

Gender and International Migration: Contributions and Cross-Fertilizations

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Abstract

The focus in the gender and migration literature has moved from the recovery of women's experiences, to the mainstreaming of gender within migration studies, to intersectionality. Both mainstreaming and intersectionality have proven to be fertile grounds for cross-fertilization with other fields of social analysis beyond migration studies. This review examines three sites where this happens: migrant care work, transnational families, and gendered analysis of migration policies. First, I briefly cover the shift from a gender mainstreaming approach to an intersectionality approach. I then examine the literature on migrant care work and its contribution to the analysis of economic globalization. I continue with how analyses of transnational parenting may widen our perspective on gender and the family. Finally, I look at how work that integrates gender into its analysis of migration policies may provide new understandings of citizenship.

INTRODUCTION

The field of gender and international migration has expanded dramatically over the past 30 years. Several reviews of the field identify two stages. Initially, analogous to the way other fields of study became “engendered,” much of the work sought to illuminate the migration experiences of women as a way of acknowledging women as actors rather than as passive subjects. Over the next 20 years, gender gradually became more of an analytical category than merely a variable comparing men and women. Authors came to appreciate gender as a signifier of power relations and a lens to examine institutions, social norms, policies, and identities within migration processes. As a result, the engendering of migration studies has provided new interpretations of many of the field’s traditional aspects: the social organization of migration, transnationalism, assimilation and social integration, and migration policy, among others (Morokvašić 1984, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999, Curran et al. 2006, Donato et al. 2006, Mahler & Pessar 2006). Furthermore, some of the same authors also argued that the converse was true: Migration was a critical site for the study of the transformation of gender relations (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999, Mahler & Pessar 2006). I call this second stage the gender mainstreaming of migration studies.

Recent work in the field suggests a third stage: Gender not only is put at the center of migration analysis but also becomes better articulated with other axes of social inequality such as race, class, age, or nationality, an approach that has been described as intersectional (Lutz et al. 2011, Anthias 2012). Intersectionality looks at interlocking systems of oppression as constitutive of migration systems. Such an approach examines how gender intersects with other categories of social inequality, attending to the centrality of power and social hierarchy within migration processes (Anthias 2012). In this review, I argue that both mainstreaming and intersectionality have proven to be very fruitful, and not only for the field of migration studies; they have also informed and enriched

other subfields of sociological analysis. Rather than look at how gender has contributed to the study of international migration—something that has been done thoroughly by several scholars over the past few years (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999, 2001, 2011; Curran et al. 2006; Donato et al. 2006; Mahler & Pessar 2006; Ariza 2007; Nawyn 2010; Benería et al. 2012; Oso & Parella 2012; Oso & Ribas 2012)—I focus on particular sets of research on gender and migration that crosscut other fields of study and, in so doing, make interesting theoretical contributions. In that sense, this is not an exhaustive but a selective review of the literature; it seeks to highlight the various sites of cross-fertilization between gender and migration studies and other fields. I consider three sites: (a) the engendering of the study of economic globalization through the study of migrant care work, (b) the reexamining of conceptions of the family through the analysis of transnational experiences of parenthood and family, and (c) the role of gendered analyses of migration policies in rethinking notions of citizenship. I am interested in looking at different gendered migration experiences as strategic sites for the analysis of other social processes and institutions.

In their article on migration studies and gender, Pessar & Mahler (2003, p. 834) called for cross-fertilization with other subfields: “[T]he literature seeking to engender transnational migration (should, may) move ahead conceptually by reaching out to engage other kindred literatures more productively. In practice, this means not only focusing inward to improve the transnational migration paradigm but also seeking kinship with related phenomena and their associated literatures.” This is precisely how one can read some of the most recent work on gender and international migration.

This review is structured as follows: First, I briefly cover the shift from gender mainstreaming to intersectionality. Then, I examine the literature on migrant care work and its contribution to the analysis of economic globalization. I continue by assessing how analyses of transnational parenting may widen our perspective on the family. Finally, I look at how studies that

integrate gender into their analyses of the state and in particular migration policies may provide new understandings of citizenship.

FROM GENDER MAINSTREAMING TO INTERSECTIONALITY IN THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars tended to view negatively the breadth and quality of the coverage of women in migration studies (Morokvašić 1984, Simon & Brethell 1986). Twenty years later, however, the field was “very healthy,” in the words of the coordinators of the special issue of *International Migration* (Donato et al. 2006) dedicated to this topic.¹ This positive assessment not only indicates a significant increase in the quantity of work on the topic in many regions of the world, but most importantly, it also highlights various efforts to theorize and develop methodologies for the analysis of gender in migration studies. However, the authors also underscored several pending issues. For example, in sociology, the authors noted an imbalance between the relatively small impact of gendering in quantitative studies and a proliferation of ethnographic and documentary work, the importance of which was not always sufficiently recognized by the discipline (Curran et al. 2006, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011). There was also a call for more interdisciplinary approaches that would be better suited to tackling the complexity of migration experiences (Donato et al. 2006, Mahler & Pessar 2006). In any case, although progress within each discipline was uneven, the process of engendering seemed to have taken root in every one of them. In a recent review of the latest work on gender and migration, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2011) finds a vibrant field with several new areas of

research: sexualities, the social organization of care, child migration, the study of borders as subjective and objective social spaces, and sex trafficking. According to the author, these areas have nonetheless remained “Balkanized,” and this may have contributed to their low visibility in the field of migration studies.

Within the sociology of migration, the contributions of gender mainstreaming have been numerous. I underscore three that are particularly relevant because of their theoretical and methodological implications: the engendering of the social organization of migration, quantitative assessments of gender differences over time and space, and the engendering of transnational perspectives on migration.

Social Organization of Migration

In the area of the social organization of migration, gender analyses widened interpretations of what motivates emigration, arrival, settlement, and return (Mahler & Pessar 2006). Many of these studies were based on 1980s feminist critiques of the household as a homogeneous and unified unit (Benería 1992, Folbre 1994). When looking at motivations to migrate, analyses of the migrant household revealed the gender and generational hierarchies involved in deciding who would migrate and who would stay as well as the negotiations over what was at stake for different members of the family (Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Cerrutti & Massey 2001). For example, in some migration corridors, such as Mexico–United States, men clearly had preferential access to certain kinds of resources and also to the trip itself (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Goldring 2001), whereas in other contexts, such as the Dominican Republic, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and India, women were often the first to migrate (Donato 2010, Constable 1997, Gamburd 2000, George 2005).

Other studies located the origin of gender differences in migration flows in the gendered cultural construction of the family and the prevailing roles of men and women with respect to production and reproduction in the

¹This special issue of *International Migration* evaluates gender and migration studies across eight disciplines within the social sciences: anthropology, sociology, history, geography, psychology, law and society, political science, and queer studies (Donato et al. 2006).

countries of origin. For instance, in her analysis of gender differences in migration flows of four Latin American countries Donato (2010, p. 83) explains the feminization of Dominican migration as being due to what she calls “less traditional and less stable consensual unions” compared with those of Mexican families. In the same vein, Cerrutti & Gaudío (2010) argue that historical traits in the initiation of the flows, as well as women’s economic and social roles in the countries of origin, are relevant factors in explaining gendered patterns of migration. The historical role of Paraguayan women as central to economic activity within the household partially explains the more socially and culturally accepted migration of women from Paraguay to Argentina compared with Mexican women, who still inherit an ideologically patriarchal family structure that represents them as immobile (Cerrutti & Gaudío 2010). In Latin American migrations to Europe, women also appear as pioneers, paving the way for the later migration of men (Pedone 2006, Herrera 2008, Parella 2012). In this case, the transgression of gendered cultural expectations produces social unease toward women in countries of origin.

Other work focused on the differences between men and women in decisions involving arrival, settlement, or return (Goldring 2001). Furthermore, gendered household dynamics can also be observed in the use and control of remittances in the household; such analysis sheds light on how these power relations operate. In cases in which access to material resources and knowledge is unequal among men and women, men usually control remittances, even from a distance (Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Kyle 2000, Pribilsky 2007); in cases of women migrants, one can find processes of female empowerment (Ribas 2008, Herrera 2013).

Another important strategy in mainstreaming gender in the study of the social organization of migration has been to overcome the isolation of gender analysis within the household and to begin engendering other social institutions, such as the state and the labor market. This was possible because gender was no longer studied simply as a variable but rather as part of

the social relations that organize migration patterns (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999). This strategy produced numerous studies of gendered immigrant labor markets and state policies. As I show extensively in the second part of this review, such work inevitably runs into other categories of social inequalities such as race and class, making the analysis of gender alone insufficient.

Quantitative Assessments

A second fruitful terrain within gender mainstreaming is that of the methodological contributions from quantitative analyses of gender patterns of migration. As mentioned above, one weakness sociologists have identified in previous reviews of gender and migration scholarship is the imbalance between qualitative and quantitative studies. This trend has recently been reversed by studies that, by using worldwide databases, offer more sophisticated quantitative analyses on diverse gendered migration systems across the globe. Donato et al.’s (2011) work looks at variations in the gender composition of migration streams over 150 years in the United States and 40 years in the rest of the world, and across different regions. The findings allow the authors to bring nuance to the often taken-for-granted narrative of a consistent trend toward the feminization of migration around the globe by showing considerable variation across countries and time periods.

Engendering Transnational Perspectives

A third mainstreaming strategy has been to insert gender analysis into frameworks that were themselves hegemonic in the analysis of migration, such as cumulative causation, ethnic social capital and kinship, and the transnational perspective on migration. The theory of social networks and cumulative causation was significantly revised when gender analysis showed that these networks were neither neutral nor always organized upon norms of social solidarity (Mahler & Pessar 2006). On the contrary, gender analysis showed how networks can be

highly contested social resources (Kyle 2000, Cerrutti & Massey 2001, Curran & Rivero-Fuentes 2003). Likewise, the use of ethnic social capital and kinship for entrepreneurship may be a mechanism of economic success and a way to compensate for exclusion, but it can hide gender-based and child subjugation within families (Hillman 1999, Anthias & Mehta 2003, Villares 2012).

With respect to transnationalism, numerous studies have sought to engender different moments of the transnational experience: communications between family members, use of remittances, investment in countries of origin, and many more.² Perhaps the most important contributions have occurred in the search for theoretical models, such as the one proposed by Pessar & Mahler (2003) on gender geographies of power. The authors propose three main concepts for studying gender in transnational flows: geographical scales, social location, and agency and imagination. The first concept underscores that gender operates simultaneously on different scales across transnational terrains. The second component recognizes that individuals are located within specific power hierarchies resulting from multiple historic stratifying forces. The third component refers to how transnationalism and transnational space shape not only the decisions and actions of people on the move but also those of the people embedded in these spaces without necessarily moving. Drawing on Appadurai's (1996) concept of imagination as social and not individual, Pessar & Mahler (2003) propose to look at agency through actions and practices as well as through people's expectations and imagined worlds of what migration is or would be, which is a powerful tool for analyzing the

agency and social practices of people who stay.

In a similar vein, in Europe, Lutz & Palenga-Möllenberg's (2011) approach also revisits the transnational perspective, emphasizing the complexity of the individual position of migrants in transnational spaces. According to the authors, such a position is marked by intersections of life cycle, class, and ethnicity that can turn out to be more or less resourceful over the migration experience. Such an approach seeks to avoid the essentialism of a narrow preoccupation with gender as women, or with women and men as statistical variables, and focuses instead on how gender, together with class and ethnic asymmetries, is the product of certain social and political processes and, at the same time, produces them (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenberg 2011). Migration is above all conceived as a set of complex networks of inequality that need to be disentangled.

In that sense, the study of transnational networks comes close to the third framework I discuss here: Levitt & Glick Schiller's (2004) transnational social fields, in which gender is incorporated as a crosscutting dimension, together with class, ethnicity, race, and other social markers of inequality, and as a constitutive element of the transnational field. The latter is understood as a set of interlocking networks of social practices and actors traversed by power relations. In such a framework, gender can operate as an analytical category that informs how power relations span different scales, but also how each scale is transformed through transnational ties and connections, whether these are the family, the labor market, or the state. In some ways, this framework announces the kind of research that intersectionality calls for. In fact, Pessar & Mahler's (2003) proposal, and many other studies located in the gender mainstreaming moment, already paved the way for an intersectional approach. They all recognized that gender structures of inequality could not be separated from class, race, sometimes even age, and of course, nationality when analyzing migration. However, it was still a perspective that put gender at the center

²An exhaustive review of this literature on gender and transnationalism can be found in Mahler & Pessar (2006). For a European case, see Bryceson & Vuorela's (2003) edited volume, which contains several works on Bosnian refugees, Moroccan migration, and Eastern European migration to Western Europe. A special issue on gender and transnationalism addressing these and other subjects edited by Erel & Lutz (2012) appeared in the *European Journal of Women's Studies*.

and treated the other dimensions as qualifiers rather than constitutive factors, whereas intersectionality prioritizes interconnection.

The Move to Intersectionality

Proponents of intersectionality see it as a response to essentialist views on gender (Lutz et al. 2011) and also to critiques of the additive character of some conceptual and methodological proposals that put gender together with class and race. One can trace different genealogies of the concept (Lutz et al. 2011), but one important source is black feminist thought. This strain of scholarship sought a more comprehensive theory that could look at the particular experience of interlocking systems of oppression (Collins 2000). It pointed to the simultaneous and mutual constitution of different categories of social differentiation and emphasized the specificity of experiences based on such interactions. In the United States, the concept of intersectionality was so christened by Crenshaw (1991) and was used mainly within a legal perspective to address the intertwined forms of oppression of women of color, blacks, Latinos, and other minorities. McCall (2005) brought it to a more sociological terrain when she used the term for the analysis of processes of social inequality. In the European context, discussions of the relationship between social inequality, cultural differences, and ethnicity have been closely related to the debate on immigration. In this sense, the intersectional approach found a fruitful terrain (Lutz et al. 2011). However, as Lutz (2011, p. 8) puts it, awareness that the lives of migrant men and women are shaped not just by gender but also by other categories now seems to be commonplace. What makes the concept more interesting is the shift from a discussion of the differences between women and men to one of the interconnections between different dimensions of inequality—that is, to a discussion that captures the multidimensionality of social inequality (Yuval-Davis 1999, McCall 2005, Lutz et al. 2011, Anthias 2012).

Intersectionality can also be related, however, to the kind of criticism raised by Wimmer

& Glick Schiller (2002) on methodological nationalism. According to this view, analyses of migration should overcome, among other things, the focus on the nationalities of migrant groups and look instead at the intersection of race, class, and gender in order to understand both internal group differences and hierarchies and power relations between migrant and nonmigrant groups within and beyond states in transnational fields. Within this perspective, gender and race become key dimensions in the analysis of social inequality.

Although they may not explicitly subscribe to an intersectional perspective, the work of Smith (2005) on migration from the Mexican Mixteca to New York, as well as the edited work by Parreñas & Siu (2007) on the Asian Diaspora, all exemplify this way of looking at gender and transnational social inequality. They examine how racialization and gender processes occur among and within these apparently homogeneous groups and examine issues of cultural distance and exclusion in different contexts. These scholars do not exclusively deal with gender within migration, but rather embrace it as a perspective from which to approach the complexity of the migrant experience beyond cultural homogenization or purely economic considerations. At the same time, the authors avoid using rigid conceptions of identity that would deny the fluid, socially constructed character of belonging and identification among migrant groups. For example, the work of Siu (2007) on beauty contests among the Chinese Diaspora in Central America shows how the woman as a national icon is transformed into the notion of women reproducing the diaspora. In analyzing these events, the author singles out the experience of the beauty pageant as a fracture in the ideals of equality and homogeneity in the Chinese Diaspora. Gender representations are articulated through nationality and through a particular ethnic construction of the migrant experience that speaks to the changes and continuities in transnational notions of identity and belonging. Smith's (2005) work, which examines the transnational lives of teenage Mexican migrants, also reveals

the changing character of gender and racial dimensions. Indeed, as part of his study on how transnationalism and assimilation theories are two sides of the same coin, Smith analyzes gender negotiations among first- and second-generation migrants as they move back and forth between Mexico and New York City and how such gender bargaining is crosscut by racial and age-related axes of inequality. In Smith's (2005) study, gender is treated as a lens through which to view the complexity of how inequalities operate in a transnational field.

In sum, the shift from gender mainstreaming to intersectionality is not clear cut or chronological. However, analytically, by looking at interlocking systems of inequality, intersectionality may offer some interesting clues for scholars who are rethinking other social institutions and processes through the analysis of international migration.

RETHINKING GLOBALIZATION THROUGH THE WORK OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Within this renewed intersectional approach, important theoretical contributions have reflected on the relationship between gender, the social organization of care, and globalization. This work focuses on how structural gender inequalities have shaped the processes of economic globalization (Bakker & Gill 2003, Sassen 2006, Bakker & Silvey 2008). From a feminist perspective, the incorporation of significant numbers of migrant women into care labor is part of a globalized process of privatization of social reproduction (Bakker & Gill 2003, Young 2003). This process, however, should be tempered by a gender perspective in conjunction with other axes of inequality that operate at the global level. These studies show that, on one hand, the crises of social reproduction in the countries of origin, and, on the other, the crises of care in the Northern Hemisphere are the structural elements that motivate women's migration. Thus, authors like Misra et al. (2006) maintain that both neoliberal economic policies—such as the

restructuring of welfare states—and migration policies have helped shape the new international division of reproductive labor (Parreñas 2001). These scholars further argue that women's migration and entry into care labor is fundamental to understanding how the global political economy functions (Bakker & Gill 2003, Misra et al. 2006). If capitalism has always relied on a sexual division of labor in which the reproductive labor of women subsidizes the economy, then global care chains are the expression of this process on a transnational scale (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002, Yeates 2009).

In fact, as conceptualized by Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2002), the global care chain began to be used to explain female migration through several migration corridors in different regions of the world. The concept has been employed primarily to show that female migration in the past 20 to 30 years has been part of a macrostructural process of global inequality. In other words, this concept went beyond the predominant visions of the relationship between migration and gender to connect care activities—usually considered as fixed in the private domain—with globalization. The concept of the global care chain has underscored that—along with the global circulation of capital, information, and products—there exist international circuits of care workers, mostly women, who undertake the socialization and care of many other beings. These circuits were first analyzed in the migration of Asian women to the Middle East, Europe, and the United States (Constable 1997, Momsen 1999, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, Parreñas 2001, Silvey 2004, Zimmerman et al. 2006), and later became one of the most compelling explanations for the sudden increase of Andean and Eastern European female migration to Western Europe (Herrera 2008, Pérez 2009, Yeates 2009, Lutz 2011, Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011, Parella 2012).

A central idea in the global care chain is that, as we go down the chain, the value of the care labor decreases, gradually to zero (unpaid). In addition, the links of the chain traverse complex axes of inequality that include not only gender,

race, and class, but also geopolitics, generations, and nations (Yeates 2005, Pérez 2009). The concept places care activities as connecting local, national, and international scales and places gender inequalities as expressing other forms of social inequality. In that sense, the study of global care chains and issues raised by intersectionality are related via a shared approach to social inequality.

Despite the concept's usefulness in explaining the role of migrant women in the macrostructural process of global inequalities, the global care chain has been criticized for biases and omissions. According to Yeates (2005), work on global care chains has privileged the analysis of migrant domestic care of children, neglecting other forms of care. Indeed, the explosion of studies on female migrant domestic workers (Constable 1997, Momsen 1999, Andall 2000, Anderson 2000, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, Parreñas 2001, Martínez Veiga 2004, Courtis & Pacea 2010, Lutz 2011) has far outweighed studies of other care activities performed by migrant workers, mostly female but also male. These include care of the elderly, both domestic and institutional; the work of au pairs; and men employed as care workers, nurses, etc. This bias has begun to be corrected in work by Datta et al. (2006) on care providers for the elderly in London—both men and women—and by Escrivá (2005) in Spain, among others.

An interesting debate on the role of men and masculinity in the globalization of social reproduction has also contributed to redressing this bias. One example is the work of Kilkey (2010) on migrant male domestic workers in the United Kingdom. According to Kilkey (2010, p. 128), the concept of the global care chain will benefit from an examination of “how men are implicated in the global redistribution of stereotypically female tasks of social reproduction.” The analysis focuses on quantitative and qualitative data and looks at the category of migrant handymen, that is, men who work for pay in private households. Kilkey maintains that migrant men's participation in paid domestic work has increased in the past 10 years in

the United Kingdom and that males do a series of paid domestic tasks, which suggests an area open to further analysis. In the same vein, Sarti's (2010) work on past and present migrant male domestic workers in Italy contributes to de-essentializing the female/domestic worker dyad. She shows not only that male domestic workers were frequent in Western Europe until the eighteenth century but also that a historical process of servant devirilization led domestic work to be culturally constructed as a feminine activity. Migrant work in an era of globalization, according to Sarti, has brought about a slight remasculinization of domestic labor, with the issue now one of the tensions and negotiations at stake for the construction of masculinity. These two articles belong to a dossier of contributions that see migrant domestic work as a strategic site where hegemonic and subaltern masculinities are produced and negotiated (Bartolomei 2010; Sarti & Scrinzi 2010, p. 4).

Likewise, other work has emphasized the necessity to include the role of states, particularly their policies toward gender and care work (Yeates 2009; Pérez 2009; Herrera 2010, 2013; Lutz & Palenga-Möllnbeck 2011), in the analysis of migrant care work. For instance Lutz & Palenga-Möllnbeck (2011), in their analysis of Polish migrants in Germany and Ukrainian migrants in Poland, argue that understanding migrant domestic work requires closer attention to three regimes: care, migration policies, and gender. This focus underscores the crucial role of the state in the social organization of care. Similarly, the work of Vega (2009) in Spain examines the social organization of care at the juncture of welfare policies, care employment, and migrant experiences and shows that the crisis of care is part of a transformation of what we understand by care, or what she calls “transitioning cultures of care.”

However, although some interesting new work has elucidated the complex relationship of care work, migration, and globalization, other activities exercised by migrant women have been rendered invisible. These activities are connected to economic globalization in different ways and include agricultural work when

connected to global production chains, as in the South of Spain (Reigada 2009, Moraes et al. 2012), the migration of skilled women (Kofman 2012), and sex work (Piscitelli 2007, Oso 2010, Parreñas 2011). Research along these lines needs to be encouraged.

A final criticism leveled against the concept of global care chains concerns the care drain in countries of origin (Yeates 2009, Herrera 2013). A closer look at the perceptions and practices shaping care arrangements in countries of origin shows that multiple strategies are deployed by the migrants' family members and social networks to take care of the children and other dependents who are left behind. Thus, the metaphor of a "care drain" caused by migrant mothers leaving home is misleading (Salazar & Wanderley 2010, Lutz & Palenga-Möllnbeck 2011, Herrera 2013). Furthermore, the particular social configurations of care actually redefine notions of care, maternity, and even identity for migrant women as caretakers and care recipients. In other words, the practices that are activated by migration reflect social inequalities within care networks that cannot be grasped by the concept of global care chains. The inequitable distribution of care labor occurs not only among different nation-states but also between women and men; among and within families; among women of different social class, ethnic, or racial ascriptions; and so on. Therefore, the geography of global inequality must complement a reconstruction of local care networks and the way these networks are traversed by gender and race ideologies.

Undoubtedly, the expanded scholarly focus on care by migrant women, and a few men, has been a fruitful contribution to the analysis of economic globalization. However, the focus on a subset of migrant women in these analyses has checked scholarly attention to other subjects and inequalities, such as intergenerational differences, subordinate masculinities, and hierarchies among women. Moreover, although more attention has been paid to the role of the state, this trend needs to be strengthened by a gender and intersectional perspective, which

would vastly enrich new interpretations of inequality and states in globalization.

RETHINKING FAMILY AND GENDER THROUGH TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

The literature on gender and migration has contributed to changing interpretations of migration processes, but migration processes have also become strategic sites for understanding the transformation of gender relations. This was initially acknowledged in the literature as a debate on whether migration was an empowering or an exploitative experience for women. Initial findings supported both interpretations (Oso & Ribas 2012), and, indeed, more nuanced interpretations suggested that both processes were happening simultaneously (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, D'Aubeterre 2002, Herrera 2008). In this section, I engage a third body of literature that has increased dramatically in recent years and has enriched the debate on the mutability of gender relations: that of the transnational family.

Transnational families are not limited to contemporary global migrations but rather have been part of the historical experience of migration (Foner 2005). According to Parreñas (2005), what is different today is the distinct subjectivity and awareness of being a family across national borders. Physical proximity is no longer a prerequisite for family formation or maintenance; information about family members is instantly available through various means, and remittances can be sent within a minute across borders (Takeda 2012). The study of gender and the family has been reinvigorated by examining the changes and continuities in the makeup and reproduction of family bonds within the migration experience. This came as a result of increasing interest in both transnational practices and the care drain argument raised by the global care chain concept.

A first wave of studies focused on the connections migrant mothers preserved with their children. In 1997, the work of Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila introduced the

term transnational mothering to indicate that migrant mothers sustain durable links with their children and pointed to the tensions and contradictions surrounding such practices. These studies invoke the dilemma of whether feminine migration causes the disintegration of families or allows a different kind of family to emerge. This approach illuminated the new ways in which the distant family materialized and strengthened its internal links and those with the surrounding community. It also highlighted the spatial and temporal considerations at stake in emotional and material links among members of migrant families. Some authors stress the transnational family's material and emotional connections and mechanisms for making decisions about the family's future (Bryceson & Vuorela 2003, Sorensen & Guarnizo 2007, Reist & Riaño 2008, Herrera & Carrillo 2009), whereas other authors emphasize the family's vulnerability and distress (Parreñas 2005).

On a different note, the analysis of gender relativized traditional visions of the family as a harmonious institution. The swap of physical presence with imagined presence should be studied not only through the flow of information—both material and symbolic—but also through the way different members exercise power within the transnational family. In other words, as in traditional families, transnational families witness the reproduction of power structures and inequality in the relations between men and women, parents and children. Migration flows create a family that may avoid many of the everyday practices and interactions, and thus struggles, of families in daily physical contact, but that does not necessarily break the family away from hegemonic patterns (D'Aubeterre 2002). Moreover, many conflict-ridden processes arise: conjugality when husband and wife do not share a residence, negotiations between husband and wife concerning the production and reproduction processes of the family, and the preservation of social and symbolic goods such as honor and prestige (Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Pribilsky 2007). Moreover, as indicated by Hondagneu-Sotelo & Ávila (1997), the transnational family

may experience forms of gendered economic exploitation cloaked in the ideology of kinship. To put it differently, the power games involved in family decisions, interests, and strategies are not put aside when looking at migrant families. Different family members neither act under equal conditions nor possess the same resources and capabilities for negotiation. According to this body of literature, the concept of the transnational family ultimately accentuates the socially constructed character of the family without denying the existence of power relations within it and the selective processes that different agents undertake in order to act inside its networks (Bryceson & Vuorela 2003).

These studies were followed by several others on the emotional and social effects of transnational parenting. The work of Parreñas (2005), Gamburd (2008), Salazar & Wanderley (2010), and Dreby (2010) on children left behind by migrant parents opens a new perspective on family and parental networks. Gamburd (2008) looks at the mother/child relationship and explores transnational childhood in a retrospective manner. The author analyzes how the children of mothers who have migrated to the Middle East reconstruct their own experiences and shows how these reconstructions are shaped by a kind of selective memory. By interviewing young adults who were raised within transnational families, Gamburd offers an intergenerational perspective on transnational ties. She goes further, however, to look at how these families are portrayed in the media and official discourse in Sri Lanka. In contrast, Dreby (2010) studies Mexico–US transnational families and focuses on the children's perspective, revealing a central paradox: Although children are completely absent from decision making, they are also a main justification that mothers and fathers offer for leaving. Dreby argues that children are not passive actors within this relationship. They can shape parents' decisions on whether to stay or return and thus are well connected to the migratory experiences, though in an asymmetrical way.

Although the mother/child relationship is the most studied, some works have examined

other roles too. Pribilsky's (2007, 2012) work on Ecuadorian men "as men" explores transnational paternity in the case of Ecuadorian migration to the United States, showing that such transnational paternity is construed in a relational and contextual manner. Pribilsky's (2007, p. 19) ethnography shows that migrant men do not reproduce well-established masculine identities, but that there are new identities that emerge in response to new situations and to changes in the position and identities of their spouses in the place of origin. Likewise, instead of assuming that transnational paternity is a fleeting or irrelevant identity in the masculine migrant experience, Pribilsky shows that such an identity is crucial to sustaining the family's migratory project. Another work with a similar take is that of Rosas (2008), which analyzes the construction of masculinity inside families of Mexican migrants to Chicago. Other studies maintain that although social expectations and sanctions tend to focus on the mother, one of the main causes of depression and alcohol problems for migrant men lies in the longing for their children and family at home (Schmalzbauer 2004, Dreby 2010). And still others find that fathers are not expected to fulfill everyday care, whether emotional or material, but that children do expect them to sustain a role of guidance and authority, a role that is often lacking (Herrera & Carrillo 2009). All these studies offer interpretations grounded in the specificity of each social location, showing that none of these new family forms is disconnected from other axes of inequality such as class and race.

Finally, another trend that is opening up the transnational family is the study of the migrant-daughter/parent relationship. Takeda (2012) studies the tensions that Japanese migrant women in Australia experience in trying to take care of their parents at home. On the one hand, she shows how these women are able to fulfill social and cultural expectations at a distance. On the other, she highlights how the difficulty of fulfilling such roles translates into sadness and guilt, a finding also explored in work by Maehara (2010) on Japan and by

Viruell-Fuentes (2006) on Mexico. These studies bring the concept of emotional transnationalism to the discussion. Indeed, although discussions of the emotional purchase involved in care work, for example, are part of the debate on the care economy and migrant labor (Datta et al. 2006, Gutierrez 2010), little attention has been paid to the emotional aspects of transnational family ties and their consequences for migrants' subjective experience and sense of self.

In conclusion, discussions of the transnational family have opened several new avenues of research. First, these studies fruitfully articulate the emotional and social character of transnational ties. By examining parenting or daughtering at a distance, these scholars reinforce that the emotional dimension deserves a more prominent place in these studies. Moreover, not only is care work invested with emotions, but emotions are also negotiated differently among family members and construct meanings beyond care. Second, these studies move beyond the family and the household as homogeneous units—a well-founded critique within gender studies. In so doing, this work widens our understanding of migration as a social practice both for those who leave and for those who stay. Family members—women, men, and children—are involved in this process not only as migrants but also as nonmigratory participants. This framework renders visible many more actors and processes than appear in conventional analyses of migrant transnationalism: the work of people left in charge of care; the excessive workload placed on some of these actors, such as grandmothers and elder sisters; the social and symbolic meaning of remittances, beyond their macroeconomic weight; and others. Third, although the transnational family can be understood as a locus of social and emotional support, it should also be viewed as a field of conflict where power relations circulate among its members. This view preserves the diversity of family members' experiences and can therefore include the visions of different actors. The available research indicates some progress in incorporating the experiences of all family members, not only mothers but also

fathers, sons, and daughters, but more work still needs to be done in that direction.

RETHINKING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH GENDER AND MIGRATION

The labor market and the household were the social institutions most permeated by gender analysis of migration, leaving the state somewhat understudied until relatively recently (Mahler & Pessar 2006). In this section, I focus on contributions that take state policies and practices, as well as the relationship of migrant people with these institutions, as the center of their examination. The discussion on citizenship within feminism has been sensitive to issues of difference and inequalities related to race, ethnicity, class, and other axes (Benhabib & Resnik 2009). However, it has usually taken for granted the role of legal status and nationality, leaving aside a crucial factor in the lives of immigrants. Furthermore, although political transnationalism has been a useful vantage point from which to examine migrants' relationship with their country of origin, it has hardly ever dealt with gender constructions, with some exceptions. An area where gender and migration studies have bridged this gap is the gendered construction of legality, an axis of inequality that permeates citizenship disputes. These studies show that mobility or immobility across borders is crucial in defining rights, whether political, economic, or cultural (Del Castillo 2007, Benhabib & Resnik 2009). National boundaries are permanently redrawn in the face of economic and political factors. States are very important actors in migrants' lives. Some states may open their borders to achieve specific economic interests, whereas others may close them for cultural or political motives (Hollifield 2004). The social construction of boundaries and citizenship turns out to be extremely useful in understanding the migration experience in this era of globalization, as do the representations of who is legal or illegal. Schrover et al.'s (2008) edited volume offers a powerful analysis of how illegality has

been historically and socially constructed and concludes that illegality is constructed differently for men and women across both time and space, that opportunities and sanctions of legal and illegal migration are different for men and women, and that the construction of what is legal and illegal varies according to gender, as do the responses of sending and receiving states toward illegal migration.

Since illegality and citizenship are two sides of the same coin, it is important to underscore, with Benhabib & Resnik (2009), that the place where a person is located frames the availability of food, economic opportunities, personal security, health, and legal recognition as a worker, an owner, or a citizen. At the same time "citizens, migrants, refugees and members of host communities are not disembodied individuals (or, by default, men) but are adults or children, traveling with or leaving family members," and "the mobility of some has consequences for or corresponds to the immobility of others" (Benhabib & Resnik 2009, p. 4). In other words, the mobility of men and women is not a matter that strictly concerns individuals and states but rather occurs at the crossroads of a network of interdependent social relationships. Human interdependence becomes a matter of citizenship, and the social and political constructions of legality are crucial interlocking axes of intersectional inequality.

Similar to studies of households and the labor market, studies engaged with issues of the state look at gender patterns of migrants' political participation. Goldring's (2001) study on the relationship between Mexican hometown associations and the Mexican state finds that although women play an essential role in several activities, decision making and project implementation are perceived as male prerogatives by the functionaries of the Mexican state and by the associations themselves. Consequently, Goldring argues, migrant women turn to US institutions when seeking rights and recognition. In contrast, Constable (1997) analyzes the contribution of Filipino migrant women to community building in Hong Kong and finds important female leaders. Martin

(2012) also finds female leaders among Latin American migrants in Seville.

More recent work has shifted the focus from the gendered face of migrant political participation to the gendered construction of political institutions and policies in the lives of migrants. An example are the legal regimes that govern access to residence and citizenship. Salcido & Menjívar (2012) explore the gendered aspects of the legalization process by focusing on four basic legal categories: undocumented, family reunification, employment-based, and asylee/refugee. These categories reinforce gender ideologies and gender in immigrants' legal experiences. Although immigration policies and procedures are presumably gender neutral, they are in fact inflected with gendered meanings and enacted in gendered social structures, thus pointing to key gender inequalities in immigration law. From the similar location of the migrants' perspective, Boehm (2012) looks at the social construction of illegality and its relationship with what she calls intimacy: personal and family relations. State action permeates family life in multiple ways, and understandings of family position, gendered selves, and generation are intertwined. Boehm (2012) denaturalizes the very notion of illegality and how these categories create social inequality in the experience of Mexican migrant women, men, and children.

Other works have focused on specific migration policies, such as family reunification, and found that they may reinforce notions of female dependence and male independence (Dauvergne 2009), they may imply different routes to legality for men and women, or they may shape different configurations of the transnational family (Pedone & Gil Araujo 2008, Herrera 2010). In comparing family reunification policies of Spain and the United States, Herrera (2010) finds that the policies of each shape the fate of Ecuadorian transnational families differently: Whereas the Spanish state facilitates the flow of different members back and forth, the US state forces transnational arrangements because people are unable to legalize their status. Thus, decisions on bringing

siblings to the destination country depend more on economic and social considerations in the case of Spain but are strictly related to legal considerations in the United States. And Bernhard et al.'s (2008) work on Latin American migrants in Canada argues that Canadian immigration policies and the context of women's departures lead to the systemic production of transnational family arrangements. Once in Canada, the women deal with unexpected lengths of separation, the spatial dispersal of social reproduction, and post-reunification problems. Bernhard et al. argue that the lack of a normative framework through which mothers can make sense of family dispersal means that the experiences of migration, family separation, reunification, and settlement are marked by tension, guilt, isolation, and shame. The authors call it the transnationalization of the family to emphasize that the state produces such family configurations. Lastly, Pedone & Gil Araujo (2008) look at the effect of the European Union Return Directive and its consequences for Spanish national policies toward family reunification and transnational motherhood.

Barsok & Piper (2012) also analyze the entanglement of regional, national, and local policies and their gendered construction. They look at the discourse on gender and migration in global governance institutions and international nongovernmental organizations, arguing that "because the discourse on migrant women's rights and their labor exploitation is framed predominantly in the context of trafficking, little headway is made in advancing migrant women's labor and social rights" (Barsok & Piper 2012, p. 35).

In the same spirit, transnational motherhood raises new challenges for policies and legislation that recognize that proximity is not a necessary precondition for substantive care (Chavkin & Maher 2010). Work looking at the crossroads of gender, nationality, and marriage rules further illuminates these issues. These studies indicate that although at certain moments in history marrying a foreigner could imply the loss of citizenship, some current legislation in Japan bans the marriage of foreign

domestic workers to citizens. The study of marriage arrangements and their relationship to migration status has been particularly interesting in elucidating the multiple meanings of citizenship as they relate to gender. Brennan's (2004) work on Dominican women seeking to marry Europeans and that of Lee (2012) and Chung & Kim (2012) on Korean state policies on multicultural families inform us about the contextual meaning of citizenship, the agency of migrant women, and the power of states in structuring a gendered understanding of citizenship. Chung & Kim (2012) analyze dual nationality laws, particularly Korea's introduction of dual nationality in 2010 and Japan's 2008 reform to grant Japanese nationality to children born out of wedlock to a Japanese father and a foreign mother. These laws target ethnically heterogeneous immigrant women and their bicultural children and thereby challenge conceptions of blood-based belonging and membership. Lee (2012) relates policies regulating the multicultural family to changing demographic trends and policies in the domains of family, population, and welfare. The depopulation of rural Korea is forcing men to marry younger foreign women who are more willing to stay and care for them. Consequently, these policies also appear to address care deficits in relation to the growing proportion of elderly citizens.

Identity issues concerning the reproduction of diaspora have also been related to marriage arrangements. This is the case studied by Thai (2007) of the tensions among personal freedom, cultural traditions, and the material motivations at stake in marriage arrangements among Vietnamese migrants. Thai shows how migrant

Vietnamese seek arranged marriages between "Viet Kieu" (migrant men abroad) and young women from Vietnam, so as to guarantee a "good wife"—a traditional wife that migrant men can no longer find among the Western-educated Vietnamese women abroad. In exchange, the Vietnamese woman married to a husband abroad in these arrangements expects him to treat her better than would a man back home in Vietnam.

In sum, approaching the state by examining gender and migration at different scales—that of global governance, state policies, and migrants' experience with the state in everyday life—has shed light on new meanings of citizenship, national belonging, and rights. Feminist debates on citizenship may benefit from a closer look at how mobility in articulation with other axes of difference and inequality is shaping people's access to rights. At the same time, migrants' negotiations with the state should be understood as gendered social practices.

CONCLUSIONS

The turn from gender mainstreaming to intersectionality in the analysis of migration has enabled a cross-fertilization with other subfields of sociological analysis. New understandings of economic globalization emerge when studied in relation to the experience of migrant care work; migration also becomes a strategic site for understanding the transformation of gender and family configurations in both mobile and immobile populations. Gendered analysis of migration policies are unveiling axes of difference that feminist discussions of citizenship have often neglected.

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