



CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

**GENDER AND MIGRATION:
CRITICAL ISSUES
AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

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LONDON CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

GENDER AND MIGRATION: CRITICAL ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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GENDER AND MIGRATION

LONDON CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

LCSS was founded in 2004 by a diverse group of academics to generate thinking and debate on pressing social issues amongst academics, activists, policy makers, practitioners, media and civil society organisations, both at the national and international level. As a non-partisan organisation, we aim to create inter-disciplinary forums and cross-border networks to facilitate emergence of innovative approaches addressing major global policy challenges. Hundreds of academics, policy professionals and research students contribute to the development of our programmes, and over 14,000 subscribers follow our activities.

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FOREWORD

(En)gendering Migration Theory, Policy and Practice: Are We There Yet?

With more than 93 papers from 62 countries, the *International Conference on Gender and Migration: Critical Issues and Policy Implications* held in Istanbul in May 2013 provided an important opportunity for academics from across Europe to reflect on the role of gender in shaping international migration.

Over the past 30 years there has been increasing interest in understanding how gender (and other dimensions of social difference) shapes mobility, displacement, belonging and exclusion (Piper 2005; Silvey 2006; Nawyn 2010). This began with efforts to ‘bring women in’ and subsequently developed into an analysis of gender as a system of relations which both influences – and is influenced by – migration. More recently the emphasis has shifted again, this time towards a greater focus on the complexity of gender – as reflected in discussions around intersectionality and masculinity – as well as the ways in which gender permeates a variety of practices, identities and institutions implicated in migration leading to differential policy impacts and outcomes for women and men, as well as relations between them. This short introduction explores the evolution of this thinking with particular reference to forced migration and provides the backdrop for the papers that follow.

From ‘add women and stir’ to gender as a social construction

In 1960s and early 1970s the phrase ‘migrants and their families’ was code for ‘male migrants and wives and children’. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, migration research began to include women but tended to be conceptualised at an individual-level, as a *static category* determined at birth (Nawyn 2010). This was reflected in an increase in research highlighting the particular migration experiences of women but no dramatic shift in thinking about the causes and consequences of migration.

Developments in feminist theory in the 1980s and 1990s contributed to a focus on gender rather than simply the experiences of women and the mid-1980s onwards saw a gradual shift towards considering gender as a *variable* (Phizacklea 1983; Sassen 1984). This was reflected in growing recognition of the differential decision making and migration experiences of women and men and of the increasing ‘feminisation’ of migration. There was a focus in particular on the implications of gender and of gendered power relations for dominant economic theories as seen, for example, in research on the gender power dynamics of households, gendered labour markets and gendered institutions (Morokvasic 1984).

Perhaps the most important shift however was in the 1990s when gender increasingly came to be understood not as being biologically defined but as reflecting the *social construction of power relations* between women and men with implications of these relations for women’s (and men’s) identity, status and roles. Gender is now understood as a key *relational* dimension of human activity and thought (Crawley 2001). Gender is not static or innate but acquires social and

culturally constructed meaning. As a consequence gender roles, identities and relations are historically, geographically and culturally specific. They come to be associated with both the biological and symbolic reproduction of national and group identity.

Understanding gender as a social construction raises two important questions that have fuelled research on gender and migration during the first decade of the 20th century.

Firstly, how does patriarchy, which gives men preferential access to resources, affect women's ability to migrate, the timing of their migration and the final destination? Because gender fundamentally organises social relations and structures it necessarily influences the causes and consequences of migration. It is deeply embedded in determining who moves, how those moves take place and the resultant futures for women and men as well as the relations between them. It affects who migrates and why.

Secondly, in what ways is patriarchy is altered or reconstituted by migration? Migration changes gender roles and relations in complex, and sometimes contradictory, ways. Migration can provide opportunities for improving women's income and status in household and community but it may also entrench traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities (those who go and those who stay). Increasingly therefore gender has come to be recognised as a core organising principle that underlies migration and related processes including integration / adaptation, links with the home country and return.

Gender and forced migration

Feminist critiques of forced migration have long argued that it is impossible to understand the experiences of women refugees and asylum seekers without first understanding the gendered contexts within which their experiences of persecution occur (Indra 1999; Crawley 2001; Edwards 2003). This is because women's political protest, activism and resistance often manifest themselves in ways that are different from their male counterparts. Women may provide 'low-level' support for political organisations and movements or organise around particular issues that affect them, for example, the disappearance of children in many Latin American countries. At the same time family relationships may be exploited to intensify harm with mothers, daughters and sisters 'punished' for the political activities of their male relatives. Gender-specific forms of harm and persecution have been increasingly well documented, not just rape and sexual violence but also female genital mutilation (FGM), forced marriage, forced sterilisation and abortion.

At the same time there has been growing understanding of the politicisation of gender in the process of national struggle as seen for examples in the imposition of dress codes or rules regarding women's participation in the public sphere. Women who fail to conform with these laws or other social norms which dictate their behaviour and treatment, may be punished by the State or by the communities of which they are a part. Similarly women who refuse or fail to comply with norms and expectations around marriage, including in relation to sexual identity and orientation, may be viewed as 'legitimate' targets of male violence. This is because, as Yuval Davis (1997) suggests, "[t]he 'proper' behaviour of women is often used to signify the difference between those who belong to the collectivity and those who do not; women are also seen as the 'cultural carriers' of the collectivity and transmit it to the future generation; and being properly controlled in terms of

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marriage and divorce ensures that children born to these women are not only biologically but also symbolically within the boundaries of the collectivity”. In other words gender is important in the context of forced migration because it can help to explain not only *what* happens to women (and some men) seeking protection under international refugee law but also *why* it happens.

Despite this, a growing body of research has demonstrated that in practice international refugee law often fails to provide protection to women (Macklin 1995; Crawley 2001; Spijkerboer 2000). This is because the dominant interpretation of refugee law has evolved through an examination of male asylum applicants and their activities, both reflecting and reinforcing existing gender biases within states. This body of work and the campaigning and advocacy efforts of women’s organisations and refugee groups to highlight the consequences for women as asylum seekers has, over the past decade, resulted in significant and important changes to policy and practice including the production of guidelines to assist decision takers in understanding the importance of gender in policies and procedures for refugee status determination. In 1991 UNHCR published the first *Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women* and gender guidelines subsequently developed by Canada (1993), the United States (1995) and Australia (1996) to raise awareness of gender issues in the asylum claim and guide decision makers. The process by which the UK’s gender guidelines came into existence was long and convoluted eventually resulted in an Asylum Policy Instruction (API) on *Gender Issues in the Asylum Claim* being published in 2004 (Home Office 2004). There has been increased training on gender issues in forced migration, increased awareness of how gender shapes the experiences of women as asylum seekers and some important developments in case law. At the European level the Qualification Directive explicitly acknowledges gender-specific forms of persecution and includes gender identity as a potential ground for protection.

And yet there is evidence from many countries that gender-related and gender-specific forms of persecution continue to be viewed as falling outside the scope of the refugee definition (Crawley and Lester 2004; Kneebone 2005; Freedman 2009). This problem stems, in part at least, from the fact that asylum decision making is taking place in an increasingly hostile overall context with increased barriers to asylum procedures, poor quality initial decision making, increased detention, and restrictions to support and legal aid which may disproportionately impact on women. But there is also evidence of an ongoing failure to take account of women’s experiences of persecution, in other words of a gap between policy and practice (Asylum Aid 2011). Some forms of persecution continue to be overlooked in national asylum practice and where women’s relationship with the State is mediated through the family or community the violence they experience or fear may be interpreted by initial decision makers and the courts as ‘private’. Even where persecution is accepted, women may find it difficult to establish that this persecution is for a ‘Convention reason’: gender is not a Convention ground for the purposes of a refugee claim.

Moreover it appears that the framing of ‘women’ (and also ‘children’, but not adult men) as ‘innocent’ and ‘vulnerable’ victims of male violence minimizes the political, racial and religious causes of persecution that affect women and the agency of women based on these causes thereby creating and sustaining a problematic hierarchy of oppressions (Freedman 2009; Edwards 2010).

The trend towards what Kneebone (2005) describes as ‘exclusionary inclusion’ is reflected in the idea of ‘Refugee Women’, who are constructed ‘culturally’ or socially as objects of a power relationship. This construction ignores the ways in which gendered norms and power relations are politically and legally maintained and largely fails to scrutinize the myriad ways in which refugee women’s (and men’s) experiences are multiply-determined by gender, race, class, sexuality and age etc.

The naturalizing and essentialising discourses associated with the category ‘Refugee Women’ not only depoliticize and decontextualize their experiences but also suggests that men are more ‘legitimate’ targets of violence (Kneebone 2005). And because gender continues to be understood in terms of the experiences of women rather than as a relational concept, the role of gender in shaping the experiences of men in forced migration continues to be neglected. As Edwards (2010) suggests, gender stereotypes bind men to particular identities, statuses, roles and responsibilities, as much as they do women. Gender-specific or gender-related harms against men include castration, forced sterilization, military recruitment and punishment for transgressing social mores such as homosexuality. There is also clear evidence that men and boys are specifically targeted *as men* in the context of forced migration war yet male rape and sexual violence is only just beginning to be acknowledged and documented.

So...are we there yet?

Since the 1970s international migration theory (and some practice) has become more gender sensitive, moving from the predominant view of female migrants as simply the wives of male migrants to incorporating the particular experiences of women themselves. This is reflected in substantial efforts to correct the ‘invisibility’ of women in migration theory and practice.

There has been some significant progress in relation to the understanding of gender and migration. It is now well established, for example, that gender is a crucial factor in understanding the causes and consequences of international migration. This is reflected in an abundant theoretical and data-rich literature on gendered aspects of migration and in the very existence of, as well as the contributions to, this volume. In other words, migration is increasingly acknowledged as both a *gendered* and *gendering* process by a significant and growing proportion of those writing on migration issues in a wide range of geographical contexts.

But there continues to be gaps in our understanding of how gender shapes, and is shaped by, migration and an over-emphasis in migration research on the experiences of women. This has the effect of inadvertently undermining a gendered approach to migration. Gender is a *relational* concept: the migration of women can only be fully understood in relation to the migration and social power of men. Failure to engage with the ways in which gendered power relations impact on the experiences of both women *and men* who migrate undermines the power of the analysis to unpack the ways in which gender shapes processes as well as outcomes. It is also important to recognise the ways in which gender intersects with other social relations including class, caste, ethnicity and/or race, sexuality and age (Yuval Davis 2011) to shape the migration experience. This is necessary in order to avoid cultural essentialism and give recognition to the complexity of women’s and men’s experiences of migration.

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Research on gender and forced migration provides a clear example of this problem. Since the early 1980s there has been growing evidence that women fleeing gender-related persecution, such as rape, forced marriage, honour crimes, threats of female genital mutilation, and trafficking for forced prostitution, are often refused international protection due to a lack of gender sensitivity in refugee status determination procedures and a failure to understand the political, legal and social contexts within persecution occurs. Attempts to mainstream gender issues into policy and practice are, at best, patchy. Work has focused primarily on ‘adding women’ as a discriminated and vulnerable group, particularly in relation to forced migration and trafficking for sexual exploitation. Women most often positioned as ‘victims’ of male violence undermining agency and requiring ‘Other’ men to be increasingly represented as persecutors. This ignores the fact that the preoccupation of states with ‘managing migration’ has led to restrictive and stratified approaches to entry which place women (and men) in positions of vulnerability.

Despite considerable efforts by scholars, practitioners and advocates to engender migration theory, policy and practice there is still some way to go. Much of the literature continues to refer to gender as if it were synonymous with ‘femaleness’ and immigration policies themselves reflect and reinforce certain assumptions about the role of gender in migration and about the relative position of women (and men). In order to further progress the study of gender and migration it is important that researchers, policy makers and practitioners do not cast women as ‘non agentive victims of circumstance’ but rather explore the ways in which gender and its social construction intersects in specific contexts with other dimensions of social difference, most notably class and race, and the consequences for both women and men who migrate (and those that don’t). The papers presented at the *International Conference on Gender and Migration*, some of which can be found in this volume, has provided an important opportunity to explore these issues further.

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PART I

GENDER AND MIGRATION, MIGRANT FAMILY RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Remittances and Their Implications on Gender and Family Relations Towards A Path of Understanding

SHIRLEY VELASQUEZ

Abstract

International remittances, the money migrant workers send back home and one of the most visible outcomes of the transnational ties connecting migrants to their homelands, is a topic of study that has captivated academics, international organisations and government institutions. Yet it is the economic dimension of remittances which has received much of the attention, thus obscuring the conceptual challenges and needs to understand remittances as more than merely monetary transfers. Transnational relations mediated by remittances are dynamic in nature, and remittances shape the lifestyle, well-being, and gender relations of many migrants and their families back home. Incorporating gender into the study of remittances is crucial as gender not only creates a different migration experience for men and women. Gender 'also affects the amount and frequency of remittances that migrants send back home, how the money is used, and how relationships within families are affected' (Lopez-Ekpa et al. 2011: 69-70).

Where to begin and how to conceptually understand remittance relationships as a gender, social exchange? Given the theoretical limitations and/or the lack of theoretical antecedents of many remittance investigations, by gathering insight from migration, gender, and sociology studies, this paper presents analytical tools from transnationalism, gender relations model, gender geographies of power, and social capital theory. Using these complementary frameworks can guide us in the development of a new remittance framework that can help us better understand remittance relationships by giving emphasis to gender and family relations. Thus transcending the view of remittances as pure economic transactions; and appreciating them as a type of social exchange, with important explicit and implicit positive and negative implications for the lives of migrant men and women, their families, and the relationship among them.

Keywords: *remittances, gender, family relations, transnationalism.*

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Introduction

International remittances, the money migrant workers send back home, and one of the most visible outcomes of the transnational ties connecting migrants to their homelands, is a topic of study that has captivated academics, international organisations and government institutions. The interest has been generated by a remarkable increase in remittances and its importance as a source of development and poverty alleviation. Remittances sent to developing countries have risen from \$31.1 billion in 1990, to a forecasted estimate of £438 billion in 2013 (Ratha *et al.* 2012). Thus becoming the second largest source of external funding for many developing countries; dwarfing foreign direct investment, foreign aid, and even public social welfare provisions (Singh and Velásquez 2013).

At the micro level, remittances can also form a ‘family welfare system’ (Orozco *et al.* 2006), as they help recipient households not only diversify their income sources, but maintain and/or increase their expenditures on basic consumption, housing, savings, education, healthcare, and investments.

Hence, while it is the economic dimension of remittances that dominate the literature; (whether at a macro level in terms of its benefits for economic development, or micro level in terms of income smoothing for households); remittances are more than economic transactions. They are the expression of a profound human bond between migrants and their families (Suro *et al.* 2003). Yet, despite numerous studies on transnational families and their cross-border ties, there is still a lack of conceptualisation on remittances which can lead us to a better understanding of remittance as a form of social exchange.

After all, the increased research attention given to remittances has not been adequately translated into corresponding publications on the associated theoretical lenses that can be used to study remittances, or the conceptual or methodological challenges involved in researching migrant remittances (Rahman and Fee 2012). Similarly, while the recent politicisation of migration has opened up new areas of debate, encouraging the expansion of migration research and remittances; policy driven studies tend to lack theoretical rigour and conceptualisations for better understanding; often providing simplistic, short-term remedies to complex, long-term social issues (Castles 2010).

Given the multidisciplinary nature of the topic under study, improving the understanding of this phenomenon requires more comprehensive, flexible, and dynamic thinking tools that gather insight from multiple fields and paradigms; which authors such as Castles and Miller (2009) and Collinson (2009) have argued for migration studies in general. An integrative approach to the study of remittances can offer greater sensitivity and a better and richer examination of the dynamic and intricate lives of migrants and their families back home; taking us beyond statistical models and incorporating gender relations at the core of analysis (Kelly and Lusi 2006; Lopez-Ekka *et al.*

2011). A key necessity in remittance studies, as the emphasis tends to be on migrant men or women, remitters or recipients. Yet, as the processes in which migrants and non-migrants interact are not disconnected, such false dichotomy does not reflect migrants' lives, nor does it allow us to respond creatively to the challenges they *both* face (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011).

Where to begin this quest and what dimensions to consider? How do we make sense of the lives of migrants and their families back home via a key transnational practice? Numerous publications¹ provide important clues, but no clear theoretical antecedents, or multi-dimensional lenses from which to explore remittances as social exchanges, and their subsequent implications on the lives, roles, and responsibilities of migrant families and their relations.

For example, the pioneer work of Lucas and Stark (1985) and Stark and Lucas (1988), provides a typology that concentrates on the motivations to remit based on altruism, self-interest, implicit co-insurance, and family loan arrangements. Alternatively, Goldring (2004) presents a remittance typology based on family, collective, and investment remittances. Meanwhile Mata-Codesal (2011), provides a more detailed, five tier typology of material remittances (categorised as emic, savings, debt repayment, emergency, and gift money), where remittances are not only linked to remittance usages, but to remittance 'dyads' (relationships) and power negotiations. These typologies are useful; and the former one in particular has influenced and set the trajectory for numerous remittance studies. Nevertheless, while these typologies are valuable, more is needed to understand the intricacy and complexity of *remittance relationships*.

Typologies based on the simple altruism versus contractual propositions for example are not only incomplete because they lack the gender emphasis and sufficient information about the characteristics of the receiving household (Orozco *et al.* 2006). But, as Harper and Zubida (2013) explain, remittance typologies also contain several unexpressed assumptions. For example, remittance motivations never change, the terms are not renegotiated, and the parties of the negotiation are static. Consequently, Harper and Zubida (2013: 9) add to the original remittance typology a 'visibility' dimension, where migrants remit as a 'mechanism to boost self-esteem (identity) and maintain connections to their homeland'.

Evidence from remittance studies and my own fieldwork data suggest that remittance relationships are not rigid or uncomplicated. They are dynamic exchanges taking place among real people, with important gender power negotiations and implications for both senders and their single/multiple recipients, which are not fully captured by conventional remittance typologies.

¹ See for example: Batnitzky *et al.* (2012), de Haas and Van Rooij (2010), IOM (2010), Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo (2005), Lopez-Ekra *et al.* (2011), Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007), and Petrozziello (2011).

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Consequently, by gathering insight from migration, gender, and sociology studies, this paper aims to present multiple and complementary analytical tools that set the path to develop more comprehensive conceptual frameworks that can help us better understand remittance relationships and the relevant gender dynamics within migrant families; where trust is important; where remittances can be transformed into different types of capital; and where remittances can have explicit and implicit positive and negative implications for the lives of migrants, their families, and the relationship among them.

The structure of this paper is as follows: *section two* provides the background and methodology of this study. *Section three* discusses the theoretical grounding of four frameworks that can lead us to a new conceptualisation and a better understanding of remittance relationships by discussing transnationalism, two gender frameworks, and social capital theory. Meanwhile, *section four* provides some concluding remarks.

Background of study and methodology

This paper is based on my ongoing PhD research and the analytical needs and challenges that have arisen as I explore the implications of monetary remittances on the daily lives of a group of migrants who have been under-explored – Ecuadorian migrants in England and their families in Ecuador in terms of power, production, emotional, and symbolic relations.

Methodologically, this research embraces an interpretivist philosophy and a subjectivist ontology; a qualitative approach; a case study strategy composed of interviews, limited participant observation, and secondary data; a purposive snowball and matching sampling technique; a cross-sectional time horizon; and a theoretically informed thematic analysis. The study is comprised of 32 interviews; 16 in-depth, face-to-face semi-structured interviews with Ecuadorian remitters (men and women) residing in England, and 16 interviews with primary recipients residing in seven different provinces of Ecuador.

Understanding remittances and their implications on gender and family relations: Conceptual insight from transnationalism, gender, and social capital theory

As inferred from section one, given that most remittance studies tend to devote their attention to present *what* is known or has been discovered rather than *how* - a crucial element if we are going to further develop or enhance our conceptual understanding of remittances; based on a review of the migration, gender, and sociology literature, as well as based on the evolution of my own research and fieldwork, this section presents concepts from transnationalism, gender relations model, gender geographies of power, and social capital theory. The reason for selecting these frameworks and their usefulness, lie in their flexible nature and broad scope of applicability. Rather than being rigid apparatus of causal law that can be proven or disproven, each of these frameworks

provide multifarious and adaptable analytical tools that can help gather richer insight and act as navigation tools when analysing the complexity of remittance relations.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism, arising from the pioneer work of Basch *et al.* (1994: 7) is defined as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multiple relationships (familial, economic, social, organisational, religious, and political) across borders; linking together their societies of origin and settlement. Hence, in studying a transnational phenomena such as remittances, a transnational framework of analysis is necessary in order to study the ‘here’ and ‘there’ (Erdal 2012). Moreover, transnationalism is a useful framework that provides a starting point by setting the context for analysing remittance relationships within the transnational migration literature.

In particular, transnationalism provides three important elements to the study of remittances. First, it situates the debate between **three analytical domains or forms of transnationalism**: economic (where remittances are mainly discussed), social/sociocultural, and political (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Vertovec 2004). Second, because there are different forms of transnational processes, transnationalism offers different **parameters and levels of analysis**. For example, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) distinguish between *transnationalism from above* (e.g. global capital, media, multinational corporations, political institution) and *transnationalism from below* (local, grassroot activities).

Mahler and Hansing (2005: 128) and Smith (2005) place emphasis on *transnationalism of the middle*, as ‘we do not [always] know what “local” and “global” mean or where one ends and the other begins.’ Meanwhile Itzigsohn *et al.* (1999) distinguish between *narrow transnationalism* (transnational practices involving high levels of institutionalisation, constant participation, or regular travel) and *broad transnationalism*, (a number of symbolic and material practices involving low levels of institutionalisation, occasional personal involvement, or sporadic travel between home and host countries).

Third, transnationalism introduces the concept of ‘**transnational social fields**’ (TSFs), a set of multiple interconnected networks of direct and indirect social relations, connecting migrants and non-migrants across borders; and through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Therefore, transnationalism and its concept of TSFs broaden our analytical lens by challenging the assumption that migration is a linear process of disengagement (from migrants’ homelands) and assimilation (into the host society). Transnationalism helps us analyse interconnectedness within the context of

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different power relations and inequality; giving agency to migrants and incorporating into the analysis ‘non-migrants’ (those left behind) (Glick Schiller 2003).

Nonetheless, while transnationalism is helpful in highlighting the economic, political, and socio-cultural interconnections/forms of transnationalism that exist between migrants and their families across transnational spaces; including social and economic remittances;² transnationalism does not emphasise how these multiple set of connections are integrated and merge in lived experiences (Kelly and Lusi 2006). This framework also does not bring gender into the core of its analysis, and remittances are conceptualised as only one practice (among many) that make up the TSFs (Erdal 2012). Accordingly, transnationalism does not provide concrete conceptions to explore the dynamic nature of remittances or the implication of these on the lives of migrant men, women, and their gender relations with their families back home; hence where gender and social capital theory come in.

Gender Relations Model (GRM) and Gender Geographies of Power (GPP)

While ‘gender is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, forces shaping human life and, accordingly, it influences migration and migrants’ lives’, gender has regularly sidelined in international migration research and theory; even in the transnationalism framework (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 812). Moreover, although there is a growing recognition that gender³ plays an important role in the remittance process, (as well as in shaping the impacts of remittances on migrants’ homeland); there is still the need to take a global perspective on gender; to stop taking gender for granted in everyday life (Connell 2002); and to make gender a central category of analysis (Mahler and Pessar 2006). Furthermore, if we want to set effective policies and initiatives aimed at maximising the productive potential of remittances, it is essential to understanding not only how *gender* affects the remittance process, but how remittances influence various aspects and negotiations of the *gender relations* between migrants and their families back home (Adams *et al.* 2012; Petrozziello 2012). Consequently the relevance of GRM and GPP, two complementary frameworks that can help us explore the economic and non-economic implications of remittances on gender and family relations.

² Social remittances are the ‘ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities’ (Levitt 1998: 927).

³ *Gender* is *social construct*, ‘a matter of social relations within which individuals and groups act’, while *sex* is a *biological fact* (Connell 2002: 9).

The **gender relations model** proposed by Connell (2002) is not related to migration, but its usefulness in studying remittances and their implication on gender and family relations comes from its four dimensions/structures of gender relations: *power*, *production*, *emotional*, and *symbolic relations*. While Connell does not provide comprehensive accounts for his overall model or each dimension, this offers an opportunity to tailor these to our needs. For example, under his **power relations** dimension, Connell makes reference to different types of power; including patriarchal power - a dimension which many remittance studies focusing on migrant families highlight.

Connell (1987) acknowledges that there can be a reversal of power, but not a defeat of patriarchy. Migration and remittances studies such as those by de Haas and Van Rooij (2010), King and Vullnetari (2009), Lopez-Ekka *et al.* (2011), Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007), and Petrozziello (2011), (while not using this framework), tend to support this argument, as their evidence suggest that migration and remittances do not lead to permanent changes in patriarchal family structures, or that transformations in gender roles are always constructive. For example, de Haas and Van Rooij's (2010: 57) study of the impact of internal and international migration on the position of women left behind in rural Morocco, find that although

in both internal and international migrant households, the absence of their husbands gave women more decision-making authority, especially when they lived in nuclear households this gain in authority is mainly temporary, as migrants take over their position as "patriarchs" as soon as they return.

Connell's **production relations** dimension also offers important sub-constructs to consider when exploring the implication of remittances on gender and family relations between migrant and recipients, men and women. These include *gender divisions of labour and production*, *consumption*, and *gendered accumulation*. As discussed by Connell (2009), men and women are located differently in the economic process, and large divisions of labour occur between 'work' and 'home'. Evidence from Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007) demonstrate that through migration and remittances, men encourage their wives in Armenia and Guatemala to stop working, and thus concentrate on raising their children and stay at home. Actions which can have negative implication for the labour production, consumption and economic accumulation of women, as they are constantly dependent on their husbands' remittances.⁴ Nonetheless, one must not forget that such decisions also have cultural, symbolic, and status connotations for the family.

Emotional and **symbolic relations** are also useful dimensions. Why? Because the choice of to whom migrants send their remittances can be linked to the emotional relation(s), attachment, or commitment they have with the recipient(s). Similarly, remittances help create symbolic

⁴ Nevertheless, 'remittances may [also] reduce or increase work hours depending on the gender of the recipient, the location of the household, and the type of work' (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo 2006: 226).

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relationships, and a system of implications, understandings, and connotations, which can also be linked to patriarchal gender arrangements and gender roles within households (Ramírez *et al.* 2005). Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007) and Pribilsky (2004) for example, illustrates how women are placed in central roles to not only encourage and arbitrate the relationship between fathers' and their children, but also to be responsible for making sure that the expenditure of remittances reflect their husbands' success abroad and their family's improved social status - important for appearances and respect, not only within the immediate family but the broader community.

Unlike GRM, **gender geographies of power** (GGP) set forward by Mahler and Pessar (2001) closely relates to migration. This framework examines gender across transnational spaces, paying close attention to how and why gender relations are negotiated. For example, an important question that Mahler and Pessar (2006: 42) pose in their model is whether 'international migration and other cross-border activities [e.g. remittances] that bring people into new gendered contexts change gender relations, and if so in what direction(s)?' Similar to GRM, the usefulness of GGP lie in its four interrelated analytical constructs: geographies of scales, social locations, power geometries, and gender social imaginary.

In liaison with transnationalism, **geographies of scales** set the foundations of our enquiry given the cross-border ties/transnational practices we are examining, which are affected by place, distance, and boundaries. In connection with **social locations**, which can change over time, (as these relate to individuals' positions within interconnected power hierarchies of gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality) (Mahler and Pessar 2006); these dimensions can help elucidate how remittances affect the gender relations of remitters and recipients in terms of spatial, social, and cultural scales, as well as how these relations are negotiated transnationally. After all, as Pessar and Mahler (2003: 816) state, 'it is both within the context of particular scales as well as between and among them that gender ideologies and relations are reaffirmed, reconfigured or both.'

Power geometries resemble the power relations dimension of GRM and refer to the type and degree of agency people exercise given their social location (within power hierarchies they have not constructed), as well as to the 'access to[,] and power over flows and interconnections between places' (Pessar and Mahler 2001: 446). This construct is particularly useful because it requires that we investigate not only what flows in and across transnational spaces, but also who controls the production, content, and directionality of these flows (Pessar and Mahler 2003).

The fourth dimension, **gender social imaginary** is not to be underestimated, as much of what is done transnationally (e.g. sending/receiving remittances) is centred on expectation, planning, and strategising. Moreover, 'transnational migrants may also come to symbolize alternative models for living gendered lives in the social imaginary of nonmigrants' (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 829).

Social Capital Theory

While transnationalism helps set the context of our investigation, and GRM and GGP introduce various dimensions of gender which can help us understand the implication of remittances on gender power relations, (particularly the negotiation aspect of remittances); social capital⁵ theory can help us understand remittance behaviour (e.g. why migrants remit and how remittances are used), and the positive and negative implication of remittance for migrants and their families back home. Conceptualisations set forward by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Portes (1998) are of particular significance as they can help elucidate different angles and elements of remittance relationships.

For example, it is Bourdieu who sees an interdependent relationship between **three forms of capital** (power) – economic, social, cultural, and their ability to be **transferred and transformed** into one another. An important element in aiding the understanding of how remittances are used (transformed into other forms of capital). For instance, how remittances are transformed into cultural capital (education) or physical capital (land, property, enterprises) and the repercussions of these for the lives of senders and recipients, men and women and their relationship among them.

Likewise, according to Bourdieu (1986), **social capital** is **captured in social relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition**, which provide each of its members a ‘**credential**’ entitling them to various types of **credit**, and where the accrued profits arising from these relationships (themselves the product of an investment strategy), are the solidarity which makes them possible. This notion can be helpful in explaining the nature of remittance relationships, and in regarding remittances as economic *and* social exchanges that are not only important sources of power and influence; but which can create new power dynamics among migrant men and women, their remittance recipients, and the immediate and extended family abroad and back home.

Meanwhile, it is **Coleman** who provides two important dimensions of social capital – its forms and the factors that facilitate it. Coleman’s **forms of social capital**, mainly *obligations* and *expectations* (dependent on *trust*), and *norms accompanied by sanctions* (absent elements in Bourdieu’s conceptualisation) are of particular importance in understanding remittance relationships - why migrants remit, to whom, and the implication of remittances on the relationship between and among remitters and recipients. Moreover, Coleman’s **factors that facilitate social capital** such as *closure* (existence of sufficient ties), *stability*, *ideology*, and *affluence* can also be replicated to understand remittance relationships and their implications. For example, just as

⁵ Social capital consists of relations among people (Coleman 1988: S116) that allow individuals belonging to a network to acquire access to resources. Resources that can for example help members of a network improve or maintain their position in society (Massey 1999).

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closure and stability of social networks are particularly helpful in facilitating and preserving social capital (Coleman 1988), so are they in ensuring the practice and survival of remitting.

Finally, it is **Portes** who delineates the **sources** (values, solidarity, reciprocity, and trust); **motivations** (altruism and self interest - resembling remittance typologies); **functions** (social control, family support, and benefits via external networks), and the **positive** and **negative effects** of social capital. In the context of researching remittances, exploring its negative implications is important, as the literature tends to focus on the positive, developmental implication of remittances. Yet, remittances can also play a role in restricting individuals' freedoms, causing excess claims, dependency, and in affecting the trust of a relationship (Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen 2004; Portes 1998).

Conclusion

Since much of the research on remittances has been carried out from a purely economic standpoint, there is a conceptual lacuna on remittances, particularly if we want to understand these transnational links as a social exchange that is not gender neutral. After all, 'remittance relationships are embedded into complex migrant networks' (Gorchakova 2012: 8), where 'the sending, receiving, control and use of remittances constitute a social process' (Rahman and Fee 2012: 702) where men and women are influenced by various structural factors (i.e. gender, class, ethnicity) and who act within family and social dynamics that are also structurally determined by social, economic, and political processes (Ramírez *et al.* 2005: 22). Consequently, to understand the motivations, gender dynamics, and implication of these practices on the lives of migrant men, women, their families back home and their relationships among and between them; conceptual insight is needed from multiple fields and paradigms.

While there are a number of theoretical, practical, and methodological challenges in researching migrant remittances; by gathering insight from migration, gender, and sociology studies, this paper has aimed to shed light on analytical tools that can help us better understand transnational gender and family relations mediated by remittances. In particular, different constructs from transnationalism, gender relations model, gender geographies of power, and social capital theory have been presented. The significance of these frameworks lies in their flexible nature; in allowing us to mould them to our needs and to set the conceptual foundations of our remittance studies; as they guide us through the creation of research questions and interviews schedules; and as we set our parameters and levels of analysis; select adequate methodologies; and analyze our data.

While these frameworks come from different backgrounds, they enrich and complement one another by bringing in different elements which allow us to scratch beyond the economic surface of remittances, to understand these at a deeper level; as social exchanges, with multiple meanings, connotations, and implications for gender relations. These frameworks can lead to further

theoretical developments in the field of remittances, while allowing us to explore and capture the dynamic nature of remittances, as these can be transformed into different types of capital; have multiple usages; and have explicit and implicit positive and negative implications for the lives of migrants, their families, and their gender relations.

A multifaceted understanding of remittances is necessary to provide a richer understanding that leads us to better solutions and alternatives in the global political arena, and to link theory, policy, and practice to better address the needs and the challenges encountered by men and women in home and host societies.

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Psycho-Social Consequences of Feminised Migration on Families and Migrant Women

CARIDAD T. SRI THARAN

Abstract

The continued dependence on women's migration by Filipino families for their economic well-being has been leading to social change, expressed through the restructuring of households, redefinition of families and gender relations and change in women's status.

Migration is deeply embedded in the context of family norms and therefore, it is essential to study its impact on the family left behind. Prolonged absence of the migrant woman from her family impacts on the structures and processes of family life, reorganisation of households, parenting and childcare and affects the psycho-social roles of household members, husband-wife power relationships, and migrant mother-children relationships. Such findings are derived from a study of the life stories of 14 Filipino migrant women who were away from 6 to 22 years to work, mainly as domestic workers in various parts of the world and have since returned to the Philippines permanently.

Children left behind had to deal with the pressures to assume adult roles, to be independent and to confront feelings of loneliness, abandonment and alienation. While the income-earning capacity of migrant women enhanced their status and empowered them, they had to carry the burden of emotional guilt from being physically absent from their children. Fathers left behind faced difficulties in assuming traditional roles of caring left behind by migrant spouses.

Returning home for the migrant women meant re-establishing physical and emotional bonds with children and restoring fractured relationships with spouses. Conflicts and contradictions between them and the children emerged amidst the pressures of unsustained standard of living.

For some women migrants, relationships with husbands improved due to the greater value and status placed on them for their economic contributions. Women also exercised greater decision-making power in their households.

For other women, life after migration became harder because of loss in career opportunities and continued financial dependence of their families.

Overall, the roles of providing and caring for the families continued and even expanded upon the return of women migrants signifying the rigidity of gender roles and structures.

Keywords: *migration, families, return, empowerment, gender*

Manang's work experience as a domestic helper in Saudi Arabia for 10 years, made her learn to mix with people from different backgrounds. She became self-reliant and most of all confident in herself. 'I no longer felt that I was just a small insignificant human being', she remarked.

When Zeny returned to the Philippines after 15 years of working in the Middle East, her daughters had grown into adults. They had become distant from her. Her older daughter was particularly angry for her years of absence. Zeny did not take a home leave because it was difficult to get one from the hospital where she worked. She also wanted to save as much as she could and visiting home would have meant spending her savings.

1.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of migration is deeply embedded in the context of family norms and thus, it is essential to look at its impact on the family left behind. In my study, women's migration is mainly compelled by the desire to enhance the family's welfare and well-being (Asis 2002; Hugo 1995; Zlotnik 1995). It is pertinent therefore to determine whether migration has benefited the family's welfare or not. At the same time, the family itself is a gendered social institution, where relations are governed by the interplay of labour, power and emotions (Connell 1987). Prolonged absence of the woman migrant, the mother, the wife, the daughter, reconstitutes the family's structure and dynamics of relationships among various members (Zlotnik 1995). The women migrant's status undergoes change as a result of her income earning capacity to provide for the family. A change in her position in turn affects her sense of self as well as the power dynamics within the households.

This paper looks at how migration affected the home, the family left behind, in terms of family structures, gender roles and gender shifts, sense of security and insecurity; whether there were any differences between the male and female children in the way they were affected and how; and inter-generational relationships. I explore and analyse whether and how the migration experience has contributed to the women's sense of empowerment. Lastly, this paper seeks to determine what happens to the women migrants when they finally return to their home country in terms of being able to resettle and fit back into their families and communities, socially, psychologically and economically.

Findings of the study conducted from 2004-2005, are based mainly on the life stories of 14 Filipino women migrants performing mainly domestic work in various countries for a period ranging from 6 years to 22 years and have since returned to the Philippines. Focus group discussions were also conducted with the families left behind by the women migrants. The research was carried out in various regions of the Philippines.

1.2 What is the home that the migrant worker returns to?

For labour migrants (Berger 1984), home is found in routine practices, habitual interactions, in memories and myths, and stories. Home is connected with origins, identity, attachment and settlement, and with its common use as a metaphor for nation (Webster 1998). Returning home can be a difficult and emotionally destabilising experience when migrants, for example, discover that their place of return bears little resemblance to the home they have left or they have remembered or imagined it to be during the years they were away. Thus, returnees come home 'disappointed and disillusioned, and sometimes alienated from the homeland' (Markowitz and Stefansson 2004 p. 9).

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The home that has changed

The home that the migrant returns to has changed in both literal and figurative senses. As one drives through towns, one distinct mark of having been abroad, an Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW), is a concrete house, a testimony to years of hard toil in a distant land (Gardner 1995; King 2000). Inside these dwellings, one finds a family where one or even both parents are away for long years working overseas while children are left behind.

For some migrant women, there is no home to return to where relationships have disintegrated, the spouse has left or the children have started to lead their own lives. For many of the returning mothers, restoring strained or fractured relationships was a paramount concern.

Change in family structure and dynamics of gender relationships

The Filipino family is in transition (Medina 2001) and, in recent years it has become difficult to define families, as significant changes in living arrangements are taking place. The phenomenon of overseas contract workers has given rise to incomplete households where one or both parents are absent, or to expanded households where children of such workers are now cared for by aunts and grandparents or even friends or hired workers. Some households are now headed by older children of migrant workers. The prolonged separation of families has brought about a radical change in family structures and the harsh reality is that while Filipino women work for families abroad, millions of Filipino children grow up without their mothers (Balana 2006).

Migration has clearly reconfigured families in both structure and transformed gender relationships. 'Migration has multiple effects on gender relations... migration is inherently contradictory for it involves physical separation in a society which so greatly values togetherness' (Gardner 2002 p. 226). When a woman leaves, her roles as wife and mother are drastically affected. In the Philippine society, much of the caring, nurturing and housekeeping roles rest with the mother so that her absence clearly creates a void in families and households, a void that often is difficult to fill. Rhacel Parrenas (Parrenas 2006 p. 121) maintains that children of migrant mothers express greater difficulties in their family life than children of migrant fathers do. This is because to the children and to the society as a whole, the caring act of extended kin 'does not adequately substitute for the nurturing acts performed by their biological mothers'. In Ester's story, her daughter felt abandoned for all the years that she has been away. Hence, the sense of abandonment is also gendered.

Ester was away for 23 years. Every year or two, she would return for a month's visit at a time. When she finally returned home for good, all the children had grown. To her, the biggest initial adjustment was being with her husband at home and largely by themselves.

‘I felt strange eating with someone and a male. Back in Hong Kong, I was used to eating all by myself. I felt strange sleeping with someone and for some time, I slept with my stuffed toys. I felt like I didn’t have a husband, just a friend. My youngest child, a son, who was now an adult wanted to sleep with me when I returned home. My only daughter felt abandoned all the years that I have been away’.

Apart from re-establishing her physical and emotional bonds with her two younger children, Ester had to restore her relationship with her husband which was severely fractured during the early years of her migration journey.

In Philippine society, the father is perceived as the pillar of the home and the mother as the light of the home, a common metaphor designating the father as the breadwinner and the mother as the carer, the nurturer. Therefore, for a home to stand firm and strong, the father and the mother should be present.

Children left behind

Children left behind by migrant parents, particularly by migrant mothers have clearly been affected, whether materially or psychologically and emotionally. When the migrant mothers returned to their families, conflicts and contradictions between them and the children emerged in their lives.

Berto’s mother’s return to the Philippines after working for 13 years in Hong Kong, became problematic. As Berto expressed:

‘It was difficult when my mother came back as we no longer had enough money. We had arguments and fights over many things, both small and big. My mother remarked that I was so used to a good life and therefore, I needed to experience hard life. But I argued with her and said that she should not have returned yet since we needed money to complete my education. Finally, we both got tired of quarrels and so we reconciled and learned to live with each other again harmoniously’.

A conflict of values and attitudes has taken place in migrants’ families. The parent who is away believes that she is out there to fulfil the material needs of her children and her absence is justified for so long as she can carry out this role. The children, while they recognise their material needs and wants, put priority on their emotional and psychological needs especially when they are at the age of adolescence (Dungo 2008; Episcopal Commission et al. 2004).

The children as a whole understood why their parents had to be away but all of them shared the difficulty of growing up by themselves. On the other hand, a few saw the absence of their parents as an opportunity for them to develop strong character, independence and self-reliance.

Children of migrant parents, of mostly high school age and college age shared difficulties of growing up without the presence of their parents. They spoke of loneliness and of being caught in difficult situations and relationships. But they also recognized the benefits of having parents

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working abroad—nice clothes, good private schools, nice house, some luxuries, more food on the table as well as freedom and independence.

At the same time, the benefits may not be sustainable (Edillon 2008) due to economic shocks spawned by political and economic crises. Systematic interventions for psycho-social support from various sectors of society are also lacking.

It is difficult to predict what might turn out to be the long-term consequence of such emotional deprivation on the children. A number of factors would come into play such as the age of the children when left behind, the quality of care of the carers especially by fathers left behind, community support and (Gavriliuc 2007) the child's preparation for an independent life.

Pressure on children to assume adult roles: Equal if not greater burden on sons

Conrado, second child in the family and the brightest was forced to grow up fast when his mother left to work abroad. He had to learn to manage the remittances his mother entrusted to him and not to the father who had left home for another woman. The family broke apart and care of siblings was split between maternal and paternal grandparents.

Alma, a 12 year old, whose mother started working in Hong Kong when she was only a year old, expressed being trapped in a role she could barely manage. During the weekly telephone calls her mother made, she needed to account on how remittances were spent. She also spoke of being intimidated by her older brother as he would complain of the inadequacy of his weekly allowance set by their mother. Their father, a soldier, was assigned in another province and he would visit them only once in three months. A woman was hired by their mother to take care of them.

The literature points to children left behind are mostly cared for by female members of families and kin network (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). However, based on my research, it is not always the case that the female members of the family shoulder the responsibility of looking after the children left behind. In some families, it is the older sibling or the child considered more responsible than the others (like Conrado) whether female or male, who usually took care of the younger siblings. The eldest child in the Filipino family is often regarded as the responsible family member who needs to look after the younger siblings especially when the parents are unable to.

In Edna's household, the children learned to manage by themselves although the greatest burden fell on the eldest child, a son. The eldest son had to perform household chores and eventually dropped out from high school when he could no longer cope with such responsibilities. Their father indulged in drinking with his peers and was merely contented with waiting for the monthly remittance from their mother.

The above stories demonstrate the various kinds of strains, burdens and displacements on children left behind by mothers and left with fathers who are incapable of assuming changed gender roles and responsibilities.

Growing up strong and independent

On the positive side, children of migrant workers learned to be self-reliant and independent. As one daughter remarked:

‘Being left on our own, we grew up to be strong, self-reliant and independent persons. We learned to do all kinds of tasks even including so-called men’s work like electric wiring and house painting. We managed our financial resources well and we did not indulge in luxuries. We became mature, confident individuals’.

1.3 Dynamics of gendered relationships between migrant wives and spouses

Alice Pingol (Pingol 2001) explored the changes that occurred in Filipino men left behind by wives who worked overseas and became the main providers in the family. Specifically, she examined how the men dealt with traditional norms of masculinity which constitute being good providers, virile sex partners, firm and strong fathers. Her findings showed among others, that the husbands required psychological adjustments from being a main provider to that of a nurturer and from being faithful and loyal despite their sexual deprivation. They had to be emotionally stable to sustain the emotional needs of their children. In the process, these men had to remake and redefine their masculinities. Another group of men could not cope well, had conflicts with in-laws, mismanaged remittances and entered into sexual liaisons. In my study, I found that the latter group of men predominated.

Upon return from Malaysia, Edna learned that her husband had gotten involved with a part-time house helper and this caused conflicts and miseries in their household. The second son had run away and sought refuge in his grandmother’s house in the province. Edna rebuked her husband for his infidelity and even asked him to leave the household.

When Amy finally returned home after 12 years of working abroad, she learned that her husband had mismanaged the funds she had remitted regularly. Amy was furious. She rebelled and left home for two months. When she returned home, she demanded that the husband utilise the lump-sum payment he received upon retirement as a soldier, to purchase household appliances, to which he acceded.

Enhanced status and decision-making

‘Has migration led to women’s enhanced status? For some migrant women, relationships with their husbands improved due to the greater value and status placed on them for bringing about economic contributions to their families. Ester’s husband, Dencio, shared the following:

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‘There has been a big change in our life due to my wife’s work overseas. In the past, we lived in just one room of our extended family house. Now, we have a house of our own. Our children are educated. Our son, the engineer is now working abroad and is a big help to the extended family’.

The women exercised greater decision-making power in major concerns of the household. Such power stemmed mainly from their income earning capacity and sustenance to the family.

A few husbands took upon themselves responsibilities in household tasks when the migrant women were away working overseas and continued these upon return of their migrant wives.

However, the women were still the same persevering and hardworking, (as when they were abroad), undertaking all sorts of work to financially support their households which often were extended households.

Two women with broken marriages decided to lead a more autonomous life while one maintained a strained relationship merely to give a semblance of a whole family.

1.4 Migration and its rewards

Migration brings sorrow but is also a cause for celebration (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994). While migration has clearly spawned psychological and emotional consequences for migrant women and their families, migration, too, has its rewards both in material and non-material senses: broader outlook in life, newfound pleasures, and freedoms.

When asked what she learned most from working abroad, Edna remarked:

‘I learned to deal with all sorts of people, to discern what is good or not for myself and my family. With regards to my being a domestic worker, I learned to be efficient, good organiser, good in managing my time and still took care of myself well’.

Remittances from the migrant women were utilised mainly for their children’s education, daily needs, purchase of land, house improvements and putting up small businesses. The migrant women’s experience of working abroad instilled in them the values of discipline, efficiency, and patience with children. Moreover, the difficulties that their work entailed made them strong, courageous, and determined women.

Mila has become active in community activities by being a village official and by taking on a leadership role in a federation of migrants’ groups in her home province. Her rich experience as a migrant worker has helped her carry out this role effectively.

Migration brings non-material and material rewards— the security of a monthly income, earning enough to send children to good schools, to provide for their daily needs and some occasional

luxuries and even to build houses. The opportunity to see the world is a major reward for the migrant woman worker. There is freedom from being away from home as one is not physically present to face the hardships and burden of managing households and caring roles. There is freedom in being able to make one's own decisions both in small and big matters.

Yet the socio- psychological costs of migrating are high. The pressures that come with being the provider for the family exert a strong need and desire on the migrant woman to succeed and thus maintain the identity of being a dutiful wife, mother, daughter, altruistic and ever-sacrificing (Tacoli 1999). Viewed from this perspective, the notion of agency comes to fore—the ability to navigate through various types of difficulties, psychological, emotional, cultural and economic.

1.5 Migration experience and empowerment

The experience of overseas migration has raised the consciousness of the women of their capacity to earn and provide for their families and to successfully overcome the rigours of a migrant's life. Hence, this strengthened their character and sense of autonomy. At the same time, they also became trapped in the cycle of meeting incessant demands from their families and carried over upon return to the home country.

The migration experience has made the women more confident, more assertive, and more sensitive to communities' needs than before migration. The women have also developed a broad outlook in life by their travels, by their exposures to other countries, to other cultures. They have acquired organising skills, language skills, and also leadership skills so that they are now active in community affairs.

Women were further empowered as shown by their ability to challenge gender norms to negotiate and deal equally with their husbands. In the process, gender relations were transformed in all three aspects— labour (sexual division of labour), power (men's domination and control in decision-making, access and control of resources) and cathexis (emotional and sexual attachments) (Connell 1987).

However, at the level of collective empowerment (Batliwala 1994), the women migrants need to press for changes in government policies and programmes to address the root cause of migration and specifically, the feminisation of migration. They need to attain collective power to be genuinely involved in setting the migration policy and programme agenda.

1.6 Resettling, fitting back in after return

A reading of our life stories in this study reveals in part stories of lost opportunities for the migrant women.

Ester and Marla were accounting graduates but settled as domestic helpers in Hong Kong. When Ester returned she was already in her 60s so it was not possible to rejoin the formal labour

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force. Instead, she and her family set up a small business but income was not adequate to sustain the standard of living they were used to. While Marla was able to send her children to good schools and to build a house and set up a small business, she regretted not being able to pursue her career in accountancy.

Breadwinning continues and expands

While most of the migrant women were clearly empowered by achieving greater sense of self, greater decision-making roles and enhanced status, their breadwinning roles have remained and have even expanded in some cases.

The migrant women were in a precarious condition when they returned home since they were not able to find a secure job either in the formal labour market or in the informal sector. Although the women had some savings upon return, these were easily dissipated. Those with less than college education could not secure formal employment not only because there are not enough jobs but also because they are already considered too old to be employed. The financial security that overseas labour migration provided was lost.

Conclusions

What do these stories tell us about life after migration? Contradictions abound. Years abroad were spent caring for other children and families and helping maintain households, but the women could not be physically present to care for their own children and families. Hence, the global transfer of care from poor countries to rich countries; a dependency of another kind, that of less privileged women supporting the needs of the richer, more privileged women (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002).

In their desire to ensure the welfare of their families, women assumed traditional roles of spouses and thus 'crossed gender boundaries' (Parrenas 2006 p. 59). They crossed gender norms by their physical absence from their families and homes to work in foreign lands. While society now recognises the valuable contributions of women overseas workers to their families' well-being, in the main, the society still holds the view that women's rightful place is still the home, to be at home and continue to be the light of the home.

Migration experience provided a strong sense of freedom and liberation whether from the confines of their village homes, or from unhappy relationships, or from the drudgery of day-to-day reproductive tasks and responsibilities. Yet, the return of the women migrants showed that their role of providing and caring for their families continued and even expanded upon their return.

Psychological adjustments/rigidity of gender roles and norms

The reproductive roles of Filipino women are deeply internalised by the women themselves, the families and the Philippine society as a whole. While the migrant women took upon themselves the productive role of engaging in a paid work and supporting the needs of their families, nevertheless the women themselves felt their role as carers and nurturers could not be taken over by their partners or relatives whether women or men. This is clearly a manifestation of the rigidity of a gender structure which upholds the traditional roles of men and women.

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Migration creates ambivalent and contradictory outcomes whether for the migrant worker herself or for families, particularly children left behind. On one hand, migration translates into material well-being for families. On the other hand, it brings emotional and psychological consequences and costs. For the migrant woman, migration brings enhanced status, newfound pleasures and freedom. But it also brings guilt, loneliness, greater burden and insecurities upon return.

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Relations of Proximity in Migration: Abuse and Mistreatment by Families in the Experiences of Migrant Women

ROBERTA T. DI ROSA

Abstract:

The article presents a summary of the results of a research carried out in 2012 in Sicily on the experience and perception of family violence in relation to the cultural membership of migrant women. The aim of the research (Di Rosa, 2013 pp. 96-133) carried out was to reflect on the abuse experienced by immigrant women within significant relationships (partners, relations) but it was felt necessary to extend it beyond forms of abuse by one's partner – for example abuse by the family on daughters - given that it is believed that the experiences of the negation of women as such, of being forced to live with behaviour patterns can be considered "proximity" violence because it is experienced within the context of deep ties, of strong emotional and/or family relationships.

The research was carried out through hermeneutic interviews to migrant women (identified through health and social services), recording the life stories and then analyzing the recurring themes in relation to identified issues: the definition of violence; their family and/or marriage experience; the relationship with their native culture and the community to which they belonged; the specificity of experiences of the second generations.

Taking the stories acquired through interviews as a starting point, we propose a reflection on the light and shadows of the path to awareness triggered by their experience of contact with the host culture.

Keywords: *migration, women, family violence*

1. Introduction

First and second generation immigrant women constitute a growing reality in Italy, even with regard to abuse and violence among family members. The great variety of reasons (Martini 2011) that there are for immigrating - women following their husbands or who make a personal choice to emigrate, others who experience emigration due to their parents' decisions - is also reflected in the variety of situations in which women face abuse and discrimination, even in the everyday reality of having to deal with a new society. Despite the great variety of profoundly different situations - being alone or with one's family, born abroad or in Italy, being legally resident or exploited by prostitution rings - the common denominator is the redefinition of their identity and their roles as women, wives, mothers, daughters.

If we are to understand this phenomenon we must first overcome the perception of immigrant women as women who are torn between tradition and modernity, seen as fixed and dichotomic categories. Listening to their stories has revealed to us that each woman interviewed is a unique individual involved in mediating between the models, between their previous relational customs and their new roles.

1. Defining abuse.

Abuse against women - the most diffused crime in the world and also the less reported one (Kustermann 2008 pp.11-14) – is also the most difficult phenomenon to define in a "universal" way: its definition, in every culture, comes from the concepts and the dominant roles of gender and family. Leaving aside whether it is recognized as such or not, or the variety of ways in which it manifests itself, abuse against women exists in realities very different from each other in terms of culture, religion and their political and social situation, both in "developed" countries and in those considered as developing, both in the south and in the north of the world.

It is what the women interviewed confirm to us through the narration of their experiences: we are still very far from the destruction of cultural systems that continue to relegate women to the confined spaces of their houses, limited in their expression by sexist models of social, cultural, political and religious organization. But migration, with its power to transform people and their relationships, acts also on the rigidity of this model, making it closer to modernity (Schiavon 2011).

For the women interviewed, the experience of abuse was not "unexpected" or exclusively linked to the intimate environment of the family: it is viewed rather as a constant risk, a scenario which lies behind every action performed both inside and outside the family (Di Rosa 2008).

Although abuse against women is transversal with regard to space, time and social conditions, it can be noted that for immigrant women, whenever the difficulties for the male/husband increase, so does the abuse towards them both inside the family and in their countries of origin, for their "multiple and multiform discriminatory" condition (Macioti, Vitantonio and Persano 2006 p. 30).

Two categories of risk factors can be identified. Firstly, generic factors, linked to the psycho-cultural events of the migration, to anomalous behaviours in relationships, consequent to situations of socio-sanitary marginalisation that regard the bad conditions of life, the housing conditions or 'stress from transculturalization' (Mazzetti 2003 p. 83). In addition to these, there exist specific risks, linked to more personal experiences, the difficulties met both as individuals and as couples, to the fear of their emigration plan failing, to the implications that its success or failure may have on the future of the family as a whole (Sall 2001 p. 142).

If we want to summarize some "typical" forms of abuse experienced by the migrant women there are some which are more closely linked to their cultural values:

- permanent physical damage (genital mutilation),
- serious or total limitations on the freedom to choose their personal path (of study, choice of husband, work).
- subjugation to the male figure practiced through the reduction of the woman to a state of absolute dependence and isolation from the external context.

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- the man's control on the economic resources of the family and even on the earnings of the woman herself.

To these can be added others linked to the dysfunctional relationship between man and woman within the couple, to the identity crisis and to the difficulty that gender models have in transculturalization.

Moreover, women are not always in a condition to react, due to having already experienced abuse in childhood in their country of origin and thus accepting it as "normal" or regarding it as routine. It must be underlined that physical abuse is the abuse that the women interviewed have identified more easily as such; lesser so sexual assault, psychological abuse or economic abuse. Furthermore, they tolerate the abuse because it has never been questioned within the community to which they belong.

2. Relationships between couples that migrate

The stories that we have listened to reveal how migration makes relationships within the family become fragile (Gozzoli and Regalia 2005; Andolfi 2004; Cattaneo and Dal Verme, 2005). It acts as a stronger risk factor for marriage failures and the problems of parents determining the redefinition and the reformulation of family bonds and equilibrium; it also exposes the individuals to great changes, proposing a challenge to adapt that is not easily met: difficulty in integration, uncertainty for the future, separation of families, difficult material conditions of life, different values and cultural models.

Migration causes changes both when the family is near and when one's loved ones are far, given that it involves a rethinking of one's belonging to the traditions and values of the culture of origin. (Tognetti Bordogna 2007 p. 105). Tensions can mount or worsen when the wife (but also the daughters) behaves in ways that are dissimilar from those recognized as valid in the culture of origin.

Usually the woman appears more inclined to adapt, more flexible in searching for a new dimension both as a woman and as a mother within the new cultural context (Mariti 2003). In this way, they become agents of cultural transmission at the level of:

- continuation of the memory of their origins (through maintaining traditions).
- reformulation of cultural repertoires as an adaptive answer to the new contexts (Schmidt and Marazzi 2004).

The male, on the other hand, reveals himself to have greater difficulties in living and facing the change, both at the level of identity and on a relational one, and as a result, he encounters

greater difficulties in accepting transformations in the family that directly involve him and in accepting and recognizing the possibility of change in the woman, partner, wife or mother. The sensation that he is losing the dominant role that he enjoyed in his country of origin, the fear of not being recognized anymore in his role of head of the family and holder of power in the family, can provoke in him an abusive attitude towards his wife and his children, as the last possible way to confirm his traditional role .

The relationship between couples that migrate has to suffer a period of readjustment of their identities and roles, above all those of gender. Separations derive to a large extent from the motivational approach towards the plan to migrate, from its duration and from the responses to the mechanisms and dynamics of integration: their paths divide due to their choices and their stabilization, ultimately abetted by the woman's new emancipated condition.

Migration can represent, therefore, an instrument of emancipation for women, both as an intentional strategy (Grasso 1996) and as an unforeseen consequence of the migratory experience. When this happens, however, it is not a transition that is free from tensions and critical situations: they find themselves in difficulty when trying to manage the models of their culture in their personal life (Ambrosini 2005 p. 146).

The opportunities of emancipation (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996 p. 1-26) and the reorganization of the gender hierarchies can improve the condition of power and status of women compared to men, but they can also leave the asymmetries of gender unchanged and even increase some aspects of the subordination of women (Yeoh and Huang 2000 pp. 413-429), together with the risk of abuse towards them, in particular when the woman works and the man does not, due to the man's perception of the disestablishment of the masculine role, which subsequently creates problems in the equilibriums of the family.

In the families in which there occur episodes of domestic violence there are often found problems correlated with alcoholism, depression, economic difficulty, poverty, unemployment, lack of accommodation which is suitable for the number of family members and which satisfies the needs of health and safety, the very hard work pace, homesickness and the disappointment of so many expectations: 'Marital violence is unleashed against the background of a situation full of economic problems caused by difficulties in finding a job, together with a reduction of confidence in their own identity that many immigrant men experience' (Balsamo 2003 p. 37).

3. The role of the cultures of origin and the communities of reference

One of the problems that surrounds gender abuse and that makes the search for the way to stop it difficult is that in a lot of cultures this is admitted, tolerated and justified, as shows the review of custom of gender violence in the world edited by Spinelli (2010).

In the host country, the social and cultural reference for individuals is the community formed by their fellow countrymen, which has an ambivalent role towards them in the cases of

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domestic violence. On the one hand, it has the function of being a guarantor of the cultural identity and therefore often exercises pressure on the women to continue to adhere to canons of behaviour that belong to their society of origin, legitimizing in this way the behaviours of husbands who mistreat them. Opposing the community by reporting the husband in this case means losing one's own roots and experiencing disorientation with regard to one's own identity, increasing the woman's anxieties and fear for her own future and that of her children.

On the other hand, the reference of the couple to a community of fellow countrymen limits the consequences of family tensions. The community, in fact, has a good potentiality of mediation in case of tensions. It offers the couple concrete support, above all from women, which has the form of an exchange of services and in the direct control of the violence. To some extent, the community of reference can take the place of the family left behind in their country, the one that, in the case of violence, would have had the power to intervene to control the husband's behaviour and absorb the tensions (Balsamo 2003 p. 37).

In fact, the cases in which the couples do not have a community of reference are more serious: the fragility or absence of a network of relations or community members is directly proportional to the isolation and retreat within itself of the family unit, which in turn favours the creation and worsening of the problems in the couple's relationship. The absence of social control and the mediation of an extended family can lead to an even more rigid codification of the male and female role, which manifests itself even more frequently and without any filter in abuse. (Sall 2001 p. 144).

4. The tensions between generations

There are an increasing number of violent stories on the news that have young immigrant women as their victims. These occur as a result of strong clashes with their family, produced by the generational gap that is established parallel to the process of migration (Schiavon 2011 p. 47).

Second generation migrants have the difficulty of reconciling their culture of origin that their family continues to perpetuate, and the culture of the country of residence, which is experienced daily in their relationship with their peers. As a result, the relationship between the generations, that for many foreign parents is defined with the image of a vertical asymmetry, can be seriously challenged by a disorientating proximity and symmetry of roles between adults and children. Because of the tension that derives from these choices, children become "true foreigners in the eyes of their relatives and probably to themselves" (Gozzoli and Regalia 2005 p. 155).

Also among the second generation, it is once more the female immigrant element that is affected negatively by finding herself between two ways of performing family roles, two ways of understanding the differences between genders. The adolescents of the second generation are

subject to strong expectations and pressures from the family in different areas of life (Tognetti Bordogna 2008), and obviously this exposes them to a greater risk of victimization. It can happen that behaviour which is common to all teenagers (such as returning home later than the established time, putting on make up etc.) provokes or aggravates limits and rules established by the family. From this situation there can derive actions that may also be violent and dramatic, such as running away from home, suicide attempts, sexual relations and underage pregnancies, involvement in abusive relationships (given the need for strong affective bonds in order to break away from the family). The possibility of seeking external aid for support against the constraints imposed in their family of origin is rarely contemplated. In the majority of cases they remain oppressed by their double role, trapped in situations of abuse and violence, hidden within the family or in their community of origin, difficult to identify.

The issues that are most emblematic of the difficult situations the young immigrants find themselves in are the two customs that invade their freedom and integrity most, considered to be 'nefarious traditional customs' : underage marriage, or arranged/forced marriages, and Female Genital Mutilation. They are forms of abuse that are passed on through customs and habits and refer to concepts of honour and virtue which women are expected to carry on. Opposing these customs means, in many cases and in various countries, heavy sanctions which can even result in death.

Forced marriages constitute a hidden phenomenon that appears to be increasing. Actually, the imposition of a marriage regards both boys and girls, but there is a much greater frequency of the imposition of marriage on females: daughters are submitted to greater control in comparison to male children in the family of origin. Forced marriages persist not as a phenomenon in itself but as a specific aspect of ideologies and a means of controlling women/daughters. In fact, imposed marriages can not be considered as an isolated phenomenon. It always occurs in nations or in social contexts where a lot of other forms of limitations on female liberty exist.

Also in this case, the migratory experience provokes a transformation and in general a comparison with other socio-cultural models. For young people born in Italy or who have spent most of their life there, arranged marriages are increasingly felt to be forced marriages, and as a result will be increasingly rejected, amplifying the conflict between generations.

The same can be said for Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), a traditional, ancient and deep-rooted custom. After emigrating, the trauma caused by the violence and the mutilation undergone gets worse, given that the immigrant woman lacks the compensatory mechanism of social acceptance in exchange for submission to the practice that she would have in her country of origin. The women find themselves living in a society where this custom is considered a form of abuse and makes it difficult for them to have relationships with partners who are distant from their own cultures. In the host country, the mutilation increases the distance from native peers and from the society in which they now live, thereby increasing a sense of "diversity" and alienation towards their peers and the social context. (Sacchetti 2007 pp. 15-19).

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This phenomenon is far from disappearing: the dilemma on the future of their daughters torments a lot of foreign women who live in Italy. Nevertheless, from what has emerged in the interviews, women who are sufficiently integrated in the country they have emigrated to have already distanced themselves from practising the traditional rites in order to reaffirm their own identity, both in Italy and in their country of origin. In particular, women who have a greater education appear to have started to distance themselves from this custom.

The change, however, is not automatic, but is linked to a positive integration experience after migration: if the experience of the mothers is negative, this can provoke a closure within one's own culture, which is seen as a shelter in which to escape contamination and contact with models and values that are alien and as such dangerous (Scoppa 2011) and therefore to a desire to use the rules and customs of their culture of origin for their daughters.

5. Looking at the future

Treating the subject of violence against foreign women, a contribution can be given to the complex relationship that exists in our society between universalism and differences (of gender, culture, religion), where there is a need for creating new forms of citizenship to go towards a pluralistic society with heterogeneous citizenship, identity and models and with common aims in the construction of a transcultural community.

Above all, there must be introduced a new way of looking at immigrant women (both by the host country and by the women themselves). They should no longer be seen simply as 'oppressed, exploited and losers, since they are incapable of escaping their family and the cultural ties of their country of origin and since they are linked to a marginalized social condition in the host country' (Vicarelli 1994 p. 7) but rather as women who 'show in their daily life to be capable of an autonomy and of an identity that is not that of their past, but not even the one desired and wanted by western women' (Vicarelli 1994 p. 9).

Only by establishing a policy of respect and attention can we proceed to the recognition of rights of women that are accessible and effective. If we really want to oppose old/new forms of abuse, it is essential to go beyond the merely repressive perspective of condemnation and instead provide the "victim" with the means to escape a condition of painful humiliation through a path that leads to self-awareness and esteem for oneself and for one's choices, which should also involve the community of origin, finding in it help and support.

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Children of Vietnamese Parents Brought Up by Czech Nannies: Reconstructing and Redefining Family Ties

ADÉLA SOURALOVÁ

Abstract

Vietnamese families in the Czech Republic often recruit Czech women to look after their children. Put in the context of the dominant scholarship, this is quite a unique case of care work in which the employers are immigrants, while the employees are women of the host country. At the same time, it is an exceptional child care solution in the context of the Czech Republic, where only 1-2% of population seek individual private child care. Drawing upon qualitative research conducted with Czech nannies, Vietnamese mothers, and their children, the article interprets the experience of Vietnamese immigrants with paid child care as an outcome of the post-migratory redefinition of family relations. In so doing, the paper demonstrates how family ties and child care arrangements are negotiated vis-à-vis the new life in the host country, where the different “normal caring biographies” are supported by the common-sense understanding of what care and/or mothering should be, by social policies, and by everyday practice). I argue that recruitment of the nannies is an essential part of these negotiations. I respond to the following question: How the family/kinship/intimate ties are negotiated between children and parents, children and grandparents in Vietnam, and children and nannies in post-migratory family resettlement? In my paper I put forward the thesis that the post-migratory challenges of family life lead to the recruitment of nannies, which further challenges the family lives of both nannies and immigrants. The paper sheds light on the children’s relatedness and family belonging negotiations in the context of paid caregiving and contributes to feminist discussions on gender and family relationships after migration, delegated child care, and generally the role of care in the establishment of kinship ties.

Key words: *nanny, family ties, Vietnamese immigrants, Czech Republic*

1. Introduction

Linh was born in Vietnam. When she was 7 months old, she moved with her parents to the Czech Republic. Her parents started running the business of clothes-selling and they had to find a nanny for their daughter to take care of her when they were at work. At the beginning, little Linh was with her nanny every day between 8 am and 8 pm and she came home to sleep under one roof with her parents. Later her parents moved to Prague, to run their business there. Linh stayed at her nanny’s and her parents came to see her approximately once per two months. Till her age of 10, she lived with her nanny whom she called grandma and who became her primary caregiver responsible for all tasks around Linh – they played games, sing Czech songs, made schoolwork together or visited doctors. Then her parents wanted Linh to move to them. Those days Linh did not speak Vietnamese at all and she did not know how to get on well with her parents, who she last couple of years saw only a few times a year. Now she is twenty years old and when she speaks about her parents, she talks about overcoming the distance (linguistic and emotional), dealing with misunderstandings but also about emergence of respect, appreciation, and recognition that the parents came to the Czech Republic because they wanted to provide her better future that she would have had in Vietnam. When she speaks about her Czech grandmother, she speaks about careless

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childhood and recalls many memories from the daily contact with her which was extremely emotional and provided her a sense of home and family life. Linh's conceptions of family ties reflects her double position as a child who is, first, brought up in a country that is not the homeland of her parents; and second, brought up by woman who is not her mother.

With the total number of 60 000, Vietnamese are the third largest group of immigrants in the Czech Republic. Compared to other groups of immigrants, the demographic structure of the Vietnamese immigrant population is progressive, with a high percentage of women and children. According to the Czech Statistical Office, in 2005 21 % of Vietnamese population were children 0-14 years old (in the Czech population it was 15 %). 78 % of population are of productive age (15 – 64), and only 1 % were older than 65 years old. Some second-generation children of Vietnamese parents in the Czech Republic are cared for by Czech nannies. The changes in family structure after migration (intensification of work life at the expense of family life, uprooting from extensive kinship networks that care can be delegated to) lead parents to find a 'substitute' grandmother for their children – a Czech nanny. We deal here with a unique case of immigrant families that structurally (meaning not ad hoc) hire native women. It is unique in three respects. First, Vietnamese migrants in other European countries do not look for nannies to care for their children, or at least none of the research has described any such pattern of relations. Second, other immigrants to the Czech Republic do not systematically seek (Czech) nannies to look after their children: instead, the model common in other European countries applies here as well, where migrants – usually from Ukraine – work as housekeepers. Thirdly, according to official statistics only one or two per cent of Czech households hire a nanny for their children (Hašková 2008); this shows that the model of paid care for children is not (so far) very widespread in the Czech context. These three aspects show the uniqueness of Vietnamese families both in the context of the Vietnamese diaspora, as well as the context of Czech society, and provoke essential questions about how the family/kinship/intimate ties are negotiated between children and parents, children and grandparents in Vietnam, and children and nannies in post-migratory family resettlement?

The data for this paper was collected between April 2010 and November 2012 when I conducted 50 interviews with children (age 16 – 25, 20 interviews), their mothers (15 interviews), and nannies (15 interviews). The paper is particularly interested in the perspective of children, whose voices in the feminist scholarship on delegated care have been absent so far. I focus on the double negotiations of family ties in the post-migratory family resettlement of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic. First is the negotiation of family settlement – reorganization of work life; reconciliation of caregiving/mothering ideologies remembered from Vietnam and performed in the Czech Republic; and the absence of kin to whom the child care could be delegated, all of these leading to the hiring the Czech nanny. Hiring a Czech nanny is for many families an inevitable part of family settlement and hence the position of nanny in the family is conceptualized as that the nanny in the Vietnamese family supplements the mother and supplants

the grandmother (Nelson 1990). And second is the negotiation of family life with the delegated child caregiving which generates the children's definitions of family/kinship ties and the conceptions of what it means to be the child of one's parents, grandchild of one's grandparents, and cared-for child of one's nanny. In this regard, the paper deals with how the children negotiate their emic definitions of family and their position within it at the intersection of following kinds of ties, all of which pose different challenges to family life resettlement:

(1) Relationship of intimacy, emotions generated in the practice of caregiving

(a) child's relations with nanny, and

(b) child's relations with parents and their parents.

(2) Relationship based on caregiving which generates a sense of belonging

(a) child's relations with Czech nanny, and

(b) child's relations with Vietnamese parents and grandparents.

The paper illuminates how these conceptions oscillate between being based on primordial ties, and being performed in the daily practice of caring. Exploring these oscillations, the paper sheds light on the children's relatedness and family belonging negotiations in the context of paid caregiving and contributes to feminist discussions on gender and family relationships after migration, delegated child care, and generally the role of care in the establishment of kinship ties.

Conceptual Background of the Study

My analysis starts with the basic assumption that caregiving is a bonding activity which is central to the notion of family, family life, and family ties. I understand caring both in the sense of care for ('the varied activities of providing for the needs or well-being of another person') and care about ('thought and feeling, including awareness and attentiveness, concern about and feelings of responsibility for meeting another's needs') as acknowledged by Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2000 p. 86 – 87). In my research of which the partial findings are presented in this paper I focused on caregiving and parenting strategies in post-migratory family resettlement, with particular interest in family ties negotiations through caregiving. Doing so, I am inspired by the modern anthropological theory of kinship.

Ever since the 1970s, when the definition of kinship was unbiologized in social anthropology (Schneider 1984), scholarship on the issue has shown that ideas about the family are formed not on the basis of what is given, but what is done (Sahlins 2011). It was especially the anthropologists of adoption who shone light on the process of becoming relatives. Therefore, I am inspired by Signe Howell (2003) who has developed the concept of kinning to describe the way an adopted child becomes part of the adopting parents' kin. She defines kinning as 'the process by which a foetus or new-born child (or a previously unconnected person) is brought into a significant

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and permanent relationship with a group of people that is expressed in a kin idiom' (Howell 2003 p. 465). In her view, kinship is 'something that is necessarily achieved in and through relationships with others' (ibid p. 468). As with other scholars who emphasised the performative definition of kinship (Sahlins 2011), the main argument here is that kinship ties do not exist a priori, but are negotiated on daily basis through diverse activities, caregiving (both in meaning of care for and care about) being the most prominent.

I follow Howell's study and trace the children's comprehension of kinning process which is enacted with relatives in Vietnam who are separated from them by thousands of kilometres but connected in the practice of emotional transnationalism (Wolf 2002); with Czech nannies-grannies with whom they do not share the same blood but who become their primary caregivers; and also with parents with whom they live and share the common blood but at the same time who are presented in narratives as distant (marked by the cultural schism and intergenerational gap, as described for instance by Kibria [1993]) and failing in providing the family life.

'For Me But Without Me': Child-Parent Ties Contested

And the relationship with my parents was weird. I liked them very much but at the same time I had no shared memories with them for those seven years when I was living in a Czech family.

Thi, 21 years old, in the Czech Republic since her age of 5 years

I was often told by my mother-interviewees, that their only reason of leaving Vietnam and coming to the Czech Republic was to improve the living conditions of their children and provide them the life with better opportunities. For many of them the migration project is built upon the effort to give 'better tomorrows' for children and the means to accomplish this mission is the intensive work life of parents (who want usually later return to Vietnam). Most of my mother-interviewees, parents of my child-interviewees and employers of my nanny-interviewees were entrepreneurs in wholesaling and retailing, i.e. owners of small shops and/or open-air markets. Self-employment is thus the crucial aspect of their work life in the Czech Republic. In 2009 around 88 000 foreigners in the Czech Republic held a valid trade licence, of which 36 000 were Vietnamese (25 000 men and 11 000 women). Vietnamese immigrants are thus an example of the typical demanders of paid child care: the dual-earner couples. The model of dual-earner household created in Vietnam (where it is also supported by the family leave and employment policies which motivate mothers to return to workplace 4 months after giving the birth to their children and the child is usually cared for by a grandmother) is maintained in the host country as well (where paid parental leave is available for maximum of four years and the grandmothers are hired – as nannies).

When being asked about their parents, some children in my sample started their narration with the statement that 'Luckily, my parents are not typical Vietnamese'. Employment of the rhetoric of luckiness points to two significant issues in the parent-child-nanny relationship. First,

children are aware that there exists a model of child care within the Vietnamese community ('typical Vietnamese do this and that'). In addition, they implicitly find this model inappropriate or even bad because of the lack of physical contact. The children stating that 'luckily their parents are not typical Vietnamese parents' create the hierarchies of caregiving which are based on the sufficiency or lack of physical contact between children and parents. Thinking within such hierarchical rankings, the children rarely take into account the parenting/child care models which are relevant in Vietnam; it is the pattern which they can observe in their Czech surroundings (friends, schoolmates, nanny's family, etc.) which acquire the main relevance for them. Second, the children also realize the position of their parents on the hierarchical scale of child care models. As their comments suggest, they create in their imagination a continuum reaching from good parents' caregiving to bad parents' caregiving. Several children-interviewees place their parents' model on the bad end of the spectrum – though their parents are 'luckily' not that bad.

'My parents do their best but they do not realize what the consequences are,' many children stated and contrasted their conceptions about family to those of parents. While mother-interviewees told me that children surely knew who their family is and that they can never forget about their parents and grandparents (and as well as children described their parents as relying on the pre-existing child-parent ties), the child-interviewees stressed the necessity of performing the parent-child ties in order to maintain the a priori given (biogenetic) relationship. Simply said, there were above all two groups of children in my sample when it came to their description of the parent-child ties, both referring to the strength of caregiving in knitting the family ties, in the process of kinning.

Children-complainers emphasising the inter-generational gap. The generation gap (as perceived by children) crystallizes around the emotional, linguistic, and mental distance between children and parents, and is the unintended consequence of the delegation of mothering. It is unintended and surprising to parents who expected their children to remain their children, that they will remain Vietnamese, with a Vietnamese mentality and speaking Vietnamese. Contrary to the parents' view, for children it is the logical outcome of the fact that they were brought up in Czech families, by Czech nannies who provided them with emotional ties as well as social and cultural capital transmission. In the children's perspective, the language must be spoken not to be forgotten; it must be spoken with parents not to drift away from them and to continue to understand one another. In other words, ties must be performed so that they generate what common memories or what others described as the awareness of belonging together (the subjectivation and recognition that I am their daughter/son and they are my parents); all these can be achieved by daily caregiving.

Children-teachers emphasising their role in transforming parents' parenting. When balancing between these two models of upbringing – Czech and Vietnamese – the children accentuated their influence on the parents' parenting. For instance, one interviewee told me that when observing the slow process of digging the gap between her parents and her and her sisters, she 'made a scene' to her parents, blaming them for not providing them with care. She told them that her sisters had no childhood with them and that she wanted to live 'normally' – spending weekends and holidays together as a family. Her parents stopped their business: the mother started working in

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a factory, while the father became unemployed. However, now they are much happier, as my interviewee says. Similarly, another girl in my sample told me that ‘luckily her parents are not typical Vietnamese’ because she ‘brought them up’ – meaning that she taught them ‘the Czech mentality’ so that they are now less conservative and more open which makes the intergenerational communication possible. These examples show that children interpret their position in family and delegated child care relationship as not only a passive – cared for – link in the relationship with active – caring – mothers and nannies; rather they actively intervene in the parents’ child care styles, holding a strong position in family life negotiations, and hence shape their own care towards what they consider the best for themselves. Hence they are able not only to distinguish between childcare strategies (these experienced with nannies and those with parents), but they also sort and validate them (in a similar way as the nannies formulate their moral hierarchies), and impose them on their parents.

‘From Nanny to Granny’: Caring as Kinning

I was six or seven years old and when I went somewhere, I went there with my granny. And I told everyone around that she is my granny. The children told me she could not be my granny because we are not alike. Then I was crying a lot and I kept on saying that she was my granny. My parents had to explain to me that she is not my granny and that she only looks after me and that my grannies were in Vietnam. And those days I was split because I told them ‘the grannies in Vietnam are not my grannies because they never looked after me, they have never been with me and they have never spent time with me. They even do not know what I like!’

Khanh, 21 years old, in the Czech Republic since her age of 4 years

When recruiting my potential informants, I asked them a question which at the beginning seemed very simple: ‘Did you ever have a Czech woman who took care of you?’ They answered me: ‘Yes, I have had a Czech grandma.’ Or ‘Yes, I have had a Czech aunt.’ Their answers, hence, showed me that my question was not only far from being a simple one, but above all it did not follow the emic perspective of my informants. I have already mentioned above that from the very beginning the relationship between nanny and family is defined as the supplantation of grandmother who stayed behind in Vietnam. The children understood their nannies not as women fulfilling the tasks of their Vietnamese grandmothers, they understood them as their Czech grandmothers. It was not only the linguistic denotation (in Vietnamese language the word ‘bà’ designates the kinship term ‘grandmother’ as well as it is used for all women who are of a similar age as one’s grandmother), nor the symbolic conceptualization which draws upon preexisting cultural codex for family relationships and helps all concerned actors to understand the care work within the family context (Murray 1998). As became apparent in Khanh’s account, the daily contact (which is

missing with parents, see above) and caregiving – as part of kinning – lead in many cases to the creation of grandchild-grandmother unit.

When I asked my informants how they would define who a grandmother was, they formulated two kinds of definitions – one departing from the experiences with Czech grandmother while other derived from the experiences with Vietnamese grandmother. My analysis illuminated four dichotomies in their definition of grandmotherhood in children's narratives.

Immediate care for and care about versus care about at distance. Khanh's account shows that there is an enormous distance between a Czech grandmother who both cares for (looks after her and 'goes everywhere' with the girl) and cares about (because she knows what Khanh likes) the girl, and the Vietnamese grandmothers who have never cared for them, and their capacity to care about is limited because of physical distance. Here physical displacement radically influences comprehension of relationships, ties and emotions with the relatives. 'The grannies in Vietnam are not my grannies because they have never looked after me,' says Khanh, emphasizing that the care itself is the main structuring factor of the kinship relationship. Her argument indicates that the understanding of kinship starts with the caring question and that the Vietnamese grandmothers are measured according to the Czech ones, whose role in the lives of the children is depicted as the norm. Here the distinction between care for and care about is useful for illustrating how children perceive the basic distinction between these two grandmothers. And it becomes apparent that it is care for which is more valued and more appreciated. Although children admitted that their grandmothers in Vietnam surely like them and care about them at distance (by being interested in their lives and supporting their success, etc.), it was their Czech grandmas who have cared for them on an everyday basis.

Performance for versus existence of the relationship. The emphasis on caregiving in the definition of kinship parallels the age-old discussion of whether blood is thicker than water. The children make distinction between 'real' versus 'created through caring' grandmotherhood. The grandmotherhood itself of Vietnamese grandmothers is not challenged (Vietnamese grandmothers are grandmothers); the only thing that is challenged is the nature of ties with them, feelings for them and – as stated above – associations connected with them. For many children, the 'real' means based on blood, genes, and genealogy, which has the symbolic power to tell the story of one's roots. 'Somewhere deep inside I know I have my Vietnamese grandmothers,' as many of my informants referred to the symbolism of blood relations for kinship ties which – although they actually do not transcend the spatial distance and do not provide children with daily face-to-face grandmothering – are simply there, deep in their heart and far from them physically, but which can be awakened any time and be lived. On the other side, the kinship ties with Czech grandmothers do not exist a priori, but are result of the daily practice: they are not awakened, they are created and recreated in the process of kinning.

Absence of shared history versus absence of shared memory. Vietnamese grandmothers figure in the children's narratives as their parents' parents. The reference to genealogy is the only

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element in their relationship which the Czech grandmas cannot provide them. Even though the children feel that they belong to kinned trajectory of their Czech grandmas (the nanny's husband becomes their grandfather, their children become their aunts and uncles, etc.), in their imaginations the outcomes of performative kinship (with shared memories at the top) and their relevance are contrasted with the genealogy and feeling of being part of a shared history which can only be provided by the birth grandmothers. Therefore, while the Czech grandmothers are the reservoir of memories (all children enumerated many events in their life which would be unimaginable without Czech grandmas – in many regards, the Czech grandmothers were the personification of childhood and holidays spent at grandma's were the symbol of their childhood) and connections to their social networks, Vietnamese grandmothers connect children with their kinship network – aunts, uncles, cousins, etc. – whose strength lies in the imagination of the common ancestors and roots (in this regard the metaphor of the family tree attains here a concrete expression). 'Being a Nguyen' (like the generations before) gives children continuity over time, a source of safety and sense of belonging through the emotional transnationalism.

Direct relationship versus parents-mediated relationship. The last difference in the two conceptions of kinship is based on the level of personal experience of being kinned. The fact that the Vietnamese grandmothers are described through genealogy (as noted above) also indicates that children define their relations with them through their relations with parents. Simply put, their ties are always mediated by a third actor – the parent; the relationship with Vietnamese grandmothers is based on the logic child → parents → grandparents. On the other hand, the ties with Czech grandmothers are always created directly between the child and the nanny. In addition, the parents are usually not part of the kinning process, and hence not part of the kinship relations; the ties with Czech grandmothers instead follow the equation child ↔ grandparents. For my informants' mothers, the Czech grandmother is not her second mother; their relationship is described at the most as friendly, very often as employer-employee relation. When I asked Yen, a 19-year-old girl, whether her mother would go to her grandmother for help when she had any problems, she replied 'no, she would rather go to the Vietnamese.' When I asked her where she herself would go if any problems emerged, she replied to her grandma, adding that 'sometimes it is hard to remain when you are here only with mum and you have no other support.' In this regard the Czech grandmothers are important actors in children's integration into the Czech society, in their creation of sense of belonging and feeling home.

Concluding Remarks

This paper demonstrated how children of Vietnamese parents brought up by Czech nannies understand the family ties with their parents, grandparents, and Czech nannies. When addressing child-mother relations, the children's accounts indicate the tensions between mothers' and children's comprehension of the parent-child relationship. Considering their ties with parents, the

children-interviewees cited the discrepancy between ‘they did it for us’ and ‘they did nothing with us’. As it comes to grandmothers, the children negotiate two sets of kinship conceptions, oscillating between biogenetic grounds for kinship ties (when referring to grandmothers and relatives in Vietnam) and performative kinship (when talking about the Czech grandmothers who brought them up). For many children of Vietnamese parents, the Czech grandma has become the main anchor in the new society, the main caregiver and teacher, and simply the person who is called ‘grandma’ with whom it is possible to experience ‘typical grandma things’ that cannot be experienced with their birth grandparents due to the separation of distance.

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Gendering Migration in the Upper Indus Basin

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Abstract

The upper Indus basin lies within the Hindu Kush-Karakoram-Himalayan mountains, and is one of the recognized hot spots of climate change. Local communities are adapting in various ways to climatic, environmental and demographical change, and labour migration is one of the most resorted livelihood strategies. Migration-as-adaptation in the upper Indus basin is a highly gendered phenomenon: due to gendered power relations, cultural norms and values, and to the gendered division of labour, virtually only men are allowed to move for employment. Women are left behind, to take care of the agricultural work, of the household, and to deal with in situ adaptation. In this contribution, we will present some key results of studies conducted in Northern Pakistan (Ghizer and Hunza-Nagar Districts), exploring the gendered dimensions of migration-as-adaptation, and we will propose a gender sensitive framework of analysis. We will try to put migration in relation to environmental and socioeconomic change, while trying to assess whether it could enhance women's empowerment and community resilience. Some of the key questions that will be addressed are: Is migration affecting the gender roles within the household and at the community level? What are the impacts of remittances on gender power relations? What are the impacts of remittances in building community resilience? Which policy actions are required to qualify migration as a positive and gender sensitive adaptation strategy?

Keywords: *Indus, climate change, migration, gender, adaptation*

1. Introduction

The upper Indus basin (UIB) lies within the Hindu-Kush, Karakoram and Himalayan mountains where climate change is already impacting the glacial regime with important consequences on the environment and on local livelihoods (IPCC 2007; Ericksen et al. 2011). Whereas climate models do not allow for precise projection in this region (Boos and Hurley 2012, Hasson et al. 2013), and downscaling at the level of the basin is still a challenge, upstream snow and ice reserves of the Indus basin, which are crucial in sustaining seasonal water availability, are likely to be affected substantially by climate change in the near future (Archer et al. 2010, Immerzeel et al. 2010).

Vulnerability to climate change is multi-layered and multi-faceted, and both biophysical and socio-economic and political factors determine it. The communities of the UIB inhabit a fragile, arid environment and are highly dependent on ecological goods and services. Adaptive capacity is shaped by the financial, human, social, and political assets (Adger 2006; Alcamo et al. 2001; Smit and Wandel 2006; Mánuez Costa et al. 2011), as well as by social and institutional factors operating at different scales. Beside the environmental fragility of these socio-ecological systems and their high exposure to the adverse impacts of climate change, underlying causes of vulnerability are

shaped by malfunctioning political and institutional settings, as well as by entrenched inequalities at the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity/religious affiliation.

In this paper we will present the results from a field survey carried out in June 2012 in the Yasin and Hunza valleys of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), Pakistan. Although GB is part of the Kashmir stalemate and is included in the Indian claims over the region (Kreutzmann 2005), since August 2009 it has gained self-rule and obtained a self-elected “Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly”. Yet, it does not yet enjoy a full constitutional status within Pakistan and has a peripheral role in the country’s economic and political life, resulting in a lack of proper governance (Settle 2011) that hampers the setting up of the conducive institutional environment needed to build a sustainable and climate-resilient society. GB presents an incredibly large ethnic and linguistic variety. Several sects of Islam (Sunnis and Shias, Ismailis, and Noor Bakhshis) have coexisted in the area since centuries but, regrettably, politically-driven sectarian violence is on the rise in the region (Bansal 2008; Singh 2012).

Following the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (Carney 1998; Ellis 2000; Kollmair and Gamper, 2002), the paper’s objectives can be stated as follows: To assess the role of migration in the life of mountain people and its gendered impacts; to investigate to which extent migration as a livelihood strategy is a result of, and could result in, a process of positive adaptation to environmental and climatic stressors and lead to gender-positive transformation.

The structure of the paper follows the conceptual framework sketched above. After outlining the research methodology in section 2, section 3 explores the prevailing patterns of development and livelihood strategies in Hunza and Yasin. The role of migration in the mountain economy of Yasin and Hunza, remittances usages, gender differences in access to livelihood assets with reference to the migration process, and the role of migration as adaptation strategy are analysed in section 4. Finally, in section 5 we present our conclusions.

2. Research methods and study area

This paper is based on an empirical study conducted in May-June 2012 as part of the project “GEM-Gender and Environmental Migration”, funded by the University of Hamburg and jointly conducted by the Research Group Climate Change and Security (CLISEC) of the University of Hamburg and the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI).

Six villages were selected: two in the Yasin Valley of the Ghizer District (Hundur and Darkut) and four in lower, central, and upper Hunza (Hussainabad, Altit, Shiskat, and Gulmit), located in the Hunza-Nagar District. The altitude of the selected villages ranges between 1800 and 2700 m and the surveyed communities belong predominantly to the Ismaili sect of Shia Islam. The locales were identified through consultative meetings with native key informants: the selection has been performed via purposive methods and the main criteria for identification were the recent occurrence of environmental hazards and the high incidence of labour migration. Both the Yasin

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and the Hunza valley present high rates of labour migration, combined with the reliance on subsistence agriculture. The Yasin valley was severely impacted by the 2010 flood, while the Hunza valley, less affected by the flood, suffers from recurrent landslides. In particular, in 2010, a massive landslide occurred on the Hunza river, originating the clogged lake known as Attabad lake, which has submerged houses, agricultural land, and infrastructures, such as the vital Karakoram Highway.

A triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection was employed: the quantitative random sample had a size of 210 households (69 households in Yasin, 70 in lower-central Hunza, and 71 in upper Hunza). The sample has been stratified by gender, in order to reach a gender balanced representation. As qualitative methods, we conducted 31 interviews with key informants and stakeholders from the communities, and 6 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) comprising of 8 to 10 people in 3 different villages (3 with males, 3 with females).

3. Patterns of development and livelihood strategies in Hunza and Yasin

3.1. The Aga Khan Rural Support Program participatory development model

The Hunza valley has undergone a massive transformation in the last three decades and is often quoted as a virtuous example of good developmental practices in Pakistan (World Bank 2002; Fazlur-Rahman 2007; Khan 2009). Hunza went from being a subsistence farming-dependent and isolated princely state, suffering from persistent hunger due to chronic food shortages, to being the best-off region of GB, featuring the highest rates of non-farm businesses and education scores. The Yasin valley is lagging behind Hunza in terms of economic improvement and overall development. Yet, it has undergone a significant and parallel transformation, as both valleys have benefitted from the same development model implemented by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP).

AKRSP was founded in the early 1980s in Gilgit-Baltistan by the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN). His Highness the Aga Khan is both the spiritual leader of the Ismaili sect of Shia Islam and the Chairman of the organization. AKRSP fundamental goal was to increase the agricultural productivity and raise the income of poor and remote communities by improving the agricultural techniques and by introducing cash crops such as potatoes and orchards. AKRSP also aimed at raising social awareness regarding the key role of education: it has established several community-based schools (the Diamond Jubilee Schools), and has started to push through the agenda of women's empowerment by setting up several women's organizations (WO) at the village level (Fazlur-Rahman 2007; Hunzai 2008).

Despite the undeniable achievements and the widespread popularity of the AKRSP model of participatory development in the development sector, some caveats need to be raised on how effective it has been in terms of overcoming gender, class, and ethnic divides, as well as on the

overall replicability and on the longer term sustainability of its model. Antonia Settle has investigated how disparities shaped by religious affiliation and class are reflected in the work of the AKRSP: despite the non-sectarian representation that organization has decided to embrace, empirical evidence show that participation in Shia and Sunni villages has not been sustained or has sometimes been rejected outright (Settle 2011). In Hunza, the Hunza river acts as virtual border between the predominately Ismaili Hunza and the Shia-dominated Nagar region. Community leaders claim that in the Shia and Sunni areas of Nagar, where some 200 Village organizations had run in the early years of the AKRSP, 100% are now dormant (Settle 2011).

Also in terms of gender a considerable disparities have to be found in the success of AKRSP: so far, the establishment of WOs has been restricted to Ismaili communities, as they have not yet been accepted in Sunni and Shia-dominated village (Fazlur-Rahman 2007). This is understandable, as Ismaili communities have a fair more relaxed understanding of purdah (gender segregation) as compared to Sunni and Shia-dominated areas (e. g. they allow women and men to pray together in their mosques). Additionally, despite the important role of WOs in Ismaili communities, many hurdles have yet to be overcome: the financial management of WOs is often in the hands of men and mostly well-off women are members, as they are able to pay the initial amount of savings (Rs. 300) needed to gain the membership (Fazlur-Rahman 2007).

3. 2 Gendered Livelihoods

The traditional “combined mountain agriculture” (Ehlers and Kreutzmann 2000) of the Hunza and Yasin households, based on irrigated agriculture and animal husbandry in high pastures, has steadily decreased over the years and has been substituted with what has been labelled as “combined subsistence-labour economy” (Herbers 1998). The local households have integrated the highly risk-prone mountain agriculture with external income generating opportunities, such as labour migration, wage labour, and trade. Increased education rates have also brought many people to own businesses and to work in governmental jobs.

Migration as a livelihood strategy is certainly not a new phenomenon. Yet migration has massively entered the region when enhanced infrastructures (such as the opening of the Karakoram Highway in 1978), growing population, increased environmental pressure and higher rates of literacy have triggered the movement of people within and outside the country. Due to prevailing patriarchal norms, labour migration is a highly gendered phenomenon in GB: while men are migrating for work (mostly at the provincial or national level), women are left behind to take care of the household and to perform agricultural labour. Women have always been involved in farmland activities in Hunza and Yasin, yet male outmigration has increased their share of participation in the agricultural workforce and the subsistence sector as a whole is increasingly ‘feminised’. Such work is largely perceived as an extension of their household duties and falls under the rubric of the informal economy. Despite their crucial contribution, women are not entitled to inherit land and, hence, are kept in a situation of structural dependence from their male relatives. The Civil Laws of Pakistan do not formally discriminate against women, yet succession and inheritance issues are

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dealt with customary laws, resulting mostly in the overall exclusion of women from land rights. The vast majority of the population in Hunza and Yasin owns small pieces of land transmitted from generation to generation along patriarchal lines, and most of the grazing areas are communal and assigned to different villages according to the customary laws of GB. As explained by Khattak and Brohi (2008), even those women willing to claim their rights may find impediments, as they are not enrolled in the revenue records as tenants, (they often do not even possess an ID card) and there are no legal mechanisms to acknowledge their contribution as agricultural labourers. The entrenched gendered division of labour still hampers women's participation to the workforce: in Hunza, only 7.5% of the total female workforce engage in non-farm employment, as compared to the corresponding figure of 66% for men (Malik and Piracha 2006). Yet, this is by far the highest share of GB.

4. Case study

4.1. Migration as a livelihood strategy

In the surveyed villages, 95% of the household reported to own land that was found to have decreased of an astonishing 50% in the last 10 years. Growing population, environmental hazards/degradation and deforestation are the main causes and have also led to a significant reduction of the grazing pastures per capita. Additionally, the lack of employment opportunities in situ has been further aggravated by the decline of international tourism, due to the post 9/11 scenario and to rising sectarian violence (Khan 2012). Labour migration has hence emerged as a prominent livelihood strategy adopted at the level of the household to increase and diversify the income. In our survey, migrant-sending households counted for 76% of the total sample and 99% of the migrant were adult males. Migration occurs predominantly at intra-provincial (50%) and intra-national scales (97%), from rural to urban areas, and typically to places where relatives or friends could provide indications on jobs and other forms of assistance.

In harmony with recent literature on developing countries (Dercon 2004; Massey et al. 2007; Tacoli 2009; Banerjee et al. 2011 Klasen 2012;) the study revealed a positive correlation between level of income and the probability of having a migrant in the household: $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total migrants are not from the lower income quartile, but rather those who dispose of enough financial and social capital to afford a diversification of their income-earning opportunities. Such correlation is even stronger in the Yasin valley, where the average income per capita was found to be less than half as compared to the Hunza valley.

The vast majority of the migrant households singled out 'unemployment', 'not enough income', and 'decreased income over the years' as major determinants for the decision to migrate. Also demographical issues, such as 'too many people of working age in my locality', and 'not enough land for farming grazing/land fragmentation' have been listed as the most significant direct

drivers for migration. Yet, further evidence seems to indicate that climatic and environmental change plays a significant role in the decision of increasingly resorting to migration in the last 10 years. Environmental drivers have been indicated as the major cause of the decline of income over the years: For over 93% of the migrant households, environmental change and disruption ('Low temperatures', 'Erratic rainfall', 'Flood', and 'Landslide') are considered to be affecting their income, and they are also the most popular answer to the question: 'which are the major causes of change in the productivity of your household (income)?'. Climate and environmental change, coupled with a burgeoning population are the main reasons behind the decline in agricultural productivity, and they can be considered as a pivotal indirect driver for migration in the last decade.

4.2. Remittances

In our sample, migration often involves low return activities such as wage labour in nearby towns and only in 2.6% of the cases it involved more conspicuous international remittances. Migration was found to allow the households to meet the basic requirements and also to spare some money to invest for better health and education. Both Hunza and Yasin rely almost entirely (94%) on fuelwood to meet their energy needs for heating and cooking, and widespread deforestation and mismanagement of the natural resources has forced people to buy fuelwood on the market. Migration has helped migrant-sending households to cope with this situation, and fuelwood tops the list of remittances usages in both valleys. Villagers in Yasin shared that 3 months of energy expenditures are equivalent to 9 months of the overall other expenditures for the household.

Expenditures on health and education are reported as the most common usage of remittances after spending for fuelwood. Our findings show that in the last 10 years remittances have been used to improve the schooling of children, with percentage increases of +10% for both girls and boys (from 80% to 90% for boys and from 74% to 84% for girls). In the surveyed areas, there was a good level of awareness on the crucial role of education for economic growth and development. During the FGDs, education was also recognized, by both men and women, as a factor enabling women to have an enhanced decision making power within the household and, to a more limited extent, also at the community level.

Given the limited magnitude of remittances, the inflow is usually confined to the recipient households, with no direct investments at the community level, despite the strong cohesion and organization of mountain villages, and in particular of Ismaili communities. Whereas remittances are certainly improving the household living standards, their scale is too small to allow for longer-term investments in business and infrastructures, and their development potential is inherently limited.

We found also a clear trade off between agriculture/livestock and remittances/pension before and after migration. The high decline of livestock highlights two main issues. The respondents have indicated the sale of livestock as one of the key strategies adopted to cover the initial costs of migration and to cope with environmental shocks. Secondly, the decline in the male

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workforce due to outmigration has led to the decrease or the abandonment of high pastures grazing and transhumance.

Despite their crucial role in agriculture and natural resource management, women are mostly not allowed to directly control the economic capital sent via remittances. Prevailing gender norms prescribe that male relatives shall handle the money, and this was mirrored in our sample. Only in case of nuclear families, and in the absence of any other male relatives, the eldest woman of the house is entitled to directly manage the remittances. Under this respect, male outmigration has not brought any change in women's access to financial capital. During the FGDs, women in all the surveyed villages reported to be not entitled to handle the money and to take financial decision for the household (aside from small purchases for the children and the basic necessity of the house). The same narrative was given during the FGDs with male members of the community.

4.3. Feminisation of agriculture

The average household size in our survey was composed of 9 persons, with a dependency ratio of 0.4. Migrants amount to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total workforce, which correlates with the finding that the total workforce engaging in agriculture and livestock is 50% less in the category "Males 15-64" in the last 10 years. Most of the female interviewees have lamented the extreme drudgery they are forced to undergo. Over the last 10 years the female share in the household workforce went from 55% to 60% (Agriculture: from 50% to 57%; Livestock: from 60% to 65%). Also the children share in the workforce has increased as a consequence of male outmigration, and their participation to household chores was found to have increased by 15% for boys and by 10% for girls.

Despite lamenting their increased work in agriculture, women would state their occupation as "housewives", unless being employed in socially accepted professions (at least before marriage), such as teachers and health providers. Hence, women have internalized the idea that their work ought to be located within the context of the household environment or belong to the few 'proper' sectors of the highly gender-segmented Pakistani labour market. They also reported that tasks traditionally carried out by men, such as land preparation and wood-cutting, are now increasingly being performed by women. Disaggregating by gender the perceptions of the workload has underscored a significant difference of perception across gender. Although men were ready to recognize the increase of women's workload related to activities performed inside the household, they were underestimating their bigger involvement in farmland activities, as compared to what perceived by women themselves. This can be linked to purdah and to the related unwillingness of men to declare too much involvement of women outside the household, fearing a possible damage to their social status. Women's greater involvement and exposure does not necessarily rhyme with enhanced mobility. Due to purdah, women cannot access healthcare services that are not situated in their village if not accompanied by a male relative and have scant access to social sector services and information (Hunzai 2008). Women reported that the absence of men hurdles their mobility and

significantly reduces their access to the often far away health facilities. In the survey sites there is a remarkable lack of proper health facilities, as only dispensaries with no qualified personnel are available in the villages. In circumstances requiring more serious health care services, a trip either to Gilgit or to Hunza is necessary. The lack of mobility, coupled with natural hazards that have increased the inaccessibility of the surveyed villages, has also lead also to a decrease in Lady Health Visitors (LHVs) . In the Attabad Lake, cases have been reported of women delivering their babies on the boat on their way to hospital, and related fatalities have been registered. Moreover, increased drudgery caused by male outmigration may also lead to increased health risks.

In both valleys, about 70% of the female respondents and 87% of the males shared to be happy with the decision to resort to migration, because of the households' enhanced food security, better access to basic amenities and the possibility of saving for educating their children.

5. Conclusions

Labour migration is the most adopted livelihood strategy and it is also an adaptation strategy to environmental and climatic change in the fast transforming society of Hunza and Yasin. It is adopted both as an ex ante adaptation strategy, i.e. as a preventive measure to spread the risk embedded in the dependence on subsistence agriculture, but it is also crucial when communities are undergoing a particularly severe environmental shock. After the 2010 flood and the formation of the Attabad Lake, for instance, more and more people in the area adopted temporary labour migration to cope with the damages and the loss of agricultural land.

The 'feminisation of agriculture' in Yasin and Hunza has not been paralleled by an increased access to and control over resources and assets (including land), leading to significant empowerment for women. Despite their greater share in agricultural workforce, no significant changes in their decision-making power or in their access to information and assets, including money, are reported, as entrenched gender norms still prevail over economic needs. Under this respect, rather than a feminisation of agriculture, this can be considered as an "externalization of the cost of migration" at the expenses of women. Agricultural labour is carried out by women in a traditional conservative fashion, such as resorting to low risk/low return crops and production strategies, and very scant attention has been paid to the improvement of their agricultural techniques or to enabling them to use more sophisticated agricultural technology, thus causing an inevitable race to the bottom of standards. The lack of investment in women's work is a luxury that, in the wake of climatic and environmental change, these communities can no longer afford. Merely diversifying the income portfolio while preserving the stautus quo might actually lead to further impoverishment, if not coupled by policies and investments allowing for the socioeconomic empowerment of women and, hence, of community at large.

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Do Immigrant Women Face A Double Disadvantage? An Investigation of Occupational Prestige in Germany, 1999-2009

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Abstract

We investigate differences in occupational prestige between native Germans and immigrants; an issue which has previously been neglected. The key question is whether immigrant women face a double disadvantage in the German labour market. Data on occupational prestige and its determinants from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) in 1999 and 2009 are used as multivariate regressions (OLS and quantile regressions) are estimated. There is evidence for persisting ethnic stratification with the concentration of immigrant women in the low-paid secondary sector together with obstacles in transferring formal human capital to the German labour market. A true double disadvantage emerges in 2009. Women from former guest-worker countries, having migrated first of all for family reasons, are especially disadvantaged compared to other groups. Yet, once immigrant women make it to the top of the occupational distribution, their disadvantage turns into an advantage.

Keywords: Occupational prestige, gender, immigration, labor market segmentation, Germany

1. Introduction

In this paper we address the question whether immigrant women face a double disadvantage in the German labor market, accounting for gender and ethnicity in occupational prestige. The motivation is a general interest in better incorporating the human resources that immigrant women make up in contemporary Germany together with a more specific need to address gender differences across groups in order to gain insights about how gender and immigrant status interact when it comes to economic integration and stratification.

Integration issues are becoming increasingly relevant, economically and politically. Without migration, Germany faces population decline and shortage of labor in the short or medium run given current natural population growth rates (Coleman & Rowthorn 2011). Migrant labor is often seen as a solution to labor shortage. By passing the first comprehensive immigration law in 2005, Germany aimed at facilitating entry to Germany for highly qualified workers and easing labor market access for immigrants in Germany, while at the same time restricting migration through family reunification.

Little attention in academic research has, however, been given to the labor market performance of immigrant women in Germany (examples of exceptions being Constant & Massey 2003, 2005; Dustmann & Schmidt 2000; Constant & Zimmermann 2009). Immigrant women in Germany have lower labor force participation (LFP) rates than immigrant women in other European countries suggesting that they face obstacles at labor market entry. To the extent that they are crowded into low-skilled employment, once in the labor market, they face poorer economic situations. By testing the double disadvantage hypothesis, we add to the literature on immigrant

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integration by investigating the situation of immigrant women in the contemporary German labor market.

We address the following questions: (1) Do immigrant women face a double disadvantage in the German labor market with respect to occupational prestige? (2) Do immigrant women face particular disadvantages at the extreme ends of the labor market? (3) Does country of origin and migration motivation affect the performance of immigrant women in the German labor market?

We use data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP). The hypothesis of the double disadvantage of immigrant women and relevant follow-up questions are investigated by estimating ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions on occupational prestige for the years 1999 and 2009 and by using quantile regressions on the same observation samples.

Background

It is well documented that immigrants face obstacles in host country labor markets that affect their economic integration negatively (see LaLonde & Topel 1993; Borjas 1994; McAllister 1995). Difficulties attaining employment and adequate economic returns are examples hereof (Chiswick 1978; Lieberman 1980; Borjas 1982). The economic integration of immigrant women in these respects seems to be even more problematic than that of immigrant men (Pekin 1981; Boyd 1984; Kossoudji & Ranney 1984; Stier & Tienda 1992; Haberfeld 1993; Raijman & Semyonov 1995; Antecol 2000; De Jong & Madamba 2001; Rebhun 2008).

The double disadvantage

The theoretical context of double disadvantage, originally presented by Boyd (1984), proposes that foreign-born women not only suffer from economic inferiority in relation to the host country population but also do significantly worse than foreign-born men as they belong to two disadvantaged groups. This means that in some cases gender differences among immigrants are actually larger than those among the native-born population.

Many factors serve as determinants of immigrant women's subordinate position in the host country labor market, the most important being limited work opportunities through lack of language proficiency, and familiarity with the new country, including networks (Boyd 1984; Chiswick & Miller 1998; Greenlees & Saenz 1999; Constant, Gataullina & Zimmermann 2006); gender-based discrimination and segregation that affect job opportunities in general (Philzacklea 1983). Family responsibilities become increasingly burdensome for immigrant women who are separated from family and relatives (Dumon 1981). We expect that being foreign and woman affect occupational prestige negatively, the impact being amplified by the statistical interaction of the two effects, i.e. the hypothesis of double disadvantage.

Immigrants' integration and labor market performance

In most contexts the labor market segregation between men and women accrues from the division of household and market work along gender lines but also between native-born workers and immigrants. Jobs dominated by women and immigrants are commonly devalued and less well-paid. In Bergmann's (1974) "crowding model", the exclusion of a certain group, for example immigrants, from certain jobs results in excess supply of labor in other jobs. Occupational segregation resembles labor market segmentation theory (Piore 1979; Bulow & Summers 1986), in which the labor market is divided into two segments, where the primary sector requires specific skills, formal on-the-job training and experience. Returns to human capital and experience are higher than in the secondary sector, and jobs are more stable. The secondary sector is sensitive to demand conditions and business cycles. Both immigrants and women are disadvantaged groups in the labor market and selected into the secondary sector through mechanisms evolving from their human capital endowment and from the anticipated time spent in the labor market. Migration has been an instrument to level out labor shortages, but jobs in the primary sector have mainly been reserved to the native-born population. In line with labor market segmentation theory, we would rather expect immigrant women to receive lower returns to their human capital through their over-representation in the secondary sector. Following this, we expect that immigrant women face particular disadvantages in the low-skilled sector of the labor market.

Context

Previous studies on the double disadvantage cover classical migrant countries, namely Canada, Israel and the US, finding support for it (Boyd 1984; Raijman & Semyonov 1997; Rebhun 2008; De Jong & Madamba 2001). Germany became a net immigration country after World War II and one of the prominent immigrant-accepting countries in Europe by the end of the 20th century (Kogan 2003).

In the mid-1950s the country started to overcome labor shortages with 'guest-workers' who were seen as flexible and temporary labor (Constant & Massey 2005). With the typical guest-worker from Southern Europe and Turkey being young and male, the share of female migrants was initially low. Guest-workers were over-represented in the lower part of the occupational hierarchy, because they lacked sufficient education (Kogan 2003). The oil crisis in 1973 and the recession that followed made the German government stop the guest-worker program. But as the first generation of guest-workers had found permanent homes in Germany, migration through family reunion began. Tied movers changed the composition of the foreign-born population across the 1970s, not least with respect to gender since the share of women increased.

The collapse of the USSR allowed large numbers of individuals of German origin, so-called late repatriates, and humanitarian migrants from the former Communist countries to enter Germany. With these developments, the share of women in the foreign-born population in Germany grew and reached a share of 49 percent in 2009, making up 4.26 percent of the total German population. The

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female foreign population still differs from the male foreign population concerning both origin and migration motivation; the female share of foreigners being disproportionately high for women from Eastern European countries, Thailand, Brazil and the Philippines driven by ‘matrimony immigration’ and family reunion (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009). While motivated by non-economic incentives, the LFP of female foreigners remains low. While in 2009, 95 percent of male foreigners were employed, only 62 percent of female foreigners are (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013). From this, we expect that immigrant women having migrated to Germany for family reasons perform lower than economic migrants. As women from the former guest-worker countries mostly came to Germany through family reunification, their labor market attachment is expected to be low compared to other origin groups.

When examining the determinants of occupational prestige in the years 1999 and 2009, the influence of political and structural changes during this decade must be considered. Organizational and technological changes in the knowledge-based economy have led to an increasing demand for language and computing skills. At the same time, the ongoing tertiarization of the German economy changed the demand for labor with growth of the service sector. Moreover, the introduction of the first comprehensive immigration law in 2005 simplified the right of residence distinguishing between the temporary residence permit and the permanent settlement permit. While the settlement permit generally allows gainful employment, gainful employment has to be explicitly included in the residence permit. The immigration law aims at easing the in-migration of highly qualified workers and self-employed. It also aims at easing the access to the German labor market for immigrants in Germany. The second part of the immigration law aims at the integration of migrants living in Germany by granting integration courses focusing on the acquisition of the German language. Migration for reasons of family reunification is restricted to reduce the abuse hereof (Bundesministerium des Innern 2013). At the same time a more modern family policy, easing the reconciliation of work and family, launched in 2007 may have affected labor market conditions for immigrant women favorably. These changes motivate why the period between 1999 and 2009 is examined in the paper.

Data, measures, and methods

Our analysis is based on two waves of the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) , a representative micro-data survey of private households in Germany, launched in 1984 and conducted annually by the German Institute of Economic Research (DIW). GSOEP provides panel data on socio-economic variables of Germans as well as of immigrants. The survey population is refreshed by new samples to reflect changes in the German society. In 1984 a foreigner sample was drawn for West Germany including households with a Turkish, Greek, Yugoslavian, Spanish or Italian household head. In order to consider the new immigrant flows after the collapse of the USSR two new samples of immigrants were included in 1994 and 1995. The innovation sample of 2000

includes both German and non-German households, defined as a household where at least one adult does not hold the German nationality. We focus on the individual, using personal level weights provided in the GSOEP, so results can be generalized for the entire German population.

As there are relatively few foreign-born in Eastern Germany and the labor markets in the new and old Bundesländer are still marked by huge differences, our sample population is restricted to the ten old Bundesländer. As we are interested in the performance in the labor market, we only look at individuals in the labor force aged 20 to 63 years old. Individuals with missing values for any of the variables relevant for our analysis are not included in the sample, which leaves us with an analytical sample consisting of 4,348 individuals (1,888 women and 2,460 men; 3,472 native-born Germans and 868 immigrants) in 1999 and 5,862 individuals (2,898 women and 2,964 men; 5,228 Germans and 634 immigrants) in 2009.

Outcome variables. Occupational prestige is measured by the Treiman Standard of International Occupational Prestige IS88. The scale is constructed by matching occupational titles from national and local prestige studies to the three-digit version of the 1988 international standard classification of occupations (ISCO), adding a fourth digit for cross-national prestige differences. Subsequently, national prestige scores are averaged and translated into a common metric. The classification is mainly based on skill requirements as opposed to industry distinctions (Ganzeboom & Treiman 1996) making it a good measure to examine occupational segregation.

Key independent variables. Gender and immigrant status are key independent variables. Immigrant status is defined as individuals of non-German place of birth who migrated to Germany themselves. Second and third generation immigrants are included in the German sample while controlling for migration background. Human capital indicators are crucial for an assessment of labor market integration. Commonly, years in education or training is used as a measure. Years of education is, however, not entirely suitable as a measure of formal education in Germany as different levels of degree differ in their impact on occupational prestige. Thus, we use a categorical variable distinguishing between five different levels of degree following the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED); inadequate, minimum, middle vocational, higher vocational and higher education. This classification accounts for the particularities of the German education system and at the same time translates all foreign degrees into the classification system for comparability. To account for the different origins of immigrants, we create four origin groups reflecting the recent migration history of Germany: immigrants from the former guest-worker countries, Eastern Europeans, immigrants from Western European countries, the United States, Australia and Canada (Western countries) and remaining countries (rest of the world). It is furthermore differentiated whether the immigrant migrated for economic or family-related reasons and whether she is an Asylum-seeker.

Control variables. We control for demographic and socio-economic variables holding age (and its squared term), health, employment (tenure and its squared term, a dummy variable for full time employment), the familial situation (being married and having children under the age of 16 at

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home) and home ownership constant. For immigrants we also use control variables for German language proficiency; education acquired abroad; years since migration (and its squared term) and whether the immigrant is of German decent.

Descriptive statistics on the variables included in the analysis, by gender and immigrant status, are presented in Table 1. In order to indicate whether the differences between the ethnic groups within one sex are statistically different, chi-squared test results are indicated in the table. For immigrants, chi-squared test results indicate gender differences.

Table 1 here

In order to test whether immigrant women face a double disadvantage and what factors impact immigrant women's labor market outcomes we undertake a number of statistical analyses. We start by describing differences in characteristics among groups according to gender and immigrant status. We then establish immigrant and gender gaps in occupational prestige. We model the factors that affect occupational prestige using standard OLS regression where the estimated model takes the following form:

$$\ln(OP)_i = \alpha_0 + X_i' \beta_1 + \beta_2 WOM_i + \beta_3 IMM_i + e_i$$

with $\ln(OP)_i$ indicating person i 's logged occupational prestige score, WOM_i standing for woman and IMM_i for immigrant, while X_i is a vector for the control variables and e_i indicates the error term. We estimate regressions for the pooled sample, for the total population and separately for immigrants and Germans and according to gender for the years 1999 and 2009.

In order to test whether a combined effect evolves from being both female and foreign-born, an interaction term is included in the regression model for the total sample that allows for assessing the simultaneous influence of gender and immigrant status on our outcome variables in a not necessarily additive way. The interaction is written:

$$\ln(OP)_i = \alpha_0 + X_i' \beta_1 + \beta_2 WOM_i + \beta_3 IMM_i + \beta_4 (WOM_i \times IMM_i) + e_i$$

where $\beta_4 (WOM_i \times IMM_i)$ is the interaction term.

As the OLS regression is based on the assumption of central tendency and thereby neglects the properties of the distribution, quantile regressions are used to find out if inequality is especially high in the lower or the upper tails of the distribution of occupational prestige.

Given cross-sectional data we can only establish associations, not causal conclusions, from the analysis.

Results

Table 1 shows that immigrant women achieve a statistically lower occupational prestige score than German women both in 1999 and 2009. Clearly there are group differences with respect to individual characteristics that may affect occupational prestige. One is human capital. In 1999 the share of highly educated immigrant women, having achieved higher vocational or higher education, is balanced off by a large share of individuals with inadequate and minimum education. This could hold as part of the explanation to immigrant women's lower occupational prestige in 1999. But ten years later, the share of immigrant women with inadequate education is very small, approaching the level of native-born women, and when it comes to higher education, immigrant women overtake all groups.

When looking at the origin of immigrant women, the composition mirrors the migration history of Germany. While the share of women from Eastern Europe and the rest of the world rises, the percentage of women coming from former guest-worker countries declines. Time spent in Germany differs significantly between immigrant women and men both in 1999 and 2009 with women having shorter durations of stay suggesting that they often migrated to Germany for family reasons, following their husbands or other male family members which is validated by the higher share of immigrant women indicating family reunion as a reason for migration and a lower share of women indicating economic reasons in 2009. The share of humanitarian migrants increases for both sexes, being higher for immigrant men both in 1999 and 2009.

Table 2 here

Table 2 presents the estimates from regressions for the pooled sample of 1999 and 2009 and separately for the two years for all workers and distinguished between gender and immigrant status. The main conclusions are: (1) There is a strong negative impact of being an immigrant on occupational prestige both in 1999 and 2009 that increases over time. Being a woman has a positive impact for the total sample, but not for immigrants in 2009. As can be seen in Table 3, there is evidence of a double disadvantage emerging over time. In 2009, the simultaneous effect of being an immigrant and a woman is negative and statistically significant, indicating an amplification for women that is significantly different from that of men. In 2009 the German economy was still affected by the economic and financial crisis as indicated by the negative year coefficient. This leads to the conclusion that immigrant women are especially disadvantaged in times of economic crises as they work in the secondary sector of the labor market which is sensitive to demand conditions and the business cycle. (2) Concerning human capital, there is a stable positive association between human capital and occupational prestige in both years. Germans have higher returns to education when compared to immigrants in both years with higher vocational education in 1999 and middle vocational education in 2009 being the exception. Immigrants receive higher returns to education when having accomplished vocational training, a typically German educational achievement while higher education does not pay off as much as it does for Germans. The lower returns to human capital again show the selection of immigrants into the secondary sector and into

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vocational jobs. Women receive higher returns to education when compared to men in both years across all education categories. (3) Origin matters; immigrants from Western countries do much better than comparable individuals from other parts of the world, especially those from former guest-workers countries. (4) Reasons for migration only show the expected sign in 1999, while turning around in 2009. Being an asylum seeker has an overall negative effect on occupational prestige.

Separate regressions according to gender and immigrant status indicate that immigrant women have lower returns to higher education. In 2009 this is notable. Their lower returns in terms of moving upward with respect to occupational prestige probably accrue from the in-transferability of foreign education to the German labor market. There is also a sharp increase in the positive impact of speaking German among immigrant women and a strong negative impact for immigrant women from former guest-worker countries when compared to women from other origin groups.

Table 3 here

When looking at the impact of immigrant status and gender across the distribution of occupational prestige in 1999, immigrant status has a particular negative effect at the bottom of the distribution getting less significant at the top quantile of the distribution (Table 3). This is reinforced by a double disadvantage that is found for the 25 percent quantile and a positive interaction effect of being female and an immigrant in the 90 percent quantile of the occupational prestige distribution. In 2009, the negative impact of immigrants in the lower tail of the occupational prestige distributions persists. A clear double disadvantage is found for the quantiles up to the median while the double disadvantage turns into a double advantage for the highest segment of the occupational prestige distribution. Once an immigrant woman has made it to the top of the distribution she has overcome the main disadvantages associated with gender and immigrant state and characteristics pay off regarding occupational positions.

Conclusion

There is a persistent negative association between immigrant status and occupational prestige, all else equal during the period of observation, but gender has a positive effect in this respect. The combined effect of gender and immigrant status is noteworthy. We find a true double disadvantage for immigrant women in the German labor market in 2009. Immigrant women clearly suffer from being over-represented in the low-prestigious sector of the labor market. The German labor market is marked by significant segmentation which penalizes minority groups like immigrant women and this disadvantage seems to get stronger over time, maybe amplified by the economic crisis.

When looking at the returns to human capital, we find that immigrants generally receive lower returns from education when compared to Germans. Immigrant women receive lower returns when it comes to occupational prestige from having obtained higher education when compared to native women in both 1999 and 2009 and also here a rising gap over time is to be observed. These findings are especially striking as immigrant women have the highest share of individuals having accomplished higher education in 2009. Furthermore an increasing positive impact of having a good command of German is noted. It seems as if immigrant women have to be exceptionally qualified to get into higher occupational positions.

Shifting the attention to the origin of immigrant women, it is evident that the situation for women from the former guest-worker countries, i.e. women who mainly migrated for family reasons, has to be improved in particular. A first step has been done by removing legal restrictions to the German labor market for immigrants that entered Germany through family reunification in the immigration law of 2005. The barriers that immigrant women face in translating their formal human capital into adequate jobs have to be removed, especially by easing the access to higher prestige jobs. One step has been made by a law passed in 2012 easing the recognition of educational achievements which were acquired abroad. Furthermore, courses have to be introduced where immigrants can refine their existing skills to fit the demands of the German labor market. On-the-job training for un- and semiskilled workers should give immigrant women the possibility to develop their skills and enable occupational mobility. With the labor and skills shortages that Germany will be facing in the future, the country cannot afford to neglect a substantial share of its labor force. A failure to invest in a certain group of the population will decrease social welfare and economic growth.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics. Weighted means and distributions of variables used in the analyses, standard deviations in parentheses with chi-squared test statistics for statistical significance in difference.

1999			2009		
Women	Men		Women	Men	
Immigrant	German	Chi2	Immigrant	German	Chi2
Immigrant	German	Chi2	Immigrant	German	Chi2
Occupational prestige					
37.52 (13.47)			43.34		
(11.65)***	36.90				
(11.24)	44.25				
(12.52)***	35.87 (13.71)		43.78		

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(12.53)*** 37.62 (12.62) 43.86 (12.75)

Education level

-inadequate 14.92 1.69 *** 10.17 1.32 *** 1.69 0.53 *** 2.67
1.84 ***

-minimum 17.12 14.31 *** 23.01 11.82 *** 17.51 9.43 *** 13.21
9.62 ***

-middle vocational 38.11 54.66 *** 44.13 52.44 *** 35.79 54.72 ***
52.15 51.15 ***

-higher vocational 17.53 16.32 11.88 15.35 *** 22.72 15.51 **
13.49 15.86

-higher education 12.32 13.03 ** 10.82 19.08 *** 22.29 19.81
18.49 21.52

Married 67.25 51.84 *** 76.72 63.03 *** 66.25 46.73 *** 81.81
52.25 ***

Children (under 16) 34.15 28.56 * 39.04 35.46 ** 34.79 28.13 **
31.36 27.26 **

Years since migration 19.52 (10.25) 19.92

(10.45) *** 22.12 (11.82) 23.72 (11.30) ***

Migration motivation

Economic 7.06 6.37 5.00 11.48

Family reunion 15.04 5.06 *** 28.03
16.16 **

Asylum 0.92 2.17 6.08 10.92

Origin

-former guest-worker countries 52.15 61.87 *** 33.69
47.55 ***

-Eastern Europe	33.95	25.90	**	48.24			
35.53	***						
-Western countries	11.83	10.00		8.10			
11.33							
-rest of the world	2.07	2.23		9.96			
5.6							
Observations	336	1,580	553	1,935	321	2,643	328
2,688							

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: Computed by authors from GSOEP 1999 and 2009.

Table 2. Determinants of occupational prestige (measured by the Treiman Standard of International Prestige IS88) in 1999 and 2009: estimated coefficients and probability values from OLS regressions.

		1999				2009	
	Pooled model	Total	Women	Men	Immigrants	Germans	Total
Women	Women	Men	Immigrants	Germans			
Woman	0.031						
***	0.034						
***		0.014	0.037				
***	0.026						
**		-0.043	0.035				

Immigrant	-0.314						
***	-0.274						
***	-0.386						
***	-0.190						

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*** -0.360

** -0.434* -0.212

**

Education level

inadequate -0.132

*** -0.102

** -0.161

** -0.049 0.022 -0.178

** -0.220

*** -0.215

*** -0.256

*** -0.110 -0.250

-minimum	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.
	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.	ref. cat.

-middle vocational 0.093

*** 0.095

*** 0.154

*** 0.048

** 0.082

** 0.086

*** 0.094

*** 0.145

*** 0.044* 0.097

** 0.086

-higher vocational 0.224

*** 0.205

*** 0.276

*** 0.142

*** 0.209

*** 0.195

*** 0.245

*** 0.291

*** 0.200

*** 0.179

*** 0.247

-higher education 0.442

*** 0.452

*** 0.480

*** 0.417

*** 0.366

*** 0.449

*** 0.438

*** 0.445

*** 0.430

*** 0.348

*** 0.443

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Married	-0.028						
***	-0.032						
**	-0.057						
***	-0.011	-0.063					
**	-0.021	-0.023*	-0.014	-0.031*	0.005	-0.030	
**							
Children	0.036						
***	0.042						
***	0.036*	0.040					
**	0.015	0.044					
***		0.033					
**	0.045						
**	0.029*	0.045	0.029				
**							
Years since migration	0.011*	0.013*	0.025				
**	0.003	0.017					
**		0.010	0.016	0.000	0.012		
Ysm squared	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000*	0.000	-0.000*		-0.000
	0.000	-0.000					-0.000
Migration motivation							
Economic				0.092*			-0.028
Family reunion				-0.110			
**				0.015			
Asylum				-0.165			-0.130

**

Origin

-former guest-worker countries
ref. cat.

ref.cat.

-Eastern Europe 0.088
0.020

-Western countries 0.233

*** 0.258

-rest of the world 0.194

** 0.186*

Year -0.028***

(0.007)

Constant	3.504***	3.547***	3.411***	3.640***	3.420***	3.511***
	3.444***	3.264***	3.617***	2.506***	3.511***	

Observations	10,210	4,348	1,888	2,460	868	3,472	5,862	2,898	2,964	634
	5,228									

Clusters	8,602	2,427	1,571	1,904	575	2,024	3,380	2,420	2,421	440
	3.080									

F-statistics	109.90	71.57	36.30	46.46	17.29	69.23	55.29	38.27	41.65	9.08
	59.11									

Prob (F-stat)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	0.000									

R-squared	0.287	0.287	0.323	0.277	0.334	0.269	0.296	0.300	0.317	0.308
	0.284									

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Note: We control for age and its squared term, tenure and its squared term, full-time employment, health status and home ownership for all. For Germans we control for whether the

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person had experience of international migration. For immigrants we control for whether German is spoken at home, whether the immigrant accomplished her education abroad, or if the individual is of German descent.

All results are estimated with heteroskedasticity corrected standard errors, using the Huber-White sandwich estimator. Standard errors are clustered on individual level for the pooled sample and on household level for year samples. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Source: Computed by authors from GSOEP 1999 and 2009.

Table 3. Estimated coefficients of immigrant status and probability values from quantile regressions with interaction effects (regressions include the same controls as reported in Table 2). Panel A indicates base effect for men, panel B the interaction and panel C the net effect for women.

	1999			2009			
	A	B	C	A	B	C	
Full model	-0.264***		-0.030	-0.294	-0.318*	-0.066*	-0.384
Parsimonious model	-0.182***		-0.001	-0.183		-0.167***	-0.056 -0.233
Quantile 10	-0.318**		-0.027	-0.345	-0.541***	0.001	-0.54
Quantile 25	-0.311***		-0.139***	-0.450		-0.553***	-0.151*** -0.704
Quantile 50	-0.215***		-0.029	-0.244	-0.349***	-0.087***	-0.436
Quantile 75	-0.251***		0.014	-0.237	-0.176**	-0.040	-0.216
Quantile 90	-0.256*		0.063**	-0.255		0.049* 0.105***	0.154

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: Computed by authors from GSOEP 1999 and 2009.

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'We Are New Here, We Cannot Go and Complain': Employment of Filipina Domestic Workers in The Post-Socialist Czech Republic

PAVLA REDLOVÁ

Abstract:

Paid domestic work is a very expanding labour market sector nowadays. It is mostly performed by female migrants; they are often in vulnerable positions due to their triple invisibility: Due to their gender, ethnicity and class. This article focuses on the experience of Filipinas working as "live-in" nannies in Czech households. Although the Filipinas do not yet represent an important immigrant group in Czechia in statistical terms, their employment is an important phenomenon both from the global perspective (considering the involvement in the global care market) and as a symptom of changes in post-socialist Czech society in the context of neoliberal reforms and norms, a weakening welfare state as well as persistence of traditional gender regime.

This paper is based on a qualitative, gender-based research which combines discursive text analysis with comprehensive interviews both with Filipina nannies and agency representatives. Firstly, the construction of domestic work by the agencies is described, then the focus is put on the working conditions as perceived by the nannies and their gendered position in the family. However, further aim is to relate these findings to transformations that have occurred in the society. Last but not least, a broader framework of immigration, integration and employment policies is taken into account and shortcomings on the policy level are identified.

Constraints of social welfare state contributes to commodification of domestic work. Even though paid domestic work is officially defined as a regular employment, many signs of its contrary perception are visible both in agency and policy makers discourses and in experiences of nannies. Among the risks that migrant women employed as (live-in) nannies in households encounter are not just unpaid overtime and social isolation, they may also become victims of physical and mental abuse. Control mechanisms are lacking, moreover, current immigration policies do increase dependence of migrant workers on their employers.

Keywords: *post-socialism, Czech Republic, domestic workers, Filipinas, intermediary agencies*

1. Introduction

Paid domestic work is a very expanding labour market sector nowadays. International Labour Organization estimates there could be as much as 100 million of domestic workers all over the world (ILO 2013 p.32). Most of them are women, especially migrants. Both the state and individual families care is being supplemented or even replaced by the market; care has become a global product of exchange. However, this type of work is not fully recognized as a real work in many countries, these women are often in vulnerable position due to their triple invisibility. Little recognition and protection is granted even in countries where paid domestic work is treated within the labour code; as in the Czech Republic. Here, the demand for nannies and housekeepers is growing and not only Czechs, but also women from the Ukraine, Russia or the Philippines cover these needs.

I consider the phenomenon of Filipina nannies employment in relation to transformation changes in the post-socialist Czech society. I focus on the experience of Filipinas working in Czech households and thematically on the care commodification, labour conditions as perceived by the nannies as well as on their relationships with employers . A broader framework of immigration, integration and employment policies in the Czech Republic is taken into account. Since the Czech government refused to deal with the ILO Convention regarding decent work for domestic workers in 2012, claiming that it is “an issue of developing countries” (Chamber of deputies document No. 708/0 2012), this paper also aims to identify shortcoming on the policy level.

Research methodology

The commodification of care consists in transforming care services, including emotional work, into objects of economic exchange and it is also currently an important process interconnected with globalization and care migration. Sociologists Zimmerman, Litt and Bose conceptualize four types of care crises; care commodification being one of them:

‘Commodification in the context of globalization and in terms of gender issues can be considered a crisis because, as Sassen has suggested, the idea of service sector jobs as empowering for women who otherwise would not have employment possibilities is attenuated in the context of global care chains and survival circuits. Women and migrants may end up located in harsh conditions from which it is not easy to exit.’ (Zimmerman, Litt & Bose 2006 p.21)

As Pierrette Hondagneu Sotelo argues – ‘[p]aid domestic work is distinctive not in being the worst job of all but in being regarded as something other than employment’ (2001 p.9). In this regard, it is important to examine how intermediary agencies construct the work itself. Currently, there are three agencies specializing in offering the work of Filipina nannies in Czechia. Representations do not reflect real things and real people but rather contribute to a creation of their significance. Such meaning is never fixed, but is always re-created and transformed. And agencies are an influential actor in shaping the public perception, thus I will describe the construction of domestic work by them.

Perception of working conditions of the nannies is second issue examined. According to the theory of triple invisibility (Brettell & Hollifield 2000), the position of migrant-women in the labour market is characterized by such conditions as low wages, the label of unqualified work, and a lack of regulation. This is due to invisibility of migrant women in three dimensions: Due to their class, ethnicity and gender. In addition, it is connected with segmentation of the labour market. The workers’ experience in the labour market as well as in the society is shaped by public policies. Thus, a macro-social framework posed by the employment and migration policies will be taken into account.

In this framework, I have carried on qualitative, gender-based research which combines comprehensive interviews (Kaufmann 2010) and discursive text analysis. I have realized semi-

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structured interviews with the agency representatives and have repeatedly interviewed six Filipinas working as nannies and housekeepers. To give a better idea about the participating Filipinas: They have been living in Czechia for between one and 16 years. Carla (30) and Sophia (25) are single with no children. They both came through intermediary agencies. On the other hand, Maria (45), Barbara (40), Bituin (40) and Theresa (60) have children and first came to Czechia to ensure their livelihood. Only Barbara has a husband, the others are either single mothers or widows. Their relatives have taken care of their children. While Maria and Barbara first came here through agencies, Bituin and Theresa did not. All of them have worked as live-in nannies and later changed to live-out position.

Post-socialist changes in the Czech society and labour market

After 1989, the Czech state and society underwent important economic, political and social changes. Many socio-economic institutions were reorganized, including gender relationships and practices. The transformation process brought with it a discreditation of previous equality-based approaches as well as an end to full employment, amongst others through giving mothers incentives to return to the home and to care for the children (True 2003). Even though most of them did not return home, it were still women who were supposed to take care of the family and household: the traditional gender regime was maintained (Čermáková 1997). The employment rate of women now fluctuates between 45 and 50%, while the rate of unemployment women has stayed within the band of 5 to 10% (CSO 2013). Considering the availability of flexible and part-time jobs, only 6,5% of Czech women work in this way (Formánková et al. 2011). There is a significant segmentation in the labour market: more more than 90% of all employees in professions such as nurses and caregivers, housekeepers and cleaners are women (Křížková & Sloboda 2009 p.23).

In conjunction with these economic changes, the transformation towards a capitalistic economy has impacted on the social welfare state. Significant cuts to services have been made. Currently, there is a strong demand for places in nursery schools and other pre-school facilities. As a consequence, domestic and care work has become an important labour sector for migrant (women) workers in post-socialist Czechia. Tens of intermediary agencies have been established. However, any reliable data about the number of migrant domestic workers are still missing. Czech Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs registers 49 domestic workers (Chamber of deputies document 2012). ILO statistics count approximately 3,000 persons (Schwenken 2011), while Czech NGOs representatives estimate every second migrant woman has performed domestic work in Czechia; i.e. tens of thousands women (Faltová 2012). Also people with irregular status – 12% of them according to academics (Drbohlav 2009) – are employed in this sector .

Filipina nannies employment in the Czech context

The hiring of Filipina nannies is a rather recent phenomenon, closely related to post-socialist transformations and to prioritized economic development. The creation of intermediary agencies occurred approximately four years ago. The three agencies said they had found Filipinas for, altogether, approximately fifty families in 2012 alone .

It was primarily the reputation and experience from abroad that inspired local entrepreneurs to sell their services to families in the Czech Republic. Czech intermediary agencies even recall the foreign reputation of hard-working and caring nannies stating that ‘the Philippines are a traditional country of origin for nannies’ (so one agency webpage). I argue together with Igor Kopytoff that the significance of a diffusion of any socio-cultural phenomenon lies not in the fact of the adoption but rather in the ‘way they are culturally redefined and put in use’ (Kopytoff 1986 p.67). To understand the specificities of the local cultural context, I will contrast now the situation in the Czech Republic with that in California as described by Pierrette Hondagneu Sotelo (2001).

The first difference lies in the fact that in California, having a nanny or a housekeeper has become a widespread phenomenon, within a wider range of social classes. By contrast, in the Czech Republic it is still largely limited to upper-class families disposing of high economic capital. Filipinas are bringing cultural capital to the family through their knowledge of English and their employment has also become a distinctive feature within society (Bourdieu 1998).

Sotelo further argues that the position and predominance of women of different ethnicities in domestic employment depends on level of education, family structure, language proficiency and also on racial stereotypes (2001 pp.54). In my view, it is primarily the language and partly the family structure and stereotypes which matter in Czechia. While knowledge of English enables Filipinas in the USA to find more qualified work than for instance Latinas do, in the Czech Republic it has two different implications. First, it is one reason why they are considered more luxurious as they may teach the children they nurse English, thereby helping the family to become bilingual, and thus more global and modern. Second, not knowing the official language (Czech) makes them desirable for families who are concerned about their privacy, but at the same time it makes the Filipinas more vulnerable and less oriented in society. As the Filipinas usually migrate without their families, they are considered more adaptable to family needs than women from Eastern Europe who are more likely to have relatives in Czechia or to visit their family abroad regularly. Last but not least, the idea of exoticism and of an Asian submissiveness may play a role in the case of Filipinas.

In other words, in addition to the reputation of being hard-working and caring, and the potential to enable a more relaxed life for families, Filipinas are preferred also because they can add prestige and cultural capital to the family without necessarily affecting privacy.

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Gender relations: New member of the family?

We have touched upon the existing gender regime in the Czech society as well as what the employment of Filipina nanny or housekeeper brings to the family. Now, the issue of gender relations and the position of the nanny in the family will be discussed.

It is mostly women who hire other women as housekeepers or nannies and also most conflicts take place between the mother and the caregiver. The separation of roles reflects the way households are traditionally organized, with women being responsible for household tasks and children. Males are mostly involved only in the decision-making part of the process and later as mediators and judges of any conflicts.

What's more, traditional gender roles are also reflected in the way agencies address their clients. Families are portrayed as traditional and post-modern at the same time (Hochschild 2003 pp.213). Traditional in the sense that the tasks are separated according to gender and post-modern in the sense that there is a strong need to attain satisfaction on a professional and personal level, which is increasingly difficult.

Since the nanny fulfils 'dirty work' (Anderson 2000) in the household and by her work allows the family to choose their own preferred activities freely, the economic inequalities of the global world are transferred into the family setting. Domestic work entails also emotional work. The sociologist Arlie Hochschild (2003) studied ways emotions are commodified; specifically how controlling one's emotions is for flight attendants. Nannies also have to manage their emotions, especially when looking after children. But employers praise women even for smiling while cleaning. Besides this, nannies also need to develop strategies for moving around the household without disturbing their employers.

From the nanny's position, the mutual relationships within the household can be seen as running along a continuum with the effort to separate one's private and professional life on one end and consciously supporting mutual dependencies on the other. Barbara and Theresa opted for the second approach. Theresa thought that 'by doing everything that is asked for without complaining, you create a certain kind of dependence –the family comes to rely on you and you won't lose your job'. Others, like Bituin and Sophia, saw becoming involved in family life as a sign of respect. When they were given a gift by the family, they felt personally obligated to be thankful. Such a reciprocal relationship was described by Bituin:

'Actually, it states in my contract that I have to work eight hours but you know, there is this kind attitude that we Filipinos have, we call it "utang na loob", debt of gratitude... Like for example, my boss ... helped me also with my sister and even other Filipinos before. ... asking their friends, their colleagues [to employ them] even though they did not know those Filipinos personally ... That

is why I should say it is not because I just developed this feeling of being a family with them but I have to return this favour they granted me.’ (Bituin)

By contrast, Carla was convinced and had made the experience that the family used personal information and gifts against her at a later point in time. For her, opening herself to the family would mean losing freedom. Deciding what to say and what not is for her ‘the only thing I can give to myself’. The sociologist Bridget Anderson (2000) makes a similar point, she argues that being a member of the family is a disadvantage for the nanny and makes her vulnerable rather than enhancing her position in the family.

Domestic work constructed by the agencies

The bilateral relation as well as the public portrayal are affected by the agencies who marketize care services. When considering the status of (Filipina) domestic workers, it is necessary to examine the cultural construction of their work. As the discursive analysis showed, the websites emphasized that the agencies fulfil all legal obligations concerning nannies employment and also their representatives used words “employees” and “workers” as synonyms for Filipina nannies. It could thus be assumed that they present the work performed in households as a regular employment (at least in external auditors like researchers and NGO workers). At the same time, agencies try to distance themselves from stigmatized agencies that have made money by importing migrants as cheap labour.

On the other hand, the agencies describe Filipina nannies as being always at the employers’ disposition: ‘24 hours a day, Filipina nanny is ready in the next room, willing to help any time. ... Her help is due to her permanent presence incomparable with cleaners and babysitters as we know them in our country’. The permanent presence is viewed as a core of the service, maybe even a synonym of the live-in domestic work. In numerous countries, requiring nannies to live with the families is considered problematic for the employees’ rights. Through their websites, Czech agencies construct this way of working as usual. They describe the work situation with phrases such as ‘she does what needs to be done in the course of the day’ and ‘[does] everything according to your instructions’. This shows very clearly that the domestic work has become a service that is commodified, it is directed by a buyer.

In brief, the websites characterize household work in two conflicting ways: on the one hand, it is presented as an eight-hour job, in agreement with the requirements imposed by the Czech legal system, on the other hand, as a 24-hour service, which is potentially what agencies anticipate their customers to expect. In addition, they transfer the responsibility onto the Filipina workers themselves, because it is them who are prepared to work 24 hours a day and six days a week.

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Contract vs. Reality: working conditions of Filipina nannies

‘It is not part of the Czech culture to have a nanny here, so you cannot really be working as a nanny,’ Bituin and Sophia independently heard such words from their employers, when they looked at their work contracts as office workers. All the nannies said their contracts did not state their real position; instead, these women are officially employed as secretaries, English teachers, or even as a sewer. Symbolically, this confirms that the practice of hiring a (migrant, live-in) nanny by a family is still rather rare in the Czech Republic. It also has a negative impact for some, e.g. not being able to prove their work experience later on. This concerns Sophia, who studied to be a nurse: ‘if you want to move forward, you would like to put in your CV that you worked as a nanny. ... But your contract says you are an office worker’.

Extent of the work differs when compared to Czech nannies: Filipinas mostly do not specialize only in one activity (caring) as Czechs do, but perform all required tasks, the so-called “three Cs”: cleaning, caring, and cooking (Anderson, 2000) and more. Working hours are often not respected. The women who take care of small children say that their de-facto time on duty amounts to 24 hours a day – Bituin is one such example. ‘I work long hours, ... I stay with them and if the children wake up, I have to be awake as well’. Overtime and the fact that it is often not paid for is one of the main reason for complains. Even agency representatives confirmed that families often employ the nannies for even 16 hours a day – in Hana's words: ‘They do not make a secret of it. They will say: I don’t need someone who will only work eight hours. If the person is living with me, I need them to be at my disposition at all times’. Flexibility is another vital and demanded component of live-in nannies employment which fits to the current requirement of labour market.

Besides unpaid overtime, domestic workers (especially live-in) often face low working standards, excessive demands, social isolation, lacking privacy and unsatisfactory diet; in extreme cases even physical and psychical violence. In such a case, they opt for running away which basically means they become irregular.

Negotiating better conditions depends very much on information at their disposal and orientation in the society. The role of networks is crucial in such situations: most often, Filipinas were using connections that Mark Granovetter (1973) named weak ties, which are based on ethnic and/or religious grounds. Thus, a reliable source of information were other nannies who had been living in the Czech Republic for a longer period of time and the most common opportunity to meet them, at least in Prague, was visiting a Sunday church service.

Politics of dependency

The willingness to endure tough working conditions is often related to unequal status and a relation of dependence that migrant workers experience. Their lives are directly influenced by the

residence status, and by the relationship to their employer. If a woman does not have any documents and lives with a family, her situation is very unlikely to improve. But even migrants with work contracts are often afraid to make themselves heard. By law, their residence is dependent on their employer, and if they lose job, they lose also the permit for it. If their family depends on the salary, they are ready to make a number of compromises. Marie, mother of three children, confirms this saying ‘you know, when we are new here, we cannot go and complain. Because we would like to stay here for a long period of time. They may send us back to the Philippines’.

On the other hand, there are circumstances when the nannies do negotiate the working conditions. One of such example was recalled by Carla who defended herself from excessive demands. Instead of working additional 8 hours, she accepted 3 hours of work for free:

„I worked 16 hours a day during my first six months and after that, ...I quit without any explanation. ... After 6pm, I stopped working and she [the employer] was mad. ... I am giving you three hours more, what more do you ask for?’ (Carla)

Obtaining permanent residency is a major milestone. Among the Filipinas participating in this research, only Barbara was residing permanently in Czechia. As such, she was in a more secure position and was helping other Filipinas to deal with difficulties.

If the employment is transformed into a live-out option and from a work contract to a freelance arrangement, there is also more freedom in choosing working hours. Therefore, Filipinas attempt to gradually go from live-in to live-out nanny; but this modality is more costly and require a better knowledge of legal, fiscal and social system. In addition, current policy of the Ministry of the Interior tends to favour work contracts over small entrepreneurship, while at the same time the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs puts a limit on the number of work permits granted or prolonged (MPSV 2012).

Migrant vulnerability is acerbated by the fact that the government has refused to sign the above mentioned ILO Convention , citing the small number of such workers in Czechia and their negligible role for the labour market. But the statistics is distorted due to the wrong job title in the contracts as described before.

Conclusion

Current constraints of social welfare state and an increased emphasis on market forces contribute to commodification of domestic work. It is thus not surprising that the employment of Filipina live-in nannies flourishes in the context of post-socialist Czech Republic. The nannies become a distinctive feature within the society, bringing cultural capital to the employer. Due to the relative novelty of this social practice in the Czechia and despite its adoption from abroad, differences in contrast to a more developed systems of care commodification can be traced.

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Even though paid domestic work is officially defined as a regular employment, there are many signs of its contrary perception: Intermediary agencies describe it both as standard work and as a 24-hours service. Many employers do not admit position of a nanny in the contract; instead, they are pretending hiring a secretary. Government officials refused to deal with the ILO convention and to adjust work legislation accordingly. This failure should be reversed by a constant reminding of the domestic work being a real work; something that the adoption of ILO convention could do.

Among the risks that migrant women employed as live-in nannies encounter are not just unpaid overtimes and social isolation, they may also become victims of physical and mental abuses. The main problem is not the existence of the risks, but rather limited possibilities for inspection and for women to defend themselves. There are two main policy shortcomings in this respect: first, the dependency on the employer and second, the impossibility to perform a labour conditions control due to the privacy of households.

Possible solution for reducing dependency would entail a separation of the working and residence permit from one specific employer and substituting it with a permit to work in a specific labour area. This act, however, presupposes that employers state a real position in the contracts. For the latter issue, the power of labour inspectorate would need to be increased. In brief, the work of nannies, housekeepers and caregivers needs to be widely recognized as any other work by all actors involved.

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The Silenced Refugee: A Human Rights Reflection on the Experiences Of Asylum-Seeking Women In The UK

AMANDA GRAY MERAL

Abstract

In the ongoing battle for women's international protection there has been much to celebrate in recent years, in particular an interpretation of the 1951 Convention that recognizes women's experiences in their country of origin. Policy development and standard setting by UNHCR has included, not least the introduction of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Initiative and the publication of the Refugees Handbook on the Protection of Women and Girls. Yet, specific social policies for asylum seeking women by industrialized states has received less attention with responses of industrialized states to ensure the full realization of social rights of asylum-seeking women, half-hearted.

This article considers the levels of social welfare for asylum-seeking women in the UK. By comparing the support rates for UK citizen women with asylum-seeking women the paper argues there is a different treatment towards asylum-seekers that infringes on the human rights obligations the state has towards vulnerable women. It will argue a required response is one based on human rights, including non-discrimination, progressive realization and the participation of asylum-seeking women at the policy-making table.

1. Introduction

In the midst of a global battle for women's rights, advocates for refugee women have made considerable progress to better ensure a gender-sensitive application of the 1951 Refugee Convention and protection for women refugees. While recognising the ongoing impediments to the recognition of women's asylum claims, whether persecuted women can be refugees is settled as a matter of international refugee law. However, much slower progress has been made in regard to the enjoyment of human rights protection while seeking asylum. Status as an asylum-seeker leads to a particular risk of violations of socio-economic rights with severe limitations on their right to work and welfare. Segregation from mainstream policies on socio-economic rights has left asylum-seekers as one of the most impoverished groups in the UK with a growing body of research demonstrating the severity of that poverty.

Human rights are indivisible and within the international community there is a growing attention to economic, social and cultural rights that have for years been neglected over civil and political rights. It is therefore timely and increasingly urgent to reflect on what these standards mean for asylum-seekers and, in particular, within the context of wealthy industrialized states. In this paper and in light of space available, I consider the treatment of asylum-seeking women, contrasting support rates with those enjoyed by settled women in the UK. The paper considers how this difference, for an already vulnerable group, who may require additional support, raises tension with the UK's commitments under international human rights law. Finally the paper considers how human rights principles could positively influence the policy making process, ensuring that those affected are able to influence change. It will argue that while a rights-based approach is not without

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its limitations, it is increasingly vital to ensure dignity and equality for asylum-seekers and meaningful, and effective design, implementation and evaluation of social policies that affect their daily lives.

Lived experiences of asylum-seeking women in the UK

“Everything is worse if you don’t have money. I have no power, I can’t wash my clothes, I can’t cook”

Women have different starting points, restraints, opportunities and capabilities, which mean they experience poverty differently to men. They face multi-faceted barriers as a result of their gender as well as barriers because of their socio-legal status as asylum-seekers. For one, asylum-seeking women are particularly likely to have experienced sexual and gender-based violence. It a study conducted in Scotland and Belgium, over 70% of asylum-seeking women interviewed testified to being a victim of sexual violence, predisposing asylum-seeking women to particular vulnerabilities, in particular health vulnerabilities as seen during pregnancy. Recent arrival in the UK means the absence of family support and/ or a strong community while language and cultural barriers mean they may not understand the health care system or how to access it. They face additional barriers in the decision-making process, being more likely to be 'disbelieved' at first instance, which can mean longer periods of time with insecure status as an 'asylum-seeker' or irregular status, with the subsequent limitations on rights to work and welfare.

Asylum seekers have been excluded from mainstream welfare in the UK since 1999 when the Immigration and Asylum Act was introduced. The act provides that asylum seekers who would otherwise be destitute can claim support under section 95 or section 4 of the Act and, if required, accommodation. With the introduction of the 1999 Act asylum support rates were reduced from 90% to 70% of income support on the basis that the support was for a short period of time (i.e. while their application is being decided) and housing and utilities bills would be paid for separately. Amounts have dropped considerably since 1999 and are not currently calculated with reference to any system. Single adults over 25 receive 52% of income support rates, a lone parent 50% and a couple 65%. Pregnant women are entitled to an additional 3 per week and 300 grant, which they can apply for 8 weeks before their due date and up to 6 weeks after delivery. In contrast, a single settled woman, with no employment history is entitled to receive an income of approximately 64 per week, depending on her age, housing assistance, plus £500 in one off grants and potentially additional grants such as healthy food vouchers. Accommodation is on a no-choice basis and has been criticised for being inappropriate for mothers and pregnant women, and resulting in dispersing pregnant women, even at late stages of pregnancy, interrupting healthcare and community support and negatively impacting on their maternal well-being.

Local Authorities also have powers and duties to accommodate and support people who meet certain conditions, which can include asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers. However, due to the exclusion of those subject to “immigration control”, the vast majority of asylum seekers are automatically excluded from local authority support. Although refused asylum seekers cannot be excluded if support is needed to avoid a breach of their rights under the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) the high threshold of proving a civil rights breach makes it a very difficult legal challenge to make .

This stark difference in financial support levels between asylum-seeking and UK settled women is based solely on the socio-legal status of asylum seeking women, with no assessment of their pre-existing needs and vulnerabilities.

Poverty as a human rights violation

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family.. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance” .

While the idea of social and economic rights has been central to discussions about citizenship particularly after the development of the modern welfare state, the notion of social rights has really come to the fore since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and is becoming an increasingly recognized element of the international human rights agenda. Social rights are entitlements based on humanity and not citizenship alone, a particularly relevant distinction for forced migrants. The ICESCR, to which the UK is a signatory provides in Article 2 (1), the right to non-discrimination. The Committee to the ICESCR (“CESCR”) has confirmed by way of its guidance in General Comments to States that the term “other status” in Article 2 (1) includes additional prohibited grounds of discrimination, including that of nationality. Hence, the rights in the Covenant “apply to everyone including non-nationals, such as refugees, asylum-seekers, stateless persons, migrant workers and victims of international trafficking, regardless of legal status and documentation.” The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (‘CERD’) has also addressed the issue of discrimination against non-citizens. Different treatment on the basis of citizenship or immigration status will constitute discrimination if the criteria for such differentiation, “judged in the light of the objectives and purposes of the Convention, are not applied pursuant to a legitimate aim, and are not proportional to the achievement of that aim” and that obstacles that impact enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights for non-citizens be removed. As such, States are to take all necessary steps to address discrimination against particular groups and adopt special measures even when that includes positive discrimination or differentiation . Special attention is to be given to the health needs and rights of women belonging to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, including refugee women . The UN Women's Convention (‘CEDAW’) has emphasized the particular gender barriers to economic and social rights that women

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face, highlighting those faced by asylum-seeking women and demands States take positive measures to overcome such barriers and ensure their equal enjoyment of socio-economic rights.

Social security is a social right protected by the UDHR and ICESCR and is not only a stand alone right, but ensures the fulfillment of other human rights, such as the right to enjoy an adequate standard of living and the right to the highest attainable standard of health. It includes both contributory and non-contributory schemes and is required to be adequate and accessible. Unlike the right to work set out in Article 6, no reservation has been made to Article 9 in regard to non-citizens by the UK government. Recognizing the restrictions to work for asylum-seekers, the obligations around ensuring the adequacy of non-contributory benefits for asylum seekers in the UK arguably becomes all the greater. Indeed, the CESCR has noted the need for asylum seekers to be given special attention by states .

The ICESCR requires that States take steps to realize the rights within the Convention, to the maximum of its available resources. Equally, a State's compliance is assessed in light its resources, which clearly demands more of rich industrialized countries than developing countries. Regressive steps (i.e. worsening the enjoyment of right, regardless of resources), are always prohibited while certain obligations such as non-discrimination are to be taken with immediate action.

The regressive policies in regard to support for asylum seekers since 1999 and the stark gap between rates for asylum-seekers and settled persons in the UK on welfare, reflect the widening gap between international human standards and the lived experience for asylum-seeking women in the UK. Asylum-seekers are in the midst of a vicious cycle, disempowered due to their socio-legal status and socio-economic status. Their poverty, exacerbates the stigmatization and discrimination they face and their stigmatization and discrimination results in their poverty. Hence, there is an urgent need for change. The next section reflects on the need for asylum-seekers participation to ensure such change is meaningful and effective.

Participation of asylum-seekers

Participation is a basic human right in itself, as well as a precondition or catalyst for the realization and enjoyment of others rights.

In her recent report to the UN General Assembly, the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty has paid particular attention to the right of participation of people living in poverty. Human rights principles that guide the right to participation according to the Special Rapporteur, include but are not limited to, respect for dignity, autonomy and agency, non-discrimination and equality, transparency and access to information, accountability and empowerment. These are particularly relevant principles to asylum-seekers, who are not only economically poor, but also stigmatized by

society and are, arguably the most socially and politically excluded group in UK society. The right of participation is a legal obligation rather than a policy option and applies to States as well as NGO's, who are to serve as "facilitators and advocates, with the ultimate goal of allowing [asylum-seekers] to express themselves and influence decision-making on their own terms.. In response, States must establish inclusive participatory mechanisms at local and national levels, with a legal framework for participation, and the investment of adequate resources to support the participation of asylum-seekers. One such example of a participatory approach, ensuring the voices of asylum-seeking women are heard by policy makers, is the Women's Strategy Group at the Scottish Refugee Council .

However, this good practice must be built upon and repeated across the UK to ensure, not least that barriers impinging upon asylum seeking women's ability to participate are removed, complaint and grievance mechanisms at national, regional and local levels are implemented that asylum-seekers can access and policy-makers are required to publicly justify their decisions in line with the process of public and inclusive participation.

Conclusion

From considering the experiences of asylum-seeking women seeking refuge in the UK, this paper has sought to demonstrate two issues. Firstly, human rights should not only be the basis of the refugee decision-making process but also effect the daily experiences of asylum-seeking women while in their country of refuge. Poverty, caused by a denial of access to the labour market and inadequate social security, should be seen through the same human rights prism as the legal framework that governs the decision-making process. Secondly, the UK case shows that while legal developments in refugee decision-making are at their hallmark to date, for asylum-seeking women, day to day experiences of the same women show gaps between legal norms, policy formulations and practical experience. This can only be known both to politicians, law and policy makers as well as non-state actors who work on these issues if the voice of asylum-seekers are consistently heard in the conversations and policy-making process. Any lack of participation not only disempowers asylum-seekers as members of society, but is a violation of human rights in and of itself.

International human rights law is clear. Legal responsibilities of the host state requires continual accountability, in accordance with the human rights principles of non-discrimination, progressive realization and maximum available resources. Moreover, it demands a participatory approach to policy development by those whose lives are affected. Yet, the potential of human rights to challenge the status quo on double standards between asylum-seekers, as evidenced by the differential treatment between asylum-seeking women and those settled in host countries, by and large, remains sadly untapped.

India's Policies Are Increasing the Vulnerability of Its Female Migrants in The Arab-Gulf Countries?

RADHIKA KANCHANA

Abstract

The paper explores to what extent the home country, India's policies over the past decade with respect to "protecting" its female migrants from potential exploitation, especially in the destination countries of the Arab-Gulf region, are effective. The incidence of abuse especially in the case of the female domestic workers is extensive in the six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)- the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Kuwait respectively to- how have the domestic country's policies helped (or not)? The results are far from the intended policy objective in terms of ensuring better protection for the female migrant and it actually has increased the vulnerability in many dimensions- this is an observation from the field research in Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the UAE; and in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh in India (spread over the period, 2008-2011). My doctoral research studies the consequences of the migration policies of the Arab-Gulf countries. Two groups are identified as being the most vulnerable: the housemaids and the victims of trafficking for sex. The labour policies of the Gulf countries are discriminative to the foreign workers in general. As they exclude the domestic workers, this group is more exposed. Trafficking has begun to receive a more recent attention. India's response has been to try to restrict female migration to the Gulf for specific categories like the unskilled work, by introducing a series of conditions. Its justification is the limited manoeuvrability to ensure compliance by the essentially authoritarian Arab-Gulf countries, especially in the short/medium term. In the hindsight of evidence from India's "protection" strategy, is it the answer and does it help the female migrant in the Gulf countries? What does the policy course adopted over the past years say about the larger attitude of the Indian government to the low-skill/wage female migration?

Key words: *female emigrants, the Arab-Gulf, India*

1. It is not a new feminisation of migration

Indian emigration to the Arab-Gulf countries is significant from the 1970s. The countries' started labour recruitment policies after their independence and a high economic growth from their export of oil. The emigration is a legacy at least from the early part of the 20th century, under the British Raj administration that both the Indian sub-continent and the region shared. The GCC region today has a distinctive demographic composition with a large foreign population: the biggest expatriate group is Indian. It is true that the foreign migrant population in the GCC region is predominantly male and blue-collar; however, the female composition is also large.

Indian female migration to the region is also not new- for instance, the migration of nannies and tutors from the regions like Goa date to the British times. As reflected in the composition of the female-migrant population of Indian nationality today, the size has increased substantially and expanded to diversified sectors. The domestic work domain is predominant (male domestic workers also exist, for example as drivers and cooks). The other service occupations include like hair-dressers, shop-assistants, and other. The most popular professional sectors where expatriate

women are typically found are in health care and in education. In the healthcare market across the Gulf region, Indian professionals are prominent as doctors, nurses in particular and related-support staff. Indian nurses are among the earliest of Indian migrants in the region and a recognised phenomenon (Percot and Rajan 2007). Other sectors include entertainment and hospitality sectors. Quite often, jobs like in secretarial/administrative staff roles are still engaged by the spouses of the expatriates in the white-collar jobs. In Bahrain, they are mainly allowed to work as teachers, medical professionals and in top managerial positions in the banking sector. A child's residency/sponsorship seems often linked to both the parents being under the same employers' sponsorship in practice; a constraint that adds to the limited market access available to the expat wives. The dependent spouses/other family members comprise the remaining profile of the foreign-female, sponsored by the respective male member- an expatriate or an Arab-national. Kerala in India sends about 15% of its migrants as female (Zachariah and Rajan 2012). The figure could be estimated at about 20% female migrants in the total migrant population from India. India ranks the third after Nepal and Sri Lanka in the national proportion of foreign female migrants in the Gulf region (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012).

Two groups are among the most vulnerable of the female migrants: the domestic workers and the victims of trafficking for sex.

Indian policy: an evolution of responses

India's emigration policy is discriminative to the lower-skilled emigrant. A woman emigrant and in the lower-skilled group experiences hence doubly restricted. It is far from a gender-sensitive policy, in the sense of recognising the right of women to migrate and having supportive policies like enabling and promoting informed choices by the potential emigrants.

India is among the sending countries that have few regulations covering emigration; they date from the 1980s (Manseau 2006 p.37). India's foreign employment policy is a regulated system, wherein the State of origin adopts laws and regulations governing the recruitment of nationals for employment abroad (Abella 1997). It is protective in objective and mainly addresses temporary and contract migration especially of the lower-skilled employment type, through recruitment laws, minimum standards and a regulatory authority. The important policy instrument is the Emigration Act of India, 1983. It replaced the colonial-times Emigration Act of 1922 that was mainly addressed to regulate the recruitment of unskilled agricultural workers, and was prompted by the high instance of abuses in the wake of boom in jobs in the Arab-Gulf region from the 1970s, by mainly the indiscriminate practices of private and illegal recruitment agencies.

There are two main elements of the 1983 legislation. Emigration clearance: The Protector General of Emigrants (PGE) is the mandated authority and works through nine Protector of Emigrants offices (PoE). All Indian passports are categorised into Emigration Clearance Required (ECR) or Not Required (ECNR) based on the qualification level. The principle is that the lesser-skilled category of the migrant is potentially more vulnerable. Hence, emigration is permitted after

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the scrutinisation of the sufficiency/validity of the employment contracts that ‘the terms and conditions are neither discriminatory nor exploitative and that provisions for travel, wages and working and living conditions are in conformity with the prescribed norms’ (Thimothy and Hussain 2008). The eligibility level for the clearance today is reduced to the matriculation qualification (secondary education). The number of the destination countries for which a clearance is required is reduced to 17: in addition to the six GCC countries, Malaysia, Libya, Jordan, Yemen, Sudan, Brunei, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Syria, Lebanon, Thailand, Iraq (emigration is banned). The second function is to regulate the recruitment via the licensing of the recruitment agencies. Their operation is permitted after their recognition by the State by the grant of registration certificates based on ‘the financial soundness, trustworthiness, adequacy of premises, and experience in the field of manpower export’ (Thimothy and Hussain 2008).

The Indian government adopted a definite “protective” stance on the gender element also, as a response in particular to the public eruption in the 1990s of the violence against female-workers overseas. The age-criterion is introduced- the clearance today is restricted to the female migrant above 30 years for un- and semi- skilled work, if she is below the matriculation education level. First adopted by the Ministry of Labour in 2002 applicable to Kuwait after its war in 1990-91 (banned for a period) and successively extended to the region followed by to all the countries, the current status is confirmed in Aug 2007: 30 years for the female candidate in the ECR category is ‘a mandatory restriction irrespective of the nature/category of employment’... ‘Age is used as a crucial variable to restrict international migration of female workers, particularly that of the domestic workers’ (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012; the source of the table reproduced below: p.27)

AGE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF FEMALE DOMESTIC WORKERS-COUNTRY CONDITION

Bangladesh	Women must be at least 25 years old
India	Women must be at least 30 years old or should have completed matriculation
Nepal	Women must be at least 18 years old
Pakistan	Women must be at least 35 years old
Sri Lanka	Women must be at least 21 years old

Some of the recent initiatives by India to respond the interests of the Indian migrants are briefly narrated. A federal-level dedicated authority, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, MOIA is established in 2004. A Pravasi Bharatiya Bhima Yojana, a compulsory insurance scheme is launched from 2006 in an effort to provide a minimum social security cover to the migrants of the ECR category overseas and to encourage them ‘to voluntarily save money for their resettlement and

old age' (at the moment, still intermittently mobilised and in the initial stages). On the broader level of cooperative efforts, India along with other labour-sending countries in Asia in the Colombo Process periodically discuss the issues of optimising labour migration benefits via mainly information-sharing and cooperation. At the Dhaka Declaration in 2011, they commit to paying particular attention to addressing the specific needs and concerns of vulnerable groups like the women workers. Another forum that India is engaged with, for better coordination between the origin and destination countries of the Gulf, is the Abu Dhabi Dialogue since 2008. Also, Bilateral Agreements and Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) is considered a more flexible mechanism by India to mutually regulate the labour/migration conditions with the destination countries of the Gulf. The Indian Cabinet discussed the National Policy for Domestic Workers in May 2013- it is a promising legislation not only for improvement in conditions of the domestic workers in India but also because it strengthens the legitimacy of the call for reform in the host countries like the Gulf.

However, 'restrictive migration policies have reduced the possibilities for regular and legal migration for females, forcing them to adopt risky processes to migrate' (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012). In addition to the restriction on the age-level, there is varied enforcement that exposes the women emigrants to different discretionary/moral judgements and corruptive practices. The state governments for example, Kerala, Goa, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (regions sending majority of the female migrants to the Gulf) selectively practice or introduce own initiatives and regulations. The same applies to different enforcing agencies like the Protector of Emigrants and the State Police in the dearth of standardised procedures or coherent coordination (e.g. document requirements for the grant of emigration clearance). Also, the general logic of Emigration Clearance is criticised as not only falling far short of giving the results (severe infrastructure limitations, and lack of any real protection measures) but also as creating differentiated citizenship (Varghese and Rajan 2011). Critics point that the legislation in fact re-introduces the colonial mechanism- actually discrimination in the guise of protection. The recruitment process-monitoring function is also criticised as excessively privileging the licensing role over the other functions of enabling emigration for example, promotional (like example, skill training and upgradation) and welfare measures (like social security) (Thimothy and Hussain 2008).

In sum, a general analysis of the policy course toward women migrants reveals two things: one, policy since the past three decades is largely a response to the evidence and the scale of abuse of the female migrant, in particular, the domestic worker; second, the policy objective is increasingly to restrict the female migrant for her welfare. Examples are restrictions on the age and migration to certain destination countries.

Protection is proved counter-productive:

Encounters witnessed underscore the current disempowered conditions of the female workers in the host ground.

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The double-vulnerability of the run-away domestic workers

Many of the problems faced by the women domestic workers are universal in the Gulf region and frequently faced also by their male colleagues in the lower-skilled group. Among the most common are: the passport-confiscation resulting in limitations on mobility, the withholding or irregular payment of wages creating the conditions of indentured labour (part of their earnings often are retained by the recruitment agencies), made subject to discriminative and abusive treatment and the general restrictions on individual movement and rights. The issues specific to the female migrants in addition are: the incidence of sexual abuse, greater restrictions on physical mobility and sociality and the extent of exposure to physical violence leading also to death. The workplace of the domestic workers being the private domain of the employer's home is the key element. A recurring constraint in the current official and humanitarian efforts to curb the widespread violations concerning them is the fact that domestic work is not covered under the national labour laws in the Gulf at the moment, based on the reason that the private space of a household is not to be disturbed. Therefore, many laws that affect migrant labourers such as including minimum wage, maximum weekly hours, rest and vacation time do not apply to the domestic workers (for more documented work see Sabban 2004, Manseau 2007).

The running-away (or the breach of contract, as perceived by the employers) is criminalised under the present rules. The harsh conditions found at the employer's house are the main reason that a domestic worker runs away and in desperation. It can also be in the anticipation of a better/more earning opportunity on getting out, sometimes at the encouragement by co-expatriates from the outside. They are normally unaware that they stand to lose their legal status and cannot work again. The only legal possibility for the runaway woman migrant on subsequent detention or rescue except on the rarest occasions is to return to the employer or to be sent back to India. Their condition is precarious if because of the investments already incurred to migrate/or financial needs or other reasons the women stay in the country. They fear being put in jail. They are in a criminal status and generally without official documents. If their entry in the country was itself based on false papers, their vulnerability is doubled. They would fear even to approach their national Embassy for help.

The male runaway worker is also vulnerable with the clandestine status. But the woman migrant is often forced to rely on the assistance of the male expatriate, because even as an illegal worker, he has better resources accessible to him and also on the basic factor of enjoying mobility (freer public movement). Especially accommodation is a critical factor. Some runaway women are fortunate if they succeed to be given accommodation on finding other domestic work with the new employer/s (local or expatriate) (both the work and the lodging is illegal and also expose them to exploitation). Or, they succeed to team with other run-away maids to share an accommodation.

However, on a wider occurrence are stories, where the women accept the “protection” of a male co-expatriate in exchange for a roof and safety (sometimes also sharing the earning). Sometimes it is a genuine mutual-support relationship. The trend of “convenience arrangements” as the recourse used by the women is becoming quite visible and is well-known in the migrant social circles. On the other hand, oftentimes the runaway women are abandoned after a period by the “boy-friend” and then they get-into a series of such arrangements to sustain keeping a roof and to continue to work and send the remittances home. The imperatives of the need for a roof, the financial necessity, the illegal status and the dependence on the goodwill of a co-expatriate translate into the run-away women’s acute vulnerability. The necessarily predominantly male and single expatriate population lead denied conjugal lives for extended periods in the Gulf context - it also partly explains the facilitative conditions for these practices. For example, local expatriates in Muscat expressed concern by this newer trend of run-away domestic workers-linked relationships as akin to immoral relationships/or a kind of prostitution. The situation described above highlights the heightened precarious status of the runaway domestic workers and resultant desperate acts. It is also a survival strategy showing agency by the migrants. These arrangements and “confidence relationships” are ripe with the potential for the women’s further exploitation (trafficking for sex discussed next).

The women are particularly caught in the shadow industry of trafficking

The industry operates- below the tabs or more publicly visible - in different forms, but it is a common problem across the GCC countries. The thriving business of trafficking is particularly serious concerning women, although the term has a broader relevance to apply to men as well as women workers, to apply to many of the practices occurring in the Gulf, such as the conditions of forced labour, contract-absence-or-substitution, passport-confiscation, etc. Human trafficking involves the process of the traffickers procuring people to exploit by using deception and/or some form of coercion to lure and control them (UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children 2003).

Trafficking of women for the sex-trade is one of the ugliest faces of the exploitation-prone migration market in the Arab-Gulf region. Stories abound of women finding themselves cheated by the recruiting agencies and sponsor-employers or of the run-away workers falling prey in the wrong hands. There are also stories of some women cheated into the flesh trade by their husbands and relatives. There is sufficient literature and reports attesting these common narratives (the recent reports in 2013 by the ILO, the Trafficking in Persons report by the US government, the Human Rights Watch).

The majority of the victims of Indian nationality (like the broader trend) perhaps belong to the category of women hired by the recruitment companies in the sending countries like India for domestic work or other employment and find themselves forced into prostitution upon arrival in the host country. The others typically include women brought in on fake documents subsequently

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blackmailed into the sex-trade or face jail/deportation; or, the run-away workers or women that were duped or kidnapped into the flesh-trade by their co-expatriate colleagues or other intermediaries. It is misnomer that it is the low-un-skilled category that fall prey to trafficking- many cases stand evidence also to the contrary. Also occurring is the phenomenon, where the women brought to the Gulf as brides (usually by the nationals and Muslim) were forced into prostitution- it is less documented, but heard personally anecdotal narratives by the migrants during the field work. It is either the husbands get the brides into the commercial sex trade or the women become vulnerable to the trafficking after they were deserted by their husbands after a period of marriage.

The trafficking industry involves both the local-nationals and the Indian expatriates. And often it implicates the involvement of the officials at several levels and individuals with powerful influence and connections, and not only the private recruiting agents. Sex trafficking is prevalent and generally works in the shadow domains or under spurious links to formal activities. The entry method to traffic the women depends on the visa type available for female workers in the host country: for nurses, teachers, categories in the hospitality, entertainment, personal/beauty care. The entertainment and hospitality sectors are the most dominant potential abusers. Bahrain and UAE are more liberal in the entertainment and tourism sectors and also give greater access to female migrants to enter. Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have stricter rules and the trafficking industry is more underground and perhaps also more severe in terms of migrant abuse.

The trafficking problem in the Gulf is blamed predominantly on the unscrupulous recruitment agents- but it is also these factors: the blame-free atmosphere in the host countries (such as the nationals abusing their sponsor visas and escaping punishment); highly restrictive destination labour markets for women and the discouraging atmosphere in the home countries that lead them to the predatory agents.

The “rescue” narrative persistently heard in addressing the issues of abuse especially of the female lower-skill workers in both official and unofficial efforts is an incomplete approach. A rescuing team predominantly occupies itself to finding a temporary shelter for an abuse-victim and ensuring her urgent repatriation to India. Lodging a criminal complaint and pursuing justice is a post-/if- activity. One of the logics, of guarding the reputations of the female migrants is perhaps understandable- but it works to institutionalise the letting off of the perpetrators with impunity while in any case, the victims remain the sufferers. The national-employer usually escapes with least reputation damage and perhaps only making a pecuniary compensation-payment (sometimes he/she actually demands it in reverse for the “release” of the withheld passport or the penalty). As per the popular discourse, the image of the female-worker itself (in the “avoidable”-territory of the Gulf) projects as the problem. It then amplifies that there is a sizeable proportion of the female migrant group that is “illegal”.

Conclusion: Where is the protection and where are the rights?

There is scholarship that supports evidence on the ground that the measures intended to protect the female migrant from exploitation, especially the low-skilled, have actually increased her vulnerability abroad. Kodoth and Varghese (2012) note the expansion of irregular migration channels as a result of access and process via the regular channels becoming cumbersome, because of more restrictions imposed. Practices such as “pushing” (agents able to push through the migrant woman in collusion with emigration officials at the ports of embarkment/airports) and the development of parallel informal structures like “Kasaragod embassy” in Kerala (entities that are sometimes actually preferred by the migrants as more easily accessible to spew out fake passport, visa and travel documents and other assistance- Pattadath 2012) are only some manifestations of the increasingly protectionist Indian emigration regime.

Oishi observes that policy in the South Asian countries is coloured by national self-identities that represent women to embody national pride and dignity and that the policies differentiate on gender, projecting women ‘as victims of all sorts of violations and incapable of deciding on cross-border migration’. Therefore, the society and nation feel responsible to intervene for the protection and control of women’s sexual purity (2005). Posing the conditions such as in the Gulf as whether “appropriate for women” to seek work in, is the most-used defence in arguing for (more) controls in India and, turn the issue into one of female sexual security and, as a result, one of morality... The easy conflation of a problem of exploitation (sexuality being an important aspect) with a problem over movement in the case of women belies acknowledgement that women’s mobility is constantly under the social scanner and takes us to unexamined assumptions that are at the core of patriarchy. (Kodoth and Varghese 2012)

Social and policy norms come to stress the transgressive element of a woman choosing to migrate alone, and in lower-skilled work. A woman domestic worker’s migration is then mobility carried with the burden of shame/guilt with a possible tag of the potential for immorality- the type of work is among the “indecent ways of moneymaking overseas” and a deviation from the “dominant standards of sexual morality” (Kodoth and Varghese 2012). In the voices of the state and most local activists in the host territory, a potential illegal female worker is an even more avoidable liability. The protective discourse hence seems to be discounting the woman migrant worker as an agent. The state needs to rise above prejudice in catering equally to -all- its citizens.

The limitations in the Gulf on the government responsiveness (citing practical “realities”) is an argument to justify limiting the rights at home (emigrating). Feedback from the field describes a mixed reception to the policy at home and at overseas. At home, it is the demand for rights. The state policy and public discourse are perceived to be ‘completely at odds with the aspirations of emigrant domestic workers... it continues to be driven by the perception of emigrant domestic workers as victims’ (Kodoth and Varghese 2012). To the migrants overseas, the demand is for rights and support. Some of the initiatives have meant a little improvement (e.g. demanding greater responsibility from the employer). They represent however, the coming to the rescue/ post-abuse

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stage. Protecting is not empowering. Facilitating and being supportive of the mobility and the rights of women migrants also increase the potential for their better treatment and at least, enable them to cope better and to achieve the migration goals.

In general, the emigration policy of India to women is a restrictive rather than a facilitative strategy. And it reflects logic of paternalism. Also, 'migrants' vulnerability is affected not only by labour conditions at the destination, but also by their sense of entitlement and their notion of rights at the country of origin' (Mora and Piper 2011) . Freer and assured mobility actually go much further to reduce the exposure to abuse. India has begun to acknowledge the gaps in the current structure. The best solutions lie in listening to the voices/being considerate to the agency of the women migrants themselves. India could go beyond a paternalistic-sovereignty-morality-informed policy action.

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The Effects of Global Crisis on Migrant Families: A Survey Based Assessment With Gender Lens

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Abstract

The fear migration and remittances would collapse due to global crisis was very strong in Asia. This is because Asia is the main source of migrant workers and receives the most global remittances (Ratha, 2011). Fortunately, large-scale migrant returnees and remittance slumps did not happen. But this does not mean the crisis had no impact on migrant workers and their families. The seemingly no effect at global level may hide impact dynamics at household level. Moreover, the impacts are also through local labour market. To examine the issue, two migrant household surveys were conducted in Indonesia and Philippines in 2010 and 2012-with gender perspective- to capture impact dynamics on remittances, earnings and working conditions, return migration, intention to migrate, and coping mechanism.

Overall results suggest the effects differ across countries and sectors, and influenced by migrants and households characteristics. Women migrants were in worse condition for their lower education, skills, and inferior jobs. They experienced more declining earnings, deteriorating working and living conditions, and job loss, forcing some to return home. They faced more difficulty after returning, making them seeking to work abroad again. Those stayed must cope by working in lower quality and/or other countries if necessary, and depriving their expenditure and life style. Migrant households were also adversely affected and women bear the brunt more due to their reproductive and gendered responsibilities. More women were unemployed and in vulnerable employment reflecting a worsening domestic labour market. Moreover, despite stakeholders' strong views men should be the breadwinner and the one going abroad, but the reality is women who actually did. This exemplifies a strong push factor out of necessity, calling for gender mainstreaming policies.

Keywords: *Global Crisis, Migrant Families, Gender, Indonesia, Philippines*

A.Introduction

To examine impact of the global financial crisis (GFC) started in the last quarter of 2008 on migration and remittances in developing countries in Asia, a series of study has been conducted to look at the impacts at global, country and migrant households levels . This is very important because Asia is a net exporter of labour and receiving the most global remittances. Therefore, any shocks in the flows of migration and remittances would be of concern.

The global level analysis was conducted using econometric method based on global data while the country-level analysis was done using computable general equilibrium (CGE) modelling and/or econometric technique based on country-level data for Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippine and Vietnam. The migrant household level was examined using household surveys series

conducted in 2010 in Bangladesh, Indonesia and Philippines. These countries are among the largest labour-exporting countries in Asia receiving significant amounts of remittances.

The study found that the GFC effects differ across countries and could adversely affect economic growth and poverty reduction in the sending countries. The effects are also influenced by characteristics of migrant workers and migrant households (ADB 2012).

To further examine the impact dynamics and coping mechanisms with a gender perspective, a follow up study was conducted in 2012 covering Indonesia and Philippines given the feminization of migration in the Bangladesh is still relatively limited. Current deployment of women migrants from Bangladesh is estimated only 10% -but increasing- while in Indonesia and Philippines is already a majority (ADB 2012). Parallel with the surveys, a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Roundtable Discussions (RTDs) with key stakeholders were also conducted to validate survey results and shed more lights on key issues related to the study.

This analysis is therefore based on two surveys above. The first survey covered about 600 migrant households for the observation period from October 2008 to September 2009 (hereinafter referred as the first period), while the second or revisit survey with additional gender perspectives covered around 200 migrant households from the original sample with survey period after September 2009 to 2012 (as the second period). The surveys cover many aspects of migration and remittances but this analysis focuses on impact dynamics on migrant workers and migrant households and their coping mechanisms. This is to distil some lessons useful for evidence base policy making to improve current situation.

B.Impact Dynamics

The crisis impacts can be traced through three main factors, i.e. on the migrant workers, migrant households and domestic labour market. The crisis first affected migrant workers and then generated direct and indirect impacts to migrant households and domestic labour market, which was then affecting migrant households again. Migrant households and domestic labour market were also affected by declining demands from migrant destination countries due to crisis.

1. Impact on migrant workers.

The analysis on migrant workers focuses on five key aspects: total earning, remittance (part of earning sent home), working condition, returning home, and intention to migrate again. In the worst case situation, the crisis reduces earning and therefore remittances, worsens migrant working condition, forces some to return home and to look for job abroad again given no improvement in domestic labour market condition.

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a. Earning abroad

The crisis affected migrant workers in many ways and all is reflected in earning. The study found monthly earning of migrants from Philippines is higher than Indonesia. With the current exchange rate of \$1 to peso is P40.86 and to rupiah is Rp9720, the average monthly earning of Filipino workers surveyed is about \$661 while for Indonesian is only \$391. Therefore, Indonesian workers only earn about 60% of Filipino workers. This difference is mainly due to lower education and skill of Indonesian migrants. Moreover, most men workers from Indonesia work in factory, construction and agriculture while the women in domestic and service sector. On the other hand, Filipino migrant workers' occupations already spread across different sectors and occupancies.

Men in general earn more than women and the difference is significant for both Indonesian and Filipino migrant workers. The difference among Indonesian is, however, much larger than among Filipino. Indonesian men migrant workers earn about 42% more than their women, while the difference among Filipino is only 12%.

The earning of Indonesian men workers is the most affected by the crisis, declining by 15%, followed by the Indonesian women decreasing by 4%. The impacts on Filipino workers are very small. All show the crisis effects on earning vary considerably with a strong gender influence.

b. Working conditions

The second stage after the impact on job, the crisis may affect working condition. In the worst case situation, migrant workers may be able to secure job but their working conditions deteriorate. The survey results show the effect on working condition is much more profound than on earning. About 60% of migrant workers from Indonesia experienced worsening working condition and the figure among Filipino was about 15%. The main reasons for Indonesian were reductions in 'benefits', 'working hour', and 'wage', while for Filipino the order was reductions in 'working hour', 'benefits' and 'wage'. Moreover, information from FGDs revealed the main causes such as working extra hours without additional pay, violation of initial contract, project stoppage, cost cutting measures adopted by employer, less over time and less job opportunity elsewhere.

Impacts on men and women very different. Indonesian men mostly experienced 'reduction in benefits' while women also experienced 'wage cut'. Some women also experienced 'overtime without pay' while this was not observed among men. The difference between Filipino men and women was also observed. Men had no experience in 'benefit cuts', while women had no experience in 'wage cut'.

c. Remittances: Amount and remitting frequency

Despite the adverse impacts on earning and working conditions, the amount of remittances kept increasing, followed by frequency of remitting. This was observed in Indonesia and the

Philippines. At macro level, this confirms to the countercyclical nature of remittances, while at family level this indicates a more complex and dynamic issue involving commitments of migrant workers towards their families back home. The financial commitments include for household consumption, education and health care, as well as for loan repayments. Therefore, remittance flows seemed more resilient than migration outflows since migrant workers were ready to adjust to cope with the crisis to meet their financial obligations back home.

Remitting has been much more regular among Filipino than Indonesian. This is evident from the monthly and other frequent remitting schedule common among Filipino. This may reflect the more advance stage of migration and remittances market in Philippines and more dependent of Filipino migrant household on the migration and remittances. Estimates at macro level show that the share of migrant households in Philippines is already more than 25% while for Indonesia is only around 3%. Moreover, remittances have been the main source of income of migrant household in Philippines, whereas in Indonesia it is only one of the main sources (ADB 2012). Remitting behaviour between men and women migrants during crisis in the two countries was also different. Before crisis, Indonesian women send more remittances than men but after the crisis men sending more, both in terms of amount and frequency. For the Philippines, men always send more remittances and more frequently.

d. Return migration and intention to migrate

The worst impact of the crisis would be returning migrants, who are often the first to lose job and forced to return home in the case of economic downturns in the host countries. The study found Indonesian returnees accounted about 30% of migrant household members while for Filipinos the share was only 4%. The main reason for their return was mainly job lost (about 53% and 46% for Indonesian and Filipino), followed by deterioration of economic conditions in the host country. There were also returnees for personal reasons such as looking after young children and/or aged parents.

Further results from FGDs revealed key challenges faced by returnees such as difficulty in finding a job related to the skill, low salary compared to what they received abroad, and too many competitors for a specific job. This makes some of them would like to work abroad again to the extent that they prefer to remain unemployed while waiting for their next job abroad.

The study also found that there was no clear difference between number of men and women returnees in Indonesia but overall results suggest that more men returning home than women. This links to the migrant job occupancy for men are in general more in sectors badly affected by the crisis such as construction and exporting factory, while women are more in domestic and service sectors less affected by the crisis.

More women than men (65% compared to 59%) reported facing difficulties in finding a job upon return. Indonesian women returnees (11% vis-a-vis 4% of men) also faced greater difficulties in adjusting to social conditions at home. They were used to work abroad and away from family and

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traditional communities making them hard to readjust and reintegrate. This is the main reason why many of them would like and actively plan to migrate again that is reflected in the higher share of women actively seek to migrate again. More than 33% of Indonesian men returnees did not want to migrate again while the share for women was less than 25%. Similar finding is found among Filipino returnees as more women (50% of them) than men (22%) would like to migrate again.

2. Impact on migrant households

The survey revealed migrant households are very knowledgeable about the crisis and Indonesian seem more optimistic about the crisis than Filipino. About 50% of the Indonesian familiar with the crisis expected that the impact would be short-term, while the share among Filipino was only 28%. Most consider the impact would last for more than two years. The migrant households in the two countries also have different views on how the crisis would affect them. About 40% of Indonesian affected by the crises and a third of them felt the impact through rising food prices and reduction in remittances. For the Filipino, around 80% were adversely affected by the crises and most felt the impact primarily through rising food prices but not declining remittances.

Men and women also have very different views on how the crisis affects them. Indonesian, men think the main impact was through rising food prices, followed by a reduction in remittances, while the women consider escalating food prices and a reduction in earnings of family members - without mentioning falling remittances. The different views are also observed among Filipino. Furthermore, the FGDs results reveal that the migrant households experience deterioration in economic conditions due to increases in the cost of living due to increasing food prices. Filipino households have to bear unfavourable exchange rate that reduces their purchasing power as the peso got stronger against the US dollar.

a. Impact Duration and Direction

Overall results suggest the migrant households economic condition in the two countries have improved since the crisis-despite the adverse impacts, and the improvement is felt more among Filipino. There are however, still a significant number of them experiencing the same or no change, and small number of them even feel getting worse. The overall improvement in the economic condition from the survey results is consistent with the finding from FGDs. The participants consider that the overall current economic conditions have at least slightly improved, but with a note that the rising food prices remain a major challenge. In terms of gender difference, men headed migrant households were twice as likely to feel that their economic conditions had deteriorated, while women headed households were almost twice as likely to report an improvement.

b. Impact on income and expenditure

Income. Impacts on income are very different in the two countries. About 55% of migrant households in Indonesia reported a fall in income, while the figure for Philippines was only 11%. This may link to the higher number of returnees in Indonesia that makes the adverse impact in general is also more significant. The reasons for falling income are also different. About 33% of Indonesian attributed it to a reduction in remittances, compared to less than 10% for Filipino. Wage cuts of working family members are also important factors in both countries, while exchange rate volatility represents another key problem in the Philippines.

Expenditure. As the crisis developed, expenditures of migrant households in the two countries seem to increase and the increase was more profound in the second period of the survey. In Indonesia, about 41% of household reported an increase in the first period and the proportion increased to more than 75% in the second period. The corresponding figures for Philippines were 20% and 50%, respectively. Women headed households were more likely to experience an increase in the expenditure and this is observed in both countries. Indonesian migrant households seems in worse condition for they experience more reduction in income and more increase in expenditure. Results from FGDs also reveal that women seem to bear the brunt more. They have to hold reproductive responsibilities, carrying more burden for taking care of budgeting, children in the family, and home, and some time also getting extra money if the husband salary is not enough. The role of women gets stronger. The second survey results also show that more than 50% women household heads in Philippines has acted as the main decision makers in their household expenditures, whereas the share in Indonesia was nearly 40%. It is also good to note that there was no increase in domestic violence during the increasing economic pressures brought down by the crisis.

c. Impact on savings and investments

The impact on saving and investment shows a different trend. Results from Indonesia show that saving decrease and investment increase, while in Philippines both saving and investment increase. This is related to impact on income and expenditure in which Indonesian is in worse condition, and also that Philippine migrant households rely more on remittances to the extent that there are some of them rely solely their income from remittances with a little room for savings and investments. For them, the impacts on saving and investment become irrelevant.

Saving of men-headed household in Indonesia fluctuate more than that of women-headed households, while there was no clear pattern for Philippines for in general saving fluctuation is very small in the Philippines. On the other hand, the percentage of households increased their investments in Indonesia rose from 27% in the first period to 43% in the second period, while the increase in Philippines was from 7% to 26%. Men headed households in Indonesia increased their investment more, while in Philippines it is the women headed households who invested more. Earlier studies indicate that women heads are at a disadvantage in savings, possibly due in part to their role in consumption smoothing (Brown 1998; Conley and Ryvicker 2006; Warren, Rowlingson and Whyley 1999). However, some suggested otherwise (Seguino and Floro 2003).

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3. Impact on domestic labour market

Domestic labour market condition seemed to get worse from the perspective of migrant family members. This can be seen from the strong intention to migrate, worsening the quality of employment, and increasing and high level unemployment. About 8% and 2% of migrant family members in Indonesia and Philippines would like to go abroad for employment, and most of them are women. Nearly 50% of them in Indonesia were not working, 15% in wage employment, 2% in non-wage employment and 35% in vulnerable employment. The corresponding figures for Philippines were 80%, 15%, 1% and 5%, respectively. Since the crisis started, only a small percentage of household members in Indonesia had lost a job, but those in wage employment have dropped from 68% in the pre-crises to 15%. Vulnerable employment, on the other hand, shot up from 10% before the crises to over 50% after the crises, and women were more likely to be in vulnerable employment. Therefore, the impact of the crises also lowered the quality of jobs of the migrant family members and in general the women were in a worse condition. Moreover, despite the strong view among them that man should be the breadwinner of the family and the one going abroad, but the reality is the woman who actually went abroad. This reflects an increasingly feminization of international migrations that is common in both countries. There must be some complex dynamics in here but a strong “push factor” out of necessity is really apparent, calling for a gender sensitive policy.

C.Coping Mechanisms

1. Migrant workers

Indonesian migrant workers seemed to experience more adverse impacts as majority of them changed their living conditions. Only about 20% of them were not affected. In contrast, over 70% of Filipino migrants reported no change in their living conditions. Moreover, women need to adjust more than men. For Indonesian, more than 50% of women migrants had to adjust their expenditure compared to just over 33% for men. The corresponding figures for the Filipino were only 12% and 9%. The surveys also revealed that migrants tried not to cut back the amount of remittances sent home, instead they reduced expenses and withdrew saving, as well as borrowed from family, friends or relatives. This, along with sustained deployment of migrant workers to major destination countries and returning migrants bringing home their savings – partly explain the resilience of remittance inflows during the crisis.

2. Migrant households

More than 40% of migrant households in Indonesia were forced to make some adjustments and the share among Filipino was below 10%. Among others, the Indonesian reduced their food consumption, grew own food, cut down buying clothes, tobacco and alcohol, drew down on assets

and savings, and borrowed money. For the Filipino, they also reduced food consumption, cut down on buying clothes and borrowed money.

To further cope with the economic pressures, many household members joined the labour force since the start of the crises. In Indonesia, about 6% of household members joined the labour force roughly with equal numbers of men and women. Only about 20% of the women made their own decision while the rest had their family members deciding for them. In contrast, almost half the men made their own decision to enter the labour force. In the Philippines, 11% of household members have joined the labour force, of which 62% were men and 38% were women. They generally made their own decision to join. The new labour force members were mainly children of the family.

3. Some possible concerns

Some of migrant households' coping mechanisms should be of concerns. Reducing food consumption could have adverse impact on human development especially for children, which constitute about 25% and 40% and of the migrant household members in Indonesia and the Philippines. The food reduction could affect their nutrition status that can result in poor health and education performance in short and long runs. A rapid assessments conducted by UNICEF in four provinces in Indonesia (East Java, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Central Sulawesi, West Kalimantan) revealed that almost 45% of households surveyed were food insecure and vulnerable, and that the households adopted severe coping mechanisms, such as eating less food (and less nutritious) and reducing health-maintenance expenditure (UNICEF 2010).

The migrant households have rightly put priority on education as reducing education related expenditure was only done at the last resort. Therefore, children's education was hopefully not affected by the crisis. The surveys however still found that 1% of family members had to drop out of school because their families could no longer afford the costs. Another 2% were transferred to 'cheaper' schools presumably with lower quality to cut down expenses. In the Philippines, the corresponding figure were 3% had to drop out of school and 2% had to transfer from private to public schools. The gender of the children was not a primary consideration in the decision, but it was based more on level of education, such as students graduating from college were prioritized over those in lower levels, children in high school and college must give way to their younger siblings and so on. Finally, many migrant households had to borrow money from 'loan sharks' charging a very high interest fee. This shows their desperate need on cash and lack of access to formal finance service that calls for improving access to finance for migrant households in the time of crisis.

D. Concluding Remarks

This paper summarizes key impacts of the crisis among migrant workers and their families by incorporating a gender perspective. The main purpose to provide useful information for better

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evidence-based policy making. Overall results show that the impacts varied across countries and were influenced by migrant and migrant household attributes. The crisis has affected men and women migrant workers and family members differently too. Women migrants were generally in worse and more vulnerable condition due to their lower education and skills reflected in their ‘inferior’ jobs. They experienced more adverse impacts in their job and faced greater difficulties in reintegration when they return home, forcing them to go abroad again to find a job. Among migrant households, women also had to bear heavier burden due to their gendered role in the family. They were also relatively more in unemployment and vulnerable employment. Moreover, despite the stakeholders’ strong views that men should be the breadwinner and the one going abroad, the increasing feminization of current migration indicates a strong push factor out of necessity that forces more women to go abroad. These further strengthen the need for considering gender in the migration policies. Accordingly, the one-size-fits-all policy approach will not address the differential impacts of the crisis on men and women migrant workers and their family members, along with differences by other characteristics. To be effective, policies should take into account the nature of migration, the factors driving the dynamics of the impact, and the gender. One important dimension on these is a better protection of migrant workers and their families to help them to weather the adverse effects of aggregate shocks. The study results call for policies offering solutions that would be beneficial for host and home countries, as well as for men and women migrant workers and their families. Therefore, those must be win-win-win solutions. All are to strengthen the resiliency of migrant workers and their families that would also good for economic growth.

Appendices:

Table 1. Average monthly income by sex of the migrant worker

Monthly income	2008				2009							
	Men		Women		Total		Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indonesian migrants (in ‘000 rupiahs)												
less than 1,0000		0	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	3	4	4	2
1,000-2,000	49	36	30	39	79	37	45	34	26	34	71	34
2,000-3,000	25	18	16	21	41	19	31	23	19	25	50	24
3,000-4,000	14	10	22	28	36	17	17	13	20	26	37	18

4,000-5,000	18	13	4	5	22	10	17	13	4	5	21	10
5,000-10,000	22	16	4	5	26	12	17	13	5	7	22	11
10,000-15,000	5	4	1	1	6	3	3	2	0	0	3	1
15,000-65,000	3	2	0	0	3	1	2	2	0	0	2	1
Total	136	100	78	100	214	100	133	100	77	100	210	100

Filipino migrants (in '000 pesos)

< 10	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
10-20	33	38	24	53	57	43	23	26	18	42	41	32
20-30	21	24	8	18	29	22	24	28	10	23	34	26
30-40	10	12	5	11	15	11	11	13	5	12	16	12
40-50	9	10	3	7	12	9	13	15	5	12	18	14
> 50	14	16	4	9	18	14	15	17	4	9	19	15
TOTAL		87	100	45	100	132	100	87	100	43	100	130
	100											

** There were no responses from 54 men and 35 women Filipino migrant workers

Sources: ADB 2013

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Table 2. Change in working conditions in the first period by sex of migrant worker

Working conditions	Indonesia					Philippines						
	Men		Women		Total	Men		Women		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No change	51	41	21	44	72	41	122	87	67	86	189	86
Reduction of benefits	41	33	11	23	52	30	0	0	3	4	3	
1												
Wage cuts	5	4	7	15	12	7	2	1	0	0	2	1
Working hours reduction			19									
15	5											
10	24											
14	8											
6	3											
4	11											
5												
Overtime without pay	0	0	2	4	2	1	4	3	2	3	6	
3												

Sources: ADB 2013

Table 3. Remittances by sex of migrant worker

Remittances	Before crises		Received in 2009			Received currently			
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Indonesia ('000 rupiahs)									
No reply	7	9	16	6	6	12	2	4	6
None	5	1	6						
2	2	4	6	1	7				

Less than 500	7	4	11	7	3	10	4	3	7
500-1499	7	6	13	6	7	13	10	9	19
1500-2999	5	6	11	9	7	16	7	7	14
3000-4499	2	4	6	3	4	7	3	4	7
4500 >	2	0	2	2	1	3	3	2	5
Average	1175	1242	1206	1494	1287	1399	1764	1577	1678
Total migrants	35	30	65	35	30	65	35	30	65

Philippines (in '000 pesos)

0-15	29	35	64	31	35	66	25	33	58
16-30	25	6	31	21	6	27	24	6	30
31-45	2	0	2	5	0	5	6	0	6
46-60	3	0	3	2	0	2	4	2	6
61-75	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	0	2
76-90	4	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	1
91-105	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	0	2
106-120	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
121-135	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
136-150	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Average	26.6	9.6	20.1	26.0	10.1	20.1	30.1	12.6	23.4
Total migrants	66	41	107	66	41	107	66	41	107

Sources: ADB 2013

Table 4. Return migrants by sex and future migration plans

Future migration plans		Indonesia		Philippines			
Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%

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Actively applying to migrate again	5	11	8	17	13	14	1	11	1			
25	2	15										
Would like to migrate again but consider prospects not good					1	2	3	7	4			
4	1	11	1	25	2	15						
No specific plans		22	50	23	50	45	50	2	22	1	25	3
23												
Do not want to migrate again	15	34	11	24	26	29						
Not specified	1	2	1	2	2	2	5	56	1	25	6	46
TOTAL	44	100	46	100	90	100	9	100	4	100	13	
100												

Sources: ADB 2013

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Young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu Women in Denmark

-How to find the right spouse?

MARIANNE Q. FIBIGER

Abstract:

This paper will focus on the group of second generation of intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women, who are now living in the university-cities in Denmark. After they left their parental homes, they have begun to speak out loud, criticising matters within the Tamil Hindu tradition, they believe contradict their lives in a modern Danish society, both as Tamil Hindus and as women. At the same time they emphasise elements within the same tradition that not only don't but, in their point of view are so important, that they want to pass on to the next generation.

This double-bound of linking and de-linking becomes obvious in relation to the discussion of finding the right spouse, where the young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women are caught in a conflict between following the parents marriage patterns in relation to caste or kin and to follow their new strive to find an equally educated husband. This paper will also give examples from this discussion

Which I have followed on the Internet the last couple of years, but I have also interviewed around 50 second-generation young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in relation to how they balance between being part of a shared Tamil cultural heritage or cultural memory and at the same time being part of Danish society.

Keywords: *Cultural memory, linking and delinking to tradition, cultural hybridity, Self-identity among second generation of Tamil Women in Denmark,*

1. Introduction

In Denmark we have around 11,000 people of Sri Lankan origin out of which around 10.000 are Hindus. The first Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus came to Denmark in 1983 because of the escalating conflict in Sri Lanka. They were mostly men, and they were categorised as ipso facto refugees. During the 1990s they were reunited with their families left behind or they married Sri Lankan Tamil women and began to settle down.

Today more than 8,000 of the Sri Lankan Tamils living in Denmark have become Danish citizens. This show their severe wish to settle down in Denmark for good. Compared to most of the other refugee and immigrant groups in Denmark, the Sri Lankan Tamils are very well integrated in the Danish society; most of them have work, their children especially the girls are doing well in the Danish schools, and they often choose to speak Danish to each other. In other words they have been through an adaption process much quicker than many of the other immigrant and refugee groups, we have in Denmark (see [www. danmarksstatistics.dk](http://www.danmarksstatistics.dk)).

Today the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus are scattered around the most of Denmark within small groups, who are anchored to many different localities. They have moved after new job possibilities

and some of the second generation of Tamils have moved to the capital Copenhagen or other university cities as Aarhus to get educated. Most of them are women, contrary to their brothers, who have been raised in a much more liberal way, they have done well in the Danish secondary school system and are now ready for an education at the university. In general around 67 percentages of all Tamils in Denmark are fully employed, which means that, together with the Indians and the Vietnamese, they have the largest number of employees among all immigrant (and refugee) groups in Denmark. Also the education level among the young Tamils are high compared to other groups (Source: www.danmarksstatistics.dk, 2012). One reason for this can be found in the very strong working ethics that lies implicit in the Hindu-tradition, and consequently the children therefor are raised in an atmosphere where education matters. And it becomes clear that education is not only understood as an indicator for how to do well in society on secular terms, but also as a kind of token or offering to God. As formulated by a 55-year-old first generation Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu father:

I have raised my children to understand the importance of education. They have possibilities in Denmark for education that I myself didn't have in Sri Lanka – they just have to fulfil them – from my point of view, God-given possibilities.

This paper will focus on the group of second generation of intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women, who are now living in the university-cities in Denmark and who are using this emphasis on education as an argument overruling caste relation when finding a husband. They have begun to speak out loud, criticising matters within the Tamil Hindu tradition, they believe contradict their lives in a modern Danish society, both as Tamil Hindus and as women. So while a permanent re-interpretation process is going on for the whole group as such, I find a generation gap as well as a gender gap in this process. They all seem to emphasize being both Tamils and Hindus in their self-understanding, but what they put into these categories seems in many respects to differ. Whereas first-generation immigrants generally try to keep up the tradition, as they knew it from Sri Lanka, second-generation immigrants do not (Fibiger 2011). They reinterpret or pick out elements from tradition, which help them to engage in the society they are now a part of and at the same time link them to the tradition they share with their parents.

This double-bound of linking and de-linking is something the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus share with all young immigrants living as minorities in a diaspora situation, but, what I will state in this paper, the Hindu tradition being so difficult to decipher seems to contribute with arguments that fit both to the idea of belonging to a specific tradition as well as giving arguments that fit to the life situation for the modern second-generation intellectual Tamil Hindu women in Denmark. Also when it comes to gender matters. But the question on what kind of arguments or duties should be left out and which ones should be emphasised or reinterpreted in relation to stree-dharma (“stree =woman, dharma =duty”) has raised a debate especially among young Tamil intellectual women both in relation to their self-understanding and in relation to the question of how to find the right spouse here in Denmark, that can be the right partner for a modern woman in Denmark but with a Tamil Hindu background. As expressed in the following quotation:

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For me it is about the balance between our Tamil background and our Danish upbringing. I try to combine the good things from both cultures. I would like to have a husband who thinks the same also in relation to the upbringing of children, in relation to education, values, religion, boys/girls, alcohol etc. (Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu woman, 24 years of age)

They are openly caught in a conflict between following the parents marriage patterns in relation to caste or kin and to follow their new strive to find an equally educated husband, without losing the possibility of linking their children to the tradition, they understand as an important identity-marker, and also as an important resource in many matters of life. And despite of their open-minded criticism of the way they are raised by their parents and toward parts of the Tamil Hindu tradition, they understand as disbelieve, most of them emphasize their role and duty as caretakers and transmitters of tradition. This can be the main reason for questioning a marriage with an ethnic Dane as the following statements given by second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women indicates:

Hinduism doesn't take up much space in my daily life, but it is still part of my identity and it is part of my wish to keep up traditions; for example in relation to marriage and raising up my children. I feel I have a duty (due to respect to the tradition) to keep up the relation to Tamilness and to Hinduism, but due to loyalty not as a forced duty (27 years of age)

I don't want my children to become rootless. I do have roots here, but anyway. The Tamil language, but also the Hindu temple, must play a role (24 years of age).

In these statements it becomes obvious that tradition matters, but what is of special interest for me as a scholar in Hindu religion is to understand why or which elements of the tradition seem to be of such great importance for the young Tamil Hindu women, that they both want to preserve it and pass it on to the next generation, and relate to it in their self-understanding and strive for what they presume as being the "ideal life".

As stated before this particular group shares many of the same problems than other young second and third generation of women have in Denmark or in diaspora in general (identity constructions, double belonging, generation conflicts, gender conflicts, cultural hybridization, relation to tradition, multiple identities etc.), but in addition this paper will state that these processes are also shaped in a particular way being Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu woman in Denmark. This negotiation between being Hindu (religious identity), and Tamil (cultural and social identity) as well as being a Danish citizen (social and cultural identity) is constantly present, and shapes their particular understanding of belonging, not only to a place in history or in the world, but also in the mind. What I find interesting is that they don't seem to want to let any of these anchoring points go and they appreciate this form of cultural hybridity. They understand them all as important resources, which seem to be the main reason for wanting a Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu man, a man that

shares the same relations to the mentioned elements of belonging. Or as expressed by a second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu woman, 26 years of age:

I would like to get married to a Tamil Hindu, who lives and is raised here in Denmark. The reason for this wish is, that we would understand each other – for example in relation to lifestyle (relationship between man and woman, independence, work) and interests (concerts, go out for a dance, drink a cold beer, travel)”. At the same time we would share a common idea of belonging as both being Tamil and Hindu. I think that will help us when raising our children.

This common source of idea or reference is what Jan Assmann (2006) or Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2000) calls cultural or collective memory. Both of them emphasize that memory is culturally transmitted and cannot only be found within the individual but is somehow stored in institutions or texts - and I will add in relation to the Hindu tradition - also in rituals, behavioral patterns and ethical conduct, and is shared among a collective of beings.

When it comes to the second-generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women in Denmark, they are on the one hand very critical towards their parents' relation to the collective memory, which they find too narrow, too local, wrongly interpreted or non-reflected. These elements are mostly anchored to the local Tamil Hindu tradition, which doesn't seem to fit to many of the second generation of intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women's world- and life-views, that are constructed, so it fits to their new setting and place in life in Denmark. It is obvious that they don't want to become mono-cultural but cultural hybrids, taking elements from the Tamil, Hindu as well as the Danish culture in a patchwork-culture that fits to their place – both geographically but also in life. This doesn't mean they will skip the collective memory, that links them to their parents, but they will qualify it, so it fits to their new setting in a way it will also exist in the future.

Hinduism is full of superstition. Just look at our parents. As an example, I can tell you that my mother was very engaged in astrology, especially how the planets were placed in relation to each other. Sometimes she said: “now we are facing a bad period.” And we had to fast or we had to go to the temple to make offerings. It was driving me crazy. Today, I have to admit, I look a bit at it myself - but in contrast to my mother, I consult books about the subject’ (Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu, woman, 27 years of age).

This statement is an example of how she relates herself to the same tradition as that of her parents, though not without hesitation. She needs proof or a textual authority to support the belief before she will let it become part of her meaning system or approve it as part of the collective memory.

Using the idea of collective memory as a theoretical framework doesn't mean that I disagree with Judith Butler, when she argues, that gender is a construction; but I also agree with her when she at the same time simultaneously questions this fact, pointing “to what extent ‘identity’ is a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience” (Butler, 1990 p. 23). In other words this presumed normativity anchored in the collective memory is under negotiation or is interpreted

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or used in such a way, that it still gives meaning for the ones who relate to it, as something they share. And in relation to the theme of this paper it is interesting to decipher how this is negotiated or performed among second-generation of young intellectual Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women in Denmark in a way, so they can cope with their strive for being a modern and independent woman but without losing their relation to the Tamil Hindu tradition, which they still find as an important norm-giver, as well as an important contribution to the feeling of belonging in a fluctuating life-situation; a feeling of belonging that they to some degree want to pass on to their children.

In the following I will give an example of how this schism of being a modern Danish woman on the one hand and a Tamil Hindu woman on the other has started a discussion on how to find the right husband that can live up to their ideals as a independent and aspirational woman and balance it with their need for keeping up tradition, that links them to their families, to Sri Lanka and to the Tamils and to Hinduism.

How to find the right spouse?

Tamil girls beat every record when it comes to educational level and integration in Denmark. But then follows the question: do we find enough well educated Tamil men for all these Tamil girls, when they are about to find a husband?

This was the main statement and question put on a poster, inviting young Tamils and other interested for a debate event on 18 April 2009 (The International Women's Day) in Aarhus, Denmark, arranged by the individuals behind the Internet chat forums Nizhal.dk and Tamilgirls.dk and the Tamil Magazine called The Bridge-builder (in Danish: Brobyggeren).

The headline of the poster was: Challenges Tamil women meet, when choosing a partner, and was after the above introductory question further elaborated on by the following questions:

1) What kind of possibilities do the Tamil girls find on the marriage market? 2) Do freedom and independence have an impact on the Tamil women when choosing a partner? 3) In which way do parents, society and unwritten rules have an impact on Tamil women's lives? 4) Does the fact, that women are better educated than men have an impact on the gender patterns? 5) Which expectations and demands do the modern, independent and well-educated Tamil women have for their coming husband?

The event was unfortunately cancelled the same morning because of problems in Sri Lanka, with a flow of refugees from Jaffna to different refugee camps causing new political tensions on the island, but the invitation was published on the Internet and further elaborated with even more questions such as: Have Tamil women found a new social status to replace their parents' patriarchal values? Why is it more common for a Tamil woman to marry a Danish man than for a Tamil man to marry a Danish woman? Do we see a pattern, in which young Tamil women are increasingly

breaking with their parents' values and with socioeconomic relations, and marrying for love? Has the concept of love changed? Tamilgirl.dk, Nizhal.dk, 18.4. 2009). This did start a long and on going debate both on the Internet in the two above mentioned chat groups and in the magazine the Bridge builder, and it also started a wider reflection on being a Tamil Hindu woman with a Danish twist. For some it seems like the situation in Denmark differs from other Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu groups living in diaspora, as the following comment from an anonymous woman writing on Tamilgirl.dk, triggered by the above call, indicates. And which may be the reason, why the above debate seemed important for the second generation of intellectual Tamil Hindu women in Denmark:

Dear all. I write this comment as a person who has followed the development of the arrangements from the sideline. I have noticed two different groups of critics [...] One group argues that the problem does not exist, and criticizes the arrangers for making up a problem. The other group argues that the arrangers are making the problem too vague. They want an even more critical announcement. I think that things are changing quicker in Denmark in comparison with, for example, England and Canada. It is not because the Tamils in Denmark are more "humane", but because we are a small community. It is more difficult for a small community to reproduce and keep up values in their original form. In England and in Canada Tamils do mostly marry within the same caste and they mostly interrelate with Tamils within the same caste. At the same time they also marry within their own educational level. Both are possible in big communities.

In 2005, around 16% of all the Tamil marriages were mixed marriages between a Tamil (mostly women) and an ethnic Dane (source: the Ministry for Integration). I have been told by some of the Tamil women that it was because they never met any Tamil boy while studying [...] (www.Tamilgirl.dk, April 2009)

In her comparison with the situation in England and Canada compared to Denmark she emphasizes that the right match in relation to caste and educational level is possibly there, but not in Denmark. At the same time, by using the word "humane", she insinuates a criticism by the way things are done in Canada and England, but without mentioning that the Danish model is the accomplished ideal. This is also expressed in the concluding paragraph referring to the fact that the Danish ethnic husband was chosen by the Tamil women not because it was the ideal match, but because they never met a Tamil boy matching their educational level while studying.

In relation to mixed marriages most of the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women I have interviewed are split. On the one side, they are attracted to the idea, on the other they don't think it will turn out well in the long run. This is especially questioned in relation to the children, who they don't want to "get rootless", and in relation to the tradition they share with their parents, and that: "has formed me to become the person I am today". This underlines the fact that linking to the tradition matters, but when it comes to de-linking it becomes obvious, that most of the second generation of Tamils would like to get rid of caste as a parameter for whom to marry. This is also what the implicit criticism on Canada and England is hinting. Instead the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women would like that a new hierarchical system is taken into account,

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namely the educational level. And what is of interest in relation to tradition or the collective memory the young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus seem to find arguments within the tradition that makes the educational level aligned with caste. They refer – at least indirectly- to *purusha-artha* – the four goals in life, which are part of the Hindu ethic and underline the need for engaging in life. The four goals are *dharma* (ethics, morality), *artha* (wealth, political power), *kama* (erotic and aesthetic enjoyment) and *moksha* (liberation from reincarnation). All of them are related to each other and to the four life stages (*ashramas*). Especially *artha* is used to legitimize engagement in a modern society because it is interpreted as stressing education leading to a prestigious work in the end as its fulfilment. So in that way their negotiating is not a question of dismantling tradition but a question of making it to fit their lives in Denmark.

Conclusion

That the young Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, who are either born in Denmark or came to Denmark when they were small children, have a different relationship to tradition compared to their parents is not a new observation, but what I have tried to show in this paper is that their self-understanding as a young Sri Lankan Tamil female is balancing between encompassing and renewing elements from the tradition in such a way, that it still is understood as a collective memory, they share with their parents, and at the same time suits to their life in Denmark as a modern and independent woman.

Through my interviews with intellectual second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu women in Denmark, it has become obvious how the language, the texts and the temple institution play an important role for storing tradition and as something they not only relate to in their self-identity as being either Tamil and/or Hindu, but also as something they want to pass on to their children. I have given the example of how they by referring to *purusha-artha* argue for taken the educational level into account instead of caste in relation to finding the right spouse, but I could also have mentioned how parts of the Hindu mythology, who describes the goddesses both as the ideal mother and wife and as an independent figure, is used as arguments. For as Mandakranta Bose mentions: the goddesses both functions as philosophical and social archetypes (Bose, 2010 p. 13).

This is examples of how the young Tamil Hindu women reinterpret or pick out elements from tradition, which help them to engage in the society they are now a part of and at the same time link them to the tradition they share with their parents. Something changes according to the new setting (adaptation), but only to a certain extent and without losing what seems to be the core features within the same tradition (preservation). In that way the collective memory understood as a shared belonging within a specific group, despite of its constant changing form, can still be understood as the caretaker of a presumed mutually shared tradition.

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Socio-Demographic Determinants of Migrant Women and Access Equality to Prenatal Care In Italy

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Background

Many governments have made commitments to tackle inequalities in healthcare access based on studies which assessed the association between several socio-demographic factors and late initiation or fewer antenatal visits. This study addressed the question of whether socio-demographic determinants were significant in explaining differences in antenatal care in an administrative region of Italy (i.e., Umbria) with specific focus on migrant women, and whether the implementation of regional policies of the integration process effectively was reduced over time.

Methods

Data were obtained from the administrative source of regional Standard Certificate of Live Birth between 2005 and 2010. Standard and bivariate probit regression models were used to analyse the magnitude of the association of country of birth and citizenship, along with occupation, education, and parity and interaction variables with respect to late access to the first visit and low number of visits. To estimate disparities effects of the healthcare access of migrant women on the pregnancy outcome, we also implement a bivariate probit.

Results

The study included approximately 37,000 women. Heterogeneous effects of socio-demographic variables which refer to migrant women were documented on the prenatal care indicators analysed. From a multivariate model, we found that women born abroad Italy presented a higher probability to make the first visit later than the 12th week and low number of prenatal visits; the estimated odds ratio (OR) for the analysed indicators range from 2.25 to 3.05. Access inequality was also observed when interactions were build for young age, pluriparity, and low education. In addition, we found that employment in migrant women improved access equality, possibly through the transmission of information of the negative consequences related with delayed or few prenatal visits. Interestingly, we showed an important reduction of the inequality of access to healthcare in recent years for both indicators, which supports the recent regional policy of integration process in prenatal healthcare access inequalities.

1 Introduction

Measuring inequalities in terms of access to prenatal care (PNC) between resident and foreigner mothers is a serious issue if we consider that these two groups are likely to be different along a number of observable and unobservable characteristics. McKenzie & Hildebrandt (2005), McKenzie & Rapoport (2010) show that migrant women may decide to migrate to find better living conditions. For similar reasons they may also take better care of maternal and child health during pregnancy and infancy, for example by attending more carefully the guidelines of the world health organization (WHO) in terms of access to prenatal healthcare (PNC) services. If this is the case a simple comparison among Italian and foreigner mothers will underestimate the true difference among the two groups. Another problem related to self-selection into migration is represented by

the fact that, if the migration process is difficult and physically demanding, only healthier people will tend to migrate. However Borjas (1990) observed that, if the inequality level of the country of origin is much higher than that of arrival it will be more likely that people located at the top of the distribution of wealth will have more incentives to remain in the country of origin. In this scenario only those at the bottom of the distribution will migrate and if we assume that wealthier people are also those with better health we will have a negative selection of individuals into migration. However only the first selection issue is likely to have an effect on access to PNC. As already stated migrant women tend to have higher attitude towards the future, with respect to non-migrant ones, and if we ignore this fact we risk to obtain biased estimates of the effect of migration on PNC access equality.

This paper aims at contributing to the existing literature by i) testing whether unobservable factors are responsible for biasing the estimate of the effect of migration on PNC access equality, and ii) provide unbiased estimates of such relation. We will employ a bivariate probit model, which is capable to estimate the effect of a binary endogenous variable on an outcome of interest. Following PERISTAT healthcare indicators (EURO-PERISTAT, 2008) for the monitoring and evaluation of maternal and child health in the perinatal period we considered two binary equity indicators of access to prenatal care, related to number of prenatal visits and timing of first visit, that we will discuss more in detail in the next sections. We also account for a wide number socio-demographic factors that have been found to be relevant in explaining access inequalities to PNC. In particular, previous studies have shown that young maternal age (Essex et al. 1992, Kupek et al. 2002, Ayoola et al. 2010), low education (Perloff & Jaffee 1999, Ayoola et al. 2010, Alderliesten et al. 2007, Beeckman et al. 2010, Neupane & Doku 2012), non-occupational status (Johnson et al. 2007, Beeckman et al. 2011), parity (Alderliesten et al. 2007, Kupek et al. 2002, Baker & Rajasingam 2012), and being unmarried (Braveman et al. 1993, Rowe et al. 2008, Delvaux et al. 2001, Ayoola et al. 2010) are all barriers to early initiation of prenatal care and execution of an appropriate number of prenatal visits. We also considered the role of predisposing, enabling, and pregnancy-related factors on the adequate prenatal care utilisation (APNCU) by including in our analysis the effect of differences on socio-economic conditions related to mother's municipality of residence in Umbria . Finally we also contribute to the existing literature by estimating the time evolution of the indicators of regional PNC use exploiting the large time span covered by our data (2005-2010), from which we are able to provide insight on the effects of advertising campaigns proposed by the Umbria region in 2005 in medical and social places regarding the benefits for mothers and newborns to follow prenatal guidelines.

2 Data and methods

Our study is based on data obtained from the Standard Certificate of Live Birth (SCLB) of the Umbria region (Italy) in the period between 2005 and 2010. This data source provides

information on the births for the entire population of Umbria. In Italy, the state law requires birth certificates to be completed for all births. These certificates provide information on the health, epidemiological, and socio-demographic characteristics of women through the registration of birth events, including causes of mortality and possible malformations of the newborn. To ensure a uniform methodology of the regional surveys and to obtain datasets containing comparable indicators, each participating region was required to use the same questionnaire. The midwife who attends the birth or the doctor responsible for the operational unit fills the SCLB within 10 days after the delivery. In particular, it contains epidemiological information regarding the risk factors in the pregnancy, obstetric procedures, characteristics and methods of delivery, and abnormal conditions and congenital anomalies of the newborn. For details see Decree No. 349 of the Italian Ministry of Health (Minelli et al. 2009). We used population data from the Umbria region that merged data from each mother and her baby for a total of 37,000 records.

2.1 Variables of interest and descriptive analyses

PNC has the potential to reduce perinatal morbidity and mortality by identifying and reducing potential risks, treating medical conditions, and promoting healthier lifestyles. We followed PERISTAT healthcare indicators (EURO-PERISTAT, 2008) for the monitoring and evaluation of maternal and child health in the perinatal period and considered two binary equity indicators of access to prenatal care from the SCLB :

1. Number of prenatal visits: low number of prenatal visits (LPV) (below 4) and standard number of prenatal visits (SPV) (at least 4); the latter was used as the reference category;
2. Timing of first visit: late first visit (LFV) (above 12 weeks) and, regular timing of first visit (RFV) (below 12 weeks); the latter was used as the reference category.

As determinants, we considered a set of individual-level variables as follows: age, with four categories: (the reference category is age 20-24); citizenship, with two categories: Italian or foreigner (Italy is the reference category); marital status, with two categories: married, unmarried (married is the reference category). Education, measured as self-reported level of education, according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) classification as: low (no more than 8 years of education), medium (from 9 to 13 years of education), and high (more than 13 years of education); the latter was used as the reference category; occupational status which is classified in five categories: self-employed or white collar, blue collar, unemployed or looking for the first job and students or housewife (self-employed or white collars is the reference category). We also examined the impact of pregnancy factors on preterm birth by including parity (with categories: 0 or 1 ; the former is the reference category).

Descriptive statistics for the variables that were used in our models are listed in Table 1. This table shows descriptive statistics for the two PNC access outcomes of interest, conditional on covariates. We observe that women having a lower number of visits tended to be younger and less educated with respect to women having a recommended number of prenatal visits. Moreover, also

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occupation seems to be relevant in explaining differences in PNC access. Employment promoted adherence to the recommendation to have four or more antenatal visits. Marital status is found to be less important, whereas pluriparity had a negative influence on the choice to make at least four visits. Similar patterns were observed in relation to the timing of first visit, suggesting the existence of a large positive correlation between these indicators. Focusing on citizenship we can see how the percentage of mothers making less than 4 visits is very variable among ethnic groups. Italian women were more likely to make more than four visits rather than foreign born ones. The results are again very close when we consider a late first visit as outcome of interest.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Category	Number of visits				First visit			
		< 4		≥ 4		≥ 12 weeks		< 12 weeks	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Maternal citizenship	Ita	1630	49.8	29182	78.72	1341	48.22	29402	78.51
	Est Eu	847	25.88	4145	11.18	689	24.78	4284	11.44
	Africa	419	12.8	1803	4.86	406	14.6	1805	4.82
	South America	122	3.73	620	1.67	87	3.13	654	1.75
	Asia	105	3.21	334	0.9	110	3.96	321	0.86
	Others	150	4.58	988	2.67	148	5.32	985	2.63
	Total	3273	100	37072	100	2781	100	37451	100
Maternal age									
20									
	206	6.36	843	2.24	149	5.54	898	2.36	

20	1418	43.77	11802	31.38	1147	42.66	12022	31
30	1415	43.67	22438	59.66	1239	46.08	22564	59.29

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201	6.2	2529	6.72	154	5.73	2570	6.75	
Total	3240	100	37612	100	2689	100	38054	100

Maternal education	High	515	15.06	10427	26	491	17.38	10431	25.69
	Medium	1528	44.69	20590	51.34	1175	41.59	20891	51.45
	Low	1376	40.25	9091	22.67	1159	41.03	9279	22.85
	Total	3419	100	40108	100	2825	100	40601	100

Maternal occupation	White collar	288	8.43	5341	13.33	247	8.77	5373	13.25
	Blue collar	1128	33.02	21238	53.02	925	32.82	21396	52.76
	Unemployed	523	15.31	3695	9.22	423	15.01	3780	9.32
	Student	75	2.2	595	1.49	58	2.06	610	1.5
	Housewife	1402	41.04	9190	22.94	1165	41.34	9397	23.17
	Total	3416	100	40059	100	2818	100	40556	100

Marital status	Married	2528	73.75	31441	78.13	2189	77.4	31707	77.84
	Unmarriedd	900	26.25	8802	21.87	639	22.6	9026	22.16
	Total	3428	100	40243	100	2828	100	40733	100

Parity	0	1746	50.77	24430	60.53	1386	48.63	24712	60.53
	1+	1693	49.23	15927	39.47	1464	51.37	16114	39.47
	Total	3439	100	40357	100	2850	100	40826	100

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In order to analyse descriptively also spatial differences in access equality among Italian and foreigner women we present in Figure 1 a map of the Umbria region which shows the percentage of mothers doing a low number of visits or a late first visit. The darkest areas in the map represent the municipalities with lower access to PNC services, whereas lighter ones represent those with higher rates.

Figure 1: Territorial disparities in access to PNC in Umbria region.

This figure highlights that there are evident disparities in access to PNC between Italian and foreign mothers. The maps on the right panel are darker than those on the left, but territorial differences are similar for both groups, and affect the most the south-western part of Umbria.

2.2 Statistical methods

In order to analyse the relationship between PNC access equality () and immigration, we first use a univariate probit model. This model is then augmented by including municipal level fixed effects (i.e.,), which account for the influence of territorial differences. For sake of simplicity, we omit time effects and write the model as follows:

(1) (with) represents the two outcomes under analysis, LPV and LFV, is equal to 1 if the mother is born outside Italy and 0 otherwise. The covariate matrix contains the variables at the individual level already described in the previous subsection, and five time dummies. Under this specification, the set of dummy variables mimics the influence of unobservable characteristics of the municipality of woman residence.

Since we are interested in identifying the effect of immigration on access equality to PNC - which may depend on individual unobservable characteristics - we propose a recursive bivariate probit model. These models allow us to estimate the effect of an endogenous binary variable on a binary outcome in the presence of unobservable characteristics. Our final specification therefore is the following:

(2) We assume that , and that . If is significantly different from zero we conclude in favor of the presence of endogeneity between immigration status and PNC access equality and justify the use of the bivariate specification. Whereas if is equal to 0 the univariate model is preferred.

In general, in order to achieve identification of the immigration effect, the exclusion restriction on the exogenous variables must hold. In other words we need an extra variable in the immigration equation (i.e., the instrument). However, as shown by Wilde (2000), bivariate models allow also to identify the relation if the covariates used in the two equation is the same (without instrument). This kind of identification is also called identification by functional form and is possible if the impact of exogenous regressors is different in the two equations specified. Marra &

Radice (2011) demonstrate that if there is enough variability in the exogenous regressors and if the correlation among the error terms is sufficiently large parameter estimates with and without instrumental variables are very close.

3. Results

3.1 Effect of migration on PNC utilisation

Table 2 lists the estimated odds ratio when the dependent variable is the number of prenatal visits. Estimates under logit and probit models are reported in the first and second column, whereas columns 3-4 and 5-6 list those obtained under the bivariate probit specification without () and with municipal-level fixed effects (). Since we are particularly interested in testing whether unobservable characteristics affect the number of prenatal visits, conditional on other individual characteristics, we discuss first the results concerning the effect of migration. As we can see from the first column the univariate probit model estimates a significant difference in access to PNC between Italian and foreign women. Foreigners are 1.70 times more likely to make a LPV. From column 2 we can see that this coefficient is robust to the inclusion of territorial dummies, meaning that the effect estimated through the logit specification does not depend on territorial unobserved factors correlated with migration status and access to PNC. The probit specification, however, reveals that there is a significant and relevant correlation between the residuals of the two equations. The ρ coefficient is respectively -0.214 (s.e. = 0.051) and -0.149 (s.e. = 0.049) in the two specifications. When this fact is properly accounted for, by estimating a bivariate probit model, the OR increases to 2.46. This means that in the probit specification the probability of LPV for foreigner mothers is the 50% higher than that estimated without accounting for the correlation among error terms. Including fixed effects does not change much our result. In this case the estimated OR is 2.20. Table 3 lists the estimated odds ratio when the outcome of interest is LFV. The specification (column 1) estimates an OR of 1.62, meaning that migrant women show a higher propensity to make a late first visit with respect to Italian ones. Moreover, as in the previous case, the estimated OR is not significantly influenced by the inclusion of municipal fixed-effects. The analysis of the residuals in the two equations does not reveal presence of a significant correlation, is respectively 0.068 (s.e. = 0.051) and 0.053 (s.e. = 0.047). The absence of correlation among residuals allow us to conclude in favor of the univariate model, result which is also confirmed when we look at the OR estimated under the probit specification, which are not distant from those estimated under the univariate specification.

3.2 Other socio-demographic variables

We will briefly discuss also the effect of other socio-demographic factors on LPV. We will refer only the estimates of the logit model with fixed-effects, based on evidence showing that the difference between the magnitudes of the other exogenous coefficients are statistically negligible across other specifications (see Table 2).

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We clearly note that many of the individual socio-demographic variables have a significant effect on the probability of LPV. From the results in Table 2, we conclude that women in the younger classes are more likely to be in LPV category. Indeed, we found that the age class has higher odds () to run into the LPV category with respect to the reference age class (). A significant relationship between maternal education and the number of prenatal visits is also observed. Women with less than 8 years of education have a probability to be in the LPV category higher than highly educated ones.

Another relevant risk factor of LPV was found to be associated with maternal occupation. Women classified as unemployed or looking for first job () or students () had a higher probability to make LPV with respect to the reference category (self-employed or white collars). In contrast, women within the blue collar category seem to appropriately follow the guidelines of making at least four visits annually (), similarly to the reference category. This result suggests that the legal protection of the working pregnant woman represents a positive externality in terms of a reduction on equal access to PNC, because it represents an indirect vehicle of the transmission of medical information regarding the risks of missing the recommended visits.

Marital status has a significant effect on the number of visits. The magnitude of the odds ratio for unmarried women () does not seem to affect significantly the differences in this antenatal outcome.

Surprisingly, women who already had children had a higher probability of being in the LPV category (parity,). This result can be explained from the fact that women during their first delivery are more motivated to follow the guidelines to attend at least four visits, as empirically shown from descriptive statistics in Table 1.

Lastly, the estimated odds ratio from time-dummies indicate a substantial decrease across years. With respect to 2005, the probability of having a LPV in 2009 and 2010 is () and () lower, respectively. In other words, in the period considered the probability of LPV decreased by almost 40%.

Table 3 lists the estimates of the relationship between socio-demographic variables and access equality in PNC when the LFV is used as the outcome of interest. Interestingly we observed some differences in terms of the influence of socio-demographic variables on LFV compared to LPV. First, we note a greater propensity of younger () and unmarried women () to attend their first visit later in pregnancy than recommended. Second, we note significant differences in women with educational level between 9 and 13 years (i.e.,), with respect to high educated ones (). Fourth, although the estimated coefficients associated with time dummies indicate that the prevalence of late access decreased between 2005-2010, the estimated reduction, between 2005 and 2010, is significantly lower than that recorded by the prevalence in LPV.

Table 2: Estimates of socio-demographics for access equality in prenatal care. Outcome of interest: odds ratios between less than four prenatal visits (LPV) against four or more prenatal visits (NPV).

	Probit Probit: FE			Bi-probit		Bi-probit: FE		
Citizenship: Foreign born	1.70***			1.70***		2.46***		2.20***
	-0.038	-0.04	-0.128	-0.129				
Age: < 21	1.19***			1.19***		1.16***	1.18***	1.17*** 1.15***
	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.064)	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.054)		
Age: 30 - 39	0.93***			0.92***	1	0.53***	0.97	0.53***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.009)	(0.029)	(0.01)		
Age: > 41	0.95	0.94	1.03	0.47***	1	0.46***		
	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.018)	(0.051)	(0.018)		
Education: Medium	0.97	0.99	0.96	1.16***		0.99	1.20***	
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.028)		
Education: Low	1.12***			1.18***	1.05	1.87***	1.12***	1.95***
	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.041)	(0.049)		
Occupation: Blue collar	0.94*	0.94	0.93**	1.20***		0.94*	1.20***	
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.038)		
Occupation: Unemployed	1.12**	1.26***		1.01	2.90***	1.17***		2.84***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.104)	(0.062)	(0.106)		
Occupation: Student	1.24***			1.18*	1.23**	1.43***	1.17*	1.40***
	(0.105)	(0.102)	(0.1)	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.094)		
Occupation: Housewife	1.16***			1.16***	1.04	3.10***	1.07	3.26***
	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.1)	(0.052)	(0.108)		
Marital status: Unmarried	1.07***			1.07**	1.08***	1.01	1.07**	1
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.02)	(0.028)	(0.02)		

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Parity: 1+	1.24***	1.25***	1.23***	1.15***	1.24***	1.13***
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.02)	(0.029)	(0.02)
Year: 2006	1	0.98	0.99	1.02	0.98	1.01
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.029)
Year: 2007	0.91***	0.88***	0.90***	1.09***	0.88***	1.10***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Year: 2008	0.78***	0.77***	0.77***	1.18***	0.76***	1.18***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.033)
Year: 2009	0.86***	0.84***	0.84***	1.25***	0.83***	1.26***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.03)	(0.035)
Year: 2010	0.76***	0.73***	0.74***	1.30***	0.72***	1.32***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.027)	(0.037)
	-0.214***	-0.149***				
		(0.051)	(0.049)			
Constant	0.19***	0.11***	0.18***	0.25***	0.12***	0.18***
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.011)	(0.018)
Observations	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993
Pseudo R-squared	0.08	0.12	.	.	.	.

Notes: Standard errors in round brackets. Significant levels as follows: p-value *** 0.01, ** 0.05,

* 0.1.

Table 3: Estimates of socio-demographics for access equality in prenatal care. Outcome of interest: odds ratios between being late in first visit (LFV) against regular timing of first visit (RFV).

Probit	Probit: FE	Bi-probit	Bi-probit: FE	
Citizenship: Foreign born	1.62***	1.64***	1.44***	1.50***

	-0.038	-0.04	-0.128		-0.129		
Age: < 21	1.33***		1.32***	1.34***	1.19***	1.33***	1.15***
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.068)	(0.054)	
Age: 30 - 39	0.89***		0.88***	0.86***	0.53***	0.87***	0.53***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.025)	(0.01)	
Age: > 41	0.98	0.98	0.95	0.47***	0.96	0.46***	
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.018)	(0.046)	(0.018)	
Education: Medium	1.07**	1.06**	1.07**	1.16***		1.07**	1.20***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.03)	(0.027)	
Education: Low	1.21***		1.20***	1.24***	1.87***	1.22***	
	1.94***						
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.049)	
Occupation: Blue collar		0.94*	0.94*	0.94*	1.20***	0.94*	1.20***
		(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.038)
Occupation: Unemployed		1.15***		1.19***	1.19***	2.92***	1.22***
		2.85***					
		(0.049)	(0.053)	(0.06)	(0.105)	(0.062)	(0.106)
Occupation: Student	1.23***		1.24***	1.24***	1.45***	1.24***	
	1.40***						
	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.094)	
Occupation: Housewife		1.20***		1.19***	1.25***	3.11***	1.22***
		3.27***					
		(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.059)	(0.101)	(0.058)	(0.108)
Marital status: Unmarried		1.19***		1.21***	1.19***	1.01	1.21***
		(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.02)	(0.029)	(0.02)
Parity: 1+	1.23***		1.23***	1.24***	1.15***	1.23***	1.13***
		(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.02)	(0.027)	(0.02)

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Year: 2006	0.93**	0.93**	0.93**	1.02	0.93**	1.01
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.029)
Year: 2007	0.93**	0.92**	0.93**	1.09***	0.92**	1.11***
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Year: 2008	0.91***		0.91***	0.91***	1.18***	0.91***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.033)	(0.03)	(0.033)
Year: 2009	0.85***		0.85***	0.86***	1.25***	0.85***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.029)	(0.035)
Year: 2010	0.83***		0.82***	0.83***	1.29***	0.83***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.037)
0.068	0.053					
		(0.051)		(0.047)		
Constant	0.19***		0.21***	0.19***	0.26***	0.21***
	(0.009)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.024)	(0.018)
Observations	37,088	37,032	37,088	37,088	37,088	37,088
Pseudo R-squared	0.08	0.09	.	.	.	.

Notes: Standard errors in round brackets. Significant levels as follows: p-value *** 0.01, ** 0.05,

* 0.1.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this paper was to estimate the difference in terms of access to PNC between migrant and resident mothers. We used an empirical strategy to account for the presence of unobservable characteristics, such as attitude toward health of future children, that may bias the estimated odds ratio. When we considered LPV as outcome, we found evidence of a significant correlation between the residuals of the migration and access to PNC equations. After accounting for this issue, by estimating a bivariate probit model, we found that the odds ratio increased

significantly, passing from 1.70 to 2.20. This result suggested evidence of downward bias in the standard probit estimate, which is consistent with the hypothesis that migrant women are more concerned about the future and consequently take better care of their children during pregnancy, with respect to non-migrant ones. In the case of LFV we did not find evidence of correlation among the residuals of the two estimated equations. This means that unobservable characteristics were not affecting access to PNC between migrant and resident women when we looked at the probability to make a late first visit. If we assume that the main source of unobserved heterogeneity is given by mother's orientation toward the future, which is positively correlated with age, it is not surprising that we did not find a significant effect of unobservables on LFV, given that younger mothers tend to make a late first visit, whereas age is more equally distributed when we analyse LPV. In other words if we assume that orientation toward the future increases with age, then it is more likely that it plays a role in biasing the difference between migrant and resident mothers in the LPV indicator.

From a policy perspective it would be recommendable to promote actions targeted to increase the number of visits for migrant women, since, as we have shown inequalities are larger than in the case of late first visit and to focus especially on younger mother's which are the group of the population more at risk in terms of late access to PNC.

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PART 2

GENDER AND LABOUR MIGRATION

The Returners: Individual Armenian Women Migrants and the Collective Homeland

CARINA GIORGIF

Abstract:

This article sets out to examine Armenian women's labour migrations to the United States from the 1990s to 2010. Through my research I found that some Armenian women have become the sole breadwinners in their families, defying traditional gender roles and expectations. I also discovered that migration and exposures to lived experiences outside of Armenia provoked a re-examination of Armenian nationality and culture for women. I place the work they do outside the home in the wider context of their domestic responsibilities; this shows how many women have been forced to become breadwinners in addition to their domestic duties.

Using semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observation, and contemporary journalistic sources, I was better able to cross-reference and complement my primary interview sources. I conducted 11 individual interviews, one group interview consisting of 9 women at Los Angeles Valley College and two group interviews consisting of 7 women at Glendale Community College. I found that the women I interviewed were frequently employed at jobs below their educational qualifications and that they were often doing work that reinforced their dependence on kin or members of the Armenian community in the United States. Several of the women were disillusioned by the fact that members of the Armenian American community were inclined to exploit their vulnerability as new arrivals. Instead of a homogenous diasporic community I discovered heterogeneity in terms of social status and length of stay in the U.S. I also found diversity among the individuals' responses to their new circumstances. While some of the women I interviewed accepted their new, fast-paced lives in America, others could not and were critical of American individualism and competition. Some of these women returned to Armenia, and I discuss their responses as well as efforts by the Armenian government to migrants back to Armenia. The women interviewed highlight the myriad ways Armenian women experienced migration, influenced by a post-genocide culture and strong ties to family and home. This project fills the void that many scholars have left untouched. I provide research and data about Armenian women's lived experiences, shed light on their migration from home and often times back, and the resilience of Armenian women.

Keywords: *Migration, Armenian women, labour, gender, breadwinner*

1. Introduction

Armenian women's traditional roles as they are were renegotiated through labour migrations to the United States beginning in the 1990s and through to 2010. The aim of this research is to explore women's lived experiences as migrant labourers who are forced to leave their homes and work abroad in order to financially support their families. Through individual interviews, focus groups, and primary literary sources, this study gives us insight into the experiences and voices of Armenian women migrant labourers in the United States and of those who return to Armenia after having migrated. This study was undertaken primarily because the lives of Armenian women are rarely addressed and discussed in scholarship in the discrete topic areas of migration, diaspora, gender, and the Armenian genocide.

This article examines the work Armenian women conduct in and out of the house, and I focus specifically on women who migrated to Los Angeles. Armenian Americans tend to discriminate against the newer waves of Armenian migrants, and this was particularly acute in the case of my interviewees. One described her mistreatment by Armenian American employers who exploited her based precisely because she was *hyastansee* (Armenian from Armenia), a designation which has taken on extremely negative connotation. Other Armenian women interviewed also gave voice to the ways in which they were dehumanised as female migrant labourers by Armenian Americans. These migrant Armenian women's roles, in a transnational context, renegotiate ongoing traditional attitudes which impact women's roles both in the home and at work.

In 2001, during my very first research trip to Armenia, a few people asked me to deliver care packages to their relatives. These primarily consisted of money, baby clothes, and American cigarettes. One recipient became an access point for my research, which began to focus specifically on the transnational workers I interviewed who migrated back to Armenia. I dub them 'the returners'.

As the homeland economy in Armenia has made a recovery over the past ten years, the Armenian government created a quasi- propagandic video programme titled "Back to Armenia"—an attempt to appeal to Armenians abroad. This programme features several interviews with Armenian transnational migrant labourers who failed to establish lives for themselves outside of Armenia. Paralleling this initiative, considerable research has been undertaken in the past decade in an effort to track migration patterns. The Advanced Social Technologies NGO released "Migrants Who Returned to Armenia in 2002–2008," a collaborative effort with the Migration Agency of the Ministry of Territorial Administration of Armenia and the OSCE Yerevan office. According to Migration Agency reports, only 3 percent of Armenians stated that they were leaving Armenia permanently (2007). The data gathered showed 24 percent of Armenian migrants (55,000 people) had made their way back to Armenia within six years of the video programme's release (2007).

Lilit, the Armenian woman who put me in touch with other interviewees, expressed that she was trapped by a lack of income and by inflation in Armenia. She said that her gas and electricity

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had doubled between 2006 and 2009, from twenty-five U.S. dollars to nearly fifty dollars, and that the cost of food had likewise risen to match the developing economy. Gayaneh, an acquaintance of Lilit, had been forced to leave Armenia after her husband had been unemployed and ill for a few years. Their mutual friend Adrineh also worked in Los Angeles part time, as did Karineh, who possessed the highest level of education of all the women I interviewed. She is a certified physician in Russia, and her husband, Gevork, is a freelance journalist. Although she did not earn a very high wage in Armenia, she could always find work as a doctor—especially as a women’s health specialist. Initially, the couple migrated to Russia: “Between the years of 1988 and 1998, before coming to live in America, we lived in both Russia and Armenia because the economy was so bad in Armenia we were forced to leave. We had no choice.”

Chancing into Precarious Work

Upon their arrival to the United States, most of the women quickly came to understand that there was an inflexible hierarchy already in place and that Los Angeles would almost invariably treat them as being of lower status. In their research, Claudia Der-Martirosian and colleagues unveiled the distinct socioeconomic differences between Iranian Armenian Americans, Lebanese Armenian Americans and newcomer Armenians from Armenia. She found that each subgroup was extremely clique-ish and competitive in Los Angeles (Der-Martirosian 1989, p. 8). Iranian and Lebanese Armenians experienced the most prosperity and status largely due to their generally early arrivals to the United States and their ability to successfully network amongst each other (Der-Martirosian 1989, p. 8). As Adrineh noted, wealthier Iranian and Lebanese Armenians largely distanced themselves from newcomer Armenian migrants that they distinguished and stigmatised as *hyastansees* (Armenians from Armenia). She also observed that Armenian Americans were culturally different from Armenians in the homeland: “They are not as family oriented, they tend to be individualistic and they change. I’m not saying all Americans are like that but I’m saying that it has affected many Armenians, as soon as they leave Armenia, they just start to change.” These attitudes are largely cultivated in host countries prior to any of my participants’ emigrations to the United States, as Iranian Armenians in America have long fared well economically when compared to Armenians from Armenia.

Karineh, the physician, was not dazzled by America. She told me decidedly, “You can’t compare the level of common courtesy and civility in Armenia to American culture. In America people walk out into the streets with their pyjamas on; it’s not like that here in Armenia. Everyone dresses nicely in Armenia. Everyone is polite and civil.” My initial contact, Lilit, expressed similar sentiments from her first impression of Los Angeles: she told me that Los Angeles was a city like any other city, and that she was impressed by fancy American kitchen appliances. Lilit had left for America not explicitly to seek work, but while she was there decided to stay longer than her husband and work for a short while before she returned back to Armenia. During that time, Lilit

picked up as many jobs as she could, oscillating between babysitting and working in a local Armenian grocery store. She said she earned three U.S. dollars per hour at the market and twenty dollars per day to babysit for the neighbour's child. Although the hours were all part time and irregular, she felt that she had made enough money in a few months to return home.

Similarly, Lilit's friend Adrineh worked for a few months in America in 2006 while on a tourist visa to visit with relatives. Her intentions were not to work in America; however, it happened that it became possible to earn some extra money during her trip. Networking with friends of relatives, she was offered an opportunity to make extra money at a grocery store for approximately one month. "I really didn't like it," she stated; "I was completely disappointed with the way Armenians treat each other in America. It's shameful." When I asked her to elaborate on the experiences that made her view of Armenian Americans undesirable, she replied, "During the one month that I worked for a small Armenian market—I got paid two dollars per hour and received a few small breaks throughout the day. I had a good time with my co-workers, with a few laughs here and there, but it wasn't the same as it is in Armenia." Adrineh fared slightly better than the physician, Karineh, did but was still upset about how she was treated as a market worker: "In America, you work and never see your family, and hardly make enough money to survive. Sure, for Armenian standards two dollars an hour could easily take care of my entire family for a month, but for American standards this is hardly anything." Ultimately, she would earn \$320 for the month, which is slightly higher than the salary she received in Armenia.

Karineh and her husband Gevork set off for Glendale, California, with the savings they had accrued from Russia. Through networking, they eventually found jobs (working under the table) at a popular Iranian Armenian bakery, which Karineh described as working in hell. They worked twelve hours a day for one dollar per hour. It was rare that the managers gave them breaks. The regime of the workplace was very strict, and they were reprimanded if they relaxed or conversed. The punishing environment seemed outrageously oppressive to Karineh and Gevork, who were used to being in control of their own working times and conditions. Karineh recounted, "They tortured us. One time they didn't let Gevork have a cigarette break—he broke down and started crying, saying, 'I'm not even human anymore, I'm not treated like a human being.' It really got to him. Gevork is a very sensitive man; he was very affected by the experience."

In California, Gevork and Karineh lived in a tiny, cupboard-closet-sized flat above a car dealership on the second floor of a building. They paid two hundred U.S. dollars per month. She described the apartment as a converted office space that did not meet basic living standards; however, the owners of the car dealership, who were also Armenian, knew that they could profit from illegal immigrants trying to make it in America. Under combined pressure from their jobs at the bakery and their substandard living conditions, Karineh gave up and left for Russia. However, Gevork adamantly refused to leave with her. She recalls, "I just packed my bags and left, but Gevork didn't want to go back with me. I pleaded with him to come back to me, but he didn't want to leave America behind. He had ambitions of working as a journalist in America."

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Karineh took drastic measures to lure her husband Gevork back to Russia by tricking him and saying that his mother was gravely ill. I asked Karineh if this deception had caused any problems between them upon his return. Apparently, “he was very upset. He didn’t talk to me for a few weeks, and he was angry. It was for his own good, and I knew he would eventually get on with his life and get a job in Russia again writing.” She informed me that Gevork did take on freelance journalism assignments along with odd jobs to make ends meet while she relocated to Yerevan temporarily to work for the capital’s state hospital. She ended our interview by stating, “I don’t get paid a lot of money here as a doctor, but I’d prefer to be underpaid and respected than underpaid and dehumanised.” I asked her if she ever entertained the thought of returning to America, and she replied with an abrupt no.

Reconstituting and Reconfiguring the Family

In 2009, my primary contact Lilit’s life had become very difficult because of illness and poverty. These problems were a shock to her because she was married to a man named Hrair who had enjoyed some status. As economic and political circumstances grew dimmer, and he became older, he was no longer earning sufficient money to support the family. Lilit explained that despite his experience and the great respect he had earned, the government gave him a minuscule, token job. In an effort to make ends meet, Lilit had resorted to secretly taking out loans; she said, “I have borrowed money from the neighbours, from this place and that place. He doesn’t have a clue that I do this. He just brings home money that we can barely live on. He never asks, or how did you buy this bread? Or have enough money for this meat?” I asked why she withheld the truth from her husband, and she answered, “Because I know he would have a heart attack and die from all the stress if I told him the truth.” Lilit was quietly budgeting her household’s finances and leaving her life partner out of it; the dynamic of her marriage was fundamentally altered. In her efforts to cope with the condition of life in Armenia, Lilit was not only taking on the traditional female role of caring for the family and doing housework; she also felt forced to take on economic maintenance, which had before been the responsibility of her husband. As the household’s accountant, manager, and caretaker, Lilit juggled the household finances. Instead of involving any of her children—much less her husband—she took on the burden of knowing that she needed to stretch out each borrowed cent in order to survive. When I asked Lilit’s friend Adrineh about her husband, she responded, “My husband is I’m sorry, but he is just lazy. He is an artist, I mean, he used to paint very nicely, but he is out of work now, and his health has declined. I do everything in this household, dear—I make sure that there is food and clothes for everyone.” Like Karineh and Lilit, Adrineh spoke as if her husband was not fully aware of what was going on in the household. Even though ostensibly the perception in Armenian culture is that the man of a household is its primary decision maker, especially financially, I discovered in my interviews that the women returners regarded themselves as the main sources of both financial and emotional stability within the family unit.

The main reason for Lilit's later decision to return from the United States did not concern money. She explained that she "missed her family too much." She was worried about leaving all the obligations of household chores to her young daughter, so she felt like she had no choice but to return. When I asked her what she would do if she could make the decision freely, she said, "I might return to America again to work, but ultimately I want to always stay close to my children no matter where they are." Lilit also expressed a less tangible unease about American society and values: "In America, there's no time for family, people lose themselves in work and you don't even realise life is passing you by." I heard similar observations from the other women I interviewed, and I would learn to recognise the significance of that sentiment.

On the other hand, Adrineh's and Lilit's friend Gayaneh held strongly to the notion that upholding cultural values was a badge of honour for women. Given these attitudes and her commitment to her country, she surprised me by flouting the cultural convention of denouncing one's temporary host country as inferior to Armenia. Gayaneh showed an independence of mind and divulged to me that if she had the opportunity to return to America, she would. Were such an assertion known more publicly within Armenian society, many people would suspiciously look down upon her as a traitor to her people and culture. Even though she was far from fulfilling the stereotype of the successful emigrant and had returned, she was not prepared to reject her experience of American culture, which does contrast with Armenian life.

In her weighing of the factors determining her location, I could see that Gayaneh was distinguishing between a solitary self and a familial self. Her experience abroad, even given the constrained circumstances of her time in Los Angeles, might have affected her more than was immediately evident. She was happy to be able to tell me that there was no need for her to work, because employment had picked up for her son. He and his wife had recently had their first child. "Now my children need me to care for their children," she declared happily. I asked her if she would consider working in Armenia or going back to America again to find work, and she said, "If it were only me, I would probably go back to America, but now I have this growing family and we have work here. Everything is getting so much better here and improving. My son is working so much. God willing, it will all keep improving."

I was intrigued by this way in which she distinguished between herself as a discrete unit and herself defined in relation to her family. Her time in America had not exactly been happy. She was compelled to deal with her initial employer's exploitative behaviour towards her, for example; nevertheless, she had independently contracted other opportunities for herself in which she found acceptable work that complied with her own ideas of respectable employment. Although she expressed a desire to return to the States and work independently, she was also committed as a figure of support for her son and his family. Having interviewed Gayaneh in depth and over time, I was able to realise that there is never one simple interpretation of the immigrant experience but several apparently contradictory responses competing even within a single person.

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The powerful collective bonds which characterise Armenian family relationships thus place yet another kind of responsibility on women like Lilit. Her efforts to meet the new circumstances involved taking on economic, emotional, and mental strains, which had affected her health when we last met. She told me, “I became so ill in 2007. My children insisted that I go see a doctor. My boys and my daughter took care of me for a month. You should have seen how disorganised this household was without me. I’m telling you: they wouldn’t be able to survive without me.” She made it clear that there were no alternatives for her as an Armenian mother. She accepted her role as the primary caretaker despite the terrible consequences of her responsibilities expanding. She took pride in her position in the household dynamic. Adrineh also explained to me that her children were unmarried and attending university and that it was her responsibility to pay for their education until they graduated from university.

Channelling Ambition into Family

Adrineh was the only one of my interviewees who did not censor herself in terms of discussing topics like divorce and women’s rights. On the contrary, she was extremely vocal: “You ladies in America have the right idea. Why should women work like slaves at home and not have any rights? That’s not the way it works. Both people have to work. I tell my son let your future wife work too, why not? That’s extra money for you and your family.” Adrineh’s remarks seemed iconoclastic when compared with the much less explicit signs of self-determination among my other interviewees. While they all had demonstrated initiative as individuals—Lilit in borrowing money, Karineh in tricking her husband to leave America, Gayaneh in going on her own to America and contemplating returning, and Adrineh piecing together part-time work—the emphasis on collective commitments was overwhelming. All these responsibilities were justified in familial terms. Individual interest was regarded with considerable suspicion; indeed, my interviewees associated it with selfishness, a characteristic often equated with American values and an Armenian American lifestyle. In contrast, Armenian life in the homeland appeared to counter aspects of the woman’s negative experiences as immigrants in the United States. The lifestyles that these women adopted after returning constituted a way of looking critically at the emphasis on competition and moneymaking they perceived as pervasive in the States. However, it was evident that doing well and material success were very important to the women I interviewed. They were proud when their children achieved.

Obviously, pride in children and delight in grandchildren is common in all cultures, but among the Armenian women I interviewed, these connections were particularly strong. Their hopes of individual success were deflected towards their families. Adrineh’s use of the term *rights* was unique; the women were more likely to put value on themselves as maintainers of the household rather than as individual citizens possessing rights. When they mentioned their aspirations as individuals, they tended to sideline them by stressing obligations to family. Moreover, the pride

women expressed about coping in the household meant that work, even skilled, professional work, was not emphasized. They found themselves doing paid work in addition to all of the housework. While assistance from daughters was acceptable, they did not seem to consider taking men's help domestically, even if those men were not earning incomes.

Despite these strong collective pressures I kept hearing hints of personal aspirations which could not be completely contained. Lilit explained that as a young woman during the early 1980s she had been a receptionist. Attaining a high school diploma was the highest level of education she completed. She described reception work as paying poorly, yet it was one of the best times of her life: "I had some girlfriends at the office, a few of us still keep in touch and we remain very close. But we would have fun for ourselves all day long while we got our work done. When I needed help at home, we were always there to support each other." She explained that she was eventually forced out of her position when the Soviet Union collapsed, and she had to return home to be a full-time housewife with an overbearing mother-in-law who was the dominant figure in the household.

In many ways, the interviews with the "returners" revealed the conflicting and ambivalent aspects of moving between differing cultures. They alerted me to how the difficulties of defining new migration affected the attitudes and hopes of the women I was interviewing. Having encountered contrasting lifestyles within America, the women were dealing with what was expected of them within the conventions of Armenian culture.

By documenting the unique perspectives and experiences of migrant Armenian women, my research intervenes into several fields of inquiry, the nexus of which has been understudied. Armenian American women's identities are fragmented; they experience rejection from their home and host countries alike. Upholding traditional gender roles within the family and nation while still harboring their own ambitions associated with migration creates constant friction for them. Armenian women hold a uniquely challenging role in Armenian society as they are deemed as the cultural producers of the next generation—work which ensures the reproduction and survival of the Armenian nation. Therefore, their breaking away from traditional domestic roles and traveling abroad to seek work is seen as a symbolic threat to Armenian survival and nationalism. Paradoxically, political and economic realities virtually force Armenian women to work abroad; their low-skilled, low-paying labour outside Armenia is actually crucial to their families' financial stability and security. Facing high unemployment rates, an unstable economy, gender-based workplace discrimination, and rising inflation, Armenian women are living on the bare necessities to ensure the survival of the nation both in the homeland and abroad.

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“It’s A Man’s World”: The Gender Dimension in the Labour Market Integration of Highly-Skilled Women Migrants in Germany

DR. GRIT GRIGOLEIT

Abstract

In the discourse on labour migration, women were rendered invisible for many years as they were solely contextualized as accompanying wives dependent on men or economically inactive. In recent decades, however, female presence in all areas of international migration has steadily increased, a phenomenon commonly acknowledged as feminization of migration. Despite these developments, the current literature overwhelmingly focuses on women migrants engaged in lesser-skilled and/or highly feminized areas of the labour market, such as domestic work or social care. Limited attention has been provided to highly-skilled women’s experiences, practices, and social positionings and even less to highly-skilled migrant women employed in not feminized but male-dominated areas of the labour market, such as the technology industry.

Drawing on findings of the BMBF-funded research project, “The Integration of Highly-Qualified Women Migrants in Germany’s Labour Market,” this paper examines the complexities that surround highly-qualified women migrants’ employment, working conditions, and career advancement in Germany’s technology sector. Over the course of this research, narrative-oriented interviews with women migrants and other qualitative research methods were applied to determine the impact of gender and ethnicity on their labour market integration. Despite their high degree of skills and qualifications, the interviewed women migrants encountered highly gendered and ethnicized labour market conditions and value systems, which posed impediments to their participation and positioning in the labour market. Gendered assumptions and ascriptions regarding women’s role in the workplace, attitudes towards technology and technical skills, work ethic as well as male power structures led to a differential treatment and at times to the devaluation of their job performance.

The interplay of gendered and ethnicized dynamics produced different and unequal outcomes for them. Hence, the process of migration was not necessarily equivalent to a liberating experience from traditional norms, boundaries and restrictions. Even though the interviewed women migrants were struggling to expose some of the barriers and impediments, they applied a variety of strategies and utilized various resources to encounter them thereby positioning themselves as proactive rather than reactive agents.

Keywords: *highly-skilled women migrants, gender, labour market integration, technology sector, Germany*

1. Introduction

In the last two decades, female labour migration has become larger in scale, more complex, and more diverse as it includes large numbers of educated and (highly-) skilled women who migrate not only in the realm of family migration but also in increasing numbers on their own. The overall growth in female presence in migration flows led to the emergence of the feminization of migration paradigm (Castles and Miller 1998) and resulted in an increased acknowledgment of migrant women and gender issues in migration-induced research. As such, literature perceives women migrants as active agents, who make independent choices and are the principal wage earner for themselves and their families, and/or maintain transnational lives (Morokvasic 1984; Mar Castro Varela 2003; Mahler 1999; Mahler and Pessar 2001).

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The current literature on female labour migrants, however, predominantly focuses on women employed in low-skilled and/or highly feminized branches of the labour market's tertiary sector, such as domestic work (Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003), the cleaning and hospitality industry (Parrenas 2010), social care service (England and Dyck 2012), or the sex trade (Agustin 2006; Oso Casas 2010; Chimienti 2010). Little attention has been given to the practices and social positionings of highly-skilled women migrants, although labour market conditions, in accordance with the global restructuring of production and the growing "battle for talents" in Western knowledge societies, increasingly demand personnel with a high degree of skills and qualifications. Despite this, the experiences of (highly-)skilled migrant women are only assessed in gendered niches in conjunction with the brain drain debate, in, for instance, the health care industry. Studies by Kingma (2006) and Choy (2003) discuss the migration and labour market integration patterns of trained medical professionals from the global South to the global North and — the most prominent case — the movement of Filipino nurses to the US respectively. The experiences, performances, and challenges of professional migrant women employed in predominantly male-dominated segments of the labour market such as the technology sector, mechanical and plant engineering, or in automobile, ship, and aircraft construction have been largely neglected (see Kofman 2000; Raghuram 2008).

Highly-skilled migrants who seek employment in those fields are, in most cases, contextualized within the realm of the human capital approach (see Mincer 1993). This is largely attributable to the fact that, first, the so-called MINT fields require, in general, less country- and culture-specific knowledge, but verifiable credentials. As such, highly-skilled migrants can transfer their skills and qualifications – to a large extent – to the host-country's labour market (but see Chiswick and Miller 2009; Friedberg 2000). Second, as these fields, in comparison to professions that require a state license such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers, are subject to less government regulation, migrants enter the labour market instantly, have access to high income professions, and enjoy higher mobility. Consequently, highly-skilled migrants' integration into the MINT labour market fields proves to be less demanding and relatively straight forward. The emphasis on skills, however, does not assess the impact of categories such as gender or ethnicity that simultaneously structure the labour market and thus affect highly-skilled women migrants' integration, employment, and career flexibility.

Based on the findings of the research project, "The Integration of Highly Qualified Migrant Women in Businesses," this paper argues that the highly gendered and ethnicized structure of the German labour market including the presumably neutral field of MINT-professions prevents highly-skilled women's successful integration in the labour market. Despite their privileged position as highly-skilled, the interplay of gendered and ethnicized dynamics produces different and unequal outcomes, thereby effectively limiting their job performance and career progression. This paper

examines both the complexities that surround their employment, working conditions, and career advancement as well as the strategies and actions they apply to negotiate these structures.

Over the course of this qualitative research, we conducted 15 narrative-oriented interviews with both migrant and autochthonous women. This focus on individual cases offers deeper insights into how migrant women perceive, for example, structures that enforce inequality and/or discrimination, and the strategies they apply in their everyday interactions to comply with or oppose them. All of the interviewed migrant women had obtained a university degree within the fields of natural sciences or engineering in their home countries prior to migration and were fully employed in Germany at the time of the interview. The majority of the migrant women originated from Eastern European countries (for example Russia, Ukraine, or Poland), and to a lesser extent from Western European countries (Spain and France), or Turkey.

It's a Man's World: The Gendered Structure of MINT-Fields

The increasing tertiarization of the German labour market in recent decades resulted in a steady rise in women's labour participation (see Geißler 2011). In 1970, for example, women's participation in the labour force was 46 percent, but rose to 66 percent in 2009 (Schmeißler et al. 2012 p. 31). Despite the fact that women enter the labour market in great numbers, the German labour market remains differentiated and hierarchically ordered by gender. In comparison to men, women are more vulnerable to adverse effects such as poor working conditions, low incomes, jobs that entail low social prestige, a high risk of poverty, un- and/or underemployment, and other occupational risks (Geißler 2011 p. 307). In general, as Gotschall (1995) identifies, despite their high levels of qualification, women maintain a lower position in terms of the professions and trades they can engage in and the positions they can aspire to obtain, when compared to men. Although single women occasionally advance to executive and senior level positions, most women's career ambitions fall subject to a gender-based selection and excludes them from high-level positions.

Professions and branches pertaining to technology are traditionally male-dominated. As data from the Federal Labour Agency for 2010 show, according to the International Standard Classification of Occupation standard (ISCO) group 2 (Professionals) is characterized by a high proportion of males. In the subgroup of chemists, physicists, and mathematicians, for example, men account for 76 percent and women for 24 percent of the workforce. In the group of engineers, the male share is even higher, at 87.4 percent, while women comprise only 12.6 percent. Although certain occupations such as account managers or accounting services are more open to women and the share of women in certain parts of the sector is slowly rising, the fields of engineering, natural sciences, and computer sciences are highly gender-segregated.

Women who enter these male-dominated fields are therefore highly visible. Furthermore, as our interviewed women pointed out, they are perceived to be different or even "exotic" by the dominant gender group. This high visibility carries severe implications since being "different" does not necessarily translate into a positive ascription. Our interviewee, Christina (35), a Spanish

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woman employed as an industrial engineer at a final assembly line, describes some of the negative experiences she encountered on the basis of her sex:

You have to demonstrate more things. When you start in the job, you have to demonstrate some things that they [men] take for granted. For example, in a technical discussion they kind of test you, if you understand or if you are able to follow the problem or to give ideas. [...] I haven't seen my [male] friends that they have to demonstrate that they understand a technical conversation and I had several discussions on meetings that I knew that they were making a kind of trick to test me. Because they say something and then they put another thing. Just to make sure if you are following and understand it.

Christina relates perceived discrimination on the basis of her sex: she experiences a disparate treatment whereby her position is constructed as the inferior "Other." She implicitly refers to a gendered symbolic representation that is attributed to her, namely that women do not possess any technical knowledge or understanding. This type of knowledge seems to be exclusively inherent to men; hence, as a woman she holds a lower status and her male co-workers expect her to be less competent. As she is perceived to be unsuitable for a job that clearly requires the masculine traits and attributes that she seemingly lacks, her knowledge was repeatedly tested. Accordingly, she was required to prove her skills time and again, and, as such, she drew the conclusion that she needs to perform better than her male colleagues. If any failures occur on her side, they result in a stronger attribution of incompetence for her than for her male colleagues.

This account of being tested and proving oneself "worthy" of the job is a relatable experience for the majority of the women interviewed. In particular, migrant women from Eastern European countries addressed the rigid gender divide and the descriptive stereotypes it entails. Growing up in former communist countries, these migrant women had experienced greater and more institutionalized equality between the sexes in terms of employment, rights, and duties. Many Eastern European countries had a high demand for technical specialists and encouraged women to participate in the labour force and seek education in any of these fields. Therefore, a large proportion of women were trained, for example, as industrial engineers and sought gainful employment in fields such as aviation, metallurgy, or machine building; branches that not only promised job security, but also offered upward social mobility (Remennick 2003 p. 704). As Morokvasic-Muller (2003) has already demonstrated, in these countries women had to manage multiple responsibilities and were not necessarily limited to female tasks in the work environment.

For the interviewed migrant women from Eastern Europe, the transition to the highly gendered labour market in Germany and to their new employment proved difficult regardless of their education levels, credentials, and previous work experiences. Although many of them had no clear expectations about their career prospects in Germany, they all believed that their expertise and skills were in demand and appreciated. Yet in their daily working routine they encountered a

substantial devaluation of their skills, aptitudes, and job performances, which was, however, not related to any difficulties in the recognition of their qualifications and diplomas, but attributable to the gendered perceptions of work they encountered. In many instances they were repeatedly assigned tasks perceived to be feminine such as back office management, customer care, or to perform secretarial duties. When they declined these tasks or “softer” jobs and insisted instead on being acknowledged as a full engineer, these claims were ignored on the grounds that they were either incompetent or the task was too difficult for them because they lack appropriate qualities such as physical strength or mechanical capacity to deal with, for example, heavy equipment. When they nonetheless engaged in dirty work on building or construction sites and participated in meetings where coarse language was used and obscene and sexist comments prevail, they challenged and interfered with masculine representations of assertiveness and robustness. Crossing over into such male-dominated work roles was thus sanctioned as they were relegated to feminized tasks that are less demanding and less lucrative.

The interviewed migrant women who violated these existing expectations and gender prescriptions suffered both emotionally and professionally. They had to invest at length in the time and effort necessary to resume masculine-coded tasks, and furthermore, to acquire more prestigious and high-level responsibilities and duties such as project management or development that would stimulate their own career development. Some of the interviewed women complained that they were not given the chance to take on leadership responsibilities. Due to descriptive stereotypes that depicted women to be less ambitious and committed, and moreover, restrained by child care and other family responsibilities, these tasks were predominantly assigned to their male colleagues. Migrant women’s ambitions were then circumscribed by deeply embedded ideas about traditional gender roles that pertain to a male breadwinner model, thereby leaving women at a disadvantage. Although the interviewed women were highly visible in their respective workplaces due to their sex, gender ideology produced powerful boundaries that resulted in underemployment and deskilling. The interviewed migrant women nonetheless remained invisible with regard to, for example, their prospects for promotion. In order to become fully accepted and acknowledged, they needed to establish a professional visibility first. In turn, the prolonged period of adjustment and professional development jeopardized career advancement.

The overall underrepresentation of women in these fields resulted in a situation whereby ascriptions of gender stereotypical roles and biased behaviours are slow to change. Hence, the social construction of engineering as masculine and the exertion of different standards to judge similar performances are perpetuated. As the traditional gender boundary is restored within the working environment, unequal power relations are maintained.

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Intersecting Structures: Gender and Ethnicity

The interview analysis identifies that rigid assumptions regarding sex-role appropriate attitudes are not the only determinant of workplace relations. Women migrants' ethnic origin or rather ethnicity in general, constitutes another marker of difference. For instance, limited German language skills, a foreign accent, or a different appearance may trigger ethnic ascriptions and contribute to "othering" processes. An accent usually reveals the migrant woman's ethnic origin; as such, respective national stereotypes are readily applied irrespective of the migrant woman's characteristics and skills.

The Russian interviewees were repeatedly confronted with the stereotype that "Russians don't do anything but drink Vodka." The interviewee from Macedonia was advised not to wear any gold jewellery because she would look like a Turkish immigrant and would thus be negatively perceived. However, not all national stereotypes imply a negative tone. Migrant women who are subjected to predominantly positive attributions due to national stereotypes (for example, the French are charming, the English have a good sense of humour) reported that these ascriptions affected their daily interactions and working routine to a lesser extent. In fact, as they were perceived more positively, they were, for example, more readily helped and obtained information faster. Their attributed social status was higher and at times, this was even beneficial for their career development in terms of promotion.

Yet, all interviewed migrant women reported that national stereotypes were generally thought to be harmless: 'I believe that most people didn't mean any harm' was the common understanding. This was particularly the case when these biases have an overall positive tone, such as jokes or compliments. Such biases and assumptions are often subconsciously reproduced by co-workers and customers and are thus collectively sustained. For the interviewed migrant women, these assumptions were at times hard to expose as they were not necessarily linked to a specific individual's bias or action, yet they impact and structure their daily professional life, their interaction with colleagues, clients, and supervisors, and guide the expectations migrant women encounter with regard to their work performance and achievements.

In many instances, however, migrant women's narratives of unequal treatment could not be deduced exclusively to ethnicity as a single category that remains detached from other inequality-creating categories. For instance, denied access to leadership and decision-making positions or any daily forms of discrimination is often interrelated to being female and a migrant. Perceptions that women are not capable of performing masculine tasks intertwined with perceptions that migrants are unable of performing particular tasks due to their limited language proficiency. Our Russian interviewee, Olga (37), a mechanical engineer, reflected on her first job during the interview:

When something wasn't working it was often said "You understood that wrong" or something like that. Despite the fact that I knew exactly what had been said and that I had understood it correctly. [...] In most cases it was related to project handovers. I knew exactly how they were handed over to me and if there was a mistake or something went wrong then people said, "Yes, you interpreted it wrong or you misunderstood." You were blamed and it was your fault that something went wrong. (own translation)

Incorrect use of language and/or her accent accounted for a broad deskilling as her general knowledge of project handovers was questioned and she was blamed for any mistakes. Given that she was also repeatedly assigned secretarial duties, the interrelatedness of gender and ethnicity led to biased judgment of her work performance and thus affected her opportunities and outcomes at work.

Language usage, however, is not the only marker of ethnicity. The interviewed migrant women explained that they were also perceived to be different from autochthonous co-workers in terms of learning and communication styles, educational histories, and other professional abilities, depending on their previous work experience. Yet they were expected to master and to comply with the native code, particularly in terms of communication style and working routines, despite the fact that the code itself was never clearly identified; this consequently hindered their ability to properly perform their daily tasks. To depart from these inherently set expectations and implicit regulations by introducing original thinking, innovative ideas, or to refer to experiences that stemmed from a different socio-cultural background was often met with resistance and was thus sanctioned. Particularly, migrant women employed in large corporations complained during the interviews about the lack of openness or a culture of inclusion as the aforementioned interviewee, Christina from Spain, states:

I got the feeling like talking to a wall: "We've always done it like that and it is ok, we do it that way." [...] You need a lot of energy to convince and to motivate people and to move any stone that they put in your way.

When deeply-rooted norms and long-standing routines or practices that were once defined and determined by native-born males are applied to a multi-ethnic workforce, they result in excluding practices. Christina was not able to fully participate in her workplace and her efforts to contribute were not acknowledged. Here, normal routines and regulations affect migrant women more than the native majority and become inappropriate in this context. Barriers to advancement are thus not necessarily related to outright discrimination or harassment, but are more often subtle and imperceptible in nature and stem from various sources.

As the current discussion on intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005; Yuval-Davis 2006) and more so research on intersectionality in social institutions such as the labour market (Browne and Misra 2003) show, it is precisely the interwoven nature and interrelatedness of inequality creating categories such as gender, age, race or ethnicity that lead to reciprocal effects

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and the unequal treatment of migrant women in the labour market. Migrant women are thereby not necessarily subject to two-, three- or manifold oppression or disadvantages on account of single detached social dimensions of difference. Instead, their experiences of oppression are embedded in various social divisions (for example, gender, social class, age, body, etc.) and vary in scope according to context, locale, and situation (Yuval-Davis 2006 p. 195), yet they impact their professional status and career trajectories.

Negotiating and (non)-Complying Intersecting Structures

As illustrated above, highly-skilled migrant women encounter various barriers with regard to work practices and career advancement. There is, however, limited understanding in research on highly-skilled women migrants about what pushes these women to continue to strive for excellence and to pursue their goals. As research by Alice H. Eagly (2003) shows, women, particularly those who adopt masculine traits, will be successful in encountering barriers and in advancing their careers. The following example from our interviewee, Yasemin (40) from Turkey, who is employed as a process engineer, confirms this finding. For the most part Yasemin complied with the male working habitus she observed in her work environment. She developed a very high level of commitment that caused her to invest in long work hours and leaves of absence from her family. Excelling became her first priority to counter performance pressure. After giving birth to her first child, for example, she only stayed at home for two months, as she was afraid to fall behind and to be pushed out of business, despite the fact that parental leave in Germany can be taken up for up to three years. When she became pregnant with her second child, she was involved in a major project in China that she then prioritized over health issues and family needs:

My trip to China was scheduled and then, although it was a risk-pregnancy, which means, actually, I wasn't supposed to fly, but I said I have to. Everything was planned, so I flew. Thank Goodness, I kept the baby, but yes, I already had a child so it wouldn't have been too bad. [...] You know, it is just a matter of attitude. The day before I gave birth to my second child I was working and finished the project. I just wanted to say, you can't say "Yes, I am pregnant so I have to stay at home." It doesn't work that way. If you have this attitude in our profession, you can only draft if at all. So, even as a foreigner you sometimes get a chance. (own translation)

As she followed the demands of the project she internalized the dominant discourse of being hard-working and success-driven. Yet it was her sex that made her feel restricted in terms of reproductive work and given her status as a migrant, she felt disadvantaged and thus had the urge to perform better than her autochthonous male colleagues. A high level of commitment and overachievement helped her to situate herself successfully and to advance her career. At the same time, however, she reproduced the existing gender regime and thus contributed to the maintenance of social inequalities.

To conform to a working culture that requires being ambitious, forceful, and dominant represents one pole in a vast array of strategies and practices the migrant women applied. The other pole, withdrawing from the labour market altogether and concentrating on domestic roles instead, was, however, not an option for any of the interviewed migrant women. Between these two poles lies a spectrum of individualistic approaches ranging from building up and participating in female only networks to specialize in professional niches and to develop an expert status. Regardless of the practice that worked best in the given situation and context, these strategies enabled the migrant workers to be proactive rather than reactive agents. They all shared a strong belief in their ability to assess difficult situations and to master challenges, and moreover, to achieve their desired success-oriented goals based on their abilities. Given their experiences in negotiating difficult conditions and obstacles, they developed a high self-efficacy (see Schwarzer and Jerusalem 2002) and did not submit to a discourse of victimization.

Concluding Remarks

As the quotes and insights into migrant women's working routines show, the interviewees are subject to social inequalities on various levels. Their full participation and career progression was limited, despite a high level of education, skills and qualifications, competencies and abilities, and their training in engineering and technical professions that are the most convertible (Remennick 2003) and moreover in high demand in Germany due to the country's increasing shortage of skilled labour. In contrast to the human capital approach that argues that (highly-)skilled migrant workers enjoy better and higher-paid jobs and upward mobility in the labour market, the interviewees' labour market integration was delayed. Impediments to full participation and advancement were caused by distinctive gender-segregation in the technology sector. The lack of a female-friendly environment, persistent gender differences in value systems, and attitudes towards technology and technical skills led to a devaluation of their job performance. As this sector is oriented towards men and a masculine working habitus, migrant women were disadvantaged and unable to bring their potential immediately to its best use.

Their long-term prospects and aspirations were furthermore shaped by the interplay of gendered and ethnicized boundaries. As the intersectional perspective demonstrated, the interrelated nature of inequality creating categories leads to a differential treatment and unequal outcomes. Hence, the emphasis on skill alone does not adequately reflect the various challenges that migrant women encounter in the German labour market, which are caused by gendered and ethnicized labour market conditions that have a powerful influence and cannot necessarily be fully compensated by individual strategies such as achievement orientation or a high personal commitment. Yet, as the individual approaches and strategies of the interviewed migrant women indicate, they have all made — as Erving Goffman (1977) once phrased it — “arrangements” for themselves, not only between the sexes but also with their social reality as they found ways and means to circumvent prevailing stereotypes, ascriptions, and hindrances.

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Invisible-ising Female Labour: Homeworking and Ethnic Minority Immigrant Women in Britain

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Abstract:

This paper seeks to investigate the invisible-ising of immigrant ethnic minority female labour in the U.K. through the lens of homeworking. As the literature on the informal economy has focused largely on 'Third World' countries, the paper seeks to analyse and understand the interactions between 'race', 'class' and 'gender' in the 'informal' economy in the U.K. The interaction of the 'formal' state policy and of the 'informal' labour market dynamics is generally visible in the employment profiles of Black and ethnic minority women in the U.K. and most (in) visibly manifest in the presence of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) women in the manufacturing homeworking labour force.

In order to do so, the paper analyses the Quarterly Household level Labour Force Surveys between 1992 and 2010 for the data available on homeworking. The analysis sets out to establish firstly, that the 'the discourse on 'homeworking', a historically marginalized form of labour, coupled with immigration controls in the U.K., plays a fundamental role in invisible-ising the female labour, especially ethnic minority immigrant female labour.

Secondly, the paper intends to unpack the complexities that predetermine the entry of ethnic minority immigrant women into the labour market by shaping their 'social relations of production' prior to their entry itself. It seeks to establish the role of the state in fashioning 'immigration controls' that determine the nature of certain forms of labour 'with particular relations to employers and to labour markets' (Anderson 2010 p. 301); in this case, ethnic minority immigrant women as homeworkers. Thirdly, the paper aims to establish the conceptual and methodological limitations of such an analysis and concludes with suggestions for further research on homeworking, specifically with regard to ethnic minority immigrant female labour rather than suppose them as cultural tropes who are 'extremely difficult to determine' unless they 'identify' themselves.

Keywords: *homeworking, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) women, immigrant, race, class, gender*

1. Introduction

Wading through the literature on the labour market participation of 'immigrant' and 'ethnic minority' women in the U.K., one comes across the usage of a particular term more than often. This term aims to provide an explanation for their apparently low labour market participation by categorising it as 'homeworking'. As the literature on the informal economy has focused largely on 'Third World' countries, this paper seeks to analyse and understand the interactions between 'race', 'class' and 'gender' in the 'informal' economy in the U.K.

The participation or the lack of participation of 'immigrant' women in the labour force in the UK is more than often circumscribed by the role of 'cultural factors', what Bruegel (1989) terms 'tinges of racist essentialism'. In order to go beyond an account of patriarchal relations and women, I seek to investigate the invisible-ising of 'immigrant' female labour in the U.K. through the lens of 'homeworking'. In the process of doing so, I seek to identify and analyse the structural relations and processes that lead to such invisible-ising with special emphasis on 'gender', 'race' and 'class'.

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What is 'homeworking'? I propose to understand 'homeworking' as piece-work, subcontracted, manufacturing outwork that is carried out at home, with self owned equipment and raw material, supplied by the subcontractor. In doing so, I have adopted the approach proposed by Felstead and Jewson (2000) who employ the concept of the 'social relations of production' in order to distinguish between various types of 'homeworking'. By 'social relations of production', the authors refer to the 'relationships between various economic agents in the production process, whereby one party mobilises the labour of another' (Felstead and Jewson 2000 p.15). Therefore the kind of 'homeworkers' that form the subject of my analysis, are those who work at home by selling the products of their labour directly to clients or end users.

'Immigrant' is a highly contested term and there is no consensus on a single definition. At the same time, who counts as an immigrant is of significant consequence while analysing the nature and consequences of immigration. Immigrants might be defined by foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily (sometimes for as little as a year) or to settle for a long term (The Migration Observatory 2011). For the purpose of my argument, I want to make explicit the 'racialisation' of the terminology. I therefore use it to refer to two categories of people – 1. People of non-White British 'ethnicity' born outside the U.K. and living in the U.K. for whatever duration regardless of their citizenship and 2. People born and living in the U.K. for whatever duration but of non-White British 'ethnicity' regardless of their citizenship. This group is more commonly defined as 'second generation immigrant'. Even though it is important to recognise that they are only subsets of 'immigrants' as more robustly defined, it is relevant to take them into account as this categorization plays an important role in determining social relations and the labour market position for these 'immigrants'.

The 'precarious' nature of informalised and casualised work like that of 'homeworking', has also contributed to the 'invisible-ising' of the 'immigrant' female labour and to the sustenance of the 'social relations of production' that underlie 'homeworking'. Following Anderson's (2010) argument, this paper seeks to establish the role of the state in fashioning 'immigration controls' that determine the 'mould which shapes certain forms of labour with particular relations to employers and to labour markets' (Anderson 2010 p. 301); in this case, the 'ethnic' minority 'immigrant' women as homeworkers.

Hence, by combining perspectives on 'race' and 'class' with those on 'gender', I intend to unpack the complexities that predetermine the entry of ethnic minority 'immigrant' women into the labour market, by shaping their 'social relations of production' prior to their entry itself. To carry out this task, I propose to analyse the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of the U.K., for data on 'homeworking'.

Historical overview of homeworking in the UK

At the onset of World War I, the imposition of universal conscription and the emergence of a war economy in the U.K. led to increased employment of women in the war time industries. The interwar years saw a reported decline in 'homeworking'. Nevertheless, the clothing industries continued to employ the greatest number of homeworkers, mainly in machining and finishing (Pennington and Westover 1989) and continued to increase after the Second World War. However, 'homeworking' received decreasing publicity and never occupied the trade union movement agenda. It was only in the mid 1970s that there was a revival of interest and concern about 'homeworking'.

The 1970s were witness to large-scale reduction in employment in the industries, which contributed to the increasing number of women in 'homeworking', as many women with the necessary skills were made redundant from factories. The recession of 1979 hit the domestic garment industry in the U.K. severely and the rate of closure of factories, especially those producing fashion garments in the inner-city areas, was phenomenal (Birnbaum et al 1981). In order to reduce the labour costs, the garment industry deployed an increasing number of homeworkers. It has been established that the declining international competitiveness of the clothing industry in Britain and France, was overcome by the late 1960s, due to the continuation of small firms 'dominated by ethnic minority male entrepreneurs and 'immigrant' female labour' (Morokvasic, Phizacklea and Rudolph 1986 p.397).

As the economic recession deepened after 1981, 'homeworking' labour force became increasingly characterised by the incorporation of an increasing number of 'immigrant' women combined with an increasing importance of the 'ethnic economy' in the clothing industry. The interactive relationship between 'ethnicity' and the sexual division of labour, manifested itself in the association of 'homeworking' with 'ethnic' minority women, which became increasingly and widely discussed in the 1980s, even as the confusion around the actual numbers and scale of participation remained largely unsettled.

During the 1990s, the 'new international division of labour', with special reference to the clothing and textile industry assuaged the problem of the increasing inflexibility of labour and factory production in the European clothing industry by facilitating the offshoring of production to a large number of developing countries. Is it then redundant to speak of 'homeworking' especially in the 'developed' countries, in an increasingly globalizing scenario? Has the domestic 'homeworking' labour force been overtaken by the cheap labour supply of the domestic manufacturing industry of the developing countries?

Morokvasic et al (1986) state that in comparison with Germany, France and Britain have 'relied on sub-contracting with the secondary sector domestically' rather than use 'outward processing' as a strategy. The secondary sector, according to Morokvasic et al (1986), is dominated by 'ethnic' minority entrepreneurs and labour since the 1970s. 'The very lowest rung in the clothing

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industry is occupied by homeworkers who serve a buffer function for contractors with an erratic flow of work' (Morokvasic et al 1986 p.412).

It shall therefore not be misplaced to argue that despite the sporadic nature of its (in)visibility in many industries, 'homeworking' has been a permanent feature of the world economy at large because of recurring conditions that allow homework to retain its position as a viable form of production (Dangler 1994 p.90).

Data Analysis: Household Level Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 1992-2010

For the purpose of this quantitative analysis, I have adopted Felstead and Jewson's (1997) conceptualisation of 'homeworking', which distinguishes between various types of 'homeworking' based on the 'social relations of production'. By social relations of production, the authors refer to the 'relationships between various economic agents in the production process, whereby one party mobilises the labour of another' (Felstead and Jewson 2000 p.15).

Typology of positions within the social relations of home-located production (Felstead and Jewson 2000 pp 16)

Figure 1

If we look at the above diagram, it becomes clear that each level of branching out is marked by a distinction in the 'social relation of production', for example, the differentiation of home-located workers into petty commodity producers and wage labourers is characterised by direct contact with the end users of production as opposed to wage labourers who supply their labour in exchange for wages to a third party

The authors use the criterion of 'discretion' to further qualify the category of 'home located wage labourers'. Discretion refers to the 'the extent to which the qualities of judgement, problem solving, decision making and originality, which are key attributes of the labour process' (Felstead and Jewson 2000 p.17), rest with the home located wage labourer. The category that Felstead and Jewson, hence describe as 'homeworker', is that of the 'low-discretion home-located wage labourers'.

Keeping this model in mind, let us review the available and on-going surveys that help obtain information regarding 'homeworking' in the UK. There are many national surveys that can be used to estimate the magnitude and composition of 'homeworking' in the U.K. but most of them have some serious limitations. For example, the Census contains information regarding 'homeworking' but it is based on the question for 'means of travel to work' as a proxy of mainly working at home. This leads to ambiguity about the place of works for it tends to conflate those who work at and nearby home. Also, the Census is carried out only once every ten years and is

‘designed to cover a wide range of issues but with a limited number of questions’ (Felstead et al 2001 p.216).

In comparison to the above, the use of the LFS in providing information regarding ‘homeworking’ is more advantageous and it does so, on an annual basis (since 1992) . It has been used variously to operationalize definitions of ‘homeworking’ (Felstead 1996) and teleworking (Huws et al 1999). Each QLFS (Quarterly Labour Force Survey) contains a random sample survey of 60, 000 households and a total of 150, 000 people.

Since 1992, the LFS has distinguished between respondents working mainly and sometimes at home through the two questions – ‘whether mainly work from home (main job)’ and ‘whether working from home in second job’. In 1997, the LFS included another question for those who ‘worked at least one day at home in reference week’. In addition to the frequency of working at home, the LFS also introduced questions on the use of computer and telephone at work through the following questions – ‘use both telephone and computer at work’ and ‘possible to work at home without telephone and computer’ in 1998, which helps us distinguish between a ‘teleworker’ and a ‘traditional homemaker’ i.e. ‘manual worker’.

Let us now take a look at the general and overall trend of ‘homeworking’ in the U.K. for people who worked in their ‘own home’ and from the ‘same grounds or building’ as home and enumerated it as their ‘main job’ in the QLFS, 1992 onwards. This includes people working in all the sectors of the economy. Though the figures do not lend themselves to a specific pattern, as they enumerate small populations, coupled with changes and additions in the relevant categories , they nevertheless reveal a general trend that can be marked into the following time periods -

Year Percentage of sample in homeworking

1992 2.05

1993 2.05

1994 2.07

1995 2.01

1996 1.91

1997 2.01

1998 1.92

1999 1.7

2000 1.75

2001 1.63

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2002 1.63

2003 1.76

2004 1.79

2005 1.77

2006 1.74

2007 1.83

2008 1.95

2009 1.98

2010 1.93

Homeworking in the U.K.: 1992-2010

Table 1

(Source: QLFS 1992-2010)

This period wise analysis presents a broad picture of ‘homeworking’ in the U.K. between 1992 and 2010, the highest being 2.07 percent in 1994, the lowest in 2001 and 2002 and an increase in the percentage of the population involved in ‘homeworking’ beginning 2003. Let us now look at the distribution of the ‘homeworking’ workforce by ‘ethnic’ groups in the U.K. between 1992 and 2010 as extracted from the quarterly LFS for the same period.

Year	White	South Asian	Black	Chinese	Other
1992	2.27	2.59	0.68	6.8	1.83
1993	2.05	2.15	0.53	7.71	1.22
1994	2.09	1.42	0.53	7.23	1.31
1995	2.03	1.66	0.61	3.7	1.01
1996	0.33	0.09	0.07	0	0
1997	2.05	1.32	0.82	5.24	0.08
1998	1.97	1.06	0.5	4.49	1.66

1999	1.73	1.11	0.6	6.43	1.7
2000	1.79	1.14	0.51	4.43	1.54
2001	1.7	2.61	0.85	4.71	0.94
2002	1.67	1.17	0.81	3.79	1.04
2003	1.8	1.23	0.42	5.02	1.42
2004	1.83	1.23	1.03	2.56	1.29
2005	1.84	1.21	0.47	1.64	0.97
2006	1.86	0.98	0.58	2.3	1.12
2007	1.9	1.25	0.64	2.5	1.27
2008	2.04	1.14	0.95	3.08	1.1
2009	2.08	1.23	0.72	4.44	0.88
2010	2.04	0.82	0.62	5.84	0.89

Table 2: ‘Ethnic’ Groups and Homeworking in the U.K. (1992-2010)

(Source: QLFS 1992-2010)

If we were to apply Felstead and Jewson’s (2000) model, this (table 2) is a picture of ‘home-located’ production and not ‘homeworking’. In order to analyse the ‘ethnic’ composition of the ‘homeworkers’ in the U.K. between 1992 and 2010, I shall first look at the distribution of the ‘ethnic’ minority homeworkers across the various occupational sectors. The LFS provides comprehensive information on industry divisions and groups, which have been used here to compare the participation of various ‘ethnic’ groups in various sectors over time . Though the LFS contains information on a very broad range of occupational sectors (see Appendix, table 2), the analysis undertaken here was first conducted on the following sectors - (i) food, drink and tobacco, (ii) hotel and catering, (iii) textile and (iv) footwear and clothing for South Asian and Chinese minority ‘ethnic’ groups.

The above sectors and ‘ethnic’ groups were selected for analysis after a preliminary investigation. The four occupational sectors were chosen on the basis of comparatively higher non-White ‘ethnic’ minority participation, in proportion to its own population in the QLFS. Among the ‘ethnic’ minorities, the ones included in the analysis were those, whose representation in the ‘homeworking’ workforce was at least 1 per cent of their total population, in at least five out of the nineteen years under investigation. This criterion was chosen, keeping in mind the

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‘underrepresentation’ of ‘ethnic’ minority homeworkers in large-scale quantitative data as compared to their actual ‘overrepresentation’, as has been established through various qualitative and quantitative research (Tate, 1994; Felstead and Jewson, 1998; Kabeer, 2000; NGH, 2004; Holden, 2007). The LFS involves a frequent change of categories to capture ‘ethnicity’ and employment, hence including those populations, which have continuity in their representation, makes this broad comparison sound.

As we can see from table 2, among the ‘ethnic’ minority groups, the two groups with the higher number of representation in the ‘homeworking’ workforce are that of the Chinese and the South Asian ‘ethnic’ group. If we were to take a look at the participation of the Chinese ‘ethnic’ group in the hotel and catering sector (see Appendix, table 3), where almost 80 percent of the Chinese ‘homeworking’ population is concentrated, we see a significant over representation. But this is in reference to a broad category of ‘home located producers’ (Felstead and Jewson: 2000) and if we differentiate this group to calculate the number of home located wage workers , the numbers obtained are significantly lower as can be seen in the following graph.

Chinese ethnic group in homeworking in the U.K. (1992-2010): Home located workers vs. Home located Employers in the Hotel and Catering Sector

Figure 2

(Source: QLFS 1992-2010)

Now, if we were to focus our attention on to the South Asian ‘ethnic’ group (table 2), we can see that the figures are highly sporadic and do not follow any discernible pattern or trend. Beginning with a percentage of population in ‘homeworking’ that is higher than the overall percentage and the highest among all ‘ethnic’ groups, it begins to decline significantly, 1992 onwards with very low numbers for 1998 and only marginal increase in 1999 and 2000. With 2.61 percent of the South Asian population involved in ‘homeworking’, 2001 reflects the highest percentage of South Asians in ‘homeworking’ in the U.K. These figures display a great amount of fluctuation acquiring greater numbers towards the end of the distribution i.e. in 2007 and 2009.

Again, this represents home-located producers among the South Asian ‘homeworkers’. But unlike the trend in the Chinese ‘ethnic’ group involved in ‘homeworking’, an analysis of the South Asian population in ‘homeworking’, across the four sectors, as available through the QLFS samples reveals that all of them are in the category of ‘home located wage labourers’ as they neither fall in the group of either ‘self-employed with employees’ or ‘self-employed without employees’. A further analysis of the ‘socio-economic group’ of the South Asian ‘home-located wage workers’ reveals that all of them are involved in ‘unskilled manual work’ which can be associated with ‘low discretion’ and hence we can classify them as ‘home located low discretion wage workers’ (Felstead and Jewson, 2000).

Thus the ‘ethnic’ minority group with the highest number of ‘home located low discretion wage workers’ is the South Asian ‘ethnic’ group especially in the footwear and clothing and the textile sector even though an overall picture of ‘homeworking’ (see Appendix, table 3) reflects a highly insignificant number of the South Asian ‘ethnic’ minority. This is similar to Felstead and Jewson’s (2001) analysis of a population of four QLFS samples (Spring 1997, Autumn 1997, Spring 1998 and Autumn 1998); the ‘ethnic’ minorities comprised only 4.9 percent of the population who worked at home but 7.1 percent of ‘home located low discretion wage workers’.

If we were to disaggregate the distribution of the South Asian ‘home located low discretion wage workers’ by sex, the numbers dwindle to even more insignificant levels (see Appendix, table 4). These numbers could easily lead one to the conclusion that the participation of the non- White ‘ethnic’ minority women in the ‘homeworking’ workforce in the U.K. is almost negligible. Even so, these figures clearly suggest the ‘feminization’ of certain occupational sectors, especially textile and footwear and clothing. This trend of concentration of women in the garment and fashion industry in the U.K. is well researched and documented –

Sewing emerges as by far the most common type of work amongst the Asian and British Asian homeworkers. Of the 10 Asian and British Asian homeworkers that responded, 8 were working in sewing. This contrasts markedly with the White British homeworkers, where only 6 out of 49 were sewing’ (Holden, 2007: 17).

Even with the insignificant or inadequate numbers available for analysis of the ‘ethnic’ composition of ‘homeworking’, it is interesting to look at the presence of the non-U.K. born South Asian ‘ethnic’ minority women in ‘homeworking’. If we were to concentrate on the ‘feminized’ occupational sectors in the above distribution of ‘homeworking’ by ‘ethnicity’ and gender, it reveals a near absolute presence of the non-U.K. born South Asian ‘ethnic’ minority women.

Year TextileFootwear and Clothing

	No. of women	No. of women born outside the U.K.	No.of women	No. of women born outside the U.K.
1992	2	2	7	6
1993	0	0	4	3
1994	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	2	2
1996	0	0	0	0
1997	0	0	3	3

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1998	1	1	3	3
1999	1	1	1	1
2000	0	0	1	1
2001	0	0	0	0
2002	1	1	0	0
2003	0	0	0	0
2004	0	0	1	1
2005	1	1	3	3
2006	1	0	0	0
2007	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0
2010	1	0	1	1

Table 3

Non-U.K. born South Asian ‘ethnic’ minority women and homeworking: Textile and Footwear and Clothing Industry in the U.K. (1992-2010)

(Source: QLFS 1992-2010)

As we can see from the table above (table 3), it is mostly non U.K. born South Asian ‘ethnic’ minority women, who compose the ‘homeworking’ population among the ‘ethnic’ minority women in the traditionally ‘feminized’ sectors of employment in the U.K. What does this reflect about the participation of migrant women in ‘homeworking’ particularly and in the labour market generally?

Phizacklea(1990) argues that while all BME (British Minority Ethnic) women were relegated to a highly segregated labour market in the post war period and ‘confined to low paid, low status and gender specific employment’ (Phizacklea, 1990: 98), the ‘immigrant’ ‘ethnic’ minority women were doubly subordinated in the labour market due to the ‘work permit system, employment

vouchers, entry as dependants and racial discrimination' (Phizacklea, 1990: 98). Following Phizacklea's lead, if we were to analyse the specific case of the South Asian 'immigrant' women present in the footwear and clothing 'homeworking' workforce in accordance with their 'year of arrival' in the U.K., the following picture emerges –

Figure 3

Non -U.K. born South Asian home based low discretion wage-workers in the footwear and clothing industry in the U.K. by their year of arrival

(Source: QLFS 1992-2010)

In figure 3, we can notice a steady inflow of South Asian women as 'home based wage workers' beginning in 1960s and with a sharp increase from 1970 onwards that continues to remain at almost similar levels until the 1990s where from it begins to decline. Before we look at the history of immigration legislations in the U.K., it shall be helpful to first take a look at the clothing industry in the U.K. during this time period.

The international restructuring of the clothing industry in the 1970s in Britain due to import penetration (since the 1960s) and recession led to a process of internal restructuring, based on the three alternatives available to the manufacturers: 'automate, relocate or evaporate' (Phizacklea, 1990: 9). Of the firms that sustained the competition, some chose to automate and adopted computer assisted designing for cutting and finishing:

However, the sewing of garments, which required few skills beyond the ability to handle a sewing machine competently, did not lend itself readily to mechanisation...this remained the most labour intensive stage of production ... in London, relocation was largely internal, with firms increasingly subcontracting the labour intensive machining stages to much cheaper, unorganised labour working in the 'outdoor units' and as domestic outworkers in the 'hidden economy' of the depressed inner city areas of Britain. (Kabeer, 2000: 4)

It is extremely interesting to observe that the time periods which mark an increased entry of South Asian home based low discretion wage workers into the footwear and clothing industry (fig. 3) correspond to the industrial restructuring in the clothing industry and to the introduction of restrictive immigration legislation for the Commonwealth Citizens in 1962, 1968 and the Immigration Act in 1971. These legislations left the women, especially the women from the Commonwealth of countries with little choice but to 'enter as family women or on a voucher sponsored by a relative in business' which has had a 'major impact on the terms upon which they entered British labour markets' (Phizacklea, 1990: 95).

Under the Immigration act 1971, women voucher holders had no automatic right to bring their husbands or children into the country while men did. Therefore women from the Commonwealth countries entered the labour market as dependents and without the right to work,

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determining the ‘absorption’ of non-U.K. born ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ women into the British labour market.

Therefore the entry of ‘ethnic’ minority immigrant women into the U.K. and into the labour market was pre-determined by their ‘race’ and ‘sex’, hence relegating them to a subordinate position. Kabeer (2000), also argues that it is important to understand the ‘double closure’ in the labour market facing Bangladeshi women – gender segmentation and racial segmentation cross cutting each other in the clothing industry in the U.K. Whereas many white women workers and second generation of earlier immigrants had moved away from the industry, it continued to remain dominated by women from the ‘ethnic’ minorities

Anderson (2011) also argues that the ‘immigration controls’ shape the relations and terms of entry for the immigrants ‘through the creation of categories of entrant, the imposition of employment relations and the construction of institutionalised uncertainty’ (Anderson, 2011: 301). The employment status that ‘homeworking’ provides does not fit within the standard occupational categories and the status of the homemaker as a ‘worker’ or ‘employee’ is also indefinite. The form of employment is irregular and the working hours are not quantifiable which makes it hard to categorise it as either full time or part time. Attributed with uncertainty of continuing employment, absence of regulatory effectiveness, lack of control over the labour process and inadequacy of the piece rate earnings, ‘homeworking’ is characterised by a high degree of labour market insecurity. The ‘precariousness’ and the ‘invisibility’ of ‘homeworking’ hence re-enforce each other.

There is therefore a need to move beyond an analysis of exploitation of ‘ethnic’ minority female labour in the ‘ethnic economy’, as a representation of the ‘cultural’ and ‘patriarchal’ values, to the investigation of structural factors and processes, determining the exploitation of ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ female labour.

Conclusion:

Through the preceding sections of the paper, I have tried to unravel the ‘gendered’ and ‘racialised’ nature of the informal labour market in the U.K., through the phenomenon of ‘homeworking’. The focus on ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ women, particularly South Asian women homeworkers in the clothing industry, serves as an analytical case for the primary aim of this paper – to illustrate the invisible-ising of the ethnic minority ‘immigrant’ female labour in the informal economy of the U.K.

In order to bring to light this invisible-ised work and workers, it is extremely important that they be captured and represented through national level data. It is therefore imperative that the macro level research be carried out through a mixed methodology. As long as the divergence between ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ methods exists in large-scale surveys, it shall be difficult to

overcome the tenacity of invisibility that homeworkers and ‘homeworking’ have suffered from. In light of this, future household surveys need to be redesigned and execute research with regard to ‘homeworking’.

Apart from considering the limitations of the national level household data, it is extremely important to pay attention to the role of ‘immigration controls’ (Anderson, 2010). Labour market segments have reproduced themselves in ‘gendered’ and ‘racialised’ conditions, predetermined by immigration legislation. Along with the role of ‘immigration controls’ and ‘migratory processes’, it is also important to incorporate an understanding of other factors:

Discrimination, lack of recognition of qualifications and education, and other ‘demand’ side factors that can lead to many people being unable to move out of low waged, low status and insecure jobs many years after they have obtained British citizenship (Anderson, 2010: 313).

Thus, a ‘gendered’ and ‘racialised’ analysis is crucial to the way in which we can revisit the debates on ‘homeworking’ initiated by Phizacklea (1990). The invisible-sing of ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ female labour does not refer merely to their absence from the large scale quantitative records on ‘homeworking’, which is but a manifestation of the nature of ‘homeworking’ and other such forms of ‘precarious’ employment. It also refers to the discourse on ‘homeworking’, a form of work that has been historically marginalized, and to the discourse on the sexual division of labour within and outside the household. Coupled with the role of immigration controls and provisions in the U.K. that reproduce the patriarchal expectations of women’s dependency on men, the combination of such discourses plays a fundamental role in invisible-ising female labour, especially ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ female labour. It is extremely important to re-invent the terms of engagement and research, specifically with regard to ‘ethnic’ minority ‘immigrant’ female labour, rather than suppose them as cultural tropes who are ‘extremely difficult to determine’ unless they ‘identify’ themselves.

APPENDIX:

Table 1

Year	Men	Women	Home- working men	Home- working women	%age of home- working men	%age of homeworking women
1992	77049	82199	1038	1997	1.35	2.43
1993	78857	84166	1403	1927	1.78	2.29
1994	76919	82384	1484	1827	1.93	2.22
1995	74318	78686	1402	1686	1.89	2.14

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1996	73688	78868	1275	1643	1.73	2.08
1997	72759	77778	1348	1680	1.85	2.16
1998	72037	75943	1232	1620	1.71	2.13
1999	70574	75113	1045	1439	1.48	1.92
2000	69069	73415	1071	1424	1.55	1.94
2001	67347	71928	969	1304	1.44	1.81
2002	67243	71573	970	1301	1.44	1.82
2003	64734	68739	1045	1311	1.61	1.91
2004	62166	66358	1029	1273	1.66	1.92
2005	61306	65281	991	1257	1.62	1.93
2006	60153	63953	950	1211	1.58	1.89
2007	59758	63957	1019	1249	1.71	1.95
2008	59072	62977	1089	1300	1.84	2.06
2009	57381	60588	1084	1261	1.89	2.08
2010	55822	59148	1047	1180	1.88	1.99

Homeworking in the U.K. 1992-2010 by sex

QLFS 1992-2010

Year	Agriculture and Horticulture TextileFoot-wear and Clothing Services					Food Drink and Tobacco Constr-uctionRetail Distrib-ution Business		
1992	745	21	415	30	65	172	390	361
1993	655	26	357	28	47	171	327	345
1994	688	19	353	29	33	172	285	301
1995	658	14	332	28	33	131	258	291
1996	573	13	327	31	18	130	191	288

1997	582	20	321	24	25	133	196	287
1998	517	17	251	28	23	127	168	328
1999	371	19	158	24	17	107	145	322
2000	362	18	135	21	11	141	181	335
2001	266	10	108	20	6	141	143	293
2002	253	12	102	26	16	134	149	335
2003	278	7	123	21	12	136	137	350
2004	258	11	111	25	10	149	155	344
2005	279	12	76	18	15	140	156	336
2006	253	10	72	20	11	129	115	333
2007	279	12	NA	12	14	184	121	NA*
2008	271	12	NA	17	11	166	116	NA
2009	298	13	NA	16	5	115	114	NA
2010	341	18	NA	14	6	112	99	NA

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Table 2

Homeworking in the U.K. 1992-2010 by sector (Industry Division and Industry Group)

QLFS 1992-2010

Table 3

Year	'Ethnic' Group	Total no. of homeworkers	Food, Drink and Tobacco	Hotel and Catering	Textile	Footwear and Clothing
1992	South Asian	108	0	5	4	7
	Chinese	26	0	22	0	0
1993	South Asian	95	0	2	0	4
	Chinese	28	0	23	0	0
1994	South Asian	58	0	5	0	4
	Chinese	28	0	22	0	0
1995	South Asian	66	0	6	0	2
	Chinese	11	0	7	0	0
1996	South Asian	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Chinese	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1997	South Asian	57	0	4	0	4

	Chinese	20	0	18	0	0
1998	South Asian	44	0	3	0	3
	Chinese	21	0	18	0	0
1999	South Asian	50	0	2	2	3
	Chinese	22	0	18	0	0
2000	South Asian	50	0	3	1	0
	Chinese	14	0	9	0	0
2001	South Asian	44	0	5	0	0
	Chinese	16	0	11	0	0
2002	South Asian	50	0	2	0	0
	Chinese	19	0	11	0	0
2003	South Asian	49	0	3	0	0
	Chinese	23	0	18	0	0
2004	South Asian	50	0	0	1	0
	Chinese	10	0	10	0	0
2005	South Asian	46	0	4	1	1
	Chinese	8	0	4	0	0

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2006	South Asian	42	0	1	2	1
	Chinese	9	0	6	0	0
2007	South Asian	55	0	1	0	0
	Chinese	12	0	4	0	0
2008	South Asian	46	0	1	1	1
	Chinese	17	0	8	0	0
2009	South Asian	57	1	1	0	1
	Chinese	18	0	13	0	0
2010	South Asian	36	4	0	0	1
	Chinese	27	0	21	0	0

‘Chinese’ and ‘South Asian’ homeworkers in four sectors (i) Food, drink and tobacco, (ii) Hotel and Catering, (iii) Textile and (iv) Footwear and Clothing, from 1992-2010

QLFS 1992-2010

Table 4

Year	Ethnic Group	Food, drink and tobacco		Hotel and Catering		Textile		Footwear and Clothing	
		No. of men	No. of women	No. of men	No. of women	No. of men	No. of women	No. of men	No. of women
1992	South Asian	0	0	3	2	2	2	0	7
	Chinese	0	0	12	10	0	0	0	0
1993	South Asian	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
	Chinese	0	0	14	9	0	0	0	0
1994	South Asian	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	1
	Chinese	0	0	14	8	0	0	0	0
1995	South Asian	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	2
	Chinese	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0
1996	South Asian	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Chinese	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1997	South Asian	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	3
	Chinese	0	0	10	8	0	0	0	0
1998	South Asian	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3

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	Chinese	0	0	10	8	0	0	0	0
1999	South Asian	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
	Chinese	0	0	10	8	0	0	0	0
2000	South Asian	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0
2001	South Asian	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	6	5	0	0	0	0
2002	South Asian	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	6	10	0	0	0	1
2003	South Asian	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	8	10	0	0	0	0
2004	South Asian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0
2005	South Asian	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	0
	Chinese	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
2006	South Asian	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0

	Chinese	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
2007	South Asian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
2008	South Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	South Asian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
2010	South Asian	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
	Chinese	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0

‘South Asian’ and ‘Chinese’ homeworkers by sex in the four i) Food, drink and tobacco, (ii) Hotel and Catering, (iii) Textile and (iv) Footwear and Clothing, from 1992-2010

QLFS 1992-2010

***NA – Not available**

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Gender Differences in Migration Pattern in India: A Household Level Analysis

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Abstract

While the conventional economic approaches state migrants as genderless agents responding to macro-level socio economic changes, feminist studies on migration suggest that socio-economic factors, especially the economic ones, shape his/her migration experience differently. The structural changes following the reform period affected negatively the means of livelihood of female than male. Under the assumption that female actions are more tightly bounded by household decisions it is expected that migration decision of female will be more sensitive to constraints and incentives faced by the household and hence, female migration behavior will respond more strongly than male to household economic shocks.

This paper attempts to measure intra-household gender differences in migration decision. It further tries to explore the gender-specific dynamics of migration within household. The theoretical framework is drawn from the New Economics of Labour Migration modified to address gender dimension. The empirical part uses the nationally representative survey (NSSO) data of India collected during 2007/08, and uses multi-variate regression technique to measure the gender differences relative risk of migration. In bi-variate analysis, to understand gender differences in migration decision, migration rate is estimated for different types of households (Single/ two and above/ total) for both male and female respectively. The dependent variable in the regression analysis is the ratio of female to male migration that captures relative risk of migration in a household.

The findings of regression model suggests female from low economic class, low social group as well as engaged in informal employment migrates disproportionately at a higher rate than male. The results reveal that in poor settings the female risk of migration is much higher than males within the household signifying vulnerability of females both as bread winners and care takers. This seems to be consistent with the idea of NELM model, that households diversify their assets (household members) to minimize various kinds of risk. This brings out the importance of incorporating gender in models of household migration. Disproportionately large number of female migrants relative to male in certain indicators reflecting household socio-economic status may also prompt one to think about changing gender role of female in a household.

Key words: *Migration, Gender, NELM, Household, Risk*

1. Introduction

While the conventional economic approaches state migrants as genderless agents responding to macro-level socio economic changes, feminist studies on migration suggest that socio-economic factors, especially the economic ones, shape his/her migration experience differently. Nevertheless,

the studies were limited to individual level by focusing on the determinants of individual migration. Yet the individual characteristics can only give some ideas about type of people involved in the process of migration. To get an idea about the selectivity of migration process it is important to study the characteristics of migrant households. In fact it is the 'household'⁶ an important economic and social unit working for the collective well being of all the individual members that influences one's decision to migrate. Further, the recent developments in the theoretical models of migration-the new economics of labour migration (NELM) place the issue of migration decision making within the context of the 'household'. It is argued that households decide to migrate mainly with a view to minimising the element of economic risk ⁷(Stark and Bloom 1985; Stark 1991). Studies carried out using the household framework show that the decision to migrate takes place within the household context rather than solely at individual level (Bhattacharyya 1985; Aguilera and Massey 2003; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003, Munshi 2003) and, therefore, a crucial unit in the analysis of migration.

However, the studies do not specifically recognize the role of gender in the migration decision making at the household level. Even the NELM model has been criticised on the ground that it has failed to recognize the role of gender in influencing the households' decision to migrate. A few studies carried out in the western countries (Donato 1993; Cerruti and Massey 2001; Kanaiaupuni 2000) illustrate the varying impact of household level factors on migration decision making across gender. Using household as a conceptual tool for migration decision to cope up with variability in income and to analyze it from a gender perspective is not much explored yet, particularly in Indian context.

The changing pattern of female migration in India differs from male migration in many respects, signifying the importance of gender in the family migration decision making process. For instance, the structural changes following the economic reform have affected negatively the means of livelihood of females relative to males by displacing a large number of females from agriculture (Sundari 2005; Arya & Roy 2006). Generally it is believed that if the household income flow is uncertain, households diversify their economic activities which can affect males and females. In view of the assumption that female actions are more tightly bounded by household level factors, the migration decision of females is expected to be more sensitive to the constraints and incentives

⁶ Household' as used here, refers to the staying together of individuals under a common roof and sharing a common kitchen

⁷ Risk is defined here as variability in the aggregate income of a household

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faced by households and hence, it can be presumed that female migration behavior responds to household economic shocks more strongly relative to males.

Given this context, the major objective of this chapter is to examine the gender differences in respect of migration behaviour at the household level.

Data and Method

The data as provided by the NSSO (2007/08) is used for analyzing household migration. The paper presents the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrant households across gender. To understand the gender differences in migration rate at the intra household level, households are classified according to the number of migrants present within a household and also according to the sex for examining the gender differences. The migrant households are then classified into: (a) Single migrant household(households with only one migrant) (b) More than one member migrant household(Household with at least two or more member migrants) and (c) Total migrant household (Household with at least one member migrant).

To understand the migration decision making process, the study follows the New Economics of Labour Migration Model. The analysis aims at finding out the importance of various socio-economic factors in the migration decision making of females within the household. A logistic regression model is used for explaining the relationship between the dependent variable and a set of explanatory variables.

The functional form of the logistic regression model is expressed as,

$$Y = \ln(p/1-p) = \alpha + \beta_i \chi_i + \mu$$

Where $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$

The risk of migration of females at the household level, the dependent variable, is computed as the ratio of female migration rate to male migration rate. It captures the relative risk of migration within a household. In other words, it shows how the probability of female migration changes relative to male migration at the household level. The dependent variable is dichotomous in nature taking on value 'zero' and 'one'. 'Zero' represents those households with female migration rate is less than male migration rate and it is 'one' if the female migration rate is greater than male migration rate.

Since marriage is deeply rooted in female migration, it is difficult to explore the gender differences and the actual role of females in the migration decision making process. To overcome this problem, households reporting marriage and family moved as the reason for migration are

excluded from the analysis. Thus, the focus is more on employment oriented migration with a capacity to earn livelihood.

To understand the context and the manner the risk perceived varies for males and females in terms of migration decision making, the study analyzes the economic characteristics of migrant households across gender.

Household poverty & migration

It has been pointed out in studies relating to gender and poverty, that the relative risk of poverty within a household is higher among female and hence, female migration is considered as one way of responding to the difficult economic conditions of a family (Findley & Diallo 1993).

To understand this the percentage share of migrant households according to the size across MPCE class is presented in Table-. It is observed that the percentage of households with at least one migrant increases with increase in economic class. This pattern is similar for both male and female migrant households. However, the pattern varies across different households according to the number of migrants present in the household.

The percentage of households with single female migrant is found highest in respect of the poorest (Q1) economic class (2.54 percent). It is also true in the case of single male migrant households (8.18 percent). This reveals those migrating independently are primarily employment oriented and are from the poorest sections of the society. On the contrary, households with more than one migrant show a sharp increase in the percentage of female migrant households with increase in MPCE. Perhaps it is the increased socio-economic opportunities rather than sheer economic compulsions that motivate many members from the same households to migrate.

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Table-1: The percentage share of migrant households according to the number of migrants & sex across MPCE Classes, (Excluding marriage and family moved), 2007-08

Monthly per capita expenditure class(in Rs)	Total Number of Households	Single migrant households		More than one migrant households		Total migrant households	
		Only Male	Only Female	Only Male	Only Female	At least one Male	At least one Female
Q1(54-1880)	25,968	8.18	2.54	0.10	0.85	14.41	14.86
Q2(1881-2630)	21,417	3.09	0.81	0.24	0.88	10.80	11.53
Q3(2631-3515)	22,671	1.83	0.58	0.36	1.23	12.46	13.21
Q4(3526-5065)	25,470	2.28	0.65	0.49	1.17	17.91	18.37
Q5(5066-198528)	30,052	3.20	1.01	0.61	1.28	31.22	31.10
Total	1,25,578	3.97	1.20	0.35	1.07	17.17	17.63

Source: Calculated from NSSO data

The data presented in the Table-1 shows across all the economic classes, the proportion of single male migrant households is found higher than female migrant households, indicating that the deep rooted social and cultural constraints restrict women in terms of keeping their mobility low in relation to males for reasons other than marriage.

With respect to total migrant households, the gender differences in the migration rate suggest that the percentage share of female migrant households is the same or marginally higher than male migrant households. For instance, the percentage share of household with female migrants constitutes 14.8 percent in respect of Q1 class while it is 14.4 percent for male migrant

household. This implies that economic factors motivate females to migrate to the same extent as they do males.

Households with two or more migrants indicate that the percentage share of female migrant household is higher than male migrant households irrespective of all economic classes. From the table it is observed that the percentage share of poorest households (Q1) with two or more male migrants is 0.1percent, while in the case of females it is 0.85 percent. Similarly, for the richest household (Q5) the share found to be 0.61 percent for male migrant households and 1.28 percent for female migrant households. Such gender differentials in migration clearly depict that in respect of poorer households the relative risk of poverty is more for female migrants. A Study by Afshar & Agarwal (1989) shows that women in poor households typically spend almost all their earned income on their family's basic needs, while men keep a significant part of their earning for extravagant expenditure. It indicates the role of women as the primary economic providers of the household and their migration appears to be critically linked to the household welfare as compared to males. Linking household income and migration, a study by Prelipceanu (2008) finds that male migrants come from households that have already reached a certain level of material wealth, but women migrants come from poor households because in their case, migration seems to be the 'last best-option'. However, persisting gender differences in migration across higher economic class for households with two migrants also give the indication that, to improve the economic status of the household in terms of better employment as well as higher education, households with two female migrants show a higher mobility as compared to male migrant households. This trend has emerged especially in the context of the socio-economic development of the country. Perhaps, apart from economic compulsions, a sense of self-sufficiency, economic independence and the desire to prove their worth motivate female households belonging to higher economic groups to migrate (Kaur 2006; Singh 2007). Such kind of changes in the migration pattern of females indicates the changing status of women within the household and their increasing ability to participate in the household migration decision.

Occupational structure of households & migration

The occupational pattern of migrant households not only shows their present economic status but also helps understand the sort of factors that persuade a household to migrate. The data presented in the table-2 reveals that the agricultural labourer households with a single female migrant are more likely to migrate (0.66 percent) followed by self-employed households in non-agriculture activities (0.53 percent) in rural areas. Agricultural labour households are mostly poor and asset less, and hence, migration is the only viable option for women belonging to this category.

Table-2: The percentage share of migrant households according to the number of migrants and sex across Occupational categories (Excluding marriage and family moved), 2007-08

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Occupational Categories	Total Number of Households	Single migrant households		More than one migrant households		Total migrant households	
Rural		Only Male	Only Female	Only Male	Only Female	At least one Male	At least one Female
Self-employed in non-agriculture	11,080	0.83	0.53	0.13	0.99	10.61	11.37
Agricultural labourer	17,918	0.44	0.66	0.03	1.10	4.92	5.84
Other labourer	8,789	2.56	0.45	0.18	0.96	12.44	12.80
Self-employed in agriculture	28,933	0.31	0.28	0.03	1.25	4.19	5.33
Total	66,720	0.73	0.46	0.07	1.13	6.56	7.46
Urban							
Self-employed	16,955	3.75	0.42	0.69	1.13	28.19	27.92
Salaried/wage labourer	17,985	11.56	1.36	1.29	0.76	48.00	46.87
Casual labourer	5,119	6.62	0.99	0.94	0.42	27.64	27.10
Total	40,059	7.69	0.93	1.00	0.86	37.07	36.37

Source: Calculated from NSSO data

On the other hand, for households with two and more female migrants, the migration rate is found higher among agriculturally self-employed households (1.25 percent) followed by agricultural labour (1.10 percent) households. In the Indian context, the rural employment structure is mostly agriculture based and hence, may increase the likelihood of females working in agriculture.

The occupational desegregation of migrant households in respect of urban areas shows a different picture. For single migrant households the propensity to migrate is higher for the salaried/wages earning class across males and females. The share of households with a single male migrant is higher for the salaried/wage earning category (11.56 percent) followed by casual labourer and self-employed categories which constitute 6.62 percent and 3.75 percent, respectively. Likewise, salaried households with single female migrant constitute the highest share (1.36 percent) followed by the casual labourer category (0.99 percent). Studies show that due to increased opportunities in urban areas, girls at a young age move out their households to become economically independent, living on their own in cities so as to be able to send remittances to their homes (Thadani and Todaro 1984).

The gender differences in the migration rate across occupational categories show that in rural areas, only agricultural labour households with single female migrant are more likely to migrate (0.66 percent) relative to male migrant (0.44 percent) households. However, for other households with more than one migrant, the migration rate of female migrant households is higher than male migrant households across all occupational categories. However, the magnitude of difference seems to be higher in the case of agricultural labour households followed by the self-employed. Case studies related to India show that families migrated in response to the presence of female oriented economic opportunities (as domestic servants, vegetable vendors, flower vendors in front of temples etc.) and that they are the primary or equal earners, as male employment is often irregular and uncertain (Premi 2001; Meher 1994). Hence, it can be said that women tend to lead the family migration process because of the relative ease with which they find employment. With regard to the total migrant households, the gender difference is found relatively high across the salaried class with the likelihood of higher migration among male migrant households. Unlike this, both male and female migrant households account for an almost equal proportion (i.e., 27.64 and 27.10 percent respectively) across the casual labourer category.

All these trends show that the rate of female migration is in no way different from the male migration rate and that in certain instances it even surpasses the male migration rate for employment reason. These findings suggest that women migrate as the main economic providers of the household in many instances especially in the poor socio-economic context. Similarly, females from better off socio-economic background also migrate for the overall enhancement of the socio-economic status of their households, like males, to a large extent.

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Determinants of Female Household Migration

To examine the major factors influencing female household migration, a logistic regression model is estimated. This model predicts the log odds of female-male migration rate (the magnitude greater than one) vs. female-male migration rate (the magnitude less than one) which is a function of various intra-household socio-economic and demographic variables.

The highly significant impact of MPCE on the odds of migration supports the expectation that household poverty is a major predictor of female migration decision making. The effect of MPCE on migration shows that, households with more female migrants than males, the odds in favour of migration is higher for females belonging to the poorest economic class, while the same decline with an increase in the economic status of households as compared to those households in respect of which female migration rate is less than that of males. This suggests to fulfill the economic obligations of the family, females from poor households migrates more than that of male. Hence, it can be argued that income variance of a household increases the probability of migration relatively higher for females.

As compared to households belonging to labourer class (reference category), the odds of migration is lower for females belonging to service and petty worker categories. The odds of migration for females are found to have increased by 1.45 times in respect of the cultivator household category. Although cultivators do not belong to the poorest group, in view of an uncertain income flow from agriculture on the one hand, and mechanization of agriculture on the other, push females out of agriculture thereby increasing their migration rate. Higher odds of female migration relative to males in the labourer household category indicates the role of women as the major economic providers of the households and the uncertainty of a secular income flow motivate them to migrate.

Table-3: Logistic regression analysis predicting the likelihood of female to male migration rate in the context of intra-household dynamics (Outside marriage and family moved), 2007-08

Ratio of female migration rate to male migration rate	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z
Economic variables			
Poverty (Poorest)			

Poor	0.819*	0.099	-1.65
Middle	0.802**	0.093	-1.9
Richer	0.695***	0.080	-3.15
Richest	0.604***	0.072	-4.21
Employment(labourers)			
Service	0.765***	0.057	-3.59
Cultivators	1.455***	0.128	4.24
Petty traders & worker	0.718***	0.054	-4.4
Demographic variables			
HHSIZE	0.939	0.038	-1.58
HHSIZE square	1.010**	0.003	2.17
Children Under age 5	0.690***	0.035	-7.37
Aged (60+)	2.113***	0.119	13.25
Sex ratio	0.240***	0.008	-43.89
Socio-Cultural variables			
Caste(Others)			
ST	1.118	0.105	1.19

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SC	1.040	0.080	0.51
OBC	1.097*	0.062	1.62
Religion(Hindu)			
Muslim	1.046	0.085	0.55
Others	1.122	0.097	1.33
Educational attainment of Household members (Illiterate)			
Primary	0.993	0.148	-0.05
Secondary	0.968	0.141	-0.23
Higher Secondary & above	0.996	0.151	-0.03
N	11370		
LR chi2(20)	3321.28***		
Pseudo R2	0.242		

*p< 0.1, **p< 0.05, ***p< 0.01

Source: Estimated from NSSO

A positive and significant impact of household size squared on the odds of migration is observed from the analysis. This result is consistent with findings related to family size and migration in Asian and Latin American countries which show that larger the size of a family, greater is the push for females than for males to migrate. While sons are needed for the family

agricultural activities, daughters are often viewed as additional mouths to be fed and hence their migration is encouraged (Findlay, *et al.* 2003).

The presence of dependents in a household increases the odds of migration for females than males, where as, women with children less than 5 years old reduces their likelihood of migration. This is consistent with the studies (Brown 1983; Sinha 1975) that married women with more number of children are less likely to migrate since they rarely leave their children with their families to share the child rearing responsibilities.

Females belonging to OBC household category are more likely to migrate relative to others. This shows that caste as an economic as well as a social constraint pushes females into migration to a larger extent than males. However, other socio-cultural variables do not have any impact on their migration.

Summary

The above analysis provides an economic explanation of the gender differences underlying the migration decision making process within a household framework. It brings to the fore that female migration outside marriage and associational movement is basically a response to the socio-economic status of a given family. To cope up with household vulnerabilities, to minimize the income risk and to improve the economic status of the family, women take recourse to migration as a practicable strategy. This tendency is found to be higher in the case of single female migrant household. However, the gender differences in the migration rate of single migrant households show that the socio-cultural norms do not favour the free mobility of single females like in the case of males. However, with respect to the all other households category consisting of more than one migrant, households with female migrants show a higher migration tendency than male migrant households.

The results of logistic regression model elicit the role of household risk factors in determining the female migration decision making at the intra-household level. The findings illustrate that females from low economic classes, low social groups as well as those engaged in informal employment migrate disproportionately at a higher rate than males. To take care of the family needs and to cope up with household income risk most of the females decide on migration as a livelihood strategy for the family as a whole. This implies that it is the economic compulsion within the household that mainly drive the migration of households with having female members.

What emerges from the overall discussion is that women play a major role in the intra-household migration process in terms of ensuring the economic stability of their families. While linking gender with household migration, it is observed that the degree of influence of household risk factors on the migration decision making of females is higher than on males. The chapter, thus, brings out the importance of gender in the household migration decision making model and also prompts one to think about changing gender relations within the household.

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Care Model for Women Victims of Sexual Violence. Mexico

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Abstract

The research presents a comprehensive care model that would encompass legal, medical and psychological aspects for both assistance and prevention of violence –especially sexual violence– against migrant or trans-migrant women in Mexico. The intention was to promote, but also to demand, guarantees to the right to a life free of violence for migrant women, and their right to health care –notwithstanding them being nationals or foreigners, victims of human trafficking or smuggling. The proposal resulting from our research seeks to be a tool for both migrant shelters and various authorities that have direct contact with migrants. The intention was to provide guidance on how to act in a situation requiring caring for women who have undergone sexual violence, and in particular, on how to address possible consequences such as HIV infection, sexually transmitted diseases and/or unwanted pregnancies. Likewise, it will serve as a preventive tool.

Keywords: *trans-migrant women, care model, sexual violence, health care, preventive tool.*

1. Introduction

This research was made by two Mexican NGOs in 2012 (Iniciativa Ciudadana y Desarrollo Social, Incide Social and Sin Fronteras) with the support of Ford Foundation.

Until recent years, the Central American migration to the United States that uses Mexico as a transit territory was a phenomenon of small visibility in the public agenda. Yet, it gradually positioned itself over time, as it became a more complex matter encompassing various issues. One of these issues is female migration, in which lay certain dynamics and implications resulting from gender specificity. Although they have some common features, women's experience in migration flows is distinctively different from that of men. These differences relate, among others, to the context in which the option to migrate emerges, the conditions of vulnerability during the journey, and the psychological, economic, social, and cultural impacts on women within the process.

Furthermore, female mobility was not a widely studied topic, as its analysis relegated migrant women to the role of wives and companions of working migrants. Nowadays, it is crucial to recognize the importance of women in migration flows; not only because of the number, but also because of the substantial changes they imprint on them, the transformations that occur in labor markets, and the political, social and cultural meaning of their participation in origin, transit and reception countries.

In the case of transmigration through Mexico, Central-American migrant detentions in 2010, it was found that out of a total of 64,033 people, 16.43% were women, of whom 86% were more than 18 years old, and 13.6% were girls and adolescents.¹

Since last 10 years in México and the region we have a context of vulnerability, discrimination and uncertainty. In our last research we found the excessive use of violence expressed in many ways and across borders, such as verbal and physical abuse, exclusion, robbery, extortion, assault, torture, human trafficking and smuggling, kidnapping, rape, mass rape and homicide, among others. Greater focus should be given to the fact that in the massacre of 72 migrants –mainly from Central America, Ecuador and Brazil– in the San Fernando Ranch in Tamaulipas, México, 14 were women, and one was in a state of advanced pregnancy.

What we as ngo's try to do was raising awareness of the situation that migrant women face, and develop actions for their protection, such as the design of a comprehensive care model that would encompass legal, medical and psychological aspects for both assistance and prevention of violence –especially sexual violence– against migrant or trans-migrant women in Mexico. The intention was to promote, but also to demand, guarantees to the right to a life free of violence for migrant women, and their right to health care –notwithstanding them being nationals or foreigners, victims of human trafficking or smuggling. Those rights must be extended to all people living or transiting through the country, for the simple fact that they are human beings.

The proposal resulting from our research seeks to be a tool for both migrant shelters and various authorities that have direct contact with migrants. The intention was provide guidance on how to act in a situation requiring caring for women who have undergone sexual violence, and in particular, on how to address possible consequences such as HIV infection, sexually transmitted diseases and/or unwanted pregnancies. Likewise, it will serve as a preventive tool.

Within migration, sexual violence in all its forms is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a problem that mainly affects women, but does not exclude men. It is a social context already existent in the origin countries, where such expressions of violence are also tolerated. In the case of women, the problem is based on the discrimination they are victim of, as well as the social role that historically placed them in a position of inferiority.

As the main transit country for Central American migrant women on their way to the United States, in Mexico sexual violence is also a standard social problem that is aggravated by a deficient state response in terms of prevention, protection and assistance.

The Central American migrant women, who suffer violence in their country of origin, endure increased vulnerability as they transit through a country that is also marked by sociocultural patterns of discrimination against women. Besides, in their case, to their condition of women adds the fact that they are migrant and undocumented. The lack of protection from their sending countries, as well as from transit and receiving countries, breeds a continuum of violence

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and discrimination against them. Indeed, the latter is based on social practices that tend to distort problems as sexual violence.

Women face a greater number of risks that result in physical and emotional health damages, sexual violence and unprotected intercourse are recurring, as well as determining to receive “protection” during the migration process. Those conditions are closely related to the particular vulnerability of undocumented migration. This is why it is imperative to advance in the construction of a prevention and comprehensive care model that adjusts to the complexity of the migration dynamic, as well as to the responsiveness of both civil organizations that provide assistance, and health and justice government institutions that are directly responsible for this population.

The project led to several key conclusions. First, given the underreporting of sexual assaults and limited data in Mexico to demonstrate the humanitarian crisis faced by Central American migrant women in transit through the country, it is clear that combatting sexual violence is not yet a priority. The humanitarian assistance programs developed by civil society and the State are limited and barely known, and there is a lack of coordination between the different levels of government in the implementation of the various programs. Moreover, the stigma experienced by the Central American woman—both because of her gender, and her origins, as well because of her undocumented status—restricts access to comprehensive care with social, medical, psychological and legal support, making them further vulnerable. Hence, there is a manifest need for comprehensive care and prevention for victims of sexual violence. Based on the experience of fieldwork conducted since 2008, it was observed that in the case of women who choose to file a complaint, there are problems in the investigation, prosecution and sanctions applied when the case relates to sexual violence.

Second, the creation of specialized public prosecution units in matters of crimes against migrants does not signify a guarantee for protection and care to victims, since their status as undocumented migrants prevails. Besides, public officials are not duly aware and women often suffer from re-victimization. Women victims of sexual violence do not access justice mechanisms as their condition of trans-migrant represents a major constraint. Furthermore, the specialized public prosecution units in matters of crimes against migrants, and the General Attorney’s offices in the area, fail to provide an environment of confidence and safety to migrant women, to encourage reporting. They also lack protection measures for women and girls who report crimes, as well as their families and/or persons accompanying them. Last but not least, there is no information provided on the mechanisms of access to justice.

Despite the actions carried out by social organizations and institutions, the resources and specific programs dedicated to Central American migrant women are inadequate. In the specific case of the medical and psychological care, such programs do not exist or are not adapted to the transit and cultural particularities of this group. As conclusions we identified the need of:

- Guaranteed access to comprehensive medical and psychological services to victims or potential victims of sexual violence, and appropriate to the specific characteristics of this transmigration flow.
- Keep working to ensure right to justice, creation of mechanisms to file reports of sexual violence, the development of effective judicial investigations that do not re-victimize migrant women but provide victims with a mechanism to foster reporting, and follow-up on them during their entire journey until they arrive to their destination country.
- The development of information tools demonstrating the characteristics of the women's movement, including the origin, age, ethnicity, education level, health, routes taken, transit conditions and access to justice.
- With both the elements included into this Diagnosis, and the suggestions mentioned of care models for women victims of sexual violence, we propose the a Care Model Its purpose is to achieve the prevention and protection of women migrant who may be or have been victims of sexual violence. It mainly aims to prevent possible infections (HIV, STD) and/or situations of pregnancy. Also, it seeks to identify possible care alternatives in those cases where such serious consequences were avoided. This Care Model is proposed as a tool to facilitate and improve the work of social organizations, with the aspiration that migrant women be guaranteed their human rights and their access to care at list know what to do and where to go if there are victims of sexual violence,

The Care Model comes with a Guide for Immediate Assistance that is offered to Migrant Shelters, ngos's and government institutions. The first step it recommends is Emergency Emotional Containment, by reason of the severe psychological consequences involved in sexual assaults. Likewise, it explains the different phases of the judicial process for reporting an assault. It also includes the addresses and telephone numbers of judicial institutions and regional offices of the National Commission of Human Rights. The Guide aims to present a set of actions that can easily and rapidly provide comprehensive care to women who have been victims of sexual violence.

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IMMEDIATE CARE GUIDE IN

MIGRANT SHELTERS AND MIGRANT HOUSES

STEP 1: When informed of a case of sexual violence, volunteers will provide a safe, reliable and confidential environment (Prioritize psychological support in each case, if there is access to it).

STEP 2: Explain health risks and implications, should the woman be victim of a sexual assault.

2.1 Explain the risks

- Unwanted pregnancies
- Sexually transmitted diseases, STD/HIV

2.2. Provide information on the available options of care:

FIRST 72 HOURS

Prevention of pregnancy:

-Emergency contraception must be provided as soon as possible and until three days after the assault (72 hours). If it is taken within the first 12 hours, it is 95% efficient.

Prevention of STD/HIV:

-Post-Exposure Prophylaxis treatment. It should be started immediately after the assault, ideally between 2 and 6 hours after, and up to 72 hours. Monitor the treatment for side effects. Maximum effectiveness of prophylaxis is achieved if given within the first 24 hours.

AFTER 72 HOURS

Prevention of pregnancy:

-Take a pregnancy test

- Positive
- Negative

In case you are pregnant, do you want to continue with the pregnancy?

YES

•The person is referred to the Social Security Institute, the General Hospital or Health Center for prenatal care.

NO

- The person is referred to the General Hospital, the Health Center for legal abortion (it must be performed within the 12 first weeks of pregnancy).

Prevention of STD/HIV:

Start antiretroviral therapy in a Medical Unit. Once the start of the treatment is decided, the recommended duration of prophylaxis is of 4 weeks, with administration of daily doses.

STEP 3. Encourage reporting of sexual assaults and explain the judicial process.

- If the person decides to report the sexual assault:

Assist the migrant to the following institutions and call the PROBONO Network of Law-yers for legal counseling (see directory attached).

A. Specialized Prosecution Unit in matters of Crimes Against Migrants

B. State Prosecution

- If the person decides not to report the sexual assault:

A. Propose to the migrant to register the sexual assault in the shelter's records.

STEP 4. If the person decides to stay to start the treatment and judicial process, begin managing with public health institutions to determine who would provide the subsequent consultations; and process her stay with migrant houses and shelters, as well as with the National Network of Refuge for Women.

JUDICIAL PROCESS

Steps to report a sexual assault:

A. Do not wash yourself after the sexual assault, and keep the underwear and paper towel you used to clean yourself up, since they constitute key evidence.

B. Go to the nearest agency specialized in sex crimes.

C. A medical gynecologist or proctologist (in case of men) examination of the victim is carried out, to take samples of blood, semen, saliva and pubic hair, as well as to determine the extent of injuries.

D. Make a statement before the Public Prosecutor, on how the attack occurred (approximately one hour).

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E. Once the statement at prosecution is done, the victim can take a shower if she/he wants to. There is access to showers in Specialized Agencies.

After the sexual assault is reported:

A. The judicial police starts an investigation.

B. When the police arrest a suspect, the victim can identify him through a Gesell chamber or one-way mirror. This procedure enables the victim to see the alleged aggressor, but he does not see the victim; and hence face confrontation.

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Implications of Gender Neutrality of the Eu Common Migration Policy to the Rights of Female Migrant Workers

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Abstract

Female labour migration merits attention because of its numerous particularities compared to the male labour migration. Due to limited options for legal migrations to the European Union for third country nationals, migrant women tend to seek employment in informal sector, entertainment sector, and private households where they become physically and legally invisible. Legal invisibility leads to rights invisibility and increases women's vulnerability to the labour exploitation and abuse as well as to the trafficking in human beings for purposes of sexual exploitation. Implicit applicability of the EU general gender equality acquis to the female migrant workers is insufficient to secure legal protection as it applies only to documented female migrants and subordinates the gender equality as universal human right to the residence status. The delicate line between the overly protective migration policies impeding freedom of movement and freedom of choice of employment and introduction of legal safeguards to ensure comprehensive legal protection and equality in workplace require fine-tuning and development of gender-sensitive migration policies. Despite the growing number of female migrant workers in the EU, among which is considerably high number of undocumented migrants employed in private households, joint migration policy of the EU towards third-country nationals is up to date remarkably gender-neutral. This approach abstains to acknowledge particularities of female migrations emphasised in all international legal instruments on migrations. In addition, none of the EU Member States has ratified the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families and the ILO Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers that are considered crucial for the legal protection of female migrant workers. This approach is not consistent with gender equality EU policies and furthers gender segregation of migrants at the labour market. The paper will provide analysis of the EU and the international legislation related to the gender sensitivity of migration norms and policies. The hypothesis of the paper is that the absence of gender -sensitivity in the EU common migration policy could have detrimental consequences to the labour and other human rights of female migrant workers.

Key words: *Migration, gender, EU, neutrality, workers.*

1. Introduction

Number of female migrant workers worldwide recently has exceeded number of male migrant workers. While large portion of female migrants migrates for the purpose of family reunification, which still accounts for the highest migration worldwide, we are witnessing progressive increase in number of independent female migrations for the purpose of employment. Female migrants who opt to migrate individually are frequently exposed to particularly vulnerable employments in informal sectors in which they become legal invisible and prone to the abuses of human rights, labour exploitation, sexual harassment, exploitation for purposes of sex-trade and trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual or labour exploitation. Destination countries have the vast interest in keeping the cost of migration labour law, often at the cost of deprivation of basic labour and other human rights. While all international organizations and states acknowledge increased vulnerability of female migrants, this position is only reflected in the fundamental human

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rights instruments and thematic human rights instruments of the Council of Europe, but was not entirely incorporated into the core migration regional and national policy instruments.

International binding and non-binding (but still politically significant) legal instruments did include protection measures to prevent labour and sexual abuse of female migrant workers. The same has been reflected in the recommendation of the European Parliament to the EU Member States on the necessity to include safeguards on the gender-equality into the provisions of EU common migration policy. Unfortunately, provisions of adopted Directives and two Directives currently under negotiations are gender-neutral and devoid of a reference to the particular vulnerability of female migrant workers.

2. Why migration policies have to be gender sensitive?

Development of national migration policies in Europe in last decades has been consistent with the overall development of migration theories. Migration literature is using the term “invisible” for female migrants, but we would rather say that they were unequivocally disregarded in terms of statistical breakdowns, analysis of trends and patterns of female migrations. Labour migration was “a male business” and researches and legislators were omitting to include gender-dimension of migrations in spite of Ravenstein’s 19th century observation that women are more migratory than men are and more mobile in terms of short-distance migrations. (Ravenstein 1885). Gradually and due to inter alia higher involvement of women in academic research of migrations, specifics of female migrations became acknowledged and commenced to attract the attention of researchers. Thus, gendered migration theories and consequently gendered national migration policies began to develop. (Kofman 1999, Morokvasic 1984).

Taking into consideration the fact that women’s active role in migrations has been relatively recently recognized by theorists and practitioners, it is not surprising that gender-dimension of migration policies is still emerging and currently still far away from being comprehensively developed. Regrettably, in 21st century “legal policies at the national and international levels continue to be framed with inadequate knowledge of, and responsiveness to, the distinct experiences of female migrants.”(Fitzpatrick, Kelly 1998-1999). The consequences are that gendering dimension and gender sensitivity of legal provisions are widely absent from national and regional migration policies. This approach leads to increased vulnerability to human rights abuses, among which the most common are abuses of labour rights of female migrant workers, particularly undocumented migrant workers. Legal implications of application of gender-biased, gender-blind, gender-neutral or gender-sensitive migration policies precisely determine “the delicate balance between protecting the female migrant from abuse while simultaneously liberating her to control her own destiny.”(Fitzpatrick, Kelly 1998-1999, p. 50).

Gender-biased migration legal norms are the most detrimental to the rights of female migrants. Those norms can appear protective, but in reality, they are restrictive, having negative effect on female migrations. Norms prohibiting female migration are one example of gender-biased norms, particularly if the prohibition of labour migration is misinterpreted as a preventive measure for the protection of fundamental human rights. Thus, female migrant workers from Nepal, Ethiopia, Philippines and other countries are banned from migrating to Gulf countries because of the high record of abuses of migrant domestic workers in those countries. Written permission of a male family member in certain countries is precondition that female siblings or spouses can apply for travel documents and migrate is another example of gender – biased migration norm (Banda 2008). Criminal responsibility could also be gender-biased. In countries in which the adultery is a crime, female migrants committing adultery are usually accused of fornication and commonly jailed or immediately deported, which is not applicable to male migrants. (Human Rights Watch 2011, p. 10). Discriminatory practices of obligatory HIV and pregnancy tests for female migrant workers in various Asian states, but also in Italy until 2001, are notorious examples of gender-biased legal norms (CEDAW 2008, ILO 2010, p. 95).

Gender-blind migration policies do not mainstream gender, thus reinforcing high probability of “convert, indirect and systematically induced discrimination in which different outcomes exist for men and women as the result of practices and regulations which are not sex-specific in terms of reference, but which become so in their implementation” (Boyd 2006, p.14). Gender-neutral migration policies usually have very similar legal effects to gender-biased and gender-blind policies. Since “neutral laws can have non-neutral effect” (Boyd 2006, p.14) gender-neutrality can easily lead to gender-insensibility and subsequently it is “likely to perpetuate the existing unequal status of women”. (De Jong 1985 p. 129) Migration laws require additional and paramount preciseness, in order to avoid legal ambiguity. Moreover, neutral migration policies could cause discriminatory practices which has been reinforced in Council of Europe’s Opinion on Recommendation: Protecting migrant women in the labour market calling for the adoption of gender sensitive migration policies and warning on the necessity of positive action to prevent discrimination against female migrants (Council of Europe 2011). Gender-neutrality in migration legislation does not imply gender-equality, but often just on the contrary – neutrality impairs or derogates the equality. Implicit gender – equality in the EU common migration acquis is another matter of concern, particularly when we take into consideration that undocumented female migrants are, by the mere fact of their residence status, excluded from the mainstream EU acquis, including gender-equality acquis. This exclusion of fundamental human right is highly contestable because it furthers vulnerability to exploitation and abuses of undocumented migrants. Having in mind high number of female migrants in the EU, gender equality of third country nationals in the EU merits explicit provisions in the common migration legislation.

To conclude, migration norms and policies do affect men and women differently. Some authors claim three principal reasons for this: the concentration of men and women in different migratory flows based on gender-segregated labour markets in their home countries and abroad;

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gendered socioeconomic power structures; and sociocultural definitions of appropriate roles in destination as well as origin countries (Lim, Oishi 1996, Lister 1997 Hoskyns 1993). Gender-sensitive legal norms and policies would ideally take into account the differences in socio-cultural roles, needs and opportunities, constraints and vulnerabilities of women and men (OSCE 2006 pp. 11, 13 and 50.).

3. International and regional legal framework on gender sensitive migration policies

International and regional legal frameworks on rights of migrants have been gender-aware and actively promoting gender-sensitivity of national migration policies. Member States of international and regional organizations regrettably did very little to implement recommendations. One of the most notorious examples is very low ratification rate of the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, as well as ILO Domestic Work Convention, landmark international legal instruments aimed at protecting migrant workers. None of the major destination countries for labour migrations has ratified ICRMW. Additional concerning fact is that certain professions in which migrants are more frequently employed than nationals are excluded from the scope of national labour laws (like for example migrant domestic workers). It is illusionary to expect gender-sensitivity of migration policies in those countries. In addition, certain sectors of migrant's employment are highly feminized and thus gender-exclusive without being rights-protective.

In this regard, it is essential to mention the most crucial legal instruments addressing the need for gender-sensitivity of national migration policies. Human Rights Resolution 2005/47 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has encouraged "all States to apply a gender perspective in developing international migration policies and programmes in order to adopt the necessary measures to better protect women and girls against dangers and abuse during migration," (Commission on Human Rights 2005), while the International Labour Organization Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration has outlined that the migration framework should "advocate gender-sensitive migration policies that address the special problems faced by women migrant workers" and recommends that labour migration policies become gender-sensitive and address the problems and particular abuses women often face in the migration process (ILO 2006).

In the regional context, Council of Europe has played a pivotal role in ensuring comprehensive legal framework for effective protection of women migrants through adoption of several Resolutions and Recommendations. Unfortunately, the Council of Europe has not managed to initiate regulation of the legal status of migrant women through Convention that could have stronger legal effect and clearer monitoring and implementation mechanisms than Resolutions and Recommendations.

4. EU approach to gender dimension of common migration policy

In analysis of the EU joint migration policy, the declaratory willingness of the European Commission to include gender dimension in considerations on migration is remarkable. Unfortunately, this willingness did not translate into the more concrete formulations in legal provisions of joint EU migration acquis. Thus, in 2005 the Commission has expressed interest to establish migration profiling for developing countries that would “include aspects such as gender dimension of migration.” (European Commission 2005, 1). The same year the Policy Plan on Legal Migration the Commission explicitly mentioned that “in the development of the various initiatives, due attention will be paid to gender issues, with a view to protecting the most vulnerable groups.” (European Commission 2005, 2). Gender issues or modalities of implementation of gender related measures within the Plan were not mentioned further. A year later, in 2006 the The Global Approach to Migration one year on: Towards a comprehensive European migration policy the Commission has acknowledged the need to base approach towards migrations on the protection of all migrants, but particularly women as vulnerable to human rights abuses. (European Commission 2006, p 20- 21, p 46). Regrettably, legal protection of female migrants was not mentioned further in the report. In 2008, the Commission has released A Common Immigration Policy for Europe in which it has recognised “particular difficulties female non-EU migrants face in the labour market.” The need to “particularly focus on women” has been highlighted but also without specifying modalities or measures aimed at achieving those goals. (European Commission 2008, pp. 3 and 6). In 2009, European Competitiveness Report 2009 has presented findings based on conducted surveys that “gender differences in unemployment, employment and inactivity probabilities among the foreign-born are significantly higher than for all residents (although they also decrease with increasing educational attainment)” (European Commission 2009) Despite the seriousness of claims of the Report, the EU did not take proactive steps towards addressing the disadvantaged position of female foreign-born workers in its common migration policy. In 2011, the European Commission has recalled the adoption of a Policy Coherence for Development Work Programme 2010-2013 (from April 2010), that “included a chapter on migration... enhancing migrants' rights and gender dimension (European Commission 2011, p.70).” Again, the Commission did not include details on gender dimension of migrations. The document Migration and Development presented the very same year by the Commission has expressed commitment to “a gender-conscious dimension” (of migrations)” (European Commission 2011b, p 9, pp. 11, 13, 14.). It has inter alia expressed a need to “support entrepreneurship initiatives and actions aimed at socio-economic empowerment of migrant women” (European Commission 2011b, p.15). Throughout the document phrases like “specific needs of female migrants” and “women’s empowerment” signal that the Commission was very much aware of the specifics of female migrations. Unfortunately, this did not translate into the concrete norms of the common EU migration policy as Directives remain devoid of any stipulation related to the gender-awareness.

Finally, none of the EU common migration policy Directives contains any gender –sensitive provision and we can easily conclude that all of the provisions are deliberately gender-neutral. The

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consequences of such approach are numerous and could be highly detrimental to the rights of female workers. Directives of the EU joint migration policy are lacking gender component, except the Directive on Family Reunification. This Directive reinforces the prejudices that women are inevitably dependants, with minority (if any) of female migrants having the sponsor status (by which they are residence status holders) and bearers of residence status/right to family reunification.

Unless the Union ratifies the ILO Decent Work for Domestic Workers Convention or the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, or mainstreams gender-sensitivity in joint migration policy, it is hard to imagine the harmonization of legal safeguards for female workers and legal protection from physical, financial, labour, sexual and other forms of gender-specific abuses. The consequence is inadequate and insufficient legal protection. In addition, there is a risk of gender –insensitive discretionary interpretation of migration *acquis* by national authorities of the EU Member States. Hence, the EU has to acknowledge specific situation of female migrants through its *acquis* norms as a matter of priority and has to take a step forward in approaching existing international and regional (i.e. CoE's) legal standards on gender-sensitivity of migration norms and policies.

5. Implications of Gender Neutrality of the EU Common Migration Policy to the Rights of Female Migrant Workers

National migration norms and policies have to adopt internationally accepted standards of gender – awareness and sensitivity. Such norms have to take into consideration all specifics of female migrations, address them and envisage particular measures, which could be human rights protective measures, to effectively implement gender equality in migrations. In addition, there is a pressing need to adjust immigration requirements for migration residence status to feminized sectors of migrant's employment like for example housing condition for family reunification which excludes domestic workers from exercise of right to family reunification. Gender-neutral EU migration *acquis* fails to achieve balance between protection of female migrants from abuse (as vulnerable group) and task to empower disempowered to become financially independent.

In our research, we identified five main consequences of the gender-neutral EU migration policy: gender inequality, discrimination, labour exploitation and abuse, shift of duty to protect state to the private employer and legal insecurity. Gender neutrality of migration legislation could and too frequently does lead to gender inequality of female migrants. Gender-neutral legislation at the level of EU is very likely to perpetuate existing unequal status of female migrants and lead to discrimination against female migrants. Female migrants who opt to migrate to countries with gender-neutral migration policies are faced with additional vulnerability to labour exploitation due to lack of legal safeguards to ensure comprehensive legal protection and not only formal, but also substantive and tangible equality in the workplace. This requires fine-tuning and development of

gender-sensitive and empowering migration policies. Lack of gender-sensitive migration policies leads to legal insecurity for migrants and increases their involvement in informal sectors of employment. It also exposes them to discretionary power of employer who, in the absence of state legal protection, assumes excessive immigration and labour rights powers.

6. Conclusion

EU acquis will have to adjust common migration policy to the international standards and current trends in the EU acquis gender equality legislation i.e. incorporate safeguards for the protection of human rights of female migrants. With the overall growth of the “migrant care sector,” it is essential to streamline gender-sensitivity into the provisions of migration acquis, currently lacking any concrete measures or safeguards to protect female migrants from abuse and exploitation. Positive action towards an increase in number of highly qualified female migrants, recognition of their professional qualifications in the destination country as well as increase in professional mobility of female migrants in destination country would significantly contribute to empowerment of female migrants and would efficiently prevent gender-based discrimination and abuses.

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PART 3

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND GENDER

Socio-Demographic Determinants of Migrant Women and Access Equality To Prenatal Care In Italy

CHIAVARINI M.- LANARI D.- MINELLI L.-, PIERONI L.- AND SALMASI L.

Background

Many governments have made commitments to tackle inequalities in healthcare access based on studies which assessed the association between several socio-demographic factors and late initiation or fewer antenatal visits. This study addressed the question of whether socio-demographic determinants were significant in explaining differences in antenatal care in an administrative region of Italy (i.e., Umbria) with specific focus on migrant women, and whether the implementation of regional policies of the integration process effectively was reduced over time.

Methods

Data were obtained from the administrative source of regional Standard Certificate of Live Birth between 2005 and 2010. Standard and bivariate probit regression models were used to analyse the magnitude of the association of country of birth and citizenship, along with occupation, education, and parity and interaction variables with respect to late access to the first visit and low number of visits. To estimate disparities effects of the healthcare access of migrant women on the pregnancy outcome, we also implement a bivariate probit.

Results

The study included approximately 37,000 women. Heterogeneous effects of socio-demographic variables which refer to migrant women were documented on the prenatal care indicators analysed. From a multivariate model, we found that women born abroad Italy presented a higher probability to make the first visit later than the 12th week and low number of prenatal visits; the estimated odds ratio (OR) for the analysed indicators range from 2.25 to 3.05. Access inequality was also observed when interactions were build for young age, pluriparity, and low education. In addition, we found that employment in migrant women improved access equality, possibly through the transmission of information of the negative consequences related with delayed or few prenatal visits. Interestingly, we showed an important reduction of the inequality of access to healthcare in recent years for both indicators, which supports the recent regional policy of integration process in prenatal healthcare access inequalities.

1. Introduction

Measuring inequalities in terms of access to prenatal care (PNC) between resident and foreigner mothers is a serious issue if we consider that these two groups are likely to be different along a number of observable and unobservable characteristics. McKenzie & Hildebrandt (2005), McKenzie & Rapoport (2010) show that migrant women may decide to migrate to find better living conditions. For similar reasons they may also take better care of maternal and child health during pregnancy and infancy, for example by attending more carefully the guidelines of the world health organization (WHO) in terms of access to prenatal healthcare (PNC) services. If this is the case a simple comparison among Italian and foreigner mothers will underestimate the true difference among the two groups. Another problem related to self-selection into migration is represented by the fact that, if the migration process is difficult and physically demanding, only healthier people will tend to migrate. However Borjas (1990) observed that, if the inequality level of the country of origin is much higher than that of arrival it will be more likely that people located at the top of the distribution of wealth will have more incentives to remain in the country of origin. In this scenario only those at the bottom of the distribution will migrate and if we assume that wealthier people are also those with better health we will have a negative selection of individuals into migration. However only the first selection issue is likely to have an effect on access to PNC. As already stated migrant women tend to have higher attitude towards the future, with respect to non-migrant ones, and if we ignore this fact we risk to obtain biased estimates of the effect of migration on PNC access equality.

This paper aims at contributing to the existing literature by i) testing whether unobservable factors are responsible for biasing the estimate of the effect of migration on PNC access equality, and ii) provide unbiased estimates of such relation. We will employ a bivariate probit model, which is capable to estimate the effect of a binary endogenous variable on an outcome of interest. Following PERISTAT healthcare indicators (EURO-PERISTAT, 2008) for the monitoring and evaluation of maternal and child health in the perinatal period we considered two binary equity indicators of access to prenatal care, related to number of prenatal visits and timing of first visit, that we will discuss more in detail in the next sections. We also account for a wide number socio-demographic factors that have been found to be relevant in explaining access inequalities to PNC. In particular, previous studies have shown that young maternal age (Essex et al. 1992, Kupek et al. 2002, Ayoola et al. 2010), low education (Perloff & Jaffee 1999, Ayoola et al. 2010, Alderliesten et al. 2007, Beeckman et al. 2010, Neupane & Doku 2012), non-occupational status (Johnson et al. 2007, Beeckman et al. 2011), parity (Alderliesten et al. 2007, Kupek et al. 2002, Baker & Rajasingam 2012), and being unmarried (Braveman et al. 1993, Rowe et al. 2008, Delvaux et al.

2001, Ayoola et al. 2010) are all barriers to early initiation of prenatal care and execution of an appropriate number of prenatal visits. We also considered the role of predisposing, enabling, and pregnancy-related factors on the adequate prenatal care utilisation (APNCU) by including in our analysis the effect of differences on socio-economic conditions related to mother's municipality of residence in Umbria⁸. Finally we also contribute to the existing literature by estimating the time evolution of the indicators of regional PNC use exploiting the large time span covered by our data (2005-2010), from which we are able to provide insight on the effects of advertising campaigns proposed by the Umbria region in 2005 in medical and social places regarding the benefits for mothers and newborns to follow prenatal guidelines.

2. Data and methods

Our study is based on data obtained from the Standard Certificate of Live Birth (SCLB) of the Umbria region (Italy) in the period between 2005 and 2010. This data source provides information on the births for the entire population of Umbria. In Italy, the state law requires birth certificates to be completed for all births. These certificates provide information on the health, epidemiological, and socio-demographic characteristics of women through the registration of birth events, including causes of mortality and possible malformations of the newborn. To ensure a uniform methodology of the regional surveys and to obtain datasets containing comparable indicators, each participating region was required to use the same questionnaire. The midwife who attends the birth or the doctor responsible for the operational unit fills the SCLB within 10 days after the delivery. In particular, it contains epidemiological information regarding the risk factors in the pregnancy, obstetric procedures, characteristics and methods of delivery, and abnormal conditions and congenital anomalies of the newborn. For details see Decree No. 349 of the Italian Ministry of Health (Minelli et al. 2009). We used population data from the Umbria region that merged data from each mother and her baby for a total of 37,000 records.

2.1 *Variables of interest and descriptive analyses*

PNC has the potential to reduce perinatal morbidity and mortality by identifying and reducing potential risks, treating medical conditions, and promoting healthier lifestyles. We followed PERISTAT healthcare indicators (EURO-PERISTAT, 2008) for the monitoring and

⁸ For a comprehensive review, see Rowe & Garcia (2003).

evaluation of maternal and child health in the perinatal period and considered two binary equity indicators of access to prenatal care from the SCLB⁹:

1. *Number of prenatal visits*: low number of prenatal visits (LPV) (below 4) and standard number of prenatal visits (SPV) (at least 4); the latter was used as the reference category;

2. *Timing of first visit*: late first visit (LFV) (above 12 weeks) and, regular timing of first visit (RFV) (below 12 weeks); the latter was used as the reference category.

As determinants, we considered a set of individual-level variables as follows: age, with four categories: < 20, 20–29, 30–39, and > 39 (the reference category is age 20–29); citizenship, with two categories: Italian or foreigner (Italy is the reference category); marital status, with two categories: married, unmarried (married is the reference category). Education, measured as self-reported level of education, according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) classification as: low (no more than 8 years of education), medium (from 9 to 13 years of education), and high (more than 13 years of education); the latter was used as the reference category; occupational status which is classified in five categories: self-employed or white collar, blue collar, unemployed or looking for the first job and students or housewife (self-employed or white collars is the reference category). We also examined the impact of pregnancy factors on preterm birth by including parity (with categories: 0 or 1+; the former is the reference category).

Descriptive statistics for the variables that were used in our models are listed in Table 1. This table shows descriptive statistics for the two PNC access outcomes of interest, conditional on covariates. We observe that women having a lower number of visits tended to be younger and less educated with respect to women having a recommended number of prenatal visits. Moreover, also occupation seems to be relevant in explaining differences in PNC access. Employment promoted adherence to the recommendation to have four or more antenatal visits. Marital status is found to be less important, whereas pluriparity had a negative influence on the choice to make at least four visits. Similar patterns were observed in relation to the timing of first visit, suggesting the existence of a large positive correlation between these indicators. Focusing on citizenship we can see how the percentage of mothers making less than 4 visits is very variable among ethnic groups. Italian women were more likely to make more than four visits rather than foreign born ones. The results are again very close when we consider a late first visit as outcome of interest.

⁹ The recommended indicators of perinatal health also include those related to the management of sub-fertility and the care of preterm infants, describing variations in the use and success of these medical technologies in a chronological order from pre-conception to postpartum care. For a discussion, see Macfarlane et al. (2003) and Zeitlin (2003).

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Category	Number of visits				First visit			
		< 4		≥ 4		≥ 12 weeks		< 12 weeks	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Maternal citizenship	Ita	1630	49.8	29182	78.7	2	1341	2	29402
									78.5
	Est Eu	847	25.8	4145	11.1	8	689	8	4284
			8		8				11.4
	Africa	419	12.8	1803	4.86	406		14.6	1805
									4.82
	South America	122	3.73	620	1.67	87		3.13	654
Maternal age									1.75
	Asia	105	3.21	334	0.9	110		3.96	321
									0.86
	Others	150	4.58	988	2.67	148		5.32	985
									2.63
	Total	3273	100	37072	100	2781		100	37451
	≤								100
Maternal age	20	206	6.36	843	2.24	149		5.54	898
									2.36
	20	1418	43.7	11802	31.3	1147		42.6	12022
Maternal age	—		7		8			6	
	29								31.5
Maternal age									9

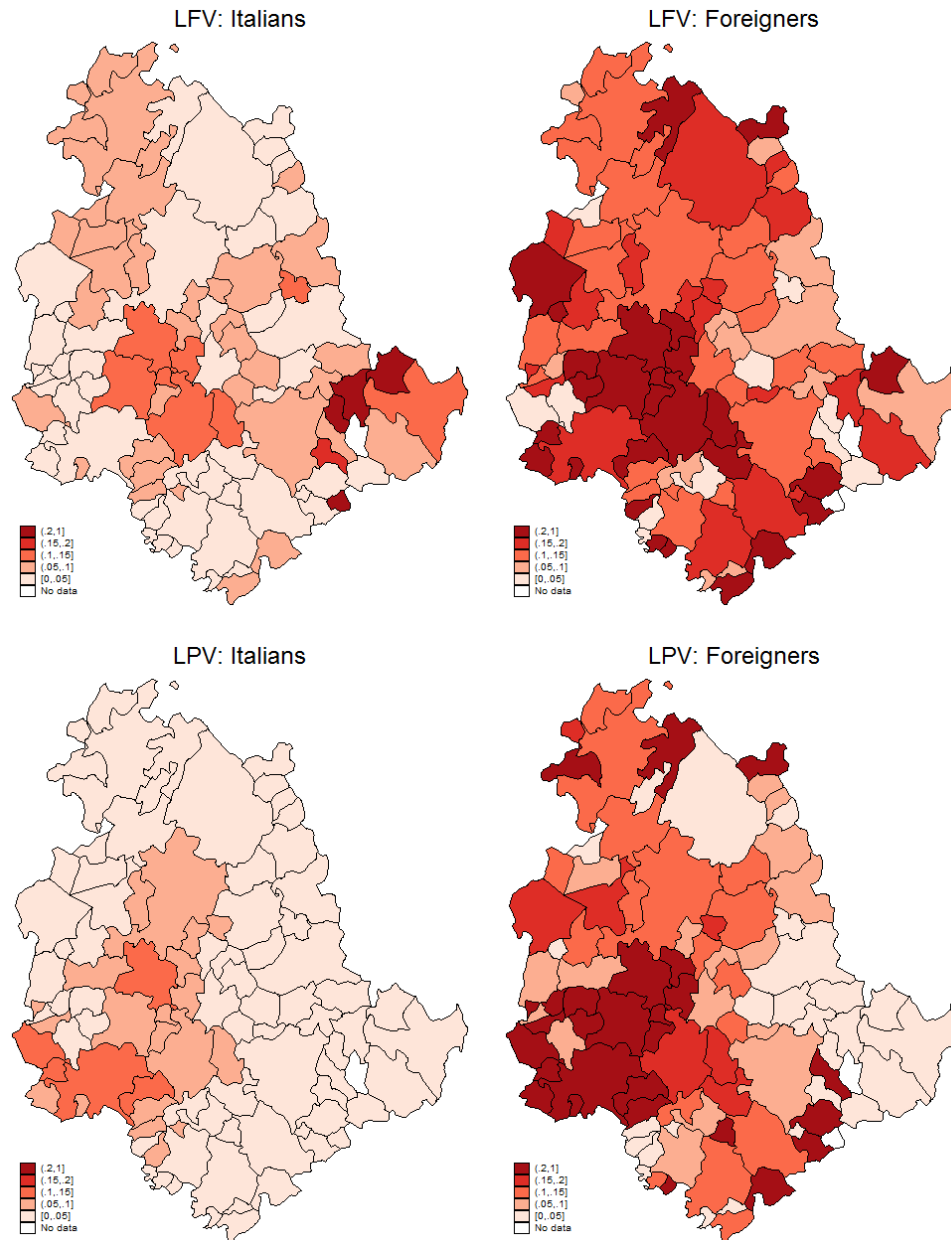
	30	1415	43.6 7	22438	59.6 6	1239	46.0 8	22564	59.2 9
	—								
	39								
	>								
	39	201	6.2	2529	6.72	154	5.73	2570	6.75
	Total	3240	100	37612	100	2689	100	38054	100
Maternal education	High	515	15.0 6	10427	26	491	17.3 8	10431	25.6 9
	Medium	1528	44.6 9	20590	51.3 4	1175	41.5 9	20891	51.4 5
	Low	1376	40.2 5	9091	22.6 7	1159	41.0 3	9279	22.8 5
	Total	3419	100	40108	100	2825	100	40601	100
Maternal occupation	White collar	288	8.43	5341	13.3 3	247	8.77	5373	13.2 5
	Blue collar	1128	33.0 2	21238	53.0 2	925	32.8 2	21396	52.7 6
	Unemployed	523	15.3 1	3695	9.22	423	15.0 1	3780	9.32
	Student	75	2.2	595	1.49	58	2.06	610	1.5
	Housewife	1402	41.0 4	9190	22.9 4	1165	41.3 4	9397	23.1 7

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	Total	3416	100	40059	100	2818	100	40556	100
Marital status	Married	2528	73.7 5	31441	78.1 3	2189	77.4	31707	77.8 4
	Unmarriedd	900	26.2 5	8802	21.8 7	639	22.6	9026	22.1 6
	Total	3428	100	40243	100	2828	100	40733	100
Parity	0	1746	50.7 7	24430	60.5 3	1386	48.6 3	24712	60.5 3
	1+	1693	49.2 3	15927	39.4 7	1464	51.3 7	16114	39.4 7
	Total	3439	100	40357	100	2850	100	40826	100

In order to analyse descriptively also spatial differences in access equality among Italian and foreigner women we present in Figure 1 a map of the Umbria region which shows the percentage of mothers doing a low number of visits or a late first visit. The darkest areas in the map represent the municipalities with lower access to PNC services, whereas lighter ones represent those with higher rates.

Figure 1: Territorial disparities in access to PNC in Umbria region.



This figure highlights that there are evident disparities in access to PNC between Italian and foreign mothers. The maps on the right panel are darker than those on the left, but territorial differences are similar for both groups, and affect the most the south-western part of Umbria.

2.2 Statistical methods

In order to analyse the relationship between PNC access equality (Y) and immigration, we first use a univariate probit model. This model is then augmented by including municipal level fixed effects (i.e., *FE – Probit*), which account for the influence of territorial differences. For sake of simplicity, we omit time effects and write the model as follows:

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$$Pr(Y_{i,k} = 1 | X) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \sum_{k=2}^{K_1} \beta_k X_{ki} + \sum_{k=K_1+1}^{K_2} \beta_k M_k + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Y_k (with $k = 1, 2$) represents the two outcomes under analysis, LPV and LFV, I_i is equal to 1 if the mother is born outside Italy and 0 otherwise. The covariate matrix X_{ki} contains the variables at the individual level already described in the previous subsection, and five time dummies. Under this specification, the set of dummy variables M_k mimics the influence of unobservable characteristics of the municipality of woman residence.

Since we are interested in identifying the effect of immigration on access equality to PNC - which may depend on individual unobservable characteristics - we propose a recursive bivariate probit model. These models allow us to estimate the effect of an endogenous binary variable on a binary outcome in the presence of unobservable characteristics. Our final specification therefore is the following:

$$\begin{aligned} Pr(Y_{i,k} = 1 | X) &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \sum_{k=2}^{K_1} \beta_k X_{ki} + \sum_{k=K_1+1}^{K_2} \beta_k M_k + \varepsilon_{i,1} \\ I_i &= \gamma_0 + \sum_{k=1}^{K_1} \gamma_k X_{ki} + \sum_{k=K_1+1}^{K_2} \gamma_k M_k + \varepsilon_{i,2} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

We assume that $E[\varepsilon_1] = E[\varepsilon_2] = 0$, $Var[\varepsilon_1] = Var[\varepsilon_2] = 1$ and that $Cov[\varepsilon_1] = Cov[\varepsilon_2] = \rho$. If ρ is significantly different from zero we conclude in favor of the presence of endogeneity between immigration status and PNC access equality and justify the use of the bivariate specification. Whereas if ρ is equal to 0 the univariate model is preferred.

In general, in order to achieve identification of the immigration effect, the exclusion restriction on the exogenous variables must hold. In other words we need an extra variable in the immigration equation (i.e., the instrument). However, as shown by Wilde (2000), bivariate models allow also to identify the relation if the covariates used in the two equation is the same (without instrument). This kind of identification is also called identification by functional form and is possible if the impact of exogenous regressors is different in the two equations specified. Marra & Radice (2011) demonstrate that if there is enough variability in the exogenous regressors and if the correlation among the error terms is sufficiently large parameter estimates with and without instrumental variables are very close.

3. Results

3.1 Effect of migration on PNC utilisation

Table 2 lists the estimated odds ratio when the dependent variable is the number of prenatal visits. Estimates under *Probit* and *FE-Probit* models are reported in the first and second column, whereas columns 3-4 and 5-6 list those obtained under the bivariate probit specification without (*Bi-Probit*) and with municipal-level fixed effects (*FE-Bi-Probit*). Since we are particularly interested in testing whether unobservable characteristics affect the number of prenatal visits, conditional on other individual characteristics, we discuss first the results concerning the effect of migration. As we can see from the first column the univariate probit model estimates a significant difference in access to PNC between Italian and foreign women. Foreigners are 1.70 times more likely to make a LPV. From column 2 we can see that this coefficient is robust to the inclusion of territorial dummies, meaning that the effect estimated through the *Probit* specification does not depend on territorial unobserved factors correlated with migration status and access to PNC. The *Bi-Probit* specification, however, reveals that there is a significant and relevant correlation between the residuals of the two equations. The ρ coefficient is respectively -0.214 (s.e. = 0.051) and -0.149 (s.e. = 0.049) in the two specifications. When this fact is properly accounted for, by estimating a bivariate probit model, the OR increases to 2.46. This means that in the *Bi-Probit* specification the probability of LPV for foreigner mothers is the 50% higher than that estimated without accounting for the correlation among error terms. Including fixed effects does not change much our result. In this case the estimated OR is 2.20. Table 3 lists the estimated odds ratio when the outcome of interest is LFV. The *Probit* specification (column 1) estimates an OR of 1.62, meaning that migrant women show a higher propensity to make a late first visit with respect to Italian ones. Moreover, as in the previous case, the estimated OR is not significantly influenced by the inclusion of municipal fixed-effects. The analysis of the residuals in the two equations does not reveal presence of a significant correlation, ρ is respectively 0.068 (s.e. = 0.051) and 0.053 (s.e. = 0.047). The absence of correlation among residuals allow us to conclude in favor of the univariate model, result which is also confirmed when we look at the OR estimated under the *Bi-probit* specification, which are not distant from those estimated under the univariate specification.

3.2 Other socio-demographic variables

We will briefly discuss also the effect of other socio-demographic factors on LPV. We will refer only the estimates of the *Bi-Probit* model with fixed-effects, based on evidence showing that the difference between the magnitudes of the other exogenous coefficients are statistically negligible across other specifications (see Table 2).

We clearly note that many of the individual socio-demographic variables have a significant effect on the probability of LPV. From the results in Table 2, we conclude that women in the younger classes are more likely to be in LPV category. Indeed, we found that the age class ≤ 20 has

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higher odds (19%) to run into the LPV category with respect to the reference age class (20–29). A significant relationship between maternal education and the number of prenatal visits is also observed. Women with less than 8 years of education have a probability to be in the LPV category 12% higher than highly educated ones.

Another relevant risk factor of LPV was found to be associated with maternal occupation. Women classified as unemployed or looking for first job (*odds – ratio*, (*OR*) = 1.17) or students (*OR* = 1.17) had a higher probability to make LPV with respect to the reference category (self-employed or white collars). In contrast, women within the blue collar category seem to appropriately follow the guidelines of making at least four visits annually (*OR* = 0.94), similarly to the reference category. This result suggests that the legal protection of the working pregnant woman represents a positive externality in terms of a reduction on equal access to PNC, because it represents an indirect vehicle of the transmission of medical information regarding the risks of missing the recommended visits.

Marital status has a significant effect on the number of visits. The magnitude of the odds ratio for unmarried women (*OR* = 1.07) does not seem to affect significantly the differences in this antenatal outcome.

Surprisingly, women who already had children had a higher probability of being in the LPV category (parity, *OR* = 1.24). This result can be explained from the fact that women during their first delivery are more motivated to follow the guidelines to attend at least four visits, as empirically shown from descriptive statistics in Table 1.

Lastly, the estimated odds ratio from time-dummies indicate a substantial decrease across years. With respect to 2005, the probability of having a LPV in 2009 and 2010 is 17% (*OR* = 0.83) and 38% (*OR* = 0.72) lower, respectively. In other words, in the period considered the probability of LPV decreased by almost 40%.

Table 3 lists the estimates of the relationship between socio-demographic variables and access equality in PNC when the LFV is used as the outcome of interest. Interestingly we observed some differences in terms of the influence of socio-demographic variables on LFV compared to LPV. First, we note a greater propensity of younger (*OR* = 1.33) and unmarried women (*OR* = 1.21) to attend their first visit later in pregnancy than recommended. Second, we note significant differences in women with educational level between 9 and 13 years (i.e., *medium*), with respect to high educated ones (*OR* = 1.07). Fourth, although the estimated coefficients associated with time dummies indicate that the prevalence of late access decreased between 2005-2010, the estimated reduction, 17% between 2005 and 2010, is significantly lower than that recorded by the prevalence in LPV.

Table 2: Estimates of socio-demographics for access equality in prenatal care. Outcome of interest: odds ratios between less than four prenatal visits (LPV) against four or more prenatal visits (NPV).

	Probit	Probit: FE	Bi-probit		Bi-probit: FE	
Citizenship: Foreign born	1.70***	1.70***	2.46***		2.20***	
	-0.038	-0.04	-0.128		-0.129	
Age: < 21	1.19***	1.19***	1.16***	1.18***	1.17***	1.15***
	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.064)	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.054)
Age: 30 - 39	0.93***	0.92***	1	0.53***	0.97	0.53***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.009)	(0.029)	(0.01)
Age: > 41	0.95	0.94	1.03	0.47***	1	0.46***
	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.018)	(0.051)	(0.018)
Education: Medium	0.97	0.99	0.96	1.16***	0.99	1.20***
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.028)
Education: Low	1.12***	1.18***	1.05	1.87***	1.12***	1.95***
	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.041)	(0.049)
Occupation: Blue collar	0.94*	0.94	0.93**	1.20***	0.94*	1.20***
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.038)

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Occupation: Unemployed	1.12**	1.26***	1.01	2.90***	1.17***	2.84***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.104)	(0.062)	(0.106)
Occupation: Student	1.24***	1.18*	1.23**	1.43***	1.17*	1.40***
	(0.105)	(0.102)	(0.1)	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.094)
Occupation: Housewife	1.16***	1.16***	1.04	3.10***	1.07	3.26***
	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.1)	(0.052)	(0.108)
Marital status: Unmarried	1.07***	1.07**	1.08***	1.01	1.07**	1
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.02)	(0.028)	(0.02)
Parity: 1+	1.24***	1.25***	1.23***	1.15***	1.24***	1.13***
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.02)	(0.029)	(0.02)
Year: 2006	1	0.98	0.99	1.02	0.98	1.01
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.029)
Year: 2007	0.91***	0.88***	0.90***	1.09***	0.88***	1.10***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Year: 2008	0.78***	0.77***	0.77***	1.18***	0.76***	1.18***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.033)
Year: 2009	0.86***	0.84***	0.84***	1.25***	0.83***	1.26***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.03)	(0.035)

Year: 2010	0.76***	0.73***	0.74***	1.30***	0.72***	1.32***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.027)	(0.037)
ρ						
			-0.214***		-0.149***	
			(0.051)		(0.049)	
Constant	0.19***	0.11***	0.18***	0.25***	0.12***	0.18***
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.011)	(0.018)
Observations	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993	36,993
Pseudo R-squared	0.08	0.12	.	.	.	.

Notes: Standard errors in round brackets. Significant levels as follows: p -value *** ≤ 0.01 , ** ≤ 0.05 ,

* ≤ 0.1 .

Table 3: Estimates of socio-demographics for access equality in prenatal care. Outcome of interest: odds ratios between being late in first visit (LFV) against regular timing of first visit (RFV).

	Probit	Probit: FE	Bi-probit	Bi-probit: FE
Citizenship: Foreign born	1.62***	1.64***	1.44***	1.50***
	-0.038	-0.04	-0.128	-0.129
Age: < 21	1.33***	1.32***	1.34***	1.19***
	1.33***	1.15***		

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	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.068)	(0.054)
Age: 30 - 39	0.89***	0.88***	0.86***	0.53***	0.87***	0.53***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.025)	(0.01)
Age: > 41	0.98	0.98	0.95	0.47***	0.96	0.46***
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.018)	(0.046)	(0.018)
Education: Medium	1.07**	1.06**	1.07**	1.16***	1.07**	1.20***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.03)	(0.027)
Education: Low	1.21***	1.20***	1.24***	1.87***	1.22***	1.94***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.049)
Occupation: Blue collar	0.94*	0.94*	0.94*	1.20***	0.94*	1.20***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.038)
Occupation: Unemployed	1.15***	1.19***	1.19***	2.92***	1.22***	2.85***
	(0.049)	(0.053)	(0.06)	(0.105)	(0.062)	(0.106)
Occupation: Student	1.23***	1.24***	1.24***	1.45***	1.24***	1.40***
	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.094)
Occupation: Housewife	1.20***	1.19***	1.25***	3.11***	1.22***	3.27***
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.059)	(0.101)	(0.058)	(0.108)

Marital status: Unmarried	1.19***	1.21***	1.19***	1.01	1.21***	1
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.02)	(0.029)	(0.02)
Parity: 1+	1.23***	1.23***	1.24***	1.15***	1.23***	1.13***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.02)	(0.027)	(0.02)
Year: 2006	0.93**	0.93**	0.93**	1.02	0.93**	1.01
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.029)
Year: 2007	0.93**	0.92**	0.93**	1.09***	0.92**	1.11***
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Year: 2008	0.91***	0.91***	0.91***	1.18***	0.91***	1.18***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.033)	(0.03)	(0.033)
Year: 2009	0.85***	0.85***	0.86***	1.25***	0.85***	1.26***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.029)	(0.035)
Year: 2010	0.83***	0.82***	0.83***	1.29***	0.83***	1.32***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.037)
ρ			0.068		0.053	
			(0.051)		(0.047)	
Constant	0.19***	0.21***	0.19***	0.26***	0.21***	0.18***
	(0.009)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.024)	(0.018)

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Observations	37,088	37,032	37,088	37,088	37,088	37,088
Pseudo R-squared	0.08	0.09	.	.	.	.

*Notes: Standard errors in round brackets. Significant levels as follows: p-value *** ≤ 0.01 , ** ≤ 0.05 ,*

** ≤ 0.1 .*

4. Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this paper was to estimate the difference in terms of access to PNC between migrant and resident mothers. We used an empirical strategy to account for the presence of unobservable characteristics, such as attitude toward health of future children, that may bias the estimated odds ratio. When we considered LPV as outcome, we found evidence of a significant correlation between the residuals of the migration and access to PNC equations. After accounting for this issue, by estimating a bivariate probit model, we found that the odds ratio increased significantly, passing from 1.70 to 2.20. This result suggested evidence of downward bias in the standard probit estimate, which is consistent with the hypothesis that migrant women are more concerned about the future and consequently take better care of their children during pregnancy, with respect to non-migrant ones. In the case of LFV we did not find evidence of correlation among the residuals of the two estimated equations. This means that unobservable characteristics were not affecting access to PNC between migrant and resident women when we looked at the probability to make a late first visit. If we assume that the main source of unobserved heterogeneity is given by mother's orientation toward the future, which is positively correlated with age, it is not surprising that we did not find a significant effect of unobservables on LFV, given that younger mothers tend to make a late first visit, whereas age is more equally distributed when we analyse LPV. In other words if we assume that orientation toward the future increases with age, then it is more likely that it plays a role in biasing the difference between migrant and resident mothers in the LPV indicator.

From a policy perspective it would be reccomendable to promote actions targeted to increase the number of visits for migrant women, since, as we have shown inequalities are larger than in the case of late first visit and to focus especially on younger mother's which are the group of the population more at risk in terms of late access to PNC.

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Transnational Families, Migration and Gender-Romanian Roma in Romanian Villages and in Helsinki

AIRI MARKKANEN -ANCA ENACHE

Abstract

This paper explores the mobility experiences of Romanian Roma women, who are circulating in between Romania and Finland, and the practices of the children left at home. In the mobility context, the women as well as the children, are actively re- negotiating gender roles, their roles as family and community members, as well as the condition of being a Roma. The study is based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the country of origin, Romania and in Finland, over three years. As techniques, the conversation methods as well as participatory observation were used.

1. Introduction

The recent mobility of Roma in Europe reflects migration processes and multifaceted everyday experiences, which have an important potential to contribute to the nowadays discussions on transnationalism and families and women on the move. The history of mobility of Romanian Roma to Helsinki, Finland, has started since 2007, as Romania became European Union member, while on the other hand, the country has gone through weak social, political and economic developments (Cahn & Guild, 2008, 75; Sandu, 2007). The Romanian Roma have arrived to Finland under the freedom of mobility guaranteed by the EU citizenship status, and have generally exercised a circular mobility, meaning that they have regularly circulated in between the country of origin and the country of destination Finland, but also other Nordic countries.

The migration of the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma to Finland captures a specific place in the overall immigration history to Finland. Previews invisible asylum seekers to Finland (1999-2005) (Nordberg, 2004), they represent the first migrants, which have exercised their EU right to free mobility, came to Finland, and started to practice income generating activities such as begging, playing street music or collecting bottles and metal. Moreover, the precarious working and living conditions of the migrants Roma, have been questioning and shaking the so-called 'Nordic model of welfare', that was thought to ideally accommodate everyone.

Additionally, the Roma migrants in Finland have been often symbolized in the public discourses, as victims, voiceless and oppressed. Their lives complexities have been harshly reduced to ethicized, gendered, cultural and religious assumptions. The migration discourses have covered a range of topics, from criminalizing and illegalizing the Roma migrant community, to constructing the group and the individuals in the context of poverty, domestic violence, human trafficking or illegality. In all these debates, the actual Roma's migrant's lives experiences and voices are totally lacking and are poorly understood. The trend is even harsher in the case of the Roma migrant

women and children, who are generally perceived as victims of their ethnicity and gender during the overall migration stages.

This article examines the concepts of transnational families, migrant's woman and migrant's child agency, through the lenses of the Romanian Roma migrants in Finland. Undulating in between various micro, meso and macro spaces, the study draws on the everyday lives and experiences of migrants. Furthermore, the study is using the multi-sited ethnography (Schiller, 2003), as to capture and investigate several migration spaces and locations: the villages of origins, the places of destination as well as the transit spaces. Considering the circular and temporary migration patterns characteristic for the Romanian Roma migration to Finland, who commute in between the home country and Finland or other countries, a static, two – ways migration approach, couldn't portray the actual realities. Correspondingly, the study stands for 'evolving' understanding of the everyday migration realities and identities of the migrants, these dimensions being considered dynamic and interactive over time and space (Petö, 2007.)

Secondly, through the particular case of the Romanian Roma migrants, the article aims to engage with the relationships and processes between migration, gender and migrant child agency and to add to the wider theoretical and methodological discussions in this research area (Pessar, 1999; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Orbanska, 2009).

Migration is not just feminized (Martin, 2001, 3) in this study, but gender is fundamental, being moved from the 'periphery towards the core' of the migration processes (Mathler and Pessar, 2006.) Furthermore, gender is related to the multiple heterogeneities of the migrants: belonging to specific Roma communities in the home country, age, social status in the country of origin and destination, level of assimilation or exclusion and so on. The gender in this study is therefore constructed, interactive, fluid and constantly negotiated (Boehm and Castellanos, 2008). Moreover, besides recognizing the history of exclusion and marginalization encounter by Roma women in the home communities and as migrants, the study seeks to reveal the women's agency and activism in the migration processes and in the everyday life of the families and communities (Saarinen, Calloni, 2012). The voice of the migrants themselves and the potential genuine participation of the migrant women to the ethnographic study are explored as well.

Ethnographic sites

Getting firstly in contact with the Romanian Roma migrants in Helsinki started sporadically. It was a late summer day in 2008, when we met Oldina, a young Roma woman, sitting on the grass, somewhere in the city center. When she noticed that one of us speaks Romanian, the questions followed one another: 'from which place in Romania are you? When did you move to Finland? Where is your family living? Don't you miss them? How often do you visit them?' Oldina interviewed us. Then she continued: 'I just arrived yesterday to Helsinki. Four daughters are left home. I have been just thinking about them all the time'.

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The methodological approach goes hand in hand with the theoretical aim of the study: to question the individualistic, adult-centered assumptions implicit in current migration research in order to better understand actual and changing patterns of agency of different family members in migration processes. The analysis is the result of multi-sited (Marcus, 1995, 95), trans-local/ trans-space and transnational, itinerant ethnographic fieldwork, field that has been continuously living and circulating in our lives as researchers. The ethnography was led especially in Finland Helsinki, as the destination for mobility and in two small agricultural villages in Romania, Valea Seaca and Glod, as the homes of origin of the migrants, in between 2009-2013. The study is therefore, the result of building relationships and trust over time and across distances and borders, by 'following the people' (Marcus, 1995, 106).

Interviews, open discussions and extensive participant observations, as well as visual methods such as photography were used as tools for conducting the fieldwork. Plenty of time was used in participating into the everyday life of the women and children. We have noticed, that especially when being in foreign countries, women wish to recall the home stories, stories through which they reflect an exercise agency and give meanings and interpretations to people, things and events (Lamb, 2000). This study pays a special attention also to children's migration experiences and their sense of mobility and transnationalism. Story crafting was used as a method to complement the overall ethnography and to better investigate children's daily lives.

Women's spaces and practices

The everyday realities of the women are shared in between the daily activities in Finland and the contact and interaction with the 'back home, where the children are', developing genuine transnational spaces and practices (Ehrkamp, 2005.) Busses are coming weekly from the home country, bringing relatives, Romanian spices, messages or news. Migrants themselves, send constantly back home presents and money, practice which doesn't just contribute to the everyday wellbeing of the families, but represents also a way of communication and keeping in touch with the ones left home (Lazardis et al. 2011.)

In Helsinki, both women and men are busy with their daily works: begging, collecting bottles, playing music, selling magazines, all types of activities that could generate income. The days are long: begging is more profitable during the day, so women are begging all day long, while the evenings and weekends are used to collect bottles. Sunday is the only day off thou, not always kept free. Work is portrayed as stressful, hard, boring and harsh, as well as dangerous from time to time. As one forty years old woman said:

You have to sit on your knees for hours. During that time, all kind of thoughts are crossing through your mind. I have been thinking about all our family problems, worries, future plans,

children, all kind of things. At the same time, you are all the time stressed that hours are passing and you don't make any money. So you live with fears and worries, all day long (A 1).

However, the purposes and meanings of the straggle are very clear and give strength, 'to make money to send home and to go home with some money'. The use of money back home and the plans related to it, are of course much more diverse, some women dream to renovate one room, some other to organize a wedding party for their daughters or some others just plan to secure the every day needs of the children and the family.

Women are also involved in daily routines and roles, which remind them of home and construct the relation with it. 'In strainatate' (abroad), you live like 'in strainatate' (meaning under hard conditions), therefore, people are busy and stressed and do not take that much time for household related activities as in the home country. However, during evenings and Sundays' women make warm Romanian food for example besides the homeless conditions. Homemade food, the smell of Romanian flavors and fat, make women and men feel closer to home. Women are also the ones who are more involved in cleaning or making laundry, as long as male relatives or neighbors accompany them, thou such division of tasks is fluctuating a lot.

The gender and cultural roles, exercised by different groups, seem to maintain as well a link to life in Romania and back home. Being a mother is described as the center of one's existence, as well as the main motivation for mobility and the straggle of working and generating income. Since most of the women leave their children in Romania during the temporary staying in Finland, the feelings towards the decision to go abroad, are ambivalent: on one hand guilt that the children are left in the care of extended family members or grandparents, and on the other hand a sense of love and hope, considering that the decision was taken for the good of the children. Generally, women play a crucial role in the actual decision making process, being very often the ones who push for the mobility. As Nina, a thirty years old, mother and wife, said:

Who wants to leave his home? But when I saw that there was not any other possibility anymore, I said to my husband: Now we need to go, don't you see that there is nothing to be put on the table for the children? We must try, as you see the neighbor went to Finland and came with money, so now we try as well (A 2).

The other role that the women seemed to identify with in their everyday lives, is the ones of spouses ('femeia lui, his women'). The family related roles interconnected to the life of the extended family such as: daughters in law, sisters in law or aunts, were stressed as significant, as well. Most of the women migrate with their men or together with family members or friends, perceiving that the unsecure living circumstances in Finland require a good network to help and support them. When men are at home and women in Finland, the women agency becomes much more visible. They are the ones who make the money, decide on how much to send home and guide the spending process in the home country. Malda, a Roma woman who was in Finland together with her female

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cousin, explained furiously one day, that she will not send any more money to the husband back home:

Forget about the money, because I will not send any money to you anymore. Not even one Leu (Romanian money). What is this about, am I staying here (in Finland), in order to be able to save some money or to send money to him? (A 3)

In regards to the extended family, the mothers in law play a particular role in the lives of women. In the context of mobility, they are the ones, which are often taking care of the children left at home. One grandmother could take care of tenths of grandchildren, whose parents are in strainatate (in foreign countries). Therefore, the home motherhood seems to be transferred and practiced by grandmothers, older sisters or cousins. There are several challenges related to the transfer of the home motherhood and the practice of transnational motherhood, as one woman said to us:

I was not home when she got married. I was in Italy. The Gypsies stole her. But she wanted as well. When I asked her, what happened, she answered that she likes the man. She was just fourteen and she did what she wanted. But what could I do, I needed to go abroad and provide for the family (A 4).

When discussing the context of the Roma migrant women, ethnicity and migration status, as well as the other aspects related to class, social status, age (Saarinen, Calloni, 2012) and so on, have to be carefully considered. Two dimensions seems to effect the everyday life of the Roma women more than the others: the ethnicity and the status in Finland, therefore, the ‘ Gypsy law / legea tiganeasca’ and the foreign status in Finland / a fi strain. Being a Roma provides once again with rules, norms and routines that go beyond borders, while being a foreigner in Finland is perceived as a state of alienation, melancholy and lounging. Roma women’s roles and practices are however very much reaffirmed and negotiated in the context of migration and transnationalism. Women are sometimes the main income providers, while some others ‘ start wearing jeans’ when abroad, as some of the community members notice and gossip critically.

Childhoods and mobilities

One hot summer day of 2012, we were visiting a market place in Bacau city, Romania, together with Mirita, a thirty five years old woman and three of her daughters. We were preparing and shopping for a baptism ceremony that was going to occur in the family. Sonida, the nine years old daughter of the family, was enjoying the company of the sisters and mother and was acting very wisely in choosing the clothes for the younger sisters, who were going to be baptized. Fourth month after this, in Helsinki, Mirita was talking at the phone with Sonida who was now left in Romania:

Mum, the sister has diarrhea, the food was probably spoiled...Why didn't you send money yet? Now we need money for the medicine, even...We are out of washing powder as well! I need to buy washing powder! (A 5)

This is just one of the stories faced during our field work that pushed and shaped our preoccupation for children's experiences and stories related to living in between countries as well as for children's agency in the migration processes. As in the case of the migrant women, our approach is going beyond children's vulnerability and victimization (Spicer,2008; Terrio, 2008) and revealing children's agency and subjectivity (Mai, 2011).

The majority of the children that we met are not migrating themselves but are left in the country of origin Romania, being cared by relatives or family friends. The living and housing conditions of the parents and families, as well as the lack of secure employment abroad, are the main factors that push for the decision of leaving the children at home, in Romania. Children's welfare and future are described by the parents as the main drivers of the migration processes.

Older children play an important role in the decision making processes at home and take care and take over the everyday life of the younger family members. They are also the ones who interact with the officials at the community level as Dominica explained:

She understands so much better everything, and knows to write and read. Grandma is just supervising her to keep on the right track of values and lifestyle, but in regards to the actual things, she is so much better (A 6).

The parenthood is therefore unconsciously shared and negotiated in between the older relatives at home, the children themselves and the parents that try to exercise their roles over the borders.

Children's childhoods and everyday experiences are located across several places and locations, while the meaning of family is also fluid and flexible. As Ilona explained:

...my first memories are from the time when mother and father were in Spain. I just knew that they would come for Christmas and bring me oranges. Now they are in Finland, and I know that they save money to send us home. I often tried to imagine and asked them how is life in Finland? (A 6).

Children imagine the places where their parents are calling from and link the imagined West to their future. Even young children for example, picture that welfare and goods are related to the straggle of going abroad, and relate to this for the time when they will be old enough and have a family to care for. Mirita explained how her ten years old daughter was so interested to know where are her parents sleeping in Finland and how is their life there. However, at the general level she was very familiar with the idea that most of her friends parents were somewhere abroad, matter of proud actually among the children in the village.

Conclusion

This article has discussed the case of the Romanian Roma women migration to Finland and the children and families involved in the mobility cycle. The circular mobility, has a continuous impact on women's daily roles and practices, re-negotiating and re-articulating some of them, while pressuring for conserving and intensifying some others in specific contexts. Belonging to specific Roma communities in the home country, and the set of norms and roles that derives from here, play an important role in women's lives. Such community values create bridges to home, while help the women to manage in a new and strange environment. All roles and practices have to be understood in the context of ambivalence, duality and under the subjectivity of individual and collective change (Saarinen, Calloni, 2012).

In Finland as well as in the home country, Roma migrant women and children are constructed as the victimized 'others', oppressed and voiceless. This article clearly shows that Roma women are not just genuine agents in the mobility processes but also appear to be active economic, social and moral agents of the families and households left home. Children themselves, are not just the one's left at home, but develop and negotiate own practices and family and community roles.

The case of the Roma migrant women reconfirms the need for research which is aware of the heterogeneous dimensions that shape women's lives and condition vulnerability or agency in the mobility processes, such as: ethnicity, age, class, working status, religion or belonging to a specific Roma community or group (Tastsoglou, 2005; Mahler, 2001; Bassel, 2012, 123). Being a Roma migrant woman from Valea Seaca is completely different with being a Roma woman originally from Targu Jiu Romania, as the division could continue further at the level of the two communities. The class or the status of the woman and her family in the home community, will affect one's role in the migration country. Understanding the linkages and synergies in between such dimensions is crucial as well. Gender, community belonging or class, have to be approached also as fluid and flexible.

Returning Home After Retirement? The Role of Gender in the Decision Making Process of Where and How To Retire

ANITA BÖCKER

Abstract

This paper examines how gender plays a role in the decision-making processes of older migrants on where to live after retirement. It is based on in-depth interviews with 20 Spanish-born and 76 Turkish-born migrants who spent their working lives in the Netherlands and decided to return to their country of origin after retirement. Existing studies on return migration showed that women are often more reluctant than men to settle back in their country of origin, yet these studies also acknowledge that more in-depth research should be conducted on the role of gender in migrants' decision-making on return migration. In this paper, we examine, firstly, why our female respondents may be more reluctant to return and how this influences the decision-making processes of couples or families. We argue that specifically Turkish women fear a loss of new-won freedoms and that both Turkish and Spanish women prefer to maintain dual residency in order to provide and receive informal family care when needed. Secondly, we examine how the respondents' citizenship status influences their decision making. Migrants with Dutch or Spanish (EU) citizenship can move freely between the Netherlands and their country of origin. By contrast, migrants with (only) Turkish citizenship lose their residence rights in the Netherlands when they stay outside the country for a year. For naturalised Turkish migrants, their citizenship of the 'host' state is a source of freedom and security, ensuring them access to family members there and guaranteeing them the right to return back as and when the need arises. For Spanish migrants, their EU citizenship fulfils the same functions. This makes the decision to return 'permanently' much less dramatic for these groups compared to migrants who are third-country nationals. Our data also show that migrants' perspectives on citizenship are influenced by gender differences. We found that particularly women value their citizenship of the host state or, for that matter, their EU citizenship, above all in terms of the access it ensures them to their children and grandchildren.

Keywords: *return migration, citizenship, gender, Turkey, Spain*

1. Introduction

This paper examines how gender plays a role in the decision-making processes of older migrants on where to live after retirement. It is based on interviews with Spanish-born and Turkish-born migrants who spent their working lives in the Netherlands. Existing studies on return migration showed that women are often more reluctant than men to settle back in their country of origin. In this paper, we examine, firstly, why our female respondents were often more reluctant to return and how this influences the decision-making processes of couples or families. In answering these questions, we pay special attention to caring roles and expectations, which are highly gendered. Secondly, we examine how the respondents' citizenship status influences their decision making. Migrants with Dutch or Spanish (EU) citizenship can move freely between the Netherlands and their country of origin. By contrast, migrants with (only) Turkish citizenship lose their residence rights in the Netherlands when they stay outside the country for a year. What difference did this make for the migrants concerned, and how did it interact with gender differences?

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Gender and (return retirement) migration

Although one can observe an increase of studies on retirement migrants in general, the experiences of post-retirement returnees are still largely under-researched, (exceptions are for example Ackers and Dwyer 2002; Krumme 2004; Bolzman, Fibbi et al. 2006; Balkir and Böcker 2012; de Coulon and Wolff 2010; De Haas and Fokkema 2010; Hunter 2011). Earlier studies on return migration to the Mediterranean region focussed mainly on the return of working-age migrants and do not incorporate the experiences of post-retirement returnees in their analysis.

Recent studies on Turkish and Spanish return retirement migrants who have worked in a Northern-European country show that older migrants often prefer to maintain a flexible migratory pattern (instead of returning permanently to their country of origin), because of a ‘duality of resources and references’ in both the country of retirement and the country where they spent their working life (compare Krumme 2004; Bolzman, Fibbi et al. 2006). Low cost flights between Northern-Europe and the Mediterranean and cheap communication possibilities have made it possible to: ‘exploit, maintain and continue to develop residential opportunities, social networks and welfare entitlements in more than one country’ (Warnes and Williams 2006 p. 1265). Although we assume that gender plays an important role in the decision making process of where and how to retire, gender is often left aside in studies on retirement migration or only hinted at shortly.

King and his colleagues (2004) argue in a state of the art report on ‘Gender, Age and Generations’ that the dynamics of return are highly gendered. They argue that, although men and women may yearn for ‘home’, women are often more reluctant to return to the country of origin, because generally women do not want to give up their ‘new-won freedoms’ and do not want to return to conservative social conditions (p. 39). According to King and his colleagues, more in-depth research on the role of gender in migrants’ decision-making on return migration is needed as well as on how a (non-)return decision is taken within the family. Mahler and Pessar (2006) also argue that more attention should be paid to the importance of gender in the negotiation of where and how to retire. According to Mahler and Pessar (2006 p. 29) people do ‘gender work’; referring to the fluid practices and discourses through which people negotiate relationships and conflicting interests. This raises the question how a possible return move is negotiated within the household setting – between the husband and wife and within the broader family – and how gender plays out in this process.

Citizenship from a bottom-up perspective

In the citizenship literature, there is an ongoing debate on the changing form and nature of citizenship. According to some scholars, national citizenship is giving way to new, postnational or transnational forms of citizenship. For example, Soysal (1994) has argued that European nation states have been extending rights which used to be reserved for citizens to noncitizen migrants, and

that migrants' claims for rights within host states are increasingly framed within discourses of universal human rights. Other scholars emphasise the resilience of national citizenship or the limitations of the international human rights system.

A bottom-up perspective is largely absent in this literature. There are few empirical studies and even fewer studies examining what meaning citizenship actually has in people's lives (cf. Jones and Gaventa 2002; Lister et al. 2003; Miller-Idriss 2006). An interesting exception is a study by Leitner and Ehrkamp (2006). Based on ethnographic research in Germany and the US, it analyses the values and meanings migrants assign to citizenship. Particularly relevant for our topic is their finding that the intersection of gender and national identity may lead to conflicting decisions about naturalisation: whereas Turkish and Mexican women did not see a contradiction between their Turkish or Mexican identities and acquiring the citizenship of the host state, their male compatriots were more reluctant to apply for naturalisation because they felt it would betray their national identity. Their study also shows that national citizenship continues to be meaningful in migrants' struggles for cross-border mobility, legal protection and access to social and political rights. Similar to Leitner and Ehrkamp, we will examine what values and meanings (older) migrants attach to citizenship of the host country, paying special attention to (the intersection of) gender and nationality differences.

Methodology

This paper is based on semi-structured interviews with Spanish and Turkish return migrants. The interviews were conducted in the framework of different research projects. Böcker interviewed Turkish return migrants in 2009-2010 as part of a comparative project on retirement migration. Gehring interviewed both Turkish and Spanish return migrants in 2012-2013 within the scope of her ongoing PhD research on retirement migration. In total, we conducted 76 interviews: 20 with Spanish migrants and 56 with Turkish migrants. Most of the interviews were with couples (11 Spanish and 30 Turkish couples), some were with male migrants (4 Spanish and 21 Turkish men), and some were with female migrants (5 Spanish and 5 Turkish women).

We made use of purposive non-random sampling methods to recruit respondents. The main criteria for selecting respondents were that they were retired in the sense that they had chosen or been required to give up paid work, that they had spent (a large part of) their working lives in the Netherlands, and that they had returned to Spain or Turkey upon their retirement. We attempted to include migrants with different family status, different health status and different migration patterns in both samples. Most respondents settled back permanently in Spain or Turkey, but we also interviewed migrants who divided their time between the Netherlands and their country of birth. Finally, as we were interested in the effects of different citizenship statuses, we attempted to include equal numbers of Turkish and dual (Dutch/Turkish) nationals in the sample of Turkish returnees.

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Gender and the decision making process

This section examines the role of gender in the decision-making processes of our respondents on where to live after retirement. The decision making process does not end at the moment of final settlement in the country of origin, but continuously plays a role when, for example, all children are married, one of the partners dies, or health deteriorates. At these moments settlement and the mobility pattern may be reconsidered. We pay attention to dynamics between different players who are involved in the decision making process and to why women may be more reluctant to return permanently to the country of origin. Although each decision making process involves specific players, personal motivations, and differing dynamics between partners; we provide some insights hinting at broader similarities and differences in this section.

Negotiation, discussions, and quarrels

The migratory decision-making process of where and how to retire concerns a process of negotiation, discussion and sometimes also conflict between the people involved. One of the main subjects of the negotiations and possible disagreements concerns the mobility pattern. Generally speaking, women more often prefer a fluid migratory pattern with back-and-forth moves and men prefer to return permanently to their country of birth. Mostly compromises are found and migratory patterns are negotiated within the couple which may lead to a (1) permanent return move with the wife retaining the possibility to move regularly to the Netherlands, a (2) fluid migratory pattern or (3) sometimes to different mobility patterns within the couple – one of the partners already returns and the other partner moves back-and-forth. The following interview notes show how a Turkish couple negotiates their mobility pattern:

Especially his wife has a lot of friends in the Netherlands and she likes the freedom she has here to go outside. In Turkey she stays more at home and their family visits them. In the Netherlands she goes outside and does whatever she wants. That is why she doesn't want to return to Turkey for the whole year. His wife had a bypass operation a few years ago and he doesn't want to upset her in any way. So he keeps on traveling. Actually he doesn't like to travel. [Turkish couple, living part of the year in Turkey]

A few respondents also hinted at quarrels they had had with their spouse. In those cases the husband mostly wants to return permanently, whereas the wife is more reluctant or wants to remain in the Netherlands.

While talking about the decision to return the wife becomes emotional. She explains that she did not want to return permanently to Spain, because she didn't want to be far away from her children and grandchildren. She had many discussions and quarrels about this with her husband, but she did not feel free to negotiate the return with him. In the end she felt forced by her husband to

return permanently to Spain. Their daughter, who is visiting the couple at the time of the interview, explains that her father still lays down the law in their marriage. After returning to Spain, the wife went on holidays to the Netherlands and there she saw that her children were doing fine without here. After this visit she was more at ease in Spain. [Spanish woman, permanent returnee]

This interview fragment shows that the return migratory move does not only affect the lives of the migrant(s) involved, but also influences relations with family members – mainly children and parents (when alive). The decision to return is therefore often negotiated with close family members who may live in the Netherlands or in the country of birth.

The wife explains that their son gave them his permission for their return to Spain. She tells that her son told: ‘mum and dad, you both have worked very long and you made sure that we [both sons] could have a good job. I’m a grown-up now and I studied at Utrecht University. I can take care of myself now’. She states that both their sons have a good life in the Netherlands and that she felt that she could return now. The husband adds that it hurts to leave children behind in the Netherlands, but that it’s also difficult not to fully enjoy the last years of their life. [Spanish couple, permanent returnees]

Permanent returnees, both male and female, emphasize that the decision to settle back in their country of birth has not been an easy one, since it often means a bigger distance to their family and friends in the Netherlands and leaving a country which has become familiar during the years they lived there. The decision for permanent Turkish returnees is specifically difficult, because a return move may have implications for their residence rights in the Netherlands – they may be forced to give up their Dutch citizenship or they may lose their Dutch permanent residence status when living more than a year abroad. In the section on citizenship we elaborate more on this topic, also in relation to its gender implications.

Reluctance to return

As stated earlier, women may be more reluctant to return permanently to the country of origin than men. A broad range of reasons can be found for this reluctance, yet in this section is only space for three main reasons. First of all, similar to what is found in other studies, particularly Turkish women feel that they have gained more freedom in the Netherlands and feel therefore more ‘at home’ in the Netherlands than their husbands. Furthermore, upon return the social life of both Turkish and Spanish women may be tied to the house and the social life of men is more outside, which may lead to an easier re-adaptation of men than of women.

She explains that she didn’t want to return to Turkey, but because her husband had a very hard time in the Netherlands, she decided that it would be better to return together. The first year after their return she was very depressed. She argues that she felt freer in the Netherlands. ‘I had my own car, my own money, but here I have to ask my husband for everything.’ She explains that it was much easier for her husband to build up a new network in Turkey, because he could go to a tea

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house, but women cannot do that in her opinion. She spent many hours inside the house during that first year. [Turkish woman, permanent returnee]

Whereas a return move may cause a loss of new won freedoms and status for women, for men the opposite may be true. Mainly Turkish male respondents who returned with a remigration benefit (see section on citizenship) state that they wanted to return to Turkey because of a loss of freedom and status in the Netherlands. These men depended on a Dutch social or invalidity benefit prior to their return to Turkey which caused for some a feeling of humiliation and uselessness. Moreover, they often felt maltreated and discriminated in the Netherlands and preferred to return to Turkey because of that. Although women were in general more reluctant to return, we also found that some women explicitly state that they prefer to return to Turkey or Spain, because of language difficulties and isolation in the Netherlands.

A second reason expressed by both Turkish and Spanish women is the relation with the family. Although both men and women find it difficult to leave (grand)children behind in the Netherlands, for women this seems to be more often a reason not to return permanently to Spain or Turkey. The following interview notes show how a couple negotiates these different needs:

He would prefer returning for good. He is under great psychological pressure here all the time. [...]His wife does not want to return yet. She wants to wait until their youngest son is married and settled. [...] She does not want to stop him, however. And he accepts that she wants to stay in the Netherlands for another six years or so. He tells her: Stay here for another six-seven years, find a girl for our youngest son. He can come back to the Netherlands and stay here for three months each year, as a tourist. She can come to Turkey and stay for about six weeks each year. So they will not be separated all the time. [Turkish couple, husband is about to return and the wife moves back-and-forth]

However, when children live in both countries or only in the country of birth, the decision for a permanent return move is easier for both men and women.

The couple explains that they returned to Turkey, because they never managed to bring their disabled daughter to the Netherlands. The wife therefore always moved back-and-forth between the Netherlands and Turkey and the husband spent the summers in Turkey. After 25 years in the Netherlands, the couple decided to live permanently in Turkey so that they could take care of their disabled daughter. The husband states that the return was easier for his wife because she never stayed on a permanent basis in the Netherlands and all her family members are living in Turkey. [Turkish couple, permanent returnees]

A third reason which influences the migratory pattern is related to care obligations and expectations. Although the social networks of both men and women often include family relations in the 'home' as well as in the 'host' country, caring expectations and roles in informal care

arrangements within the family are highly gendered. Baldassar (2007 p. 293) shows in her work on families who care across borders that caring is not restricted to people who live in close proximity to one another, yet the way care can be exchanged is influenced and transformed by migration, geographical distance, borders and the passage of time. We found that families find creative ways through for example telephone contact, Skype and e-mail to maintain intense caring relationships, however specifically nursing and child care are types of care which can only be provided in close proximity or in a crisis event. The responsibility of often women to provide care for (grand)children can lead to a fluid migratory pattern in which the wife prefers to move back-and-forth between the Netherlands and the country of origin.

She explains that her husband wants to return to Spain, but that she cannot go with him. She takes care of their granddaughter during two days a week. She cares for her during the six months that they are in the Netherlands. She enjoys doing it and their daughter does not have the financial means to pay for the kindergarten. She argues that she can think about a permanent move to Spain when their grandchildren are old enough. [Spanish woman, spends six months per year in Spain]

Furthermore, post-retirement returnees move at a stage in their lifecycle associated with an increased need to receive care themselves. This also influences the migratory pattern of post-retirement returnees. For some couples receiving care from their children is an incentive to stay in the Netherlands, yet for others it is a reason to return once again to the Netherlands. It is striking to see that women who returned permanently to Spain or Turkey consider more often a final return move to the Netherlands when they are in need of care or when their husband dies. Particularly among the Turkish respondents, husband and wife sometimes give different answers to the question whether they would prefer to move back to the Netherlands in certain situations:

The wife said that, if her husband would die, she would want to go to her children in Holland. God knows, but I want to go to my children, if they [Dutch immigration authorities] let me, or the children should come here to stay with me. Her husband said he would stay in Turkey under all circumstances. [Turkish couple, permanent returnees]

Partly as a result of these gender differences, the decision-making process is stressful and sometimes conflict-laden. Men may often decide easier to return to the country of origin while women prefer to maintain dual residences, yet only partly because they do not want to lose their 'new-won freedoms' as King et al. (2004) argue. Our study shows specifically that women prefer to move back-and-forth in order to enable access to a broader range of informal care resources and to maintain a transnational way of family life. For most Turkish respondents the decision to return permanently was particularly difficult because of their citizenship status. We will further elaborate on this topic in the next section.

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Significance of dual or EU citizenship

In the past few decades, most Turkish-born migrants in the Netherlands have acquired Dutch citizenship. A large majority were not required to renounce their Turkish citizenship, thus becoming dual nationals. Spanish-born migrants, and migrants from EU member states more generally, have shown a much lower propensity to naturalise, even though they are generally allowed to retain their former citizenship. Migrants with Dutch or EU citizenship can move freely between the Netherlands and their country of origin. By contrast, migrants with (only) Turkish citizenship lose their residence rights in the Netherlands if they remain outside the country for a year. How does this influence the decision making of the migrants concerned, and how does it interact with gender differences?

More than half of our Turkish respondents acquired Dutch citizenship while they were living in the Netherlands. Among our Spanish respondents, a much smaller proportion was naturalized. In both groups, migrants who have not naturalised say they have not done so because they do not see (important) advantages. They believe that their Spanish (EU) citizenship or their permanent resident status gives them largely the same rights as Dutch citizens – and that a Dutch passport would not protect them against discrimination. Some also refer to the requirements and the costs. In hindsight, a few Turkish returnees regret that they have not applied for naturalisation. They now realise that a Dutch passport would have offered advantages over a permanent resident status. In particular, it would enable them to spend longer periods of time in Turkey without risking their residence rights in the Netherlands.

For Turkish respondents who are dual citizens, their Dutch citizenship is above all a source of freedom and security, enabling them to come and go as they want and guaranteeing them the right to return back to the Netherlands if things would not work out in Turkey.

His Dutch passport is fairly important for him. You can come and go whenever you want. You can also stay away for a longer period of time. And when you arrive at Schiphol, there are two queues. The queue for EU citizens is shorter than the other one, for non-EU citizens. [Turkish man, living part of the year in Turkey]

His Dutch passport is important for him, of course. They cannot throw you out. He can go back to the Netherlands if he loses his disability benefit. Otherwise, he would be on the street in Turkey. [Turkish man, spending a trial period in Turkey before settling back there permanently]

The latter respondent finds it reassuring that he would be entitled to social assistance in the Netherlands. Another respondent calls her Dutch passport ‘a kind of insurance’ against more and less foreseeable risks. She and several other returnees say they would not have returned to Turkey without it. Particularly for female respondents, however, this has not only to do with retaining access to the Dutch welfare state, but also, or primarily, with maintaining family relations. Their

Dutch passport gives them the easiest and most certain access to the country of residence of their children and grandchildren.

Without her Dutch passport, she would not have returned. Her daughter and grandchild live in the Netherlands. She wants to be able to board a plane to visit them without first having to apply for a visa. She also feels rich having two countries. And whenever the situation in one country deteriorates, she can flee to the other country. [Turkish woman, permanent returnee]

The Spanish respondents also find it important, for similar reasons, to retain access to the Netherlands. However, they do not need Dutch citizenship to enjoy the same feelings of freedom and security. Their Spanish (EU) citizenship provides them with these rights. They can visit the Netherlands with their Spanish passport (or just their Spanish ID card):

She did not want to go back to Spain. It was her husband who decided that they would return. She found it hard that she could not see her grandchildren growing up and to be separated from her daughter. Six years after her return, she feels happy here. Twice a year she visits her children and grandchildren in the Netherlands, while her husband stays here. [...] She can travel without restrictions, take her passport and go. [Spanish woman, permanent returnee]

Respondents with only Turkish citizenship, on the other hand, are well aware that they are not be allowed to settle back in the Netherlands after a longer stay in their country of birth. This makes the decision to return permanently such a difficult one for this group. For the respondents with Dutch or Spanish citizenship, 'permanent' does not have the same, dramatic, connotation, even if they are aware that a return to the Netherlands may not be possible because of financial or other practical constraints.

Losing Dutch citizenship

Return migrants with dual citizenship may lose their Dutch citizenship if they do not have their Dutch passport renewed within ten years after their return (and subsequently every ten years). Moreover, dual citizens may be required to give up their Dutch citizenship upon their return to their country of birth. The Dutch Remigration Act offers older migrants from former recruitment countries who face problems in the Dutch labour market the option of returning to their country of origin. They receive a monthly benefit to help cover their costs of living and/or a lump sum for their moving expenses. However, they have to return for good, and naturalised migrants are required to renounce their Dutch citizenship.

Both among our Spanish and Turkish respondents, there are returnees who were required to give up their Dutch citizenship in return for a remigration allowance. The Spanish respondents do not seem to be bothered by this requirement. As one of them remarks dryly: 'I still have my Spanish passport.' The Turkish respondents, on the other hand, find this requirement difficult to agree to. Some feel aggrieved by it. They point out that they have lived in the Netherlands for many years,

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that they brought up their children there, that the Netherlands has become their second mother- or fatherland, and particularly male respondents also refer to their economic contribution.

He had to renounce his Dutch citizenship. He does not think that is fair. After having worked so many years in the Netherlands, you should not be required to give back your Dutch passport. [Turkish man, permanent returnee]

What some of them do not mention explicitly – probably because it is so obvious for them – is that together with their Dutch citizenship they also give up the possibility of returning back to the Netherlands. This is different for the Spanish respondents, as is illustrated in an interview with a returnee who is about to lose her Dutch citizenship because of the ten-years rule.

She shows us her expired Dutch passport. She has not had it renewed after her return to Spain, because, as she explains, she does not need it. She keeps it in a nice box, along with pictures and other souvenirs from the Netherlands. [Spanish woman, permanent returnee]

The naturalised Turkish respondents clearly attach a different value or meaning to their Dutch passport. This value or meaning can also be grasped from what parents say about their children's citizenship.

He had to denounce his Dutch citizenship. He found it a bit difficult, because he lived there thirty years. They also asked for the passports of his children, but did not insist. So the children still have their Dutch passports. He will have them renewed every five years. Perhaps they want to return to the Netherlands when they are grown up. [male returnee, permanent returnee]

His daughter, who was only eleven years old, also could not keep her Dutch citizenship. He and his wife feel bad about this. They are afraid that their daughter may blame them when she is grown up. They did not ask for her consent, she was too young. He is not interested in Dutch citizenship for himself, but he would like his daughter to get back hers. [male returnee, permanent returnee]

De Haas and Fokkema (2010) found that sons of Moroccan return migrants tend to resent their fathers' decision to return since it blocks their own chances of gaining admission to Europe. The examples above show that Turkish returnees attach great value to their children retaining Dutch citizenship.

As already explained, women are often more reluctant than their husbands to return permanently to their country of origin. As a compromise solution, some couples settle for a fluid migration pattern. Another compromise is that the husband files the application for a remigration benefit and gives up his Dutch citizenship, so that the wife can retain hers. In some cases, this compromise is explicitly negotiated between wife and husband; in other cases, it is a sort of tacit compromise between the husband's wish and the wife's reluctance to settle back in Turkey. We

found much fewer examples of women who gave up their Dutch citizenship so that the family could return with a remigration benefit. In one case, this was because both spouses wanted to return, the wife even more than the husband, while the husband was more reluctant to give up his Dutch citizenship because of his political refugee past.

We found quite a few examples of couples where the husband renounced his Dutch citizenship while the wife retained hers. Thus, gender differences may not only lead to conflicting decisions about naturalisation – as Leitner and Ehrkamp (2006) found with regard to Turkish migrants in Germany – but also to conflicting decisions about denaturalisation. As a consequence of such conflicting or compromised decisions, husband and wife (and children) may have different citizenship statuses. Our interviews with Turkish returnee women who have retained their Dutch citizenship make clear that these women attach great value to their Dutch passport, as a kind of insurance policy and because it offers them the easiest and most secure access to their children in the Netherlands. At the same time, they are aware that their husband can no longer claim these citizenship rights. Do they experience this as empowering, or rather as disempowering? It is difficult to say on the basis of the following interview quotes. However, both women present their Dutch citizenship as a resource which they would use for the benefit of their husband or family, too.

He found it hard to give up his Dutch passport, but he did it because he wanted to return. His wife and their daughter kept their Dutch passports. She says: ‘It is very important for me and I find it still more important for our daughter. You never know what will happen; one day we may want to return to the Netherlands.’ She adds that her husband will have to stay here, but that she may be able to have him come over to the Netherlands after some time. [returnee couple, living permanently in Turkey]

She has dual citizenship, her husband has not got Dutch citizenship anymore. He had to give it up so that they could make use of the Remigration Act. Did he find this difficult? As a matter of fact, he did, she says. Because it is a kind of insurance, if things go wrong, you can return to the Netherlands. However, she told him, if necessary I can go first, and we can apply for family reunification. [female returnee, living permanently in Turkey]

We also found examples where the difference in citizenship status among the spouses is clearly experienced as awkward and limiting. Several couples were forced to cancel or change their plans to visit relatives in the Netherlands, because the husband’s visa application was refused. In one case, the wife decided not to go either; in another case, she went alone. In both cases, the wife as well as the husband felt humiliated by the Dutch state.

Conclusions

Our paper confirms that the process of deciding where and how to reside after retirement is gendered. Women may be more reluctant to return permanently to the country of birth. King et al. (2004) mention two reasons for this reluctance: (1) women do not want to lose their ‘new-won

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freedoms' and (2) they do not want to return to conservative social conditions. Our Turkish respondents particularly refer to those two reasons. Our data shows that a third motive should be added: the role of women within the family and the exchange of care. Both Spanish and Turkish women prefer to maintain dual residency in order to live a transnational family life and to provide and receive informal family care when needed.

Our data show that decision-making processes are also influenced by migrants' citizenship status. For naturalised Turkish migrants, their citizenship of the 'host' state is a source of freedom and security, ensuring them access to family members there and guaranteeing them the right to return back as and when the need arises. For Spanish migrants, their EU citizenship fulfils the same functions. This makes the decision to return 'permanently' much less dramatic for these groups compared to migrants who are third-country nationals. The options of the latter group are constrained by the host state's immigration rules.

Our data also show that migrants' perspectives on citizenship are influenced by gender differences. We found that particularly women value their citizenship of the host state or, for that matter, their EU citizenship, above all in terms of the access it ensures them to their children and grandchildren. Turkish women are therefore also more reluctant to give up their citizenship of the host state than Turkish men.

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Controversy of Circular Migration-Migrant Workers in Slovenia

KARMEN MEDICA

Abstract:

Contemporary migration processes have made the issue of migration policies and integration strategies, one of central interest in the social sciences, in spite of the national security, which remains a primarily positive identification and target possibility.

Neither the countries open to influx nor those enforcing strict immigration controls have yet found a solution to restrict migration entry, residence and work. The notion of the free flow of people is becoming dubitable even within the EU itself. The ubiquitous effects of migration in today's society have been increasingly underlining the fact that the migration terminology itself has become politically dangerous and conceptually useless.

Recently, the use of the instrument of circular migration has been on increase. Its principal aim is to fill the gaps in the labour market, particularly that of the EU, to facilitate the development of migrants' countries of origin, and to prevent circular migration from turning into permanent. In theory, the rotational concept of circular migration has proved to be contradictory; in practice, it has proved to be inapplicable in the long run and unacceptable from the ethical point of view. Fixed-term employment of workers based on the presumption of their return to their country of origin is only a short-term solution. Instead, it would seem more reasonable to transform more or less short-term and discontinuous migration policies and integration strategies, models and concepts into continuous and applied ones.

Starting from the statement of the sociologist Max Frisch: "Man hat Arbeit Kräfte gerufen, und es kommen Menschen" ("We asked for a workforce and people came"), the paper investigates the integration strategies related to migrant construction workers in Slovenia. Standard practice shows that the Slovene state encourages immigration when in need of new workforce, yet as a rule does not attend to the integration of migrants. Moreover, they are often labeled as scapegoats and find themselves at the top of the dismissal list in times of increased unemployment and social unrests.

Key words: *circular migration, integration, discrimination, construction workers.*

1. Contemporary migration processes and contested terminology of migration

The omnipresence of migration flows in modern society draws attention to the fact that even migration terminology itself has become politically manipulative and conceptually useless. This is confirmed by terminology widely used in the official EU circles which many find to be largely mechanistic and hence dehumanizing.

The very terminology used by state agencies implies the potentially criminal nature of migrations, which therefore require increased surveillance, well-organised border controls, alerts to other countries, general principles, and all-round measures.

In the European Commission circles and documents the following terms are the most outstanding: action, action plan, instruments, instrumentarium, mechanisms, operations.

Due to economic conditions, based on the increasing need for manpower, the increased proportion of economic migrants will represent, despite the current economic crisis and recession, one of the main compensation mechanisms for the shortage of manpower on the labor market. However, the problem of immigration is not listed high on the agenda of the current European policies – it is mentioned only under the heading ‘Security’?.

Open questions

The questions increasingly raised in the official circles are: How safe are we from the ‘turbulent’ migration flows in modern society? How safe are our jobs from migrants?

But the opposite question could be asked as well: How safe are migrants from the European, the American or maybe Chinese ... need for new, cheap workforce, cheap petrol, African resources, low birth rate, desire to earn fast income and extra profit?

As long as there is a widespread stereotypical conception of immigrants in the public, as long as the attitude of the state towards immigrant workers and its political, religious and cultural expectations permit them to be scorned by their immediate community or at work, and be marginalized in the society at large, it is paradoxical to talk of the implementation of integration into the wider society.

The instrument of circular migration ‘new’ EU ‘solution’

Circular migration concept appears to be the rage in international policy circles and this concept is becoming an increasingly mentioned form of migration. In the opinion of the European Commission it could, if well managed, facilitate a balance between international supply and demand of workforce and thus contribute to the economic growth. In this respect, the European Commission points to the fact that, in the event of improper design or mismanagement, circular migration could develop into a permanent one, thus preventing the realization of its objectives.

‘Circularity’: new reality or a new interest in an old form of migration?

However, as with other kinds of temporary migration policies, there are a number of concerns to bear in mind when designing circular migration policies, and the main point to note is that circular migration is nothing new. It is an old phenomena, most notably demonstrated in internal or rural urban migration. As Bedford point out:

From the 1960s circular migration has been at the center of debates about urbanization and development in Africa, Asia, the Pacific Islands, and parts of Latin America. What was recognized

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then, and must continue to be acknowledged in the contemporary European debate about circular migration and development, is that this is not a “new” form of mobility or even a new debate. The focus has shifted from mobility and urbanization in developing countries to population movement, labour markets and social cohesion in developed countries.

Fargues also calls it ‘a new interest in an old form of migration’.

According to Castles the term “circular migration” is used positively by the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) , but does not appear to be defined in its Report. Elsewhere, circular migration is linked to the idea that “if migrants feel that a decision to return home is not irreversible, they will be more likely to make such a decision.”

This can be achieved through “the introduction of flexible citizenship or residence rights.” The idea is that migrants could then undertake repeated short periods of work abroad, increasing labor market flexibility and reducing permanent settlement.

The main idea is that circular migration systems could be managed in ways that bring proverbial: ‘win-win-win’ results (i.e. benefits for receiving countries through meeting labour market shortages, for sending countries through guaranteeing remittances for development, and for migrants themselves through offering employment and control over the use of their wages). Circular migration is also being advocated as a potential solution (at least in part) to a number of challenges surrounding contemporary migration. What are policy-makers suggesting, why now, and what should we bear in mind if circular migration is indeed to be the way forward in global policy?

However, as with other kinds of temporary migration policies, there are a number of concerns to bear in mind when designing circular migration policies.

According to Steven Vertovec these include questions such as:

- “Will migrants get ‘locked-in’ to modes of dependency and exploitative relationships with employers?”
- Will ‘circular’ migrants work permits be non-portable (i.e. restricted to specific employers or sectors), thereby increasing chances of exploitation and lessening chances of socio-economic mobility?
- Will policy-regulated circular migration systems become closed labour markets, with limited opportunities for access among new would-be migrants?
- Will enforcement mechanisms become more draconian – since any temporary migration scheme will only function if migrants indeed return after their statutory period of employment?
- Since circular or other temporary migrants will be required to leave after short stays, will this preclude any kind of ‘integration’ strategies for them (including language training or

information about living in the society of reception)? Consequently, will lack of integration strategies make more vulnerable, socially excluded and geographically encapsulated?

- And even given creation of ideal circular migration policies and systems, will it not remain cheaper and less bureaucratically burdensome for employers simply to continue hiring undocumented migrants?
- A final question arises when considering the current popularity of circular migration in policy circles. Haven't such schemes, such as the American bracero programme (1942-1964) and the German Gastarbeiter Gastarbeiterprogramm (1955-1973), all been tried – and dropped – a long time ago?

Yet when considering anything – particularly an approach to global policy – that portends to be a kind of magic bullet, caution should certainly be taken. The 'wins' of the win-win-win scenario may not be as mutual as imagined?"

Therefore, in light of the above and in reference to circular migration, increasingly emphasized integration is revealing a contradictory aspect to circularity. The latter, namely, signifies temporariness, inconstancy, changeability, instability and, finally, uselessness.

Migrant workers in Slovenia

The profile of an average migrant worker in Slovenia is as follows:

- a man of around thirty,
- a citizen of one of the republics of the former Yugoslavia (particularly from Bosnia and Herzegovina),
- a non-qualified worker (first and second degree education) engaged in construction in central Slovenia,
- on the basis of a personal work permit or employment permit.

Migrant workers from the territory of the former Yugoslavia are a constant in Slovenia. Their influx is the greatest due to continuous contacts and close proximity; they can be easily brought to the country and resent back home once they are no longer needed.

At present, most workers come from Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the unemployment level is the highest. The number of migrant workers from the new EU member states (Rumania, Bulgaria) is small, and even smaller is the number of immigrant workers from the other countries, mainly Africa and Asia.

Despite the continuous influx, 'circulation' and presence of migrant workforce in Slovenia, little data are available on the social conditions of their stay and life, their value orientations, expectations, needs – in short: on the level of their integration into the Slovenian society.

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The situation in the labour market dictates an increased influx of workforce when necessary in relation to other economic factors such as increasing economic growth, declining unemployment, a small number of employments of EU nationals, an increased demand for workers, especially those who are scarce in the Slovenian labour market (construction, metallurgy, transport, catering, domestic work - care drain, services, agriculture).

The situation of ‘circularity’ in Slovenia

The EU legislation, which sets the rules for Slovenia as well, is engaged in intensive search for long-term strategies and efficient migration policy programmes.

Various forms of coercion, administrative measures, classic strategies and approaches to addressing migrations have proved useless or even counterproductive.

Providing from my fieldwork ‘circular’ migration may cause also lies in a potential transformation of this public policy into a means of supervision and exploitation of migrant workers. On the basis of the field work and direct interviews conducted with migrant workers I have arrived at three extremely alarming conclusions:

1. The first (tokenism) relates to the supervision of migrant workers in the context of ‘circularity’ of migrations. Being aware of their substantial economic dependence on the employer, some migrant workers decide to become so-called ‘tokens’. Who are tokens? This unique practice, which I have characterised as ‘tokenism’, aims at persuading workers that uncompromising loyalty is to their best interest, even though it is not – quite to the contrary. The term ‘token’ may be associated with a bus token. In the case of workers at construction sites, I have identified a phenomenon where workers report on their co-workers to their superiors for pittance. According to their accounts, the prices range between 10 and 50 euros – illustratively for the price of one token. As a result, the reported workers are transferred to other, more demanding or more distant construction sites, they become subject to financial sanctions or are fired.

2. The second is: status granting as an instrument of extortion. This conclusion is relating to the system of migrant circulation is that it has been changed by employers into a system of extortion on the basis of conditions for the granting of a certain status or permit.

During the course of my recent research I have found on several occasions that employers use extremely effective means to extort workers by making the granting of status subject to various conditions, as well as by refusing to (fully) inform them.

3. Parallel migration market - the third conclusion, which derives from the actual treatment of the problem of circular migrations, is that a parallel migration policy was formulated during the period of intensive economic growth just before the economic and social crisis. This particular

policy may be defined by the aforementioned pattern of extortion of workers by exploiting the rules for the granting of certain long-term statuses and identified as an informal, quasi-personnel migration policy mainly implemented by employment agencies. According to the Labour Inspectorate of Slovenia, the latter are often not registered at all.

One of the most extreme implications of this system is illustrated by the example of two workers from Bulgaria, which was documented in August 2010. Before they came to Slovenia, an employment agent promised them great earnings. The workers said that they worked without payment for a full month, from morning till evening. It was only when they tried to find their employer that they realised he was gone. The two Bulgarian workers returned home with the assistance of the Bulgarian Embassy, and their employer disappeared without a trace.

On the other hand, such a system brings the so called ‘employers’ enormous profit.

This led to the creation of a parallel system of migrations in the labour market that has developed its own vocabulary.

Just how dangerous the implications of this system are is, not lastly, shown by the mere use of words. As has been revealed in our interviews with workers, their ‘employers’ treat them as slaves, for which reason migrants begin to identify themselves as ‘slaves’ as well. This also leads to the process of forced self - stigmatization, self – exclusion.

The system of ‘circularity’ or in the name of circularity has placed migrants in the state of complete dependence and inferiority, which subsequently led to their extreme passivity and apathy.

The latter clearly signals that this is not a separate migrant segment but, rather, that in society as a whole the system of operating, thinking and functioning manifestly breeds an increasing sense of inferiority and passivity. At present, it is becoming palpably clear that unless civil society forges stronger initiatives and comes fully to the fore in the future, not even the best decisions of political elites will bring the desired results.

In place of a conclusion

Migration as geographical movement constitutes a single act, whereas integration is a process involving development strategies, key elements for the understanding and discussing the contemporary world.

On the other hand, migrations – essentially a natural and common human phenomenon – have become one of the main problems of European governments. These attempt to impose control, restriction, filters, and, above all, selection.

The rotation concept of circular migration has proven contradictory in theory, useless in the long term in practice and ethically unacceptable. Hiring of workers for a limited period of time on

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the assumption of returning them to their country of origin is a short-term solution, although needed on a long-term basis, exclusively 'imported' by Slovenia and EU for a limited period of time.

That's way circular migration concept hardly could be the way forward in global policy.

However is possible to conclude with a crucial issue: are contemporary migration processes in fact a privilege of the developed countries? This would result in a two-track economic development, where the 'developed' countries become and remain 'developed' by exploiting the 'less developed' ones, while the politics of multiculturalism are increasingly replaced by contested integration practices and unsuccessful assimilation pressures.

In view of the social, economic, ecological as well as notional uncertainties of the time in which we live the discussion on the topic at hand is expected to continue.

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Challenge of Migrant Women Facing in the Process of Environmental Induced Migration Sanjiangyuan Area in China

MENG XIANGJING

Abstract:

Sanjiangyuan area is the source of Yangtze River, Huanghe River and Lancangjiang River and located in Tibetan Plateau in Qinghai Province in China. Due to the fragile and worsen ecological environment, Qinghai government conducted an ecological migration project to move the herdsman out of Sanjiangyuan area to protect the environment. From 2005 to 2009, 50 thousand herdsmen and their family have moved out from the pastoral area and were resettled in places near cities, towns or county capitals. Migrant families have been faced critical challenge in the process of resettlement due to the great changing of life style. In the survey we conducted in Kunlun Migrants Village in Golmud City in Jan. 2012, we found that migrants women experienced more challenge in the process of resettlement. This paper will base on the 240 households questionnaire survey data to analysis the gender differences the migrants facing on life style, family relation, employment, education and self-identity. Several policy implications will address to help the migrants women to adapt to their new life better.

Key words: *Migrant women, Environment induced migration, Sanjiangyuan Area, China*

1. Introduction

Women's role in the process of migration has much been emphasized in recent decades (Pedraza 1991; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Sinke 2006). No matter the studies showed women played a positive role or they are the vulnerable group in the process of migration, those studies provided a new perspective and angle to recognize the gender differences and to know more about their needs and characteristics. Several literatures can be found on gender issue in migration in China (Liang and Chen, 2004; Yang and Guo 1999; He and Gober 2003; Duan and zhang 2009). Those papers studied the situation and determinants and consequences of women migrants in different level in China. As a new kind of migration type, environmental-induced migration (also called ecological migration in China) started in the beginning of 21st century. It was estimated that the total number of environmental migrants will be 10 million in Western area only (Hou 2005). Many Chinese scholars have conducted many surveys and research on environmental migration. Some of them discuss the definition, category and significance of the environmental migration (Bao 2006; Chen 2007; Fang and Peng 2002; Li 2009; Ni 2007; Pi 2008; Tan 2007, 2011, Meng 2012). Some of them analyzed the detailed process of the migration, the integration of the migrants, the effects of the migration on the migrants and situation at destination (Chen et al. 2007; Chu and Meng 2005; Dong 2006; Gegengaowa and Wu 2003; Jiao and Wang 2008; Li 2006; Liang 2007; Shi 2008). Though there are certain studies on environmental migration, literatures specially address the effects of migration on women is few. Environmental-induced migration is group migration by the unit of family. Women's role in the process of migration is critical important both for the family

and community, sure it is important for the migrant women themselves. This paper tried to analyze the changing the migrant women facing and the challenge and chance the migration may bring to them. It may also try to find how the government may help the women migrants to overcome the difficulties and to achieve their wellbeing in the destination migrant village.

Basic information

Sanjiangyuan Area is located in the hinterland of Tibetan Plateau in south of Qinghai province in China. It is the source of Yangtze River, Huanghe(Yellow River) and Lancang River and plays a critical important role for the above three great rivers' water security. The geographic location of Sanjiangyuan Area lies between 31039'-36016' North and 89024'-102023' East and the attitude is 3450-6621m. It includes 16 counties under the 5 minority autonomous prefectures (Yushu, Guoluo, Hainan, Huangnan and Haixi) and one township (Tanggulashan township) under governing of Golmud City. There are totally 119 townships (22 towns) in Sanjiangyuan area with 153,670 households. The total population is 650 thousand and 86% of the population is farmers or herdsman. The ethnic minority population in this area is 544 thousand (84% of the total population). The area of Sanjiangyuan is 36.31x104km², if calculated by the administrative zoning, and 31.81x104km² (Chen 2007).

Figure 1. Map of Sangjianyuang Area

Sanjiangyuan area is the most valuable treasure of nature for human beings. The ecological environment situation in this area is very fragile. It is facing serious challenge and crisis in last several decades due to the interactivity of natural factors and human factors. For protecting the environment there, Qinghai government started environmental migration project in 2004. By May 2009, 86 resettle villages have been built and nearly 50 thousand people have migrated into the new villages or communities (Xinhua net 2009).

The migration villages usually were built near towns, city outskirts. Every migration family can get a standard house (80 m²) with a yard, 6000 yuan per household as a subsidy every year for their living. Some migrants get some heater provision in winter. Besides the living arrangement and pension, government also provided some skill training to help the migrants to adapt to the new life and environment. The goal of the migration project is to make the migrants "moving out, settled down and becoming rich" (Liu and Wang 2008). The government also issued some favorable policies for the land use, job seeking and household transfer for the migrants.

Kunlun Immigrant Village is one of the 86 villages in suburb Golmud City. Migrants in this village are mainly from two townships in Qumalia County in Yushu minority autonomous prefectures. It's about 600 km far away from the destination. There are total 240 households in the village. All the migrants are Tibetan herdsman.

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We went to Kunlun village in Jan 2010 and Jan. 2012 to visit the villagers and village carders to do questionnaire survey. We visited every household in this village. Data in this paper used mainly from our survey.

Challenges the migrants women faced in the destination

Different physical environment

Migrants lived in high latitude grassland before migration. The landscape and weather condition is quite unique. The location of Kunlun Village is in Gobi desert. There is no trees and grassland and is hot in summer. Some migrants could not get used to the weather and environment especially in the beginning stage.

Different production pattern

All the migrants are herdsmen. They lived in the pasture and grazed the cattle for their living before. Women did very hard work in the family. They should do hard housework and pasture cattle for the family too. After migration, they lost their grassland. The government originally designed to let them find job in the city. But most of the migrants have no skills to get a job in the city, so many of them have no job to do after migration. Especially for women migrant, the jobless rate is higher than man. In 2011, after 7 years, nearly half of migrant women has no job or only do housework. Most of the jobs the migrants have taken are temporary workers. Their pay is low and the working time is not constant.

Figure 2 Occupation of Kunlun Village male Migrants in 2011

Figure 3 Occupation of Kunlun Village female Migrants in 2011

Different life style

The migrants experienced great changing on every aspects of their life style. The destination is the second large city in Qinghai Province. It is a modern world. The original place the migrants lived before is traditional pasture life. There are so many differences between these two kinds of life styles. For example, in eating side, herdsmen get used to eat meat and do not eat vegetables. After they migrated, they should learn cooking and eating vegetables and change their diet habit. Many of them could not get used to the toilet in the village, etc.

Different language and culture

Most of the migrants can only speak and understand Tibetan language. This is the great bar for them to communicate with others and to settle down in the new environment. The religion and culture are also different with the destination residents.

Difficulties for the identification

After 5 years resettlement, nearly 60% migrants still consider themselves as migrants, 9% migrants even still consider themselves as herdsmen, 16% migrants don't know how to identify themselves and only 16% migrants recognized themselves as local citizen.

Figure 4 The self-identity of the migrants in 2009

Development Chances the migrants may take

Though the migrants faced many difficulties to adapt to their new life, and some of the migrants returned back to the grassland as a result, they also have some chances to change their life and to get a better development.

Better facilities

In grassland, most of the migrants could not access the modern facilities, such as running water, electricity, etc. In migrant village, the facilities they owned were highly improved.(Table 1).

Table 1 Change of family facilities before and after migration

Facilities	Before migration (%)	After migration(%)
Running water	2.9	79.4
Toilet	2.9	76.5
Kitchen	8.8	52.9
Television	32.4	82.4
Telephone	5.9	47.1
Radio	48.5	66.7
Cell phone	15.2	87.9

Better education opportunity

Most of the migrants are illiterate (Table 2). Women's illiterate rate is higher than men. Many of their children (45%) do not go to school before migration because the school is so far away from their home. Government built a very nice primary school for the migrant children. Now all the children in the village can get to the school to study. The school provides bilingual language courses for the students. They can learn Tibetan language and Mandarin both.

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Table 2 Educational level of the migrants in Kunlun Migration Village

Education level	Population (18 Above)	Percent
Illiterate	611	72.3
Half-illiterate	111	13.1
Primary school	103	12.2
Middle school	12	1.4
High school	5	0.6
College	3	0.4
Total	845	100.0

More than half of the migrants answered that the most important reason for them to migrate is for the better educational condition for their children. For the migrant women, they can get different kind of trainings provided by the government or other organizations. Some of them learned Mandarin and they know more about the outside world through watching TV or other kinds of activities.

Convenient transportation

The transportation is much convenient in Golmud City than in place of origin. They can go to the city by bus and go to other places by bus or train. Some of their children went to other cities or provinces to study. The village provided them a base or platform for their relatives or friends who are still in the grassland. The village connects the herdsmen and modern world like a bridge.

Better health care

The migrants lived in high latitude area and many of them suffer latitude disease before. Due to the distance and poor medicare condition, many women give birth at home and the infant and maternal mortality rate are high. In migrant village, government built a hospital for the villagers and they can also go to the hospital in Golmud City conveniently. It's good for them to recover from the latitude disease and to decrease the mortality rate.

Therefore, though the change is great and there are many difficulties for the migrants, they get used to live in the new place gradually and only 10 percent migrants answered that they want to return back to the grassland.

Policy implication

We can see from the analysis above that the challenge and chances are both in front of the migrant families. Migrant women are important for the family's stable wellbeing and peaceful life. In Chinese word, woman can bring peaceful and secure for family. In the process of resettlement, we should not only take women as a vulnerable group to concern more about their need and protect their right, but also can develop their positive role to fulfill their goal and to satisfy their families' dreams. For the migration organizer and manager, several suggestions may help the government to make more efforts to help the migrants, especially to help the women migrants play more important role in the process of resettlement.

Well knowledge of the migrants prior to their migration

Let migrants know more about the information of the destination and let them join the planning, designing, destination choosing from the very beginning stage of the migration. Let them consider their migration carefully and wisely.

Provide more training for the migrant women

Woman migrant's education level and language ability play very important role in the process of adaption. Every kind of training for different purpose is urgent needed.

Help the migrants protect their own culture and tradition

The Tibetan culture and tradition is great treasure and should be well developed and protected. Migrant women can play their positive role in this field.

Conclusion

Though the change is great and there are many difficulties for the migrants, they get used to the new place gradually and only 10 percent migrants answered that they want to return back to the grassland. Along with the increase of educational level of the children, the more training the migrant women getting, more of them learn Mandarin and get job in nearby city, their situation will change gradually and they will have them bright future. Migrant women will play important role in this process and will benefit from this great changing either.

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Caretaker's and Children's Well-Being in Parental Migration Context, Thailand

AREE JAMPAKLAY

Abstract

Migration of people in labor age leaving behind their family including young children in the care of others is a common phenomenon in rural Thailand as well as in other Asian countries. Despite the fact that benefits of migration have been recognized, serious challenges of migration are reportedly widespread including stressful separation between migrants and family which can lead to unfavorable outcomes of left-behind children as well of other family members, most often women, who have to take on the responsibility of care for the children left behind. In Thailand, the social cost of migration especially its impacts on the left-behinds is less understood. This understanding is in need to inform the design and choice of public policy, to minimize the negative impacts of migration, while maximizing its positive effects.

Our analysis is an initial attempt to investigate the relationship between the well-being of caretaker and the well-being of children in the context of parental migration in Thailand. Past studies on parental migration and left-behind family, especially children, tend to overlook the well-being of left-behind family members, mostly females, playing roles as caretakers and their roles on children's well-being. We measure children's well-being using psychological dimensions. For the caretakers, we measure the psychological well-being using SRQ-20 (Self Reporting Questionnaire), which provides general prevalent estimates of mental health problems. Our analysis is based on a Thai data set from CLAIM (Children Living Separately from Parents due to Internal Migration) study conducted in 2010/2011. In total, 1,428 children are included in the analysis. Findings show that for both migrant and non-migrant households, psychological well-beings of caretakers and of children are strongly associated, regardless of other relevant factors. The significant association is more pronounced among migrant households, suggesting mentally disadvantages possibly contributed by migration of parents.

Keywords: *Families left behind, Parental migration, Children's well-being, Caretaker's well-being,*

1. BACKGROUD; CHILDREN AND CARETAKERS IN PARENTAL MIGRATION CONTEXTS

Migration of people in labor age leaving behind their family including young children in the care of others is a common phenomenon in rural Thailand as well as in other Asian countries (e.g. Asis and Ruiz-Marave 2011; Sukamdi 2011, Jampaklay et al. 2012). Despite the fact that benefits of migration have been recognized, serious challenges of migration are reportedly widespread including stressful separation between migrants and family which can lead to unfavorable outcomes of left-behind children as well of other family members, most often women, who have to take on the responsibility of care for the children left behind. In Thailand, the social cost of migration especially its impacts on the left-behinds is less understood. This understanding is in need to inform the design and choice of public policy, to minimize the negative impacts of migration, while maximizing its positive effects.

The separation of parents-children due to parental migration marks a departure from the ideal family because of the absence of parents as the best care-givers. Lack of parent's presence for a long period of time has lasting negative consequences on children in dimensions of social, psychological, and academic functioning. Parental migration thus may impact children's well-being and can leave long-lasting consequences into adulthood (Litchter 1997).

Outside Thailand, previous studies which concentrate on impacts of parental migration on the left-behind family focus on several aspects. Examples are the well-being of children (e.g. Parreñas 2005), migrant parents' strategies of communication with the left-behind children, the migrant mother's role as a caregiver for the sick, the young and the elderly in receiving countries, as well as the elderly both with and without task as caregivers of left-behind grandchildren (e.g. Moran-Taylor 2008a, Knodel and Saengtienchai 2002; Xiang 2007; Senyurekli and Detzner 2008). However, the roles of other family members as caretakers of the left-behind children on the well-being of the left-behind children are often overlooked.

While it has been acknowledged that migration usually improves life condition, ample research also notes that migration may lead to damaging outcomes, especially on children's life (e.g. Farror 2007). Impacts of parental migration on various aspects of children's well-being have been explored in previous research including physical health, psychological wellbeing, and schooling. Unfortunately, researches on different dimensions of outcomes provide different results. Even studies on the same outcome in different context suggest inconsistent findings (e.g. SMC 2004, Cameron and Lim 2005, Jordan 2010). On the one hand, the positive effect of migration is explained by the higher economic status of migrant families as well as the quality of care givers (SMC 2004, Asis 2006). Past study in Filipino context also points out that although migration creates emotional displacement for migrants and their children, it also opens up possibilities for children's agency and independence (Asis 2006). On the other hand, research that indicates several challenges posed by parental migration (e.g. Cortina 2006) posits that the lack of parent's presence for a long period of time has lasting negative consequences on children in dimensions of social, psychological, and academic functioning. The argument is related to lack of parental monitoring and constant support which can lead to vulnerability of children left behind to psychological and behavioral difficulties (Robila 2010). More complicatedly, parental monitoring at the same time can create stress for children, as suggested in a study by Robila (2010).

The interest in the well-being of caretakers in parental migration context deserves attention for its own right as well as for its potential impacts on the health and well-being of children they are looking after. Recent study has attempted to understand how migration and the changes in care arrangements it entails impact upon physical health and psychological well-being of the left-behind children (Yeoh et al. 2009). The notion of "care triangle" focusing on three agents -- the caregiver, the migrant parent, and the left-behind child -- reflects multiple perspectives on the nature and effects of care arrangements in migrant household.

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Migration of parent(s) has brought changes to the left-behind family and may potentially affect their health and well-being. Some previous studies reflect that in the case of mothers working abroad, left-behind fathers neglect their parenting duties and refuse to accept changing gender roles and relations (e.g. Gamburd 2005, Parreñas 2005). Other studies, on the other hand, note that although the migration of a father may lead to increased decision-making power, it at the same time doubles workload for the mother who is now solely responsible for caring for the children (Jolly et al. 2003, le Espritu 2002). This may create stress and mental health problems among left-behind mothers and this in turn may adversely affect the children they look after. For example, a previous study found that psychological distress among custodial grandmothers results in lower-quality parenting, which ultimately leads to higher maladjustment of custodial grandchildren (Smith and Palmieri 2007). There is also evidence that children under kinship care have more behavioral, emotional, and school-related problems than children in general (with parental care) (Dubowitz et al. 1992).

MIGRATION, CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND, AND CARETAKERS IN THAILAND

While Thailand is not a leading country with respect to international migration compared to other ASEAN countries like Indonesia or Philippines, the issue of internal migration in Thailand has long been established. Over the past 30 years, Thailand has been characterized by internal migration, especially from the Northeast to the Bangkok metropolitan areas and surrounding provinces. Internal migration has played an important role in Thailand's economic transformation. It is a well known fact that Bangkok and metropolitan areas are the major destinations of the majority of internal migrants. Data from National Statistics Office suggest that around 12% of total in-migrants moved to Bangkok and metropolitans (data calculated from NSO data in 2000). As a result, internal migrants comprise a substantial proportion of Bangkok residents. Research documents that around one third of population in Bangkok is migrants from other provinces (Achavanitkul et al. 1993).

Research on parental migration and its effects on the left-behind family in Thailand have just recently gained attention. Both women and men alike migrate internally, resulting in leaving traditionally women's role including taking care of children to other family members, most probably females. In societies experiencing a high volume of female outmigration to meet the demands of a gender-differentiated global labor market, the 'mother-as-caregiver' norm seems to be shifting towards other caregiver models. Understanding the perspective of the left-behind surrogate caretaker will also become increasingly essential. In Thailand, we know very little about the well-being of the left-behind caretakers and its in-turn impacts on the well-being of the migrants' children. Previous studies related to the roles of caretakers on migrants' children normally are embedded in left-behind elderly studies, among which the elderly often double up with caretaker

roles for grandchildren. In the Thai context, researches focusing on the roles of caretakers' well-being on children of migrant are relatively scant.

In Thailand, while study on migration to understand mobility patterns, why people move, and its consequences on receiving places has been ample, relatively limited attention has been paid to understanding the well-being of children left behind in relation to the well-being of caregivers in the context of parental migration. Data at national level show that the percentage of children under age 18 living with grandparents without both parents increase in the past two decades, from about 2% in 1986 to 8% in 2006 (data calculated from the Socioeconomic Survey of Thailand in 1986 and 2006). Answers to questions such as what are the psycho-social impacts of parental migration especially with relation to caregivers on children left-behind remain vague. Providing these answers is important in designing and implementing policies in order to maximize the positive effects of migration and minimize its negative effects on migrants, their families, and communities of origin and destination.

Our analysis is an initial attempt in Thailand to understand the roles of the well-being of caretakers in migration context. We specifically ask how the well-being of caretakers in both usually-resident parent and migrant-parent households is associated with the well-being of children with regards to psychological well-being. We speculate that the relationship between caretakers' and children's well-being, if any, may be more pronounced in migrant households regardless of other attributes due to them having to assume roles of a sole parent.

METHODOLOGY

Data set and study sample

Our analyses make use of the study on "Children Living Apart from Parents due to Internal Migration (CLAIM)", conducted by the Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University. The study is financially supported by UNICEF Thailand. The study was conducted in two provinces of Thailand. The first province is located in the northeast, where internal migration is most prevalent. The other province is located in the northern region, which is second to the northeastern region in terms of sending labor migrants to Bangkok and metropolitan areas. The study interviewed 1,456 households and children. Initially, CLAIM was designed to compare outcomes upon children across the four types of the surveyed households, i.e. 1) both-parents migrant, 2) father-migrant, 3) mother-migrant, and 4) no-parent migrant households. When classifying children by their parental migration status, among 1,456 interviewed households, 679 are both-parent migrant households, 190 father-only migrant households, 17 mother-only migrant households, and 570 non-migrant parent households. After adjusting for cases which are incomplete for some variables, 38 cases are excluded. So, the number of study children in our analysis becomes 1,428, 675 both-parent migrant, 184 father-only migrant, 17 mother-only migrant, and 552 non-migrant parents. The mainstream of the study children (61%), therefore, have either one or both parents as migrants, while about two fifths (39%) live with both parents at the time of the survey.

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Among children of migrant parents, most of them have both-parent migrants followed by a father-only migrant. Only a small number of children have mother-only migrant. Due to the number of children with mother-only migrant (17 cases) is too small for analyses, in our further analyses, we include father-only and mother-only into the same category as children of one-parent migrant.

(Table 1 about here)

Eligible households must contain at least one child aged 8-15 years old. The study included 739 boys and 717 girls. For each household, 3 sets of questionnaires, i.e. household, caretaker, and child questionnaire, were used. The questionnaire pays special attention on issues around health-related quality of life of children and caretakers, life satisfaction of children and caretakers, parental migratory information, and remittances. Information on parental migration includes current status of parents, migration history, contact with family and children left-behind as well as remittances. Our analysis explores the relationship between caretaker's psychological well-being and children's well-being, especially their psychological health. We started by bivariate analysis to examine possible relationships between the outcome and the main independent variables as well as other covariates. Multivariate analyses, using logistic regression, are furthered conducted to confirm the association from the bivariate analyses.

The Dependent Variable

Our dependent variable is psychological well-being of children aged 8-15, measured using a standard tool called SDQ (Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire). SDQ is a well-accepted and worldwide used standardized behavioral screening questionnaire for children aged 3-16 years old. The tool is developed by an English pediatric psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Goodman (Goodman 1997, Goodman et al. 2000). SDQ is currently translated into more than 40 languages and used in countries around the world. Previous psychiatric study has shown that SDQ could potentially be considered for a community-wide screening program to improve the detection and treatment of child mental health problems (Goodman et al. 2000). SDQ has been shown to function as well as other tools in detecting mental health problem, e.g. the long-established Rutter questionnaires or the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) (Goodman et al. 1999). The tool is a brief behavioral screening questionnaire that asks about 25 attributes, some positive and others negative, to capture five dimensions of behaviors, i.e. conduct disorder, emotional disorder, hyperactivity/inattention, peer relationship problems, and pro-social behavior. This tool is informant-rated by children aged 11-16 themselves, parents/caretaker, or teachers. In this study, we evaluate children's psychological well-being using SDQ based on caretaker's report.

In assessing the psychological well-being of children, each SDQ item is rated on a 3 point scale; 0 = 'not true', 1 = 'somewhat true', and 2 = 'certainly true', except for items 7, 11, 14, 21, and 25, which are rated in reversed scale; 0 = 'certainly true', 1 = 'somewhat true', and 2 = 'not

true'. The scores from each dimension are summed to create a total score for each dimension. The scores for each of the first four dimensions indicate difficulties while those of the last dimension (pro-social behavior) indicate the strength of a child. All but the last are summed to generate difficulties score. Caseness cutoffs on the SDQ total difficulties score can be used to distinguish between cases and noncases. In this study, we use only total difficulties taking the cut-off point recommended by the Department of Mental Health, Thailand in order to classify children into psychological well-being groups. Children are considered "normal" or "unlikely" for 0-15 scores, "risky" or "possible" for 16-18 scores, and "problematic" or "probable" for 19-40 scores.

In Goodman et al.'s paper (2000), the child is diagnosed as cases if they fall into "probable" group. In our analysis, we explore two methods. The first method considers "risky/possible" as unhealthy psychological well-being, coded as 1, and 0 for otherwise. The second method considers "problematic/probably" as unhealthy psychological well-being, coded as 1 and 0 for otherwise. As discussed later, results using different methods to consider unhealthy psychological well-being are similar. Therefore, in the results section, we present only results from measuring unhealthy psychological well-being from the first method.

The Independent Variables

The main independent variable in our analysis is caretaker's psychological well-being. We follow the measures used in CLAIM study which is SRQ-20, the Self Reporting Questionnaire 20 (SRQ-20), to identify whether a caretaker is unhealthy psychologically. SRQ-20 is developed by Harding et al. (1980) for a WHO collaborative study to screen for common mental disorders. The tool is considered as an effective and low-cost screening measure of mental health, deliverable to populations with low literacy and low infrastructure. It is formally recommended by WHO as a valid and adaptable method for evaluating mental distress. The SRQ-20 is a self- or interviewer-administered measure. Although SRQ does not provide, nor does it substitute for, a clinical diagnosis, it can provide general prevalence estimates of mental health problems. Previous study also acknowledges that SRQ-20 is an effective screen for determining the likelihood of psychiatric disturbance in an individual (Harpham et al., 2003).

There are 20-item self-report mental health measure in SRQ-20, marked dichotomously (YES = 1, NO = 0) over a 30-day recall period. The maximum score is 20. Previous literature (e.g. Harpham et al. 2003; Tuan et al. 2004) recommended a cut-off of 7/8 (i.e. 7 = probable non-case; 8 = probable case). Each item of SRQ-20 does not stand for itself but is representative of several mental health constructs, and is not intended to be reported separately. Results are recommended to be reported as a dichotomous 'case' or 'non-case'. However, the contribution of individual items to this measure of 'caseness' may be suggestive of the particular category of mental disorder they represent. Our analysis uses whether a caretaker reported at least 8 symptoms as indicative of unhealthy psychological well-being (1=unhealthy, 0=otherwise) and whether it is associated with children's psychological health.

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Besides the interest variable, caretaker's psychological health, we include several other characteristics of children and caretakers to the analyses as control variables. For children's characteristics, the variables are age, sex, overall health, score of life satisfaction, score of family function, and school performance. For caretaker's characteristics, the variables are age, education, and occupation. Two other variables measured at household level included are parental migration status and household wealth. Although we would like to include sex of caretaker and whether the caretaker is mother in the analyses, the variables are highly correlated with parental migration status. Children whose parents are migrants, the caretaker is non-mother and mostly is a female.

Methods of Analyses

Both descriptive and statistical analyses are conducted. In addition to a descriptive table to show characteristics study children, we also present a table of bivariate analyses between the dependent variable and each of independent variables included in the analyses and use Chi-squared test to explore possible relationships. The multivariate analyses employ logistic regression as the dependent variable is taken in the form of a dichotomous variable, whether or not a child is unhealthy psychologically. In our multivariate analyses, as shown later, we conducted 3 models, for overall children, for children of migrant parents (both-parent and one-parent migrant), and for children of non-migrant parents. This approach aims to explore whether the independent variables we focus on (caretakers' psychological health) performs its effect similarly across types of children in different migration context. The approach also helps examine whether the relationship between caretaker's well-being and children's well-being (if any) is stronger or weaker among children of migrant parents.

RESULTS

We begin by presenting some selected characteristics of our study sample, shown in Table 1. Using SDQ to measure psychological well-being of children, among 1,428 children included in our analytical sample, the figures indicate that the majority (80%) of our analytical children is normal, 13% fall at borderline and 8% may be considered as psychologically abnormal. If we include those in borderline and abnormal together, about one fifth (20%) are at risk of having psychological problem. As for the caretakers, measured by SRQ standard tool, results show that almost two fifths (38%) reveal signs of psychological problem. About two fifths (41%) of children are cared for by mother. Almost two thirds (31%) of caretakers are the child's maternal grandparents. Twelve percent of the children have paternal grandparents look after them and 16% are cared for by other persons. Most of the children (82%) have female caretaker and among non-mother caretakers, 70% are female (results not shown).

(Table 2 about here)

Table 3 depicts children's psychological well-being by their characteristics, their caretaker's characteristics including caretaker's psychological health, and household characteristics. Bivariate analysis using Chi-squared test is performed to explore a possible relationship between children's psychological health and each independent variable. The child's characteristics include sex, age, general health, life satisfaction, family function in their perspective, and their school performance. Among children's characteristics, age, overall health status, life satisfaction, and school performance are significantly related with children's psychological health. The sample includes about the same number of girls and boys. The proportion of girls with signs of psychological problem is 19% compared to 22% for boys, though the difference is not significant. Younger children (8-12 years old) are significantly more likely than older children (13-15 years old) to have psychological problem. Children assessed by caretakers as not well are significantly more likely to have psychological problem than those reported as well and very well (33%, 20%, and 16% respectively). Psychologically healthy children have higher score of life satisfaction than unhealthy children, while results do not show a significant difference in family function score among psychologically healthy and unhealthy children. Lastly, children reported as doing in school worse than their classmate show a higher proportion of psychological problem than those reported as doing in school same as or better than their classmates (31%, 20%, and 17% respectively).

Bivariate analysis using Chi-squared test shows that children's psychological problem is not related to who the caretaker is, though the proportion of children at risk of psychological problem is highest among those cared for by the mother. Considering children's psychological well-being by caretaker's psychological well-being, it is clear that the proportion of children at risk of unhealthy psychological well-being is higher among children whose caretakers are unhealthy psychological well-being than their counterparts (28% and 15%). The relationship is significant at 0.001 level. No other characteristics of caretakers, neither education, age, nor occupation, is significantly associated with psychological well-being of children.

Two household characteristics are included in the study, household wealth and parental migration status. Although the proportion of children having psychological well-being is highest among poor household, followed by middle and rich households, the differences are not statistically significant. Psychological well-being of children does not seem related to household migration status either. The proportions having psychological problems of children whose both parents are migrants, one-parent is migrant, and both parents are usual residents are virtually similar.

In sum, our bivariate analysis indicates that psychological well-being of children might be related to child's age, child's overall health, child's life satisfaction, child's school performance, and caretaker's psychological well-being.

(Table 3 about here)

The multivariate analyses using logistic models to explore impacts of the caretaker's psychological well-being on children's psychological well-being while controlling for other

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variables are performed. As mentioned in the methodology section, we conducted the analyses using the outcome variable measured in both ways separately (i.e. (1) considered both “risky/possible” and “problematic/probable” as having psychological problem; and (2) consider only “problematic/probable” as having psychological problem). Results are virtually similar especially for the main independent variables (caretaker’s psychological health). Thus, only results from the first measure are presented in Table 4. For each measure of the dependent variable, we performed three sets of separate analyses. The first set of analysis is the overall model which the analytical sample includes all 1,428 children regardless of their parental migration status. The second set of analysis includes only children in migrant households, with both-parent migrant or one-parent migrant. The third and last set of analysis is conducted for children of non-migrant parents only. This separate sets of analysis is to explore the robustness of the relationship (if any) between children’s and caretaker’s psychological well-being.

Results from the overall model show that except for child’s life satisfaction, significant variables from the bivariate analysis are confirmed in the multivariate analysis, namely child’s age, child’s overall health, child’s school performance, and caretaker’s psychological well-being. As the focus of our study, caretaker’s well-being is strongly related to child’s well-being. Results show that net of other variables included in the analysis, children who are cared for by psychologically unhealthy caretaker are more likely to be psychologically unhealthy. Other characteristics of caretaker are not significantly associated with the psychological health of children, as already suggested in the bivariate analysis. In addition to caretaker’s psychological health, our analysis indicates that young children (aged 8-12) are more likely than older children (aged 13-15) to be psychologically unhealthy, other things being equal. Children reported as not well in terms of overall health have a higher chance of having unhealthy psychologically than those reported as very well. Finally, children who assessed themselves as doing in school worse than classmates show a higher likelihood of having psychological problem.

Findings from the second and third sets of analysis which includes only children of migrant parents (both- or one-parent migrant) and children of non-migrant parents, respectively, are in line with findings from the first set of analysis. This is particularly true for the variable psychological well-being of caretakers. Across sets of analysis, regardless of whether or not the parents are migrants, the well-being of caretakers does matter for the well-being of children. Children cared for by those having psychological problem have a higher chance of having psychological problem as well, other things being equal. Note that the significant relationship between caretaker’s psychological well-being and children’s psychological well-being is stronger among migrant households where either both or one-parent of children are migrant. In migrant households, children whose caretakers are psychologically unhealthy are almost three times higher risk of unhealthy psychological well-being.

The other variable that shows a robust relationship with children's psychological well-being across the three sets of analyses is children's age. Young children are more likely than older children to be detected by SDQ tool as having a psychological problem. In addition to children's age, other variables which are significant in one or two sets of analyses are children's overall health, children's school performance, and caretakers' age. Children's overall health is significant when all children are included and when only children of migrant parents are included, but no significance among children of non-migrant parents. Children's school performance is significant in overall model and non-migrants' children model. Age of caretakers only show its significance among children of migrants that aging caretakers have a positive relationship children's psychological well-being. Put it differently, among migrant households, either both- or one-parent migrant, having aging caretakers (aged 60 or older) reduces the likelihood of having psychological problem among children.

It should be noted that several variables included in the models, namely child's sex, child's life satisfaction, child's perception of family function, caretakers' education and occupation, parental migration, and household economic status measured by household wealth, are not significant factors of children's psychological well-being.

(Table 4 about here)

CONCLUSION

Our analysis is an initial attempt to investigate the relationship between the well-being of caretaker and the well-being of children in the context of parental migration in Thailand. Past studies on parental migration and left-behind family, especially children, tend to overlook the well-being of left-behind family members, mostly females, playing roles as caretakers and their roles on children's well-being. We measure children's well-being using psychological dimensions measured by SDQ. For the caretakers, their psychological well-being is measured using SRQ-20 (Self Reporting Questionnaire), which provides general prevalent estimates of mental health problems. Our analysis is based on a Thai data set from CLAIM (Children Living Separately from Parents due to Internal Migration), one among very few studies focusing on internal migration of parents and children left behind. The study was conducted in 2010/2011 covering 1,456 households and children aged 8-15 years old, among them, 1,428 children are included as the analytical sample.

Our analysis indicates that around one-fifth of the study children aged 12-15 are at risk of having psychological problem and almost two fifths of the caretakers may be identified as having psychological strain. Findings from the multivariate analyses show that for both migrant and non-migrant households, psychological well-beings of caretakers and of children are strongly associated, regardless of other relevant factors. The results are robust across methods of measuring children's psychological health, i.e. either risk and problematic or only problematic are considered as unhealthy psychological well-being. The significant association between psychological well-being of caretakers and children is found in all three models taken, of all children, of children of migrants,

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and of children of non-migrant parents. Findings suggest a strong and robust relationship between the well-being of caretakers and children both among children in general and children of migrants. Our results confirm a previous notion that psychological strain is associated with increased dysfunctional parenting which in turn negatively affects children's psychological well-being.

It should be noted, however, that the significant association between psychological well-being of caretakers and children is more pronounced among migrant households, suggesting that mental disadvantages are possibly contributed by migration of parents. It is possible that in migrant households, caretakers, whether or not they are a parent, have to double the roles of care giving and parenting while the other parent or both parents of the child are away from home. Being caretakers of migrant's children may create more stresses among caregivers and exacerbate the effects on the child's psychological health.

The finding that parental migration is not a significant factor of children's psychological well-being is worth nothing. It seems that migration of parents per se does not negatively impact children's psychological well-being. As long as the caretakers are psychologically healthy, the children of migrants will also be healthy in terms of psychological health as well. The findings provide an important message to policy makers as well as families and parents in societies where migration of parents cannot be avoided.

Given the dearth of research that links the well-being of caretakers to the well-being of children, we hope that this study will draw further attention to the needs of children and caretakers, especially in migration households.

Table 1 Study children by parental migration status

Parental migration status	%	N
Both parent migrant	47.3	675
Father-only migrant	12.9	184
Mother-only migrant	1.2	17
Non-migrant parents	38.7	552
Total	100	1,428

Table 2 Percentage at risk of unhealthy psychological well-being among children and caretakers and migration status of parents

%	N

Total	100.0	1,428
Psychological health of children (SDQ)		
Normal	79.7	1,138
Borderline	12.5	178
Abnormal	7.8	112
Psychological health of caretakers (SRQ)		
Healthy	62.0	886
Unhealthy	38.0	542
Relationship of caretaker to the child		
Mother	41.1	587
Maternal grandparents	31.4	448
Paternal grandparents	12.0	172
Others	15.5	221
Sex of caretaker		
Female	82.4	1,177
Male	17.6	251

Table 3 Percentage distribution of children's psychological well-being by caretaker's psychological well-being and other selected characteristics of cares and children

Children's psychological well-being		Total	N
Healthy	Unhealthy		
N	1,138 290	1,428	
Overall	79.7 20.3	00.0	
Child's characteristics			
Sex			
	Female	81.6 18.5	100.0 710

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Male	77.9	22.1	100.0	718
Age***				
Older child	84.8	15.2	100.0	599
Young child	76.0	24.0	100.0	829
Health***	Healthy	Unhealthy		
Very well	84.2	15.8	100.0	222
Well	80.2	19.8	100.0	1,078
Not well	67.2	32.8	100.0	128
Life satisfaction score* : mean(s.e.)	27.11(0.08)	26.72(0.17)	27.04(0.07)	1,428
Family function score : mean(s.e.)	13.17(0.06)	12.97(0.11)	13.13(0.05)	1,428
School performance*	Healthy	Unhealthy		
Better	82.9	17.1	100.0	322
Same	80.1	19.9	100.0	966
Worse	69.3	30.7	100.0	140
Caretaker's characteristics				
Relationship with the child				
Mother		77.3	22.7	100.0 587
Maternal grandparents		80.4	19.6	100.0 448
Paternal grandparents		84.3	15.7	100.0 172
Others		81.0	19.0	100.0 221
Psychological well-being***				
Healthy	84.5	15.5	100.0	886
Unhealthy	71.8	28.2	100.0	542
Education				

	Less than secondary school	79.6	20.4	100.0	1,128
	Secondary school+	80.0	20.0	100.0	200
Age					
	<35	76.6	23.4	100.0	171
	35-59	78.8	21.2	100.0	907
	60+	83.4	16.6	100.0	350
Occupation					
	Professionals	83.7	16.3	100.0	86
	Non-professional work	76.7	23.3	100.0	240
	Agricultural	79.7	20.4	100.0	796
	Not working	81.1	19.0	100.0	306
Household characteristics					
Household wealth					
	Poor	77.5	22.5	100.0	570
	Middle	80.7	19.3	100.0	571
	Rich	81.9	18.1	100.0	287
Parental migration status					
	Both-parent migrant	81.0	19.0	100.0	675
	One-parent migrant	79.6	20.4	100.0	201
	Non-migrant parents	78.1	21.9	100.0	552

*, **, *** statistically significant at 0.05, 0.01, and 0.001 respectively

Table 4 Coefficients from logistic regression predicting child's unhealthy psychological well-being

Independent variable	All households	Migrant households	Non-migrant households

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	Beta	S.E.	Beta	S.E.	Beta	S.E.					
Caretaker is psychologically unhealthy	0.85	0.14	***	1.04	0.19	***	0.63				
0.22	**										
Caretaker has secondary education +	0.08	0.23		0.16	0.35		0.00	0.32			
Caretaker's age (ref: <35)											
			35-59	-0.17	0.23		-0.48	0.38		-0.02	0.29
			60+	-0.50	0.29		-0.85	0.41	*	-0.05	0.66
Caretaker's job (ref: Professional)											
non-professional job			0.50	0.36		0.15	0.43		1.12	0.68	
agricultural job			0.39	0.33		0.02	0.40		1.09	0.64	
doesn't have other work			0.32	0.36		-0.12	0.41		1.39	0.80	
Child is male			0.20	0.14		0.20	0.19		0.26	0.22	
Child aged 8-12			0.61	0.15	***	0.72	0.20	***	0.53	0.22	*
Child's overall health (ref: Very well)											
Well			0.26	0.21		0.26	0.27		0.21	0.32	
Not well			0.86	0.28	**	1.04	0.36	**	0.56	0.46	
Score of child life satisfaction			-0.04	0.03		-0.03	0.03		-0.04	0.04	
Score of family function			-0.01	0.04		-0.05	0.05		0.03	0.06	
Child's school performance (ref: Better than classmates)											
Same as classmates			0.15	0.18		0.01	0.23		0.33	0.27	
Worse than classmates			0.62	0.25	*	0.22	0.34		1.22	0.40	**
Parental migration (ref: Non-migrant)											

Both-parent migrant	-0.22	0.17	-0.05	0.24	-	-
One-parent migrant	-0.07	0.22	-	-	-	-
Household wealth (ref: Poor)						
Middle	-0.03	0.15	-0.09	0.20	-0.04	0.24
Rich	-0.03	0.20	0.00	0.27	-0.14	0.32
Constant	-1.58	0.90	-0.71	1.17	-2.87	1.49
Log likelihood	-390.56		-396.42		-271.44	
N	1,428	876	552			

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Experiences of A Syrian Family in Social and Educational Context: Case Study

ÖZLEM ERDEN

Abstract

After the conflict in Syria, many people fled away from Syria. According to the statistics given in UNHCR's Turkey Syrian Refugee Sitrep (2013b), the number of Syrian refugees who came to Turkey including the Syrians registered in camps, outside the camps and appointed to register reached 322,407. Although refugees settled down in refugee camps in provinces near Syrian border, some of them are living outside the camps. Syrian refugees in camp are having difficulties due to crowd in camps, lack of facilities, and education and health services, even the camp programme in Turkey is better than other camps. However, except from the refugees living in camps, there are others living with society in urban areas. This study focuses on to remark the differences for refugees living in camps and outside the camps and present an example life of a refugee family by examining the situation of family from the perspectives of a Syrian family living in urban setting, particularly of Syrian mother and her children.

This is a case study which aims to reflect the experiences of Syrian mother and her children in Turkey after the crisis. The data were collected with observation and interviews. The researcher observed the family members in different settings at markets, schools, social meetings, and home. Following to the observation, an in-depth interview was conducted to understand how they manage to contact with government official, what kind of documents they needed, whether they receive health services, how children receive education and how do they meet their basic needs. In addition, the researcher interviewed with their neighbour and people around them to understand the implications of cultural interaction.

Coding, thematic analysis and quotes from the original scripts are used to analyze data. Observation notes are also used to support results. The findings indicated that as a family living outside the refugee camps, they have better living conditions and receive more help from society than the people who lives in refugee camps. The reasons of receiving more help from society was related with volunteer program set by local people.

Keywords: *Syrian refugees, Syrian conflict, Syrian crisis, refugee camps, Refugee Convention.*

1. Introduction

The Syrian uprising has recently turned into a civil war and this situation accelerated the refugee flow (Philips, 2012). Syrian refugees preferred to go safer places near their border such as Jordan and Turkey. They also fled to some European and Middle East countries. According to the statistics of UNHCR (2013a), the number of refugees and those who are assisted as refugees around Syrian region reached out 1,100,579. The number of refugees in the region is as the following: 340,524 in Jordan, 339,187 in Lebanon, 258,200 in Turkey, 110,663 in Iraq, 43,743 in Egypt, and 8262 in other parts of North Africa.

Turkey has begun to register refugees as UNHCR High Commissioner mentioned in his briefing (Bozkurt, 2013). This application not only registers the refugees living in the 17-government run camps but also includes the refugees living in the urban settings. Therefore the number of refugees is increased 70,000 people. The latest statistics indicates that the number of refugees is now 258,200.

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As AFAD- the Disaster and Emergency Management Agency of Government of Turkey announced the total number of refugees registered and settled down in 17 camps in 8 provinces as 192,429. In addition to this information, it is also important to mention that the number of Syrians who voluntarily returns to Syria is considerably high. From the beginning of the crisis, the total number of registered Syrians is 300,000 whereas the number of returnees is around 105,000 (UNHCR, 2013a).

Turkey is part of Refugee Convention (1951) however Turkey's participation is limited to geographical limitations. Therefore, if refugees and asylum-seekers are non-European, they are accepted as temporary asylum-seekers and they need to resettle to other areas. This application was arranged in this way for those who had Turkish origin and came from Bulgaria, Greece and other European countries due to the pressure on them. Nevertheless this situation has been resolved changed and the profile of people coming to Turkey has changed. Although there are some restrictions in refugee policies in Turkey, the state continues to help refugees coming from different countries, particularly from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria through AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent. Turkish government set up some temporary protection regime and it includes open border policy, no forcible returns, and registration with Turkish authorities and support in camping areas (Ozden, 2013). Due to this precautions taken by government, the definition of refugee changes into a term as guests. Therefore the state worries about hosting these people for a long time due to of straining resources (Philips, 2013).

Turkey has better conditions for refugees compared to other countries around Syria. International Crisis Group (2013) recognized the refugee camps in Turkey as the best refugee camps ever seen. As Philips (2012) mentioned that Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq has poor conditions to cope with refugee needs and problems so that many refugees are living in harsh conditions such as overcrowded camps and lack of daily facilities. KUNA-Kuwait News Agency (2013) reported that Turkish Government provides all needs of Refugees in camps from food, clothing, education, health services, houses, places of worship and social activities. Although Turkey has been providing camping equipments such as tents and container houses, and daily needs of people better than other countries, even Turkey has difficulties in supplying resources, shelter and providing temporary jobs for refugees. AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent are working co-ordinately with UNHCR to ensure the logistics, emergency and security operations. In addition to insufficient resources for refugees, international communities have fallen behind with aid campaign and this may cause deficiencies in support, as well.

Alternative to life in camps, some of the refugees prefer to live in urban areas. It is clear that refugees in camps are having difficulties but what about the others living in urban areas and social settings with local community. As it is pointed out in the UNHCR's High Commissioner's speech in Today's Zaman (Bozkurt, 2013), the Syrians living in the urban areas in Turkey spent most of their savings and needs help as well.

Problem statement

Turkey, as part of Refugee Convention, needs to help refugees, asylum seekers and those who are assisted as refugees, but the refugee policies in Turkey have geographical limitations. So to say, Turkish government is not obliged to apply convention to refugees outside Europe (UNHCR-Country Operation Profile, 2013). Notwithstanding with the legislation of the convention, Turkey helps Syrian Refugees. The state established facilities and camps for those people to provide better living conditions and meet daily needs of them. Although this is a good attempt to help those people, many of them prefers to live in urban settings rather than camps. Their situations are also needed to be investigated.

Purpose of the study

This study aims to display the differences between the refugees who live in camps and outside the camps by from the perspectives of a Syrian refugee family. In parallel with this purpose, the aim is to present an example life outside the camps and reflect the experiences a Syrian family. A refugee family living in a different city in different province were chosen. Their living conditions were examined in different settings such as schools, markets, socials meetings and home. The purpose is to understand how the family members interacted with local people and adapted to a different cultural setting. It is also aimed to find out how they manage to contact with government officials, what kind of documents they needed, whether they receive health services, how children receive education, and how the family members meet their basic needs. Finally, based on the data obtained from observations and interviews, an alternative solution for refugees will be proposed.

Research questions

The following research questions are;

1. What are the general differences in terms of living conditions between the refugees living in camps and outside the camps?
2. How do the Syrian refugee family members interact and adapt the local community?
3. What are the problems that the family have with local community and local authorities?
4. How do the Syrian family manage to contact with government to register and complete legal processes?

Method

The method of this study is a case study. The definition of the case study as Robert Yin (2009) defined “is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of

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evidence.” This study aims to collect data from a refugee family by observing and interviewing with them to present their experiences in Turkey after Syrian Crisis. More specifically, the method of this study is social group studies since the case only includes a family and the researcher directly contacts with the participants (Robson, 2011).

As mentioned above, the multiple sources of data are important in case studies. Therefore, in this study, the observation and interview were used together. In addition, the researchers interviewed with the Syrian family’s neighbours and the family which foster them. Also, the children were observed within school settings. However, the responses of the refugee family were used as the first data source whereas the other interviews were used to support the first set of data.

To give information about the participants of the study, the Syrian family came from Damascus and settled down the city of K... in the Central Anatolian Region. The Syrian family consists of 3 daughters, 1 son, father and mother. The eldest daughter did not have chance to leave Syria since her husband doesn’t have right to get a passport due to not doing the military service. The second daughter is 17 years old and she goes to Religious Vocational High School since she has chance to speak in Arabic. On the other hand, the youngest daughter (9) and the son (14) go to public schools and they do not have chance to speak in Arabic at school. The youngest daughter is at 2nd grade while the son is at 7th grade. The mother (39) is a housewife. The father (44) was running a furniture store in Damascus.

As a data collection instrument, a self-developed semi-structured interview form was used and the responses were recorded with a voice recorder. After developing the instrument, the experts’ opinion was taken to check the clearness of the questions. The interview form was prepared in Turkish and English but the family preferred to make the interview in Turkish. In addition to interview, the participants were observed and the observation notes were recorded in written format.

The duration of data collection was a week. The first day, the researcher met with the family members formally. The second day, the researcher went shopping with the family members and observed their relations with local shop owners. The third day, the mother of the protection family invited Syrian mother and her children to a social meeting. The researcher also joined the meeting. The fourth and fifth day, the researcher visited the children in their school and talked with their teachers informally about their school participation. The last two days, the researcher interviewed with the family members. According to the ethical principles, the participants’ approvals were taken, and the mother’s and father’s permission were taken to interview with the children.

The collected data were analyzed based on the procedures offered by Marshall and Rossmann (2006). First, the data were organized; second, the several schemas were used for recording (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Third, the categories and themes are generated. Finally, the

codes were defined. The interpretation of the data was done by following the procedure mentioned above.

Results

According to the information given by the Syrian family, they came to Turkey, before the situation in Syria became worse. They travelled to Lebanon by a car which they hired. As they informed, when the crisis started, the flights were cancelled between Syria and other countries. The only possible way was to travel by car. They had their passport as soon as the crisis broke out. Their eldest daughter is the only family member stayed in Syria since her husband did not do his military service. They also added that, the husband of their daughter, who is an imam, was imprisoned one a time due to praying in a mosque at the beginning of the crisis so that it was dangerous for him to travel. Expect from their eldest sister, their relatives applied to other countries such as Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon as a refugee.

After staying in Lebanon for a while, they had in an invitation from a Turkish family. As the mother mentioned that her husband had connection with Turkish people before due to business relations. Ozden (2013) also mentioned that business partners in Turkey motivated Syrians to flee to Turkey. The Syrian family has never stayed in camps but they have some friends living in the camps. The family members thank to the state for providing camping areas but they said that the conditions outside the camps are better than camping areas. The daughter (17) mentioned that they are not only lucky to come to Turkey in comparison to other countries, but also lucky to not to stay in camps.

After the analysis of the data, the results were categorized into three parts such as such as daily needs, public services, cultural integration and interaction. Their opinions were also taken into consideration to report the findings.

Basic Needs

The protective family threats the Syrian family members as their guests. They provided many opportunities for the family. Until the family members adapt their new life, the protective family helped them in supplying their basic needs such as accommodation, food, and clothing.

The father said that before leaving Syria, they tried to bring all their finance and valuable things with them but many of them are still in Syria. Recently they do not have any access to their bank accounts but the father have chance to earn little money by the help of protective family. In addition to the helps provided by protective family, the occupants of the Syrian family help them by sending food and drinks daily.

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Public Services

There is lack of social protection for refugees in term of health services. The family doesn't have any information about health services. The mother complained about the health expenses. "My daughter (9) was sick. We went to a private hospital since we don't have health paper. The doctors and nurses were nice but we paid a lot. If there will be help about this, it would be nice. Maybe, there is some application for this but we are not informed about it."

The government officials and local headmen helped the Syrian family on documentation. As the father said that all the family members registered with police and got their residence paper easily. Their neighbours explained them which document they need and which official operations needs to be completed. However, except from receiving help from their neighbours, they did not receive any helps from any government authorities. However, the father mentioned that the officials accelerated the registration and residence process.

Cultural integration and interaction

After moving to Turkey, the family members indicated that everything regarding living conditions and relationships was pleasant for them since the people around them were treating them well. Rather than feeling isolation, as they indicated they found a family atmosphere in Turkey. As the mother mentioned, "The people are really helpful. They invited to us many meetings. My daughter (17) and I also joined a henna night. The cooperation in this city is so good. I felt like these people are my family."

When the family goes to shopping, the market owners and workers talk with the Syrian family and make daily conversation with them. They do not offer them not to pay or make any privilege since they do not want the family to feel sad. The shop owners rather prefer to help them indirectly. The market owners said that we have known that a family will come from Syria before they arrived. In addition to what the shop owners and workers said, the family members are happy about the behaviours and attitudes of shop owners.

The neighbourhood relations in that city are generally well-organized. As the mother of the protective family mentioned, women living in the city K... always prepare weekly and monthly meetings. Besides, they organize benevolent organizations to help needy-indigent people. The mother of protective family said,

"When we heard the people in Syria have problems. We organized aid-campaigns but after that my husband and I wanted to help the people that we know. Sometimes you collect money, clothes and medicine for the people but due to different factors, the needy people do not receive it. I wanted to present an example for other humanitarian people."

The children attend schools. The second eldest daughter goes to Religious Vocational High School whereas the youngest daughter (9) and the son (14) go to elementary school. As 17 year-old daughter stated the teachers and the school principal are nice to her. But when it comes to friendship, she said that it is like Syria, some of her friends are well while some of them are not.

All the schools, which the Syrian children attend, are informed by the protective family before they enrolled the school. The protective family discussed what could be done in the school for these children with the school principle and the teacher. They agreed that the children should improve their Turkish skills before beginning to study subject lessons. As the mother of protective family said that

“The teachers of the school where the boy studies were not eager to help him but the other school principle helped us to how to cope with this problem. He mentioned about the document sent by MoNE to accept these children to schools and enrol them in a class since their previous academic documents were sent to Turkey.”

The youngest daughter (9) improved her Turkish skill better than the other children. The reason that lies behind this success is related with the experience of her teacher. The teacher previously had refugee students from Iraq so that she has little Arabic and also she has experience to teach refugee children. This findings also points at the importance of teacher’s experience in teaching disadvantaged students.

Conclusion

Finally, the opinions of the Syrian family were taken about the life in camps and out of camps. According to their opinion, life outside the camp is better for refugees who have chance to get support like this. They indicated that there are many Syrian people in Turkey living outside camps; however, they were the rich ones and they have more chance to choose. They said the camping environment is better than the camps in other countries and Turkey is good at hosting Syrian refugees, but the Syrian parents emphasized that collecting all the people with same problem might create another problem. The father also talked about the gossips in the camp that there are some agents of Esad to disturb the peace in camps.

This application is an example for temporary refugees. The need of camping areas is necessary to shelter the high number of refugees, but the camping areas are not enough to provide better living conditions to people even it is better than other refugee camps in other countries.

Recommendations

This study aims to present an example refugee protection case as an alternative to camping solution and aid-campaigns. This study also draws attention to the women organization for help. Although it is an individual attempt to protect refugee families, it is successful in providing needs of

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the refugee family within social, educational and somewhat economic context as well as providing a base to make easier the adaptation process of the refugee family with society.

The education of the refugee children should continue after providing the necessary conditions. More precautions should be taken in schools and MoNE should take preventive precautions about the integration of refugee children. This situation should be conveyed to teachers as an opportunity to gain multicultural experiences.

The results and findings reveal out the general differences of the refugee lives between in the camps and outside the camps; however, it is not enough to make generalization and the method of the study is not suitable to talk about significant comparison. Therefore, the further research should be done for comparing two conditions. Besides, the strong and the weak point of the conditions should be explained by determining the factors behind both of the settings.

The other recommendation will be about teacher education system. Incidentally, the importance of internationally experienced teacher in teaching was found in the study. There is a need to prove this fact by making research on this area. Also, Turkey received so many migrants and refugees due to problems in its neighbour countries. Education and Equality, and Teaching in Diversity courses might be offered to the teacher candidates or current teachers, especially in the camping areas or where the number of refugee children high, may take in-service training.

The final recommendation will be about the law and policies about refugees. As it is mentioned in the Refugee Convention (1951), Turkey applies some geographical limitations. As a result of this limitation, the applications for refugees are problematic. Although, Turkey handles this issue co-ordinately, there is a need to revise this policy.

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PART 4

FORCED MIGRATION AND GENDER: ASYLUM POLICIES, CAUSES AND PATTERNS

Instituonalising Social Mores and the Concept of 'Honour' in Refugee Context

SIBEL SAFI

Abstract

Honour killings are a form of intra-family violence, where women, who are seen as the repositories of the man's or family's honour, and as such must guard their virginity and chastity, are killed, usually by their male relatives, because they are seen to have defiled the family's honour and must be killed in order to restore it. Usually women are the victims of honour killings but also men may be killed in the name of honour.¹⁰ The perceived dishonour is normally the result of one of the following behaviours, or the suspicion of such behaviours: dressing in a manner unacceptable to the family or community, wanting to terminate or prevent an arranged marriage or desiring to marry by own choice, especially if to a member of a social group deemed inappropriate, engaging in heterosexual acts outside marriage and engaging in homosexual acts. Men can also be the victims of honour killings by members of the family of a woman with whom they are perceived to have an inappropriate relationship.¹¹

The Geneva Convention on the status of refugees offers the basic definition, stating that a refugee is a person that 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.' The problem emerges when the serious human rights violation like

¹⁰ E.g., in Pakistan if a man's or family's honour has been defiled by a woman's alleged or real sexual behaviour is only partly restored by killing her (the so called kari, black woman). In order for the honour to be completely restored also the man involved in the relationship (karo, black man) has to be killed. However, since the kari must be killed first the karo often hears about it and manages to escape. See Amnesty 1999a, supra n. 3, 5. For instance, in Arab societies a man's ability to protect his female relatives' honour defines his social status and masculinity and his peers will view him as inferior if he cannot adequately protect a female relative's honour. R. A. Ruane, 'Murder in the name of honour: violence against women in Jordan and Pakistan', 14 Emory Int'l L. Rev. [2000], 1523, 1530-31; Amnesty 1999b, supra n. 6, 48, quoting Professor Riffat Hassan; K. C. Arnold, 'Are the perpetrators of honour killings getting away with murder? Article 340 of the Jordanian Penal Code analysed under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 16 Am. U. Int'l L Rev [2001], 1343, 1354.

¹¹ Culture of Discrimination: A Fact Sheet on "Honour" Killings. Amnestyusa.org. Retrieved on 2011-10-01.

honour killing that do not clearly has its base on one of these five grounds which can constitute a legitimate premise for refugee recognition. The states refer particular social group criteria in order to accept the fear of honour killing as a ground for asylum, having a very restricted interpretation on Convention grounds. However, there is nothing in the Convention definition that allows for the exclusion of a claim on the basis that it is a persecution shared with large numbers of others. As stated by the former Canadian Refugee Status Advisory Committee; person is a refugee whether he/she is persecuted one, or persecuted with others. A woman cannot and should not be disqualified from claiming refugee status simply because large numbers of gender experience persecution in their lives. (Canadian Minister of Employment and Immigration, 1982)

Honour killings have often been seen as a personal or domestic issue and the victim is seen as someone who is simply an unlucky victim of an ordinary crime and a further barrier to the recognition of gender-related persecution within current definitions and interpretations of the Geneva Convention is the way in which persecutory practices which may be common in 'Third world' countries are assigned to cultural differences.

In practice the extent to which the existing gender guidelines are actually implemented is open to question and the ways in which women's asylum claims are determined seems, as in other European countries, to be highly dependent on discretionary powers of asylum adjudicators and judges.

Geneva Convention on the status of refugees is a universal legal instrument with universal application as the other international human rights instruments which should protect and promote universal human rights standards contributing to the recognition that human rights violations cannot be justified on cultural, traditional or religious grounds.

This research wil make a comparative analysis of gender-discriminated, institutionalised social mores and legislations and explore the need for reform and assert that the policy should be changed to make it clear that if a woman resists gendered oppression, her resistance is political.

1.2 The failure of state protection

In asylum claims, establishing a well-founded fear of 'serious harm', a woman must also show that the State has failed to protect her, or would fail to do so. There is a failure of State protection if 'serious harm' has been inflicted by the authorities or by associated organisations or groups, or where the harm has been committed by others and the authorities are unwilling to give effective protection, or where harm has been committed by others and the authorities are unable to give effective protection.¹²

In asylum claims involving social mores and the concept of honour, in addition to those instances where the State is directly responsible for the harm that individual women face or fear, for example through discriminatory legislation, women often fear harm from non-State agents which the State has failed to provide effective protection. In some cases, the State actually institutionalised

¹² Heaven Crawley, 2001- Refugees and Gender, Law and Process, Jordans.p. 118

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social mores and the concept of honour and therefore, can be held directly responsible for the harm experienced or feared by women asylum seekers. This can be seen, for example: The Syrian and Lebanese Penal Codes expand the application of the provisions to situations of “attitude equivocal”¹³ and provide for both an excuse of reduction and exemption in cases of adultery. In addition to differences as to the type of excuse the provisions also differ as to who may benefit from the provisions. Some of the codes extend the excuse to the husband, son, father, and brother of the victim¹⁴ whereas others limit the beneficiaries of the excuse to husbands.¹⁵ The Algerian Penal Code and the amended Jordanian Penal Code differ from the others in that they provide that both husbands and wives are beneficiaries of the excuse of reduction of penalty which is limited to situations of adultery.

Section 300(1) of the Pakistan Penal Code (which codified English common law) used to provide for an exception which stated that culpable homicide is not murder if an accused in a murder case could demonstrate that he had been deprived of the power of self-control by grave and sudden provocation. Even though not explicitly recognising a defence only for males who kill female relatives, the courts’ application of the provision resulted in a plethora of court decisions mitigating sentences in cases of honour killings.¹⁶ This provision has subsequently been replaced by the 1990 Qisas and Diyat Ordinance¹⁷ – a body of criminal law. Qisas crimes are murder, voluntary killings (manslaughter), involuntary killing, intentional physical injury or maiming and unintentional physical injury or maiming. These crimes give rise to two types of sanctions,

¹³ As in the Syrian Penal Code, Article 548 and the Lebanese Penal Code, Article 562.

¹⁴ For example, the Syrian and Lebanese Penal Codes. The Libyan Penal Code limits the excuse to the husband, father and brother, while the Turkish Penal Code limits it to the husband and brother of the victim. The Jordanian Penal Code includes a wider category of persons due to the usage of the term “female unlawfuls” which includes every woman who the man cannot marry either for blood, marriage (in-law) or nursing reasons. Abu-Odeh 1996, *supra* n. 28, 145. See also the Iraqi Penal Code.

¹⁵ For example, Egypt, Kuwait and Tunisia

¹⁶ Spatz, . 11, 603, notes 33-43, for citations of a number of pre-1990 cases.

Mitigating cases in honour killings.

¹⁷ Criminal Law (second amendment) Ordinance 1990.

retaliation or diyat, compensation.¹⁸ It should be noted that the principle of retribution does not apply if the victim was impious or was in the process of committing a crime, such as adultery.¹⁹ In such a case the killing entails only diyat on part of the heir of the victim. Also, female Muslim victims and their heirs are only entitled to diyat the amount of which is half of that of a male.²⁰

Thus, most acts of domestic violence, including honour killings, are encompassed by the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance.²¹ In accordance with the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance provides that the individual and/or his/her heirs retain the entire control. Consequently, in cases of honour killing, for example, the father as the heir of the victim (his daughter) may choose to obtain compensation from the perpetrator or, for example, if the perpetrator is the girl's own brother, the father may choose to pardon the perpetrator, his son, and the honour killing is settled by that. Moreover, in cases where the killings actually are investigated and prosecuted the courts have used other provisions to circumvent the harsh punishments for honour killings (murder is punished by death in Pakistan) and gradually reintroduced the provocation provisions of the pre-1990 laws.²²

In Pakistan and Palestinian tribal justice system; it must be noted that women do not as a rule have access to the tribal justice system. In honour crime cases compensation can be either money or a woman given as compensation to damaged honour. The jirga system is commonly perceived as expeditious, reliable and restorative. It is also perceived as providing for lasting

¹⁸ The word qisas/qisas means equality or equivalence and implies that a person who has committed a violation will be punished in the same manner and by the same means that he used in harming the person. M. C. Bassiouni, 'Qisas crimes', in M. C. Bassiouni (ed.) *The Islamic criminal justice system*, Oceana Publ., 1982, 203-210, 203.

¹⁹ In Islamic law, adultery, zina, is a so called hudud/ hudood crime for which the penalty is flogging for unmarried persons and stoning for married persons. The other hudud crimes are apostasy, transgression (similar to treason, armed rebellion), slander and drinking alcohol. On Hudud crimes see, e.g., A. A. Mansour, 'Hudud crimes', in M. C. Bassiouni (ed.) *The Islamic criminal justice system*, Oceana Publ., 1982, 195-201, 197-200.

²⁰ Bassiouni, . 73, 208-9.

²¹ Murder can also be punished by discretionary punishment, ta'azir, if the requirements for the imposition of qisas or diyat are not fulfilled. On Ta'azir crimes, G. Benmelha, 'Ta'azir crimes', M. C. Bassiouni (ed.) *The Islamic criminal justice system*, Oceana Publ., 1982, 211-225.

²² ²²Decision of the Superior Tribunal da Justica, in the case of Joao Lopes, 11.3.1991. L.S. Nelson, 'The defence of honour: is it still honored in Brazil?', *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 2 [1993], 531, 533, 536-7; and L. Linhares Barsted & J. Hermann, 'Legal doctrine and the gender issue in Brazil', 7 *Am. U.J. Gender Soc. Pol'y & L.* [1998/1999], 235, 235.

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solutions to disputes.²³ The tribal justice system deals with honour killings in two ways. First, a jirga may order the killing of a woman who has allegedly violated the honour code. Second, a jirga may be involved in the reconciliation of a dispute after an honour killing has occurred. In these cases the victim and accused are brought together before the jirga to settle their differences and to restore balance and peace.²⁴ The decisions of the Pakistani jirgas are final. The fact that the jirga aims at conciliation means in cases of honour killings that the cases are neither investigated nor prosecuted and that the perpetrators are not punished.

However, in some cases the western societies and courts always react to honour killings without being affected by the nature of the crimes. In Sweden in Elden A. case the sentence of a father who killed his daughter for honour related reasons was mitigated due to his cultural background, instead of being convicted of murder he was convicted of manslaughter.²⁵ In the United States the so-called cultural defence has developed during the last two decades. Judges and attorneys have relied on cultural, ethnic and religious background to lessen a defendant's responsibility for certain crimes. Courts have used the cultural defence to assess the defendant's mental state, "incorporating cultural factors into traditional defences".²⁶ In *People v. Chen*⁹⁴ the court used the cultural defence to reduce the sentence for a Chinese immigrant who had murdered his wife, because the court found that Chen had been driven to violence by traditional Chinese values about loss of manhood (his wife had admitted to having an affair).

²³ Crimes of Honour – Outline Report, Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 4.6.2002, AS/Ega(2002)7Rev2, para. 19. Note, however, that Turkey has stated that a proposed new draft criminal code would amend any such provisions

²⁴ As in the Syrian Penal Code, Article 548 and the Lebanese Penal Code, Article 562

²⁵ The case is discussed in Eldén, Å., "The killing seemed to be necessary": Arab cultural affiliation as an extenuating circumstance in a Swedish verdict', 6 NORA 2 [1998], 89. See, however, also Wikan, supra n. 36, 200, who describes a Norwegian case where the alleged cultural motivation of an attempted murder of a sister by her brother was seen as an aggravating circumstance.

²⁶ Spatz, supra n. 11, 620. Those who support the 'cultural defence' claim that recognition of such a defence will advance the achievement of individualised justice for the defendant as well as a commitment to cultural pluralism. Critics again refer to society's interests in maintaining order and providing equal protection before the law in arguing against the recognition of the cultural defence. J. J. Sing, 'Culture as sameness: toward a synthetic view of provocation and culture in criminal law', Yale Law Journal [1999], 1845, 1847. Van Broeck notes that while the discussion in common law countries tends to focus on the 'cultural defence' aspect of so called culturally motivated crimes, the debate in the civil law countries concerns 'cultural offences'. See J. Van Broeck, 'Cultural defence and culturally motivated crimes (cultural offences)', 9 European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law, and Criminal Justice 1 [2001], 1, 1.

Accordingly, in an Australian case²⁷ the defendant, a man of Turkish decent had killed his sixteen-year old daughter because she had shamed him. The question was whether the defence of provocation could be pleaded to reduce the charges from murder to manslaughter. The defendant argued that the jury should be allowed to take his Turkish and Muslim background into account in its consideration of the characteristics of “an ordinary man”. While the court held that the issue of provocation was to left to the jury it noted that the cultural background of the defendant could be taken into account in the consideration of the characteristics of an “ordinary man.” However, the court also noted that defence of provocation would not apply to any act in the nature of a ritual killing or a killing dictated by the accused man’s religious or political beliefs and convictions. The High Court of Australia has, however, subsequently rejected the cultural defence and stated that ethnicity should not be taken into account when determining the level of self-control of the “ordinary man”.²⁸

The Turkish Penal Code also permits a reduction in any sentence when an illegitimate baby is killed immediately after birth (Article 453). Article 463 again reduces imprisonment by 1/8 when a killing was carried out immediately before, during or immediately after a situation of anticipated adultery or fornication.²⁹

1.3 Geneva Convention for asylum seekers of potential victims of honour killings

Honour killings are a problem in a number of countries around the world and the potential victims have few alternatives, so asylum is a particularly important remedy that must be opened up to them in order to protect their right to life.

If we apply the universalism vs. cultural relativism debate to the refugee problem, it can be observed that a lack of respect for internationally recognized human rights standards in the name of cultural relativism can determine violations of universally recognized human rights norms. The Geneva Convention on the status of refugees offers the basic definition stating that a refugee is a person that ‘owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.’ The problem emerges when other serious human rights violations like female genital mutilation, honour killings, rape in

²⁷ R v. Dincer, [1983] 1 V.R. 460, Supreme Court, Victoria, Australia.

²⁸ Giovanni Masciantonio v. R [1995] 69 ALJR 598

²⁹Crimes of Honour – Outline Report, Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 4.6.2002, AS/Ega(2002)7Rev2, para. 19. Note, however, that Turkey has stated that a proposed new draft criminal code would amend any such provisions.

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war etc. that do not clearly have their base on one of the these five grounds which can constitute a legitimate premise for refugee recognition. As the UNHCR training manual considers; ‘The International refugee law, like humanitarian law, is in fact a branch of human rights law.’³⁰ The Geneva Convention on the status of refugees is a universal legal instrument with universal application as the other international human rights instruments.³¹ As a universal legal instrument it should protect and promote universal human rights standards contributing to the recognition that human rights violations cannot be justified on cultural, traditional or religious grounds.³² Sustaining this universalist view, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, for example, prescribes that custom, tradition or religious consideration cannot be invoked in order to avoid obligations to the eliminations of violence against women.(DEVAW, art;4) In addition, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women calls upon states to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of inferiority and superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.(CEDAW, art;5-a) According to UNHCR Guidelines on gender-related persecution harmful practices in breach of international human rights law and standards cannot be justified on the basis of historical, religious or cultural grounds. (HCR/GIP/02/01- 7 May 2002) The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action resulted in the declaration that culture, tradition and religion could not be used by the State to avoid their obligation to protect women.³³ Jack Donnelly best summarizes the contemporary doctrine of the universalist approach by putting forward the following conclusions: 1. All humans have rights by virtue of their humanity; 2. A person’s rights cannot be conditioned by gender or national or ethnic origin; 3. Human Rights exist universally as the highest moral rights, so no rights can be subordinated to another person (e.g. a husband) or an institution (e.g. the state).³⁴

³⁰Jerzy Sztucki, 1999

³¹ Goodwin Gill,2000

³²Haines, 2003

³³ Kelly 2005

³⁴ Jack Donnelly,1998

1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of refugees, as has been regularly pointed out in the literature³⁵ were forged in the crucible of post-World War II Europe and were further shaped by the Cold War agenda which reflect the principal concerns of that period namely the need to protect individuals from state persecution resulting from political beliefs or personal identity. Unfortunately, this traditional view of the asylum seeker as male, together with narrow and fairly rigid interpretations of what constitutes persecution, has had the effect of denying women, their right to international protection. Women who fear persecution as a result of transgressing religious, customary or social mores that the practices themselves may be based on an assumption of the inferior status of women, which can manifest in discrimination severe enough to qualify as persecution (for example, female genital mutilation, honour killings or dowry burnings); or transgressions may be met with punishments so disproportionately severe as to amount to persecution (for example, in countries such as Iran where women can be flogged for wearing lipstick, or Afghanistan, where they can be stoned or even killed for going out unaccompanied by a male relative).³⁶

The states demonstrate inconsistent responses to accept the fear of honour killing as a ground for asylum, having a very restricted interpretation on Particular Social Group and Convention grounds. However, there is nothing in the Convention definition that allows for the exclusion of a claim on the basis that it is a persecution shared with large numbers of others

‘A particular social group is a group of persons who share a common characteristic other than their risk of being persecuted, or who are perceived as a group by society. The characteristic will often be one which is innate, unchangeable, or which is otherwise fundamental to identity, conscience or the exercise of one’s human rights’ In international jurisprudence there are two approaches to determining whether a particular social group exists. The first approach is the “protected characteristic” or “Immutability” one, which requires the group to share an immutable characteristic or a characteristic so fundamental to their human dignity that it should not be denied.

2. What constitutes persecution?

However, persecution within the context of the 1951 Refugee Convention must contain two elements: first establishing ‘serious harm’ (or threat thereof), and second, the inability or unwillingness of a state to offer protection to the individual. But, rape, “honour killings.”, bride-burning, genital mutilation, forced sterilisation, forced abortion, domestic violence are all acts of

³⁵ Shacknove, 1985; Collinson, 1993

³⁶ Yuval-Davis, 1995

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violence regularly committed against women. What makes women the target of such acts is primarily if not exclusively their sex?

Persecution by non-state actors for the majority of women, however, abuse and violations occur not at the hands of the state or during times of war, but at the hands of private individuals, and within their communities. Such persecution has regularly been side-lined by the argument that there is no state culpability (which is required in appeals for international protection) in cases of private abuse. This argument fails to recognise the dual nature of a state's responsibility to its citizens. States not only have a negative obligation not to violate a citizen's rights, but a positive obligation to respect and protect such rights³⁷.

In 1988, the Inter-American court in the case of *Velasquez-Rodriguez*³⁸ ruled that:

An illegal act which violates human rights and which is initially not directly imputable to a State (for example, because it is the act of a private person or because the person responsible has not been identified) can lead to international responsibility of the State, not because of the act itself, but because of the lack of due diligence to prevent the violation or to respond to it as required by the Convention.

In asylum applications, critical to the formulation of these claims is the fact that the applicant must establish that the government is the source of the persecutory measure or that the government is unwilling or unable to protect her from persecution. When the treatment is through discriminatory statutes or laws which may be gender-neutral but are applied in a manner which target women and which are enforced by the government, State involvement is clear.³⁹

The issue of the failure of the State protection in honour killings is often one which is critical in asylum cases involving social mores and discrimination because, it is often members of the family and community who ensure that the State's approach is enforced. Although a woman who is perceived to have brought shame upon her family, community and nation may have very real fears that she will be punished by the State if forced to return, more commonly she will fear

³⁷(Islam v Secretary of State for the Home Department; R an official v Immigration Appeal Tribunal, ex parte Shah House of Lords, 25 March, 1999).

³⁸ (case 7920, July 29, 1998)

³⁹ Kelly, 1994, pp 517-534

persecution from her family and/or community The male members of the family believe that they can only regain their honour and that of the family and/or community by murdering the woman for her alleged sexual transgressions.⁴⁰

For instance many states where honour killings occur have, however, not ratified any international human rights treaties under which they could be held responsible for their failure to protect the right to life of women, to respond effectively to violations of the right to life or their failure to eliminate discrimination against women. For example, Pakistan, the state where at least 461 women were killed in 2002 in the provinces on Sindh and Punjab alone⁴¹, is not a party to the ICCPR(International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) under which it could be held responsible for the failure to protect the right to life of women. Jordan, for instance, is a party to the ICCPR but has not recognised the Human Rights Committee's competence in accordance with the Optional Protocol Convention.⁴²

2.1 Conclusion: The policy should be changed to make it clear that if a woman resists gendered oppression, her resistance is political.

In particular social group criteria there are social groups other than those that share immutable characteristics, or which combine for reasons fundamental to their human dignity. Drawing the contours of such groups by reference to the likelihood of persecution confuses the issues of identity and risk, despite the fact that each is relevant to the other. The individualized approach of the Convention refugee definition requires attention to personal circumstances, time and place, all of which may combine to distinguish those at risk from others who may share similar characteristics and yet not be in danger. Although there will be policy pressures to limit refugee categories in periods of increased population displacement, there is no rational basis for denying protection to individuals who, even if divided in lifestyle, culture, interests and politics, may yet be linked across another dimension of affinity. Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation Rec(2004)9 on the concept of 'membership of a particular social group' in the context of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, 30 Jun. 2004, for the position that a 'particular social group' is a group of persons who have, or are attributed with, a common characteristics other than the risk of being persecuted and are perceived as a group society or

⁴⁰ Bhabha, J. 1993, pp. 240-249

⁴¹ BBC news, Wednesday 11 Dec. 2002, Rise in Pakistan 'honour killings', http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2567077.stm, homepage visited 7 Jan. 2003.

⁴² Pakistan ratified the CRC 12 Nov. 1990, upon signature Pakistan made the following reservation "provisions of the Convention shall be interpreted in the light of the principles of Islamic laws and values," but withdrew it in 1997.

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identified as such by the state or the persecutors. The applicant must provide the evidences of the persecutor's motives to show that the persecution was motivated by the social group membership.

However, RWLG Gender Guidelines for the Determination of Asylum claims in the UK(1998) 4.17 describes the actual or imputed (attributed) political opinion as; A woman who opposes institutionalised discrimination against women or expresses views of independence from the social or cultural norms of society may sustain or fear harm because of her actual political opinion or political opinion that has been or will be imputed her. She is perceived within the established political/social structure as expressing politically antagonistic views through her actions or failure to act. If a woman resists gendered oppression, her resistance is political.

Sometimes gender-based discrimination in honour killing cases is often enforced through law as well as through social practices. In cases of legislated discrimination, a woman will have to prove that the nature of the discrimination was sufficient to rise to the level of serious harm within the meaning of persecution. It should be noted a woman's claim to Convention refugee status cannot be based solely on the fact that she is subject to a national law or policy to which she objects. (CIRB 1996)

Challenges to social mores and norms, differing as they do from conventional forms of political contestation, have typically been considered 'personally motivated' and have not been categorised as political. As a result, women persecuted for such transgressions have typically had difficulties bringing themselves within the protection of refugee law. Political opinion should include women's opposition to extreme, institutionalised forms of oppression. A woman who opposes legislated discrimination against women or expresses views of independence from the social or cultural dominance of men in her society may be found to have been persecuted or to fear persecution because of her actual political opinion or political opinion that has been or will be imputed to her. If a woman resists gendered oppression, her resistance should be regarded as political activity. According to Macklin, "identifying women's resistance to gender subordination as political opinion..."⁴³ is one believes that the personal is political and that patriarchy in a system constituted primarily through power relations and not biology.⁴⁴

⁴³ Macklin 1995, p.260

⁴⁴ Ibid

A woman who opposes institutionalised discrimination against women, or expresses views of independence from the social or cultural dominance of men in her society may be found to have been persecuted or to fear persecution because of her actual opinion. There is a growing acceptance on that part of decision-makers in different jurisdictions that women's resistance may take the form of opposition to gender social mores and attitudes, and that their opposition to State-imposed dress codes is politically, as opposed to personally, motivated. In Canada, the gender guidelines explicitly promote the recognition of resistance to societal mores, such as female genital mutilation and dress codes, as political opinion.⁴⁵ A reform for interpreting the Geneva Convention may amend the inconsistencies between asylum policies and might remedy the disparate, often unjust treatment of gender-based persecution claims to grant asylum to men/women.

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Success Stories under A Deterrence Regime: Gendered and Localised Strategies for Protecting Asylum Seekers in the Eu

HELEN HINTJENS

Abstract

This paper considers some examples – mainly from the local level in the UK - of actions taken to protect the most basic rights of people officially regarded as having very few rights. Local, protective movement demonstrate that values of solidarity and protection of basic rights for all are not dead, even in the cold climate where progressive criminalization of undocumented people is becoming a governance norm across Europe. Challenges to enforced destitution, detention and deportation (the 3-Ds of the deterrence regime) need to be recognized. So, whilst EU governments seem determined to continue their downward slide into harshly securitized policies towards undocumented men and women, inside local communities, the process of criminalization is being challenged in myriad ways. Such success stories are told to alleviate the unremitting sense of victimization that pervades many studies of asylum today. Such stories also show that the legitimacy of state policies which making people illegal is being challenged. European asylum regimes reinforce trauma among women in particular, including victims of torture, rape and other forms of gender-based violence. Stories of hope involve local campaigns where the aim is to protect the most basic rights of asylum seekers, including housing, schooling, family life and the right to have a say. Campaigns and protests we focus on use positive media coverage and other forms of action to expose asylum abuses. For women advocates and undocumented women lives in particular, such campaigns can make a huge difference, since through media attention and publicity, it is sometimes possible to draw the attention of economic and political power holders to their problems. Occasionally, public opinion is dissuaded from punishing the victims of deterrence-based border controls. A 'politics of hope' is an essential a part of resisting securitization in Europe today, and only when brutal facts about the deterrence regime and the 3-Ds are faced, can local campaigners hope to challenge the state. Our examples are from the UK, but it is fair to say that similar or even more assertive campaigns are taking place in other EU countries, including in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Spain, for example. The wider shared goals or 'frame' of such local campaigns is discussed towards the end of the paper, which advocates that deliberate deterrent strategies should not be imposed on undocumented women and men at all.

Ultimately, the fight is not only on the level of individual refugees and their families, but for resources and the legitimacy of our claims (Zorn, 2009: 257).

1. Introduction

There is currently a low-level war being waged by EU states against undocumented migrants, who are being denied what Hannah Arendt called 'the right to rights' (Babha, 2009). The combined strategies are to use border controls, followed by enforced destitution, compulsory detention, and forced deportation (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti, 2013). These are the 3-Ds of the deterrence regime. Through these strategies, men, women and children across the EU who are denied residence rights, are rendered into unwanted bodies, and added to the numbers of what Duffield calls 'surplus humanity' (Baumann, 2004; Duffield, 2007). The right to publicly resist the 3-Ds, as instruments of deterrence, is questioned by EU member state governments. In some countries criminalization of acts of solidarity and support for the undocumented is already in place; in the UK it is implicit (Fekete, 2009). In France, for instance, helping an undocumented person

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can be a criminal offence, inviting prosecution and even a jail sentence. Helping the undocumented is increasingly equated with smuggling, and so the starting point for this paper is a belief in the right of resistance to state policies and of solidarity with undocumented migrants who are in need of protection.

The main focus is on local efforts by ordinary people, local organisations and advocacy networks, to confront the instruments of the deterrence regime that now governs EU-wide immigration policies. Confronting coercive and neglectful governance strategies is never an easy task. Yet localized struggles for women's, children's and human rights are also happening across the EU. Our examples come from the UK, but also in France, Italy, Spain, The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, we have found comparable examples of action and campaigning that has sometimes worked. The punishment of innocent and vulnerable people is however routine. What networks and local organisations do is to use the strategies available to them, such as direct public protests, court cases and legal instruments, alternative media, creative arts, public information campaigns, advocacy and millions of public and private acts of civic responsibility and disobedience, in order to resist government deterrence policies. The specific campaigns we present worked quite well – hence the reference to success stories in the title. Many other failed, of course. However, through understanding the positive outcomes of local public engagement, the aim is to show how many different kinds of people and organisations are involved in on-going struggles to defend the basic human rights of undocumented people. This small study is thus part of a much wider interest in the politics of hope, important at a times of crisis. Significant gender dimensions arise from these stories, and we end the paper by theorizing resistance to deterrence as a gendered form of advocacy.

Arguably, stories can be a powerful instrument, alongside legal cases and evidence based on statistical data, when tackling rights abuses of the most vulnerable. As Charles Tilly puts it: "...like the plow [stories] ...use a simple application of force to dig deep... they frustrate purists: they condense complex life into simple plots" (Tilly 2006: 95). Stories suit our purposes in this paper, since they provide clear and direct examples, in simplified terms, of how people and groups confront and challenge deterrence policies 'on the ground'. For very vulnerable groups, such as undocumented women, or children, nothing beats a good story for impact, and, when linked to a campaign for basic rights, for effectiveness.

By telling harrowing, yet hopeful, stories about specific families, individuals, communities and places, the paper shows that local social actors and organisations still dare to challenge the dominant logic of deterrence. Such policies have now been designed and imposed by the state in almost every single country across the EU (Sigona, 2012; Webber, 2000). Yet, the deterrence regime is far from accepted as legitimate by all the populations of EU member states. Advocates are strategically making public abuses of the rights of vulnerable undocumented populations, abuses that are usually hidden or private and which lead to severe trauma for men, women and children

(Sigona, 2012; Gasana, 2012; Carpenter 2007; Athwal 2006). They are extending stories of asylum beyond the professional knowledge of the lawyer, doctor or scholar, to a wider audience.

2. Deterrence and Counter-Deterrence

As “states continue to produce persons without rights”, in the words of Jelka Zorn, the underpinnings of deterrence policies are very similar across the EU (Zorn, 2009: 249). They consist of various elements of direct and indirect violence used systematically against immigrants who are defined as undesirable, and intended to ‘persuade’ them to leave their countries of immigration. Webber describes deterrence policies and asks: “when people are subjected to routine fingerprinting, when they are locked up, when they are restrained by body belts and leg shackles and thirteen feet of tape, or forcibly injected with sedatives to keep them quiet as they are bundled on to an aircraft, it seems reasonable to ask: what have they done? The answer is that they have tried to come to western Europe, to seek asylum, or to live here with their families, or to work here. And the whole panoply of modern policing, with its associated rhetoric, is applied against them” (Webber, 2000: 1). In a nutshell, her question highlights the most dramatically repressive aspects of deterrence policies.

Most governments think that by using various ways and means of depriving unwanted immigrants of a living, or driving them crazy through delays and impossible rules, thus generally making life almost unlivable for them, these men, women and children, especially those refused asylum or the right to remain legally, will ‘voluntarily’ leave. Ahmed Pouri is a refugee activist who runs the Netherlands-based organization PRIME (Participating Refugees in Multicultural Europe), and comments: “They keep the sword of Damocles dangling over people’s heads, until in the end those people go crazy or even try to kill themselves” (Ahmed Pouri, PRIME, 2010). Undocumented people sometimes try to kill themselves, but generally their protests involve self-harm short of death, such as hunger strikes, sewing lips together and other forms of bodily protest.

And after forced deportation, the authorities rarely know or seem to care about what happens to those expelled. They end up very often in impossible situations, including in the prison that sometimes awaits them on arrival. The same instruments are used internationally in the deterrence regime. Forced destitution, denying the right to work and healthcare, indefinite detention and forced deportation are among the common ways states have of deliberately trying to make the new life of migrants so traumatic that they will give up trying and want to go home. But in most EU states, few migrants – even those in detention – leave voluntarily to return ‘home’.

If women with children would rather face homelessness, detention and official neglect rather than return ‘home’, this means that the situation at home is even worse. That is no justification for deliberate cruelty meted out to undocumented people in European countries, however. Their asylum claims fail because women in particular cannot prove claims of domestic and gender-based violence and these are in any case not always considered a valid basis for granting asylum. From

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FGM, to partner violence, rape and sexual abuse by army and police, when women flee, alone or with their families, they often have specific fears.

3. Still Human and Still Here

The first example from the UK is of a campaign that has been mostly fought out on-line, and is concerned less with deportation and detention than with destitution, the third instrument in the armory of deterrence weapons that are used to enforce UK – and wider EU - immigration policies. Destitution results from asylum processes having been exhausted, and failed asylum seekers refusing to return home. For women on the street, who may become pregnant or who may seek support from criminal networks, the risks are particularly high. Only women who already have young children when their asylum claim is refused will continue to receive support and be housed. If housed, they will be ‘sitting ducks’, vulnerable to being detained prior to deportation as officials in the UK Border Agency try to reach their deportation targets for the year. An impressive list of organisations, including some cities, medical groups, the NCADC, immigration lawyers, City of Sanctuary, Jewish and catholic groups, theatre groups and the Red Cross, got together to create the Still Human Still Here campaign.

According to one report produced by the campaign in 2009, those who visited the Refugee Council, Refugee Action, Migrant Helpline, the Scottish Refugee Council, the Welsh Refugee Council and the North of England Refugee Service: “...came from over 40 different countries of origin”. However: “...most visits by destitute people are by people from one of a very small number of countries where there are well documented human rights abuses and persecution, impunity for human rights abuses and/or conflict”, especially from Iran, Iraq, DRC, Sudan, Eritrea, China, Zimbabwe, Afghanistan, Congo-Brazzaville and Somalia. War and severe human rights abuses by government are common in all these countries. Most destitute people had been destitute for over 6 months, and a significant number were destitute with children. For Zimbabweans with children who live in destitution, the choices are between voluntary return, or living on the streets. That they choose to live on the streets shows that “they do not feel that return is safe”, as the report notes.

4. Land of No return

In June 2008, Rachel Stevenson and Harriet Grant published an article and accompanying film called ‘Land of No return’, which presented several examples of anti-deportation actions from some of the most deprived communities in the UK. Combining official government data, information from the Red Cross, and records from NGOs, the article reported that in 2007-8, Red Cross distributed 26,000 food parcels per week to destitute failed asylum seekers in 2007-2008, the research was informed by the campaigning network NCADC (National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns).

Tendero, a man from Zimbabwe, explains that through forced destitution, detention and ultimately deportation of failed asylum seekers: “What...the British government is doing is trying to teach us a lesson, to say this is not a destination to come to, this is not an easy touch”. The article presents examples of “(c)ommunities...organizing themselves to stop their friends and neighbours from being deported”, detained and made destitute. Examples from Glasgow, Bury in Manchester, Sheffield and even divided Belfast in Northern Ireland show how some of the most marginalized communities in the UK try to support asylum seekers, including many women with children, and are ‘dumped’ in some of the worst housing schemes in the country. In defiance of efforts to detain and deport and ‘remove’ such people, grandmothers, retired people and school children speak out and act to house, protect and prevent the detention and deportation of failed asylum seekers who live in their areas. This politics of hope can be illustrated through some examples from the film.

A grandmother and resident of one of several tower blocks on the Kingsway in Glasgow, Jean Donnachie, explains how she patrolled together with other residents every morning for 2 years. Their aim was to end the ‘dawn raids’ by immigration police, which would often involve battering down doors and removing families, most commonly at 5-6 a.m. when the families were asleep in bed. Following protests by tower block residents, police were unwilling to use force to remove the individuals. The protests started after one father of a family jumped 2 stories one morning, as his family was facing arrest. For the 2 years of the civic action, no dawn raids were carried out in the tower blocks. Eventually “most of the families on the estate” were given permission to stay in Britain. In another case in the film, a failed asylum seeker from the Congo who has been made destitute, finds sheltered with a Glasgow family, and later a retired engineer in Sheffield says he is ashamed to be British because of the cruelty of official policies towards vulnerable people fleeing persecution.

The aim of government policies across the EU is to ‘persuade’ failed asylum seekers to return home: by making their lives impossible in which country they live. In Bury near Manchester, a retired teacher runs a support group for asylum seekers, and with this support, she explains that many of the families can stay. Women are the core of the support group, making friendships across religious, national and other boundaries, and giving practical support. Sue, the organizer, claims: “I think we have made it very hard for the Home Office to remove families that are settled. And I think every MP up and down the country will know that because they’ve been lobbied like we lobbied ours”. Action by the Unity Centre in Glasgow helped to get people in detention supported, and in some cases released. “It is hard work, it is traumatic, it is difficult. But by doing that we will win, we do win” says the man who speaks for the Unity Centre.

5. Glasgow girls: ending child detention

When the new coalition government was elected in the UK in 2012, one of its commitments was to end the detention of children within the asylum and immigration system. When Agnesa’s family was due to be deported in 2005, from Scotland, she and her school friends got together to

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start a campaign. Other girls due to be deported from their schools and communities were also supported, and the policies were eventually changed. The ‘Glasgow girls’ used protests and music to get media attention and raise public awareness in Scotland of the risks that children would be seized, detained and deported, leaving their friends and communities behind. When the campaigns started, one in eight pupils in Drumchapel High school was from a family seeking asylum. The girls who were central to the campaign were Amal Azzudin, originally from Somalia; Agnesa Murselaj, a Roma girl from Kosovo; Roza Salih, from Kurdistan; Ewelina Siwak, a Polish Roma gypsy; and Emma Clifford, Jennifer McCarron and Toni Henderson from Drumchapel. After opening in Scotland in 2012, the play about these young women’s campaign, which was written by playwright David Greig, and included songs from Scots Asian rapper MC Soom T, moved to the London stage.

The National Theatre of Scotland website informs us about the background context of the play: “Driven by a fierce sense of injustice, a group of seven young women in a high school in Glasgow fight for the life of their friend and for the rights of children of asylum-seekers in Scotland. They take on the Scottish Government and the Home Office and succeed where adults and politicians failed”. This is another example of the strongly assertive approaches of local communities, and in this case of young women in a tough area of Glasgow. Working in the same direction as others in the ‘child and refugee rights sector’, the Glasgow girls expressed their solidarity with one another by taking action and demanding reform, and long before reaching the age to vote, this ensured that they had a political voice, especially through media. It was in part their campaign, as well as that of many other organisations such as Bail for Immigration Detainees, The Children’s Commissioners and Ombudsmen of the UK and other child rights NGOs, that resulted in the Coalition government’s commitment in 2010 to end child detention. With considerable publicity, the Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, announced the end of detention for children, stressing that: “unlike now, where a family can be locked up from the moment their application is refused, all families will be given the time and space to make further appeals, to get their personal affairs in order, and to say their farewells.

These parents and their children will not be treated like criminals; they will have every opportunity to leave under their own steam”. At least in part, campaigns like that of the Glasgow girls raised public awareness of the cruelties inherent in the UK deterrence system when it comes to children and the communities they live in.

6. Two women advocates for asylum rights

The two women we call Susan (UK) and Femke (the Netherlands) were each involved voluntarily in pro-asylum advocacy work for many years. Susan worked with Asylum Justice, a local organization in South Wales, loosely affiliated with NCADC. Femke has worked with PRIME in The Hague for many years and in pro-asylum advocacy for almost 30 years. Neither woman,

however, had any formal legal training. Both Susan and Femke have suffered for many years – and continue to suffer - from clinical depression. Both take regular medication and they have this in common with many of the failed asylum seekers with whom they work on a daily basis. Although Susan has a full-time day job, Femke does not, and for both women, the work on asylum rights has become a way of life, something pivotal to their worldview and sense of themselves. Both view the asylum condition as a metaphor for pervasive injustices in the world. They both opt to define their view of a politics of hope, and share this vision. Each identifies herself closely with broader refugee experiences of displacement and isolation, each making sense of the world through identifying her own small, inter-connected, contribution with others acting to promote the rights of those worse off than themselves.

Susan's involvement with asylum issues started in 2005 following the forced dispersal of asylum seekers to her town in UK. Femke began to help in a local detention centre during the 1970's. Each has been involved in all aspects of pro-asylum work, from mundane social events, to the most technical forms of assistance in legal cases and health care provisions, involving training in asylum law and human rights and contacts with medical personnel. Each has translated documents, visited detainees, tried to intervene against deportations and helped destitute people and their families materially. Each woman has a wealth of experience of the asylum regime, and each acts as an intermediary between the system and individual claimants or families. Femke makes this clear when she explains how she helped interpret between asylum seekers and officials in the detention centre, translating the asylum seekers' stated needs into terms understood by the officials, lawyers, bureaucrats, doctors and other professionals working in the centre. Susan also sees her work with Asylum Justice in terms of interpreting the law for asylum seekers who wish to lodge appeals, for example. Femke visits many individual detainees who phone her to tell her of their experiences in the prison or detention centre. Her work has mainly involved facilitating access where possible to a lawyer, a doctor, somewhere to live. In South Wales and in The Hague, most charities hand out food donations, but rarely get involved in legal, housing, health or employment rights. Susan became involved a few years after Asylum Justice was first set up to resist the claim of the official legal aid system that it "...sifts out worthy from unworthy forced migrants" (Bhabha 2002: 160).

Susan and Femke each talk at length about how destructive the asylum process can be of individual applicants' personal potential and talents. Both women remarked on the chronic failure of the system to provide adequate legal aid. Each expressed frustration that without legal aid, asylum seekers could not convince the courts (or get bail in the UK). Few would win their appeals and many would be deported, or living in destitution once more. This depressed both women, but they were also determined to do something positive to influence the situation they found around them, together with others. Susan and Femke share disgust at the mainstream media attitudes towards asylum seekers and undocumented people, and both admit to a deepening sense of outrage at public and political attitudes, which have worsened since a few years ago. Each expressed fear that the stress and anger their awareness of the asylum system brought had not only taken over their

lives, but was also damaging their health. Campaigning against the 3-Ds, Susan and Femke personally know many individuals and families who daily inhabited a state of exception, and were alternately destitute, detained and subject to deportation. Each woman described how this altered her previous sense of normality. The cruelty inflicted on people they knew, or had met and spoken to, shocked these women, and Susan helped—together with a refugee friend—to set up a group for refugee and asylum seeker women, caring for children while mothers met for shared activities. Volunteer work by women like Susan and Femke keeps most pro-asylum advocacy organizations going, and makes their networks operate in a way that is open and receptive to people in crisis. Both women consider it a waste of human potential, that destitute and detained people, women and children, and isolated and root-less young men remain trapped in the 3-Ds, or in fear of them, despite many already having experienced torture, rape and political persecution at home. The two women report that their lives have changed completely through their growing involvement with pro-asylum advocacy in the UK and Netherlands.

7. Pro-asylum Advocacy Frames across the EU

Advocacy, which is what the examples given so far are about, can be defined as, “the process of identifying with and representing a person's views and concerns, in order to secure enhanced rights and entitlements...” (Cambridge and Williams 2004: 98). In other words, within a specific locality, along lines of gender, class, profession, refugee status, educational background and political affinities, advocacy is a way to influence the policy process through reference to the direct or indirect experience of those most affected. In the case of the examples we have taken, those most affected are the ‘objects’ of the deterrence policies that aim to chase people out of Europe, and dissuade others from arriving in the first place. As the product of lived experience, combined with professional and legal or media training, what matters in effective advocacy is to combine direct knowledge gained from being affected by a policy, with the language that policy makers can understand.

The notion of a ‘shared injustice frame’, as elaborated by Olesen (2005), is a useful way to reflect on shared worldviews that arise among those involved in pro-asylum advocacy networks in the EU. A common view is widely shared of how the world works, and what people confront in asserting their rights. These frames derive their power from their ability to bridge divisions of class, identity, refugee status, gender, professional training and political and religious ideas.

As resistance to deterrence policies and laws has continued across the EU, shared understandings have risen that such policies and laws are both unjust and unworkable. For pro-asylum advocates, the state of exception is illegitimate, and involves impunity for state and private sector corporate crimes (by airlines and security firms) against very vulnerable people. A shared identity has thus started to emerge among pro-asylum advocates (Olesen 2005). How such shared

injustice frames or transnational grievance perceptions, as Olesen calls them, produce shared forms of identification is interesting, since: "...in contrast to a legitimating frame, [a shared injustice frame provides]...an in-terpretation of what is happening that supports the conclusion that an authority system is violating the shared moral principles of the participants. An alternative to the legitimating frame, it provides a reason for non-compliance" (Olesen 2005: 31).

For pro-asylum advocates whether they support free movement or not, everyone seeking sanctuary in the EU have the right to claim protection and to fair and humane treatment in doing so. International law provides strong support for this premise (Loescher 1993; Helton 2002). For pro-asylum advocates, deterrence-based approaches to migration are clearly incompatible with human rights principles and practices, and with any sense of justice or fairness. Through a wide range of responses, such as media pressure, diplomatic dialogue, legal challenge, street demonstrations and public citizen campaigns, pro-asylum advocacy networks resist the official view that such policies can be justified. Cases are taken to court, debates organized in Parliaments, media and civil society training programmes conducted, and in-formation communicated through radio, press, film and internet. While strategies may vary, the challenge of delegitimizing official claims that cruel policies are unavoidable to deter future inflows is a shared challenge. Inside knowledge of detention and deportation regimes helps to discount such official claims. Most advocates have first-hand evidence of the state of exception and the way it violates all basic human rights principles. The localized practices of contestation they use also have in-built connections to perceptions of global injustices.

Despite these grand ideals and shared frames, the reality is also that most advocacy networks in the asylum field operate informally and have barely any resources. This means they generally attract those who ignore the material incentives to get involved in such work. Indeed, most of the work is voluntary or under-paid. Migrant and refugee organizations typically have small, cluttered offices with low paid or voluntary staff who work long hours. Yet even such small organizations can have a significant impact on how national and more global immigration policies are re-imagined, when they collaborate in campaigns like Still Here, Still Human (Sassen 2004). Translocal pro-asylum networks include a wide variety of actors, from priests to politicians, and from lawyers to actors, office workers to poets, trade unionists, teachers, intellectuals, postal workers, unemployed and retired people, as well as lawyers and doctors and domestic workers. Many are themselves refugees, or have been asylum seekers in the past. Others are locals who consider themselves 'citizens of the world', and work within their own city, region or neighbourhood to improve the quality of life. Some see themselves engaged in a defensive struggle to protect the most vulnerable people in their society (Migreurop 2007).

Earlier research conducted with NGOs in the UK and The Netherlands suggests that those involved in pro-asylum advocacy networks tend to share a sense of being 'in the know'. They have a widely shared set of principles, rooted in notions of defending human rights and human solidarity. Resistance-based identities have thus emerged out of these advocacy networks, that can enable people to remain engaged, even in the face of apparently enormous challenges and personal risk to

themselves. Many pro-asylum advocates see “...autonomous migration [as]...a form of resistance to global apartheid enforced at nation-state [level]” (Spener 2008: 115). This is not true of everyone in this field. As with all ‘weapons of the weak’, resistance against the state of exclusion and global apartheid can take covert rather than overt forms. Protecting individuals, families, and groups of undocumented non-nationals is the bottom line, when it comes to the policies imposed of destitution, detention and deportation. These ‘3-Ds’ also result in the 3-Ds of: “...disillusionment, disempowerment, disenfranchisement”, as dominant emotions among undocumented or irregular migrants (Gasana, 2012: 1).

8. Concluding thoughts: vulnerabilities and challenges

‘There but for the grace of God go I’, is a common sentiment arising from these examples of people getting involved in pro-asylum advocacy networks, which are an example of wider social movements (Della Porta and Tarrow 2005). Longer-term processes of engagement involve people making shared meanings around those whose experiences are ignored, denied or actively worsened through official migration policies based on deterrence. A common response is outrage at the cruelties of official policies among pro-asylum advocacy groups. However, a sense of horror can also turn people off and does not always ensure that campaigns will engage the public. Refugees and asylum seekers may also themselves engage and withdraw from campaigns, at different times, depending on their own responses to the horrors of the injustices being perpetrated. Sometimes those directly affected feel paralysed and re-traumatized by the asylum process itself. At other times, people who are in the asylum system, or are undocumented or destitute, avoid depression by becoming more actively engaged in campaigns on behalf of others (Cohen 2002; MacDonald 2006).

Exploring selected stories about what refugees and their supporters manage to achieve in the face of official indifference and abuse, is intended to show how the deterrence regime fails. An analysis of the deterrence regime has been undertaken elsewhere (Webber, 2000 and Fekete 2005). An entrenched, legally consolidated and dominant ideology and set of exclusive practices at the national or EU level can still be challenged effectively through locally-situated social action and advocacy. Tension between national and local policies have been noted in several EU countries, including both the UK and The Netherlands (Van Der Leun 2006). Dehumanizing deterrence policies, based on destitution, detention and deportation, are brought to light in such campaigns. The aim can also be to embarrass senior policymakers, ensure that questions are asked in Parliament and the media. Ultimately, the goal is to undermine the legitimacy of deterrence policies themselves. Confronted with firsthand stories of people who live nearby, go to the same school, have the same beliefs, and live lives that are otherwise similar, even outspoken opponents of ‘immigration’ in general, can become interlocutors for specific undocumented families and individuals. Campaigners who work through internet and other forms of media to bring pressure on policy makers, can even sometimes manage to introduce reforms, as in the Glasgow girls case

discussed later in this paper (Cambridge and Williams 2004). In the UK, policies around the detention of children were changed, and this decision was in turn to transform some gender dimensions of the asylum process.

Cases involving destitution, detention and deportation can end up in court, including at the European Court of Human Rights, and sometimes the rulings favour the undocumented person or asylum applicant. Many lawyers start to see EU governments as part of the problem; yet lawyers and human rights organisations also find it important to point out to governments that they are failing to meet their own international legal obligations. Most researchers working for public institutions also tend to measure governmental performance against stated public policy goals and priorities (for an example see Crawley 2006). Of course: “That is not to say that the law is useless, only that the struggle there is both defensive and ancillary to resistance on the ground” (Webber, 2000: 6). Legal and policy-guided approaches can indeed produce results, and can result in financial compensation for wrongful detention, deportation and other forms of state-imposed harm. Yet legal victories do not usually elicit the kind of public sympathy and responsiveness that is needed to ensure that pressure is put on politicians to vote against the ever harsher measures put in place under the EU deterrence regime.

The individuals, groups and organisations that oppose deterrence policies across the EU are increasingly under scrutiny themselves. They badly need support in order to continue with their work; most are based on volunteers alone. A key document that spells out the problem is the 2002 EU Directive and Framework Decision on, “Strengthening the penal framework to prevent the facilitation of unauthorised entry, transit and residence” (Fekete, 2009). This Directive reinforced the impression that securitized migration policies based on deterrence were binding law among EU member states, and that those who went out of their way (lawyers, social workers, teachers, community members, neighbours, perhaps even MPs) to resist such laws, might be bordering on criminality, for instance by ‘facilitating’ unauthorised transit or residence’ of migrants. As Fekete notes: “the threat of prosecution now hangs over those who take part in direct action in support of the refugee sanctuary movement or hunger strikers, those who provide housing for the undocumented or refuse to provide information to the authorities on their residence status, those who expose conditions within detention centres or simply defend the rights of detainees” (Fekete, 2009: 84). Despite the pressures that state policies based on deterrence place on the lives of many, many people across the EU supporting the undocumented, the destitute, those in detention and those facing deportation, this work continues. The terrible conditions of life in detention, on the streets and the violence of forced deportation, means that not everyone is willing to support undocumented people in their daily lives. Some even advise them, with good intentions, to return home voluntarily. But this is unlikely so long as the world is beset with wars, torture, persecution and fear. Given the state of the world, in its deplorable condition, across the the EU government may soon have to face the reality that policies of deterrence, insofar as they are aimed at existing migrant populations who live in an undocumented state, simply are not working.

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"Flight as a Chance? Changing Gender Roles of Chechen Single Mothers in Graz Who Are Officially Recognised Refugees"

PETRA WLASAK

Abstract:

People from Chechnya are among the largest refugee groups in Austria. There are several non-governmental-organisations in Austria, including Caritas as one of the main organisations, providing counselling and support for refugees. On the basis of Caritas' everyday experience from working with refugees, the need occurred to find out more about the specific integration process of Chechen single mothers and their changing gender roles. A research project under the supervision of professor Karin Schmidlechner from the University of Graz was started. The research project deals with life reality and moral concepts of Chechen single mothers in Graz who are officially recognised refugees. The question is raised if the women's special life situation is a possibility to broaden their scope of action outside the traditional Chechen behavioural norms. In order to verify this thesis, the paper first provides a short overview of the fundamental theory of war & gender, flight & gender as well as transculturalism & gender. Second, a historical overview of Chechnya, Chechen society, and the current political and social situation in Chechnya is given. The paper focuses on the traditional Chechen gender order, elaborating on how this order has changed from during the era of the Soviet Union until today, and how the legal and social situation of women in Chechnya is today. In the empirical section of the paper, four individual cases of Chechen single mothers are described. Qualitative guided interviews were analysed, concerning the difference between the women's individual way of life and moral values and traditional Chechen way of life and moral values. This analysis determined whether or not the living situations and the moral values of the interviewed women differ from the traditional Chechen norms, and if the specific life situations of the women make a self-determined life possible. In all empirical cases all women show tendencies to challenge the traditional Chechen behaviour norms. They do this in very different ways. Nevertheless, none of these women are able to fully overcome the limitations of their gender.

Keywords: *Gender, Chechnya, war, flight, asylum, Austria*

1. Introduction

Since the outbreak of conflict in Chechnya in 1994, tens of thousands of Chechens have been forced to flee from violence and human rights violations. Especially large has been the movement of refugees since the second war in Chechnya starting in 1999. Since 2002, Austria (alongside Poland, France and Belgium) has been one of the main receiving European countries for Chechen refugees. Austria has approved a very high rate of asylum applications to Chechens - in 2004 the rate was about 94%. Since the reform of the asylum law in Austria rates of approved asylum applications have been constantly dropping. (Langthaler 2009 p. 165) Nevertheless people from Chechnya are still one of the largest refugees groups in Austria. (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2010 p. 5) Experts claim that about 15,000 Chechens have settled down in Austria. (Langthaler 2009 p. 165)

Caritas is one of the main non-governmental-organisations for refugees in Austria. In Styria, a province located in the South of Austria, Caritas has implemented a project, which offers special

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integration counselling for refugees. Main tasks of the project are providing support for education, effective job placement and locating accommodations. Chechens have always been the largest target group of the project. (Caritas 2012) Single mothers are very rare in this group. Out of 150 Chechen women who have applied for asylum in Austria and live in Styria, only seven live alone, and 21 are single mothers.

One of the integration counsellors, who happens to be the author of this paper, hypothesises that Chechen single mothers, who have been granted asylum, are in general, very successful in managing their integration process. It should be noted, however, that this hypothesis is based on anecdotal evidence. To find out if this hypothesis is proved correct, and also to investigate the changing gender roles and moral concepts of Chechen single mothers, this paper considers whether or not the women's life situation as single mothers enables them to broaden their field of action outside the traditional Chechen behavioural norm.

Theoretical fundamentals of war & gender, flight & gender, transculturalism & gender

Before exploring the changing gender roles of this specific group of women, it is important to provide a theoretical overview on how war, flight and transcultural experiences can affect gender in a society.

War & gender

In times of war, traditional and hierarchic gender norms are reinforced. (Cockburn 2001 p. 19) Men must prove their manhood by fighting and giving their lives in order to protect their families and preserve the security of their nation. On the contrary, women have passive and subordinated roles in society. They are expected to fulfil their roles as mothers, preserving their nation's culture by giving birth to the nation's next generation. (Harders 2010 p. 534) At the same time women are actively involved in war activities, such as providing information, food, medicine, moral support, or being soldiers or peace activists. (Goldstein 2001 p. 369) Although their responsibilities are increasing their role in society is still considered less important than that of men. (Darrow 2000 p. 8) So we can talk about the paradox of women's role during wartimes: on the one hand, war allocates women into strictly defined patriarchal gender roles, whilst on the other hand, war broadens the field of actions for women.

Flight & gender

Around half of all refugees worldwide are women, but they are more likely to be internally displaced people. (UNHCR 2011) This is due to the fact that worldwide women possess less material and social resources, limiting their opportunities to flee. (Cockburn 2001) Flights are also especially dangerous for women, risking sexual exploitation or violence on their travelling-route. (Gururaja 2000 pp. 13-16) Furthermore, women are traditionally required to assume responsibility

for their family's children, further constraining their flight chances. However, a flight for women also means a chance for more mobility and for single women who have lost their partners, a chance for more self-determination and autonomy of decision. (Amani 2003 p. 15)

Transculturalism & gender

In order for one to confront a foreign culture one has to be clear on the elements on their own culture. An essential element of every culture and its norms is the gender order. This means that on a transcultural level, the gender role must be negotiated individually, in the immediate circle of acquaintances and in context of the host society. This may lead to a potential modification of the gender role or, conversely, to a strengthened gender hierarchy. (Michiko 2007 p. 37)

To summarize, it can be said that gender relations and gender roles change in the context of war, flight and transcultural experiences. There is the chance that in certain circumstances these situations hold emancipatory possibilities for women.

Chechnya: Overview on region, society and history

Chechnya is located in the Southeast of the Russian Federation. Before the outbreak of the war in 1994 the number of inhabitants was about 1.25 million people. Today, experts estimate a population of 400,000 inhabitants. (Dzutesv 2010) Chechnya holds abundant deposits of mineral oil and gas. (Daschitschew 1996 p. 46)

The Chechen society is a patriarchal, segmentary society, which is tribally organised. This means that the society is subdivided into different clans, which are again subdivided into large family-groups. Sufism, a mystic movement of Sunni-Islam, has been the dominant religion in Chechnya. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 pp. 14-18) Sufis are organised in hierarchic brotherhoods, obeying an orthodox interpretation of Islam. (Elger and Stolleis 2006 pp. 227-228)

At the end of the 18th century, Tsarist Russia claimed its domination on the North Caucasus (Leitner 2006 p. 10), which lead to continuing rebellion against the Russian colonial power. After the decay of the Tsarist Empire, Chechnya was forcefully incorporated in the Soviet Union. This and the collectivisation lead to rebellion among the Chechen people. In 1944 Stalin gave order to deport the whole Chechen people. An estimated 100,000 people died during the deportation. After the death of Stalin, the Chechen people were rehabilitated and were allowed to return to their homeland. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 pp. 21-22)

In the 1960's and 1970's, Chechnya's cultural life prospered alongside its industry. (Politkowskaja 2008 p. 311)

After the decay of the Soviet Union in 1991 Chechnya, under the rule of president Dschochar Dudajew, declared independence. (Quiring 2009 p. 131) In response the Russians implemented economic sanctions, which lead to economic tension and conflicts between clans, over oil and power. Dudajew was unable to restore the internal stability. In 1994, Russian armed forces

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invaded Chechnya in order to restore the territorial integrity. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 p. 25)

The first war in Chechnya lasted from 1994 until 1996, presenting an unexpected challenge for Russian troops who could not succeed against the Chechen rebels. In 1996, a peace treaty was signed adjourning discussions on the future status on Chechnya until 2001. The interwar period from 1996 until 1999 was characterised by economic collapse of the region. The unemployment rate was about 95% and illegal economic sectors such as trade of weapons and drugs, and criminal actions such as depredation and kidnapping increased. (Hassel 2003 p. 43)

President Maschadow, who had been elected for president in 1997 and who favoured a national solution for Chechnya (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 p. 30), was not able to stabilize the country. (Rau 2002 p. 36)

In 1999, 1,200 Islamist fighters invaded Dagestan under the commando of the rebel Schamil Bassajew. This was for the Russians the official reason for the second war. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 p. 32) The war was dominated by massive brutality by the Russian forces such as ethnic cleansing, filtration camps, organised mass rapes, executions and air strikes. (Leitner 2006 p. 11) This led to the flight movements of hundreds of thousands of people. In March 2000, Vladimir Putin officially ended the war, although fighting continued. The war activities were now officially called anti-terroristic operations. Putin created an interim administration in Chechnya whose head was the former Grand Mufti Achmed Kadyrov, who had defected to the Russians. Kadyrov was able to build up a private army of bodyguards, maintaining power. In 2004, Achmed Kadyrov was killed in a bomb attack. His son Ramsan followed him and has been Chechnya's president under the protection of Vladimir Putin until today. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 pp. 33 - 37)

Current political and social situation in Chechnya

Ramsan Kadyrov rules as a dictator and commands a secret service made up of 16, 000 armed bodyguards. He strategically staffed political positions with members of his clan. Kadyrov has fostered a cult of personality surrounding himself and his father spreading an authoritarian, national form of Islam, in opposition to Wahhabi Islam. (Maaß 2009 pp. 79-81)

International organisations criticise the disastrous human rights situation in Chechnya. Opposition members and their families are being persecuted and disappear or get killed. Health care is rarely provided which leads to a high mortality rate and an increase in diseases such as HIV/Aids and tuberculosis. (Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker 2005 pp. 10-12) Economy is still in crisis and the unemployment rate is about 90%. (Tschetschenien-Komitee 2004 p. 120) Jobs and public services are only available through paying corruption-payments. Education is insufficiently provided, because there is a lack of teachers, teaching materials and schools. (Maaß 2009 p. 84)

Traditional Chechen gender-order

The traditional Chechen common law called “Adat” organises social relations between individuals in Chechen society. It is executed by a council of elders and provides a strict code of ethics and specific rules of behaviours. (Cremer 2007 p. 19) Such rules include respect for elders, rules of hospitality and a strict virginity code. Adat is a patriarchal system. Strict gender segregation dictates the specific role of men and women in society. (Schinnerl and Schmidinger 2009 p. 15) A Chechen man’s task is to protect and represent his family. He takes care of all public, political and economic relations of the family. (Cockburn 2005 p. 111) The honour of a man is defined upon the protection of and the power over his family. In any case where family members do not obey the traditional rules, he is obliged to react with punishment; otherwise his honour is at risk. (Rousseva 2004 p. 65) The role of the woman is traditionally in the private sphere. Her tasks are to take care of the children and the household. A woman is not an equal member of the family, as she is not entitled to participate in decisions. (Gannuschkina 2009) The most important responsibility of a woman is giving birth to future generations. By raising their children the traditional way, they reproduce the Chechen culture. The most important virtues of women are virginity (until they are married) and modesty. This ensures a guarantee to the husband that any children born are his. As a consequence, Chechen women are under strong social mechanisms of control. (Quiring 2009 p. 185)

The majority of the time marriages are pre-arranged. Bridal abductions also been a part of Chechen tradition. (AMICA e.V. 2010) In the case of bride abduction, parents may take revenge to re-establish the honour of the family, or reach for an agreement with the husband’s family. Sometimes bride abduction is organised with the agreement of the bride in order to force approval for the bride’s husband of choice. A divorce is possible by Adat, but means that the woman has to return to her family of origin. Children and any belongings continue to be property of the ex-husband. (Ash 2009)

Through history, the traditional Chechen gender order has undergone some changes due to historical developments.

Historical development of the Chechen gender order

The Soviet Union had an impact on Chechen society and lead to a change in values and gender roles within the Soviet ideology. (AMICA e.V. 2010) One of the political goals of the Soviet Union was gender equality. To do so childcare facilities were established. Women were encouraged to participate in the education system and were strongly integrated into the labour system. On the whole, activities available for women in the public sphere increased. Nevertheless, women still had to fulfil their task at home and were still responsible for care work within the family. (Ritter 2007 pp. 241-242) Also, women in rural areas and women less inclined to enrol in education faced barriers to participation. In summary, class and region determined the modification of women’s role in Chechen society within the Soviet Union. (Cremer 2007 p. 183)

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When the war broke out in Chechnya people had to face violence, human rights crimes, an economic breakdown, degradation of the environment and infrastructure, as well as continuing political instability. All these lead to massive changes within society, which had to adapt to the new circumstances as well as possible. Within this adaptation, gender roles shifted. Because of the absence of the male population - who were engaged in fighting, injured, killed or had to flee - women were forced to take over traditional male duties and the responsibility to provide for their families. (Gannuschkina 2009) They negotiated with authorities to locate arrested family members, took care of injured soldiers, prepared their sons to participate in the fighting or even fought actively themselves. (Cremer 2007 pp. 185-187) In 2000, 2002 and 2004 female suicide bombers were involved in the terror attacks in Chechnya, Moscow and Beslan. (Jusik 2005 pp. 7-14) Other women organised themselves, becoming politically engaged and founding peace-committees and organisations. (AMICA e.V. 2010) Altogether the tasks and roles of women widely expanded. Nevertheless this had a limited emancipatory effect, because the expansion of the women's tasks was necessary in order to support the war and guarantee the survival of the Chechen people. (Cremer 2007 p. 37)

After the traumatic experience of war, re-activating traditional structures was a way to handle the chaos and crisis within society. In the social discourse, patriarchal ideology and traditional gender order was reinforced. Subsequently women were reversed into the private sphere and their scope for action was minimized. (Cremer 2007 pp. 183-184)

Legal and social situation of women in Chechnya today

President Ramsan Kadyrov propagandises a reactivation and an intensification of patriarchal tradition, on the pretext of reconstructing the Chechen national unity and morality. Hereby his special focus is on the role of women in society. (AMICA e.V. 2010) To replace women back into subordinated roles, and to exclude them from public life and decision-making, he has implemented reforms such as the introduction of polygamy, strict dressing-codes for women and minimizing their possibilities for employment. Kadyrov regularly states his conception of moral obligations for women. For example, Chechen women are not supposed to use mobile phones, are not allowed to criticise their husbands and are to be considered the property of men. On the streets, women are insulted and attacked by Kadyrov's followers and bridal abduction is increasing. As a result, young women live in fear of going out onto the streets. (Human Rights Watch 2011, Gannuschkina 2009, AMICA e.V. 2010)

In general, the official authorities in Chechnya do not prosecute violence against women. (Bazaeva 2009) Human rights activists, who criticise the current situation of women, are being kidnapped or killed.

As we can see, women in Chechnya face a dramatic deprivation of their rights, direct discrimination, social pressures and increasing violence. (Amnesty International 2009)

Case studies

In this part of the paper four individual cases of Chechen single mothers, who have been granted asylum and live in Graz, are discussed to prove whether the afore mentioned thesis is true. All of the four women were clients of the Caritas integration project in Styria. The basis for analysis is the documentation of the counselling process and qualitative interviews with each woman.

The intention is to give a broad picture of their ways of life and their moral values. By comparing their living situation and their individual moral values to traditional Chechen behavioural norms and values, we can find out differences and see if their scope of actions aligns with the Chechen norms.

Case A is a qualified teacher, born in 1973. She has been in Austria since 2007. Her husband was kidnapped by Russian soldiers in 2000 and has been missing ever since. Case A has three daughters, who are born in 1993, 1996 and 1998. Her daughters are going to school and live together with their mother. Case A works part-time as a cleaning worker.

Case B, born in 1970, is a qualified nurse and has been in Austria since 2004. Her husband died in 2007 from an accident. Case B has three sons, born in 1990, 1998 and 2003. The oldest son lives on away from home with his wife, while the two other sons live with their mother and are still going to school. Case B is currently unemployed and searching for work.

Case C was born in 1991 and came to Austria in 2006, where she completed her secondary education. Currently she works as a doctor's receptionist while taking in-service training. Case C got married in 2008 and got separated shortly after. She gave birth to her son in 2009 and now lives together with her mother and her son.

Case D was born 1990 and came to Austria in 2004. She got married and in 2010 gave birth to two sons in 2010 and 2011. Her husband left her shortly after the birth of their second son. Since then, she has been living alone with her children. Case D has not completed secondary education and is not employed.

Case A

Case A and her daughters live their lives according to the traditional Chechen behavioural norms for women. They dress traditionally, avoid contact with men and obey all rules such as not riding a bike, keeping virginity until marriage, not leaving the house at night, not drinking or smoking and preserving their traditions. Case A and her daughters do not question these rules and clearly state they these rules are very important to them. They fear losing their good reputation and punishment from the local community. Case A tries to avoid contact with members of the local community in order not to be observed or judged. Case A attaches great importance to the education

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of her daughters. She stresses the need for her daughters to get a good qualification and a well-paid job in order to be financially independent. However, she also expects her daughters to enter an arranged marriage with a Chechen man and fulfil their future-roles as housewives and mothers. Politically, Case A sharply criticizes Kadyrov's politics as well as Wahhabi groups and their influence on other Chechen people. Case A and her daughters are active Muslims, who practice their belief in private at home.

We can see that Case A's behaviour, way of life and moral values are generally aligned with the traditional Chechen norms, but with some modifications such as the freedom to have a career and be financially independent.

Case B

Case B also leads a life according to the traditional Chechen behaviour norms for women. She dresses traditionally, avoids contact with men, does not drink or smoke and ensures that her sons learn the traditional rules of Adat. She places high value on these norms such as respect for the elders, hospitality, and helpfulness. However, she criticizes the strict rules for women and would like to enjoy more freedoms, such as dressing differently and riding a bike. In daily life she still obeys such rules because she fears punishment of the local community. Nevertheless, Case B actively supported her daughter-in-law who was threatened by her family who wanted her to leave Case B's son. Case B involved the police in order to get help, which was clearly a break of the internal Chechen rules. Politically Case B criticises Ramsan Kadyrov and would like to participate politically in Austria.

To summarize we can say that Case B obeys the traditional behavioural rules for women in daily life to avoid punishment of the community. Secretly, she criticises these behavioural rules, but only in times of acute crisis she stands up to her belief.

Case C

Case C lives a very active life. Whilst living as a single mother she also takes part in leisure activities, retains strong social contacts, participates in further education, and works as a receptionist at a paediatrician's clinic. Her mother supports her with childcare. Case C strictly obeys the Chechen rules for a married woman without questioning. Although she is separated from her husband, she avoids any contact with other men, never leaves the house without girlfriends or male relatives, and conducts leisure activities, such as swimming, alongside her Chechen female friends and female relatives. Case C places an extremely high value on being a perfect housewife and mother and getting excellent grades in school. She states that also during her marriage she had followed all of her husband's and her mother-in-law's commands perfectly. Nevertheless, her mother-in-law kicked her out of the household because she did not follow the command not to visit her mother in the hospital. Now Case C is waiting for her husband to take her back. In the meantime

she plans to study at the university to become a paediatrician herself. Case C emphasizes that her mother and her mother's family support her. Case C is a very religious Muslim who practises her religion at home. She heavily disapproves with the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam and tries to avoid contact with Wahhabi people.

In summary Case C does not question the Chechen traditions and norms and obeys them perfectly. Because of this she can grant herself some freedoms, such as leisure activities and further education.

Case D

Case D's main focus in life is her religion, a Wahhabi interpretation of Islam, which was introduced to her by her former husband. She has abandoned the Chechen community because she considers them to be sinful. She started wearing a black veil, which covers her whole body, avoids any contact with men, fasts regularly, goes weekly to the mosque, teaches herself Arabic, learns more about Islam on the internet and how to spread Islam all around the world. She states that because of her belief it will probably not be possible to take a job. In general, she lives isolated with her two sons. She does not know why her former husband has left her but she is willing to wait forever until her husband decides to take her back. In her opinion, the Chechen gender order is unfair concerning the different tasks of men and women. She says that in Islam it is quoted that men and women are equal and must support each other. Nevertheless, she accepts that concerning her religious belief only men are allowed to marry more than one person. Case D also believes that it is natural for all women to assume the responsibility of taking care of the household and the children.

In summary, Case D has totally declined Chechen tradition and Chechen behaviour norms. On the contrary she has turned to a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. All aspects of her life are now centred to these strict Islamic rules, which dictate all of her actions.

Conclusion

We could see in all four empirical cases, that all four women show tendencies to challenge the traditional Chechen behaviour norms. They do these very differently: Case A transforms her progressive ideas concerning career and financial independence so that they still obey the Chechen gender roles. Case B's personal attitude towards the role of women differs from the traditional Chechen gender role. In daily life she obeys the traditional behaviour rules but in times of crisis she steps out of this behaviour pattern and acts according to her personal values. Case C strictly follows all traditional behaviour norms. This enables her to arrange some scope of action outside the Chechen norms. Case D is the only woman who totally abandons Chechen tradition from her life, but on the contrary follows the strict rules of Wahhabi-Islam. These rules determine her way of life even more than traditional Chechen gender norms. To conclude, it can be said that none of these women are able to fully overcome the limitations of their gender. The hypothesis that single

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mothers who are recognized refugees, have the chance to broaden their field of action and can live a life outside the traditional gender order, does not apply to these four empirical cases.

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Gender-Based Violence and Forced Displacement in Ethnic Cleansing Campaigns

NAJWA NABTI

Abstract

Women who are forcibly displaced are vulnerable to gender-based violence at various stages—as they flee their homes, while in transit, once in refugee camps, in their countries of resettlement or upon returning home. Gender-based violence may also be one of the forces driving them out. In addition to providing support to refugee survivors of gender-based violence at every step of their migratory journey, the root cause of their plight must also be confronted. When women are sexually abused in the course of ethnic cleansing campaigns, it is because the leaders who are behind the campaign planned it, endorsed it, or at the very least allowed it to happen. Until these leaders are held accountable, women will continue to be targeted in the midst of forced displacement as history repeats itself.

Sexual violence is one of the most effective means of achieving the dual aims of ethnic cleansing: spreading terror to cause members of an ethnic group to flee, and destroying their community so they do not return. This paper reflects on the use of sexual violence to achieve these goals in Burma, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia.

Ethnic minority women in Burma have been raped, enslaved and subjected to forced marriage for decades. During the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, women were targeted for sexual violence in detention camps, during expulsions, and while they fled in refugee columns. Throughout the Rwandan genocide, women were sexually tortured and mutilated based on their ethnicity. While in some instances, sexual violence against members of the targeted population formed part of a policy, in other cases, it was simply permitted. Women became easy targets for violence by expelling forces who knew they would not be punished. This ruthless and predictable practice is one for which the political and military architects of ethnic cleansing campaigns should be held accountable, wherever they reside.

Key words: *Gender-based violence, sexual violence, ethnic cleansing, international criminal law, exclusion*

“A nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground. Then it is done, no matter how brave its warriors or strong its weapons.”

– Cheyenne Proverb

“When the rapes started, everybody lost hope, everybody in the camp, men and women. There was such fear”

– former prisoner at Trnopolje detention camp, Bosnia & Herzegovina (Tadić Trial Judgement, para. 175)

I. Introduction

Forced migration has far-reaching gendered consequences, with sexual violence among the most enduring and pernicious. Women who are forcibly displaced are vulnerