, ON: Toronto University Press.

Koslowski, R. (2003) "Challenges of International Cooperation in a World of Increasing Dual Nationality," in Martin, D.A., and Hailbronner, K. (eds.), *Rights and Duties of Dual Nationals: Evolution and Prospects*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Kosnick, Kira (2011) "Sexuality and Migration Studies: The Invisible, the Oxymoronic and Heteronormative Othering?," in Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M.T., and Supik, L. (eds.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Kraß, A. (2013) "Judith Butler," in Schmidbaur, M., Lutz, H., and Wischermann, U. (eds.), *Klassikerinnen feministischer Theorie, Vol. III*, Sulzbach (Taunus): Ulrike Helmer.

Kreckel, R. (2004) *Politische Soziologie der sozialen Ungleichheit*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Kritz, M.M., Lim, L.L., and Zlotnik, H. (eds.) (1992) *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Krüger, H. (2007) "Geschlechterungleichheit verstimmt: Institutionalisierte Ungleichheit in den Verhältnissen gesellschaftlicher Reproduktion," in Klinger, C., Knapp, G.-A., and Sauer, B. (eds.), *Achsen der Ungleichheit: Zum Verhältnis von Klasse, Geschlecht und Ethnizität*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Krzystek, K. (2013) "Female Migrants and the Issue of Residence Rights," in Anthias, F., Kontos, M., and Morokvasic-Müller, M. (eds.), *Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lafleur, J.M. (2013) *Transnational Politics and the State: The External Voting Rights of Diasporas*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Lamont, M., and Molnár, V. (2002) "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 28, pp. 167–195.

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor–Network Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, E. (1966) "A Theory of Migration," *Demography*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 47–57.

Legomsky, S. (2003) "Dual Nationality and Military Service: Strategy Number Two," New York, NY: SSRN, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=276989

Leiprecht, R. (2001) *Alltagsrassismus: Eine Untersuchung bei Jugendlichen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, Münster: Waxmann.

Leiprecht, R., and Lutz, H. (2015a) "Intersektionalität im Klassenzimmer: Zur sozialen Konstruktion und Bedeutung von Ethnie, Klasse, Geschlecht und ihren Verbindungen," in Leiprecht, R., and Steinbach, A. (eds.), *Schule in der Migrationsgesellschaft, Vol. 1*, Schwalbach am Taunus: Debus Pädagogik.

Leiprecht, R., and Lutz, H. (2015b) "Without Guarentees: Stuart Halls Analysen und Interventionen im Kontext von Rassismus, Kultur und Ethnizität," in Reuter, J., and Mecheril, P. (eds.), *Schlüsselwerke der Migrationsforschung: Pionierstudien und Referenztheorien*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Leitner, H. (2004) "The Politics of Scale and Networks of Spatial Connectivity: Transnational Interurban Networks and the Rescaling of Political Governance in

Europe," in Sheppard, E., and McMaster, R.B. (eds.), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Leon-Ledesma, M., and Piracha, M. (2001) "International Migration and the Role of Remittances in Eastern Europe," University of Kent Discussion Paper No. 01/13, University of Kent, Department of Economics.

Leuther, M. (2000) "NS-Zwangsarbeit in Privathaushalten und Landwirtschaft: 'Fremdarbeiter' von Entschädigung ausgeschlossen," *ak—analyse & kritik: Zeitung für linke Debatten und Praxis*, no. 434, pp. 1–4, http://www.akweb.de/ak_s/ak434/18.htm.

Levitt, P., and Glick Schiller, N. (2004) "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society," *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 1002–1039.

Levitt, P., Lloyd, C., Mueller, A., and Viterna, J. (2015) "Global Social Protection: Setting the Agenda," Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. RSCAS 2015/78, San Domenico di Fiesole: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Lewis, W.A. (1954) "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour," *The Manchester School*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 139–191.

Leydet, D. (2014) "Citizenship," in Zalta, E.N. (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/citizenship.

Lipton, M. (1980) "Migration from the Rural Areas of Poor Countries: The Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution," *World Development*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 1–24.

Lister, R. (1993) "Tracing the Contours of Women's Citizenship," *Policy & Politics*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 3–16.

Löw, M. (2016) *The Sociology of Space: Materiality, Social Structures, and Action*, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lutz, H. (1997) "The Limits of European-ness: Immigrant Women in Fortress Europe," *Feminist Review*, vol. 57, no. 3, pp. 112–139.

Lutz, H. (2007) "'Die 24-Stunden-Polin': Eine intersektionelle Analyse transnationaler Dienstleistungen," in Klinger, C., Knapp, G.-A., and Sauer, B. (eds.), *Achsen der Ungleichheit: Zum Verhältnis von Klasse, Geschlecht und Ethnizität*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Lutz, H. (2008) *Vom Weltmarkt in den Privathaushalt: Die neuen Dienstmädchen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung* (2nd ed.), Opladen: Barbara Budrich.

Lutz, H. (2010a) "Unsichtbar und unproduktiv? Haushaltsarbeit und Care Work—die Rückseite der Arbeitsgesellschaft," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 23–37.

Lutz, H. (2010b) "Gender in the Migratory Process," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, no. 10, pp. 1647–1663.

Lutz, H. (2011) *The New Maids: Transnational Women and the Care Economy*, London: Zed Books.

Lutz, H. (2013) "Intersectional Invisibility: Über das Auftauchen und Verschwinden von Kategorien sozialer Ungleichheit in der deutschen Intersektionalitätsdebatte," *Erwägen—Wissen—Ethik*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 421–423.

Lutz, H. (2014) "Intersectionality's (Brilliant) Career: How to Understand the Attraction of the Concept?," "Gender, Diversity and Migration" Working Paper No. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Goethe University Frankfurt, Department of Social Sciences, http://www.fb03.uni-frankfurt.de/51634119/Lutz_WP.pdf

Lutz, H. (2016a) "'Good Motherhood'—A Dilemma for Migrant Women from Eastern Europe," in Amelina, A., Horvath, K., and Meeus, B. (eds.), *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Lutz, H. (2016b) "Euro Orphans: The Stigmatization of Migrant Motherhood," in Ergas, Y., Jenson, J., and Michel, S. (eds.), *Bodies and Borders: Negotiating Motherhood in the 21st Century*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Lutz, H. (2016c) "Intersectionality's Amazing Journey: Toleration, Adaptation and Appropriation," *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, vol. 3, pp. 421–437.

Lutz, H. (2017a) "Care as a Fictitious Commodity: Reflections on the Intersections of Migration, Gender and Care Regimes," *Migration Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 356–368.

Lutz, H. (2017b) "Euro Orphans: The Stigmatization of Migrant Motherhood," in Ergas, Y., Jenson, J., and Michel, S. (eds.), *Reassembling Motherhood: Procreation and Care in a Globalized World*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Lutz, H. (2018a) "Care Migration: The Connectivity between Care Chains, Care Circulation and Transnational Social Inequality," in Aulenbacher, B., Lutz, H., and Riegraf, B. (eds.), *Towards a Global Sociology of Care and Care Work*, London: Sage, pp. 577–589.

Lutz, H. (2018b) "Masculinity, Care and Stay-Behind Fathers: A Postsocialist Perspective," *Critical Sociology* (forthcoming).

Lutz, H., and Davis, K. (2005) "Geschlechterforschung und Biographieforschung: Intersektionalität als biographische Ressource am Beispiel einer außergewöhnlichen Frau," in Völter, B., Dausien, B., Lutz, L., and Rosenthal, G. (eds.), *Biographieforschung im Diskurs*, Wiesbaden: VS.

Lutz, H., and Huth-Hildebrandt, C. (1998) "Geschlecht im Migrationsdiskurs. Neue Gedanken über ein altes Thema," *Das Argument*, vol. 40, pp. 159–173.

Lutz, H., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2010) "Care Work Migration in Germany: Semi-Compliance and Complicity," *Social Policy & Society*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 419–430.

Lutz, H., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2011a) "Care, Gender and Migration: Towards a Theory of Transnational Domestic Work Migration in Europe," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 349–364.

Lutz, H., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2011b) "Das Care Chain-Konzept auf dem Prüfstand: Eine Fallstudie der transnationalen Care-Arrangements polnischer und ukrainischer Migrantinnen," *GENDER: Zeitschrift für Geschlecht, Kultur und Gesellschaft*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 9–27.

Lutz, H., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2014) "Care-Migrantinnen im geteilten Europa: Verbindungen und Widersprüche in einem transnationalen Raum," special issue no. 20 of *Soziale Welt*, pp. 217–234.

Lutz, H., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2015) "Care-Arbeit, Gender und Migration: Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der transnationalen Migration im Haushaltssektor in Europa," in Meier-Gräwe, U. (ed.), *Die Arbeit des Alltags: Gesellschaftliche Orientierung und Umverteilung*, Wiesbaden: Springer.

Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M.T., and Supik, L. (2011) "Framing Intersectionality: An Introduction," in Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M.T., and Supik, L. (eds.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate.

MacGregor, S. (2006) *Beyond Mothering Earth: Ecological Citizenship and the Politics of Care*, Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Mackert, J. (1999) *Kampf um Zugehörigkeit: Nationale Staatsbürgerschaft als Modus sozialer Schließung*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Mackert, J. (2006) *Staatsbürgerschaft: Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden: VS.

Madianou, M., and Miller, D. (2011) *Migration and the New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Mahler, S.J., and Pessar, P.R. (2006) "Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery Toward the Core of Migration Studies," *International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 27–63.

Marshall, T.H. (1950) "Citizenship and Social Class," in Marshall, T.H. (ed.), *"Citizenship and Social Class," and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marston, S.A., Jones, J.P., and Woodward, K. (2005) "Human Geography without Scale," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 416–432.

Martin, D.A. (2003) "Introduction: The Trend toward Dual Nationality," in Martin, D.A., and Hailbronner, K. (eds.), *Rights and Duties of Dual Nationals: Evolution and Prospects*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Massey, D.S. (1990) "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration," *Population Index*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 3–26.

Massey, D.S., and Espinosa, K.E. (1997) "What's Driving Mexico–U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 102, no. 4, pp. 939–999.

Massey, D.S., Arango, J., Graeme, H., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, E.J. (1993) "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 431–466.

Matsuda, M.J. (1991) "Besides My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory Out of Coalition," *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1184–1192.

Mattes, M. (1999) "Zum Verhältnis von Migration und Geschlecht: Anwerbung und Beschäftigung von 'Gastarbeiterinnen' in der Bundesrepublik 1960 bis 1973," in Motte, J., Ohlinger, R., and Oswald, A. von (eds.), *50 Jahre Bundesrepublik—50 Jahre Einwanderung: Nachkriegsgeschichte als Migrationsgeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Mazzucato, V. (2013) "Transnational Families, Research and Scholarship," in Ness, I. (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

McCall, L. (2005) "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 1771–1800.

Mecheril, P. (2003) *Prekäre Verhältnisse: Über natio-ethnokulturelle (Mehrfach-) Zugehörigkeit*, Münster: Waxmann.

Meehan, E. (1993) *Meehan Citizenship and the European Community*, London: Sage.

Meekosha, H. (1990) "Is Feminism Able-Bodied? Reflections from between the Trenches," *Refractory Girl*, August, pp. 34–42.

Mendel, A. (1993) *Zwangsarbeit im Kinderzimmer: "Ostarbeiterinnen" in deutschen Familien von 1939–1945*, Frankfurt am Main: Dipa.

Michel, S., and Peng, I. (2012) "All in the Family? Migrants, Nationhood, and Care Regimes in Asia and North America," *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 406–418.

Moch, L.P. (1992) *Moving Europeans*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Moriarty, E., Wickham, J., Bobek, A., and Daly, S. (2016) "Portability of Social Protection in the European Union," in Amelina, A., Horvath, K., and Meeus, B. (eds.), *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Morokvasic, M. (1984) "The Overview: Birds of Passage Are Also Women," *International Migration Review*, vol. 68, no. 18, pp. 886–907.

Morokvasic, M. (1987) *Emigration und Danach: Jugoslawische Frauen in Westeuropa*, Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern.

Morokvasic, M. (2003) "Transnational Mobility and Gender: A View from Post-Wall Europe," in Morokvasic-Müller, M., Erel, U., and Shinozaki, K. (eds.), *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries, Vol. I: Gender on the Move*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Morokvasic, M. (2004) "Settled in Mobility: Engendering Post-Wall Migration in Europe," *Feminist Review*, vol. 77, no. 1, pp. 7–25.

Müller, P., and Schmid, M. (2003) *Hauptwerke der Ungleichheitsforschung*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Nawyn, S.J. (2010) "Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies," *Social Compass*, vol. 4, no. 9, pp. 749–765.

Nedelcu, M. (2012) "Migrants' New Transnational Habitus: Rethinking Migration through a Cosmopolitan Lens in the Digital Age," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 38, no. 9, pp. 1339–1356.

Neuhaus, A., Isfort, M., and Weidner, F. (2009) "Situation und Bedarfe von Familien mit mittel- und osteuropäischen Haushaltshilfen," Cologne: Deutsches Institut für angewandte Pflegeforschung, http://www.dip.de/fileadmin/data/pdf/material/bericht_haushaltshilfen.pdf.

Nieswand, B. (2011) *Theorising Transnational Migration: The Status Paradox of Migration*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Nowicka, M. (2006) *Transnational Professionals and Their Cosmopolitan Universes*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Nowicka, M. (2014) "Migrating Skills, Skilled Migrants and Migration Skills: The Influence of Contexts on the Validation of Migrants' Skills," special issue of *Migration Letters*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 154–170.

Okin, S.M. (1992) "Women, Equality and Citizenship," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 99, pp. 57–72.

Okin, S.M. (1998) "Gender, the Public and the Private," in Phillips, A. (ed.), *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Okin, S.M. (2005) "Multiculturalism and Feminism: No Simple Question, No Simple Answers," in Eisenberg, A., and Spinner-Halev, J. (eds.), *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oleksy, E.H., Hearn, J., and Golanska, D. (eds.) (2011) *The Limits of Gendered Citizenship: Contexts and Complexities*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Olwig, K.F. (2014) "Migration and Care: Intimately Related Aspects of Caribbean Family and Kinship," in Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (eds.), *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Omi, M., and Winant, H. (1986) *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2013a) "New Maids—New Butlers? Polish Domestic Workers in Germany and Commodification of Social Reproductive Work," *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, vol. 32, no. 6, pp. 557–574.

Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2013b) "Care Chains in Eastern and Central Europe: Male and Female Domestic Work at the Intersections of Gender, Class, and Ethnicity," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 364–383.

Palenga-Möllenbeck, E., and Lutz, H. (2016) "Fatherhood and Masculinities in Post-Socialist Europe: The Challenges of Transnational Migration," in Kilkey, M., and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (eds.), *Family Life in an Age of Migration and Mobility: Global Perspectives through the Life Course*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Papademetriou, D. (1985) "Illusions and Reality in International Migration: Migration and Development in Post–World War II Greece," *International Migration*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 211–224.

Papadopoulos, D., and Tsianos, V. (2013) "After Citizenship: Autonomy of Migration, Organisational Ontology and Mobile Commons," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 178–196.

Parreñas, R.S. (2001) *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R.S. (2005) *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Parsons, T. (1966) "The Political Aspect of Social Structure and Process," in Easton, D. (ed.), *Varieties of Political Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Parsons, T. (1971) *The System of Modern Societies*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Pascoe, C.J., and Bridges, T. (2015) *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity and Change*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peltzer, A., and Keppler, A. (2015) *Die soziologische Film- und Fernsehanalyse: Eine Einführung*, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Penninx, R. (1982) "A Critical Review of Theory and Practice: The Case of Turkey," *International Migration Review*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 781–818.

Phillips, C., and Bowling, B. (2003) "Racism, Ethnicity and Criminology: Developing Minority Perspectives," *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 269–290.

Phoenix, A., and Pattynama, P. (2006) "Introduction," special issue of *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 187–192.

Piper, N., and Roces, M. (2003) *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Piperno, F. (2012) "The Impact of Female Emigration on Families and the Welfare State in Countries of Origin: The Case of Romania," *International Migration*, vol. 50, no. 5, pp. 189–204.

Poeze, M., and Mazzucato, V. (2014) "Ghanaian Children in Transnational Families: Understanding the Experiences of Left-Behind-Children through Local Parenting Norms," in Baldassar, L., and Merla, L. (eds.), *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Portes, A., and Rumbaut, R. (2006) *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (3rd ed.), Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, A., and Walton, J. (1981) *Labour, Class, and International System*, London: Academic Press.

Portes, A., and Zhou, M. (2005) "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," in Suarez-Orozco, M., Suarez-Orozco, C., and Qin, D.B. (eds.), *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, New York,: Routledge.

Pries, L. (2007) "Transnationalism: Trendy Catch-All or Specific Research Programme? A Proposal for Transnational Organisation Studies as a Micro–Macro-Link," COMCAD Working Paper No. 34, Bochum: Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development, http://www.universitaetbielefeld.de/tdrc/ag_comcad/downloads/workingpaper_34_Pries.pdf.

Pries, L. (2008a) *Die Transnationalisierung der sozialen Welt: Sozialräume jenseits von Nationalgesellschaften*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Pries, L. (2008b) "Transnational Societal Spaces: Which Units of Analysis, Reference, and Measurement?," in Pries, L. (ed.), *Rethinking Transnationalism: The Meso-Link of Organisations*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Prodolliet, S. (1999) "Spezifisch weiblich: Geschlecht und Migration: Ein Rückblick auf die Migrationsforschung," *Zeitschrift für Frauenforschung*, vol. 17, no. 1/2, pp. 26–42.

Räthzel, N. (2010) "Rassismustheorien: Geschlechterverhältnisse und Feminismus," in Becker, R., and Kortendiek, B. (eds.), *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung: Theorie, Methoden, Empirie* (3rd rev. ed.), Wiesbaden: VS.

Regulation (EC) No. 987/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 September 2009 laying down the procedure for implementing Regulation (EC) No . 883/2004 on the coordination of social security systems.

Richardson, D. (2000) "Constructing Sexual Citizenship: Theorizing Sexual Rights," *Critical Social Policy*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 105–135.

Romero, M. (2014) "Care Work in a Globalizing World," in Romero, M., Preston, V., and Giless, W. (eds.), *When Care Work Goes Global: Locating the Social Relations of Domestic Work*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Rostock, P., and Berghahn, S. (2008) "The Ambivalent Role of Gender in Redefining the German Nation," *Ethnicities*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 345–364.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1994 [1762]) *The Social Contract* (transl. C. Betts). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rubenstein, H. (1992) "Migration, Development and Remittances in Rural Mexico," *International Migration*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 127–153.

Said, E.W. (1979) *Orientalism*, New York, NY: Vintage.

Salt, J. (1988) "Highly Skilled International Migrants, Careers and Internal Labour Markets," *Geoforum*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 387–399.

Sassen, S. (1991) *Global City*, Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (1996) *Migranten, Siedler, Flüchtlinge: Von der Massenauswanderung zur Festung Europa*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.

Sassen, S. (1998) "Überlegungen zu einer feministischen Analyse der globalen Wirtschaft," *PROKLA*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 199–216.

Scheibelhofer, P. (2014) "Integrating the Patriarch? Constructs of Migrant Masculinity in Times of Managing Migration and Integration," in Anthias, F., and Pajnik, M. (eds.), *Contesting Integration, Engendering Migration*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Scheibelhofer, P. (2016) "'How Would You React If You Learned That Your Son Was Gay?' Racialized Sexualities and the Production of Migrant Others in Europe," in Amelina, A., Horvath, K., and Meeus, B. (eds.), *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Schlehe, J. (2001) *Interkulturelle Geschlechterforschung: Identitäten—Imaginationen—Repräsentationen*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Schneider, N.F. (2014) "Die räumliche Dimension der Herstellung von Familie," in Jurczyk, K., Lange, A., and Thiessen, B. (eds.), *Doing Family: Warum Familienleben nicht mehr selbstverständlich ist*, Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Schroer, M. (ed.) (2007) *Gesellschaft im Film*, Konstanz: UVK.

Scott, J.W. (1988) *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Shinozaki, K. (2015) *Migrant Citizenship from Below: Family, Domestic Work, and Social Activism in Irregular Migration*, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sienkiewicz, J.J., Sadovskaya, Y., and Amelina, A. (2015) "The Kazakh–German Social Space: Decreasing Transnational Ties and Symbolic Social Protection," *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 270–281.

Silvey, R. (2006) "Geographies of Gender and Migration: Spatializing Social Difference," *International Migration Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 64–81.

Smith, M.P., and Guarnizo, L.E. (1998) *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Soysal, Y.N. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Soysal, Y.N. (2001) "Changing Citizenship in Europe: Remarks on Postnational Membership and the Nation State," Fink, J., Lewis, G., and Clarke, J. (eds.), *Rethinking European Welfare: Transformations of European Social Policy*, London: Sage.

Spies, T. (2010) *Migration und Männlichkeit: Biographien junger Straffälliger im Diskurs*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Spindler, S. (2006) *Corpus Delicti: Männlichkeit, Rassismus und Kriminalisierung im Alltag jugendlicher Migranten*, Münster: Unrast.

Spiro, P. (2002) "Embracing Dual Nationality," in Hansen, R., and Weil, P. (eds.), *Dual Nationality, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the US and Europe*, New York, NY: Berghahn.

Spivak, G.C. (1988) *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, Houndmills: Macmillan.

Stacey, J. (1991) *Brave New Families: Stories of Domestic Upheaval in Twentieth Century America*, New York, NY: Basic Books.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2013a) "Pflegestatistik 2011," Wiesbaden: Federal Statistical Office.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2013b) "Kind und Beruf: Nicht alle Mütter wollen Beides," *STATmagazin*, Wiesbaden: Federal Statistical Office, https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/STATmagazin/Bevoelkerung/2013_02/2013_02PDF.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

Stella, F., Taylor, Y., Reynolds, T., and Rogers, A. (eds.) (2015) *Sexuality, Citizenship and Belonging: Transnational and Intersectional Perspectives*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Swyngedouw, E. (1997) "Neither Global nor Local: 'Glocalization' and the Politics of Scale," in Cox, K.R. (ed.), *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, New York: Guilford Press.

Tastsoglou, E., and Dobrowolsky, A. (2016) *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections*, London: Routledge.

Taylor, C. (1994) "The Politics of Recognition," in Gutmann, A. (ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, P.J. (1982) "A Materialist Framework for Political Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 15–34.

Taylor, P.J. (2004) "Is There a Europe of Cities? World Cities and the Limitations of Geographical Scale Analyses," in Sheppard, E., and McMaster, R.B. (eds.), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Teo, Youyenn (2016) "Not Everyone has 'Maids': Class Differentials in the Elusive Quest for Work-Life Balance," *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 23, no. 8, pp. 1164–1178.

Todaro, M.P. (1969) "A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 138–148.

Treibel, A. (2008) *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung, Gastarbeit und Flucht*, Weinheim: Juventa.

Trevena, P. (2013) "Why Do Highly Educated Migrants Go for Low-Skilled Jobs? A Case Study of Polish Graduates Working in London," in Glorius, B., Grabowska-Lusinska, I., and Kuvik, A. (eds.), *Mobility in Transition: Migration Patterns after EU Enlargement*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Trotha, T. von (1994) *Koloniale Herrschaft: Zur soziologischen Theorie der Staatsentstehung am Beispiel des Schutzgebietes Togo*, Tübingen: Mohr.

Triandafyllidou, A., and Marchetti, S. (eds.) (2015) *Employers, Agencies and Immigration: Paying for Care*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Tuider, E., and Lutz, H. (2017) "Postkolonialität und Biographieforschung," in Lutz, H., Schiebel, M., and Tuider, E. (eds.), *Handbuch Biographieforschung*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Turner, B.S. (1997) "Citizenship Studies: A General Theory," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5–18.

Turner, B., and Isin, E. (2007) "Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 5–17.

Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Urry, J. (2012) *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century*, London: Routledge.

Vogel, U. (1991) "Is Citizenship Gender-Specific?," in Vogel, U., and Moran, M. (eds.), *The Frontiers of Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vullnetari, J., and King, R. (2008) "'Does Your Granny Eat Grass?' On Mass Migration, Care Drain and the Fate of Older People in Rural Albania," *Global Networks*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 139–171.

Walby, S. (2009) *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities*, London: Sage.

Walby, S., Armstrong, J., and Strid, S. (2012) "Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory," *Sociology*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 224–240.

Walgenbach, K. (2005) *Die weiße Frau als Trägerin der deutschen Kultur: Koloniale Diskurse über Geschlecht, "Rasse" und Klasse im Kaiserreich*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Wallace, C. (2002) "Opening and Closing Borders: Migration and Mobility in East-Central Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 603–625.

Weber, M. (1917) *Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland*, Berlin: Fortschritt.

Weber, M. (1918) "Der Sozialismus: Rede zur allgemeinen Orientierung von österreichischen Offizieren in Wien 1918," in Weber, M. (ed.), *Max Weber: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Weber, M. (1922) *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik, III. Abteilung: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Weber, M. (1924) "Das Bürgertum," in Schluchter, W. (ed.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe: Abriss der universalen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Mit- und Nachschriften 1919/20*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Wekker, G. (2016) *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

West, C., and Fenstermaker, S.B. (1995) "Doing Difference," *Gender & Society*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 8–37.

West, C., and Zimmerman, D.H. (1987) "Doing Gender," in *Gender & Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 125–151.

Wetterer, A. (2010) "Konstruktion von Geschlecht: Reproduktionsweisen der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit," in Becker, R., and Kortendiek, B. (eds.), *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung: Theorie, Methoden, Empirie* (3rd rev. ed.), Wiesbaden: VS.

Wiebe, S.M. (2014) "Beyond Biopolitics? Ecologies of Indigenous Citizenship," in Isin, E.F., and Nyers, P. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Williams, F. (1989) *Social Policy: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Williams, F. (2010) "Migration and Care: Themes, Concepts and Challenges," *Social Policy and Society*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 385–396.

Williams, F. (2018) "Care: Intersections of Scales, Inequalities and Crises," in Aulenbacher, B., Lutz, H., and Riegraf, B. (eds.), *Towards a Global Sociology of Care and Care Work*, London: Sage (forthcoming).

Wimmer, A., and Glick Schiller, N. (2003) "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 576–610.

Winker, G., and Degele, N. (2009) *Intersektionalität: Zur Analyse sozialer Ungleichheiten*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Winker, G., and Degele, N. (2011) "Intersectionality as Multi-Level Analysis: Dealing with Social Inequality," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 51–66.

Winkler, U. (2000) "'Hauswirtschaftliche Ostarbeiterinnen': Zwangsarbeit in deutschen Haushalten," in Winkler, U. (ed.), *Stiften gehen: NS-Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigungsdebatte*, Cologne: PapyRossa.

Wolanik Boström, K., and Öhlander, M. (2012) "A Troubled Elite? Stories about Migration and Establishing Professionalism as a Polish Doctor in Sweden," COMCAD Working Paper No. 110/2012, Bielefeld: Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development, http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/(en)/soz/ab6/ag_faist/downloads/WP_110.pdf.

WSI (2016) "Arbeitszeiten: Teilzeitbeschäftigung von Erwerbstätigen nach Alter," Düsseldorf: Institute of Economic and Social Research, www.boeckler.de/51984.htm

Yeates, N. (2009) *Globalising Care Economies and Migrant Workers: Explorations in Global Care Chains*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 196–213.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011a) *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*, Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011b) "Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging," FREIA Working Paper Series No. 75, Aalborg: FREIA-Feminist Research Center, http://vbn.aau.dk/files/58024503/FREIA_wp_75.pdf.

Yuval-Davis, N., and Anthias, F. (eds.) (1989) *Woman—Nation—State*, Houndmills: Macmillan.

Zachariah, K., Mathew, E.T., and Irudaya Rajan, S. (2001) "Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society," *International Migration*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 63–87.

Index

This page intentionally left blank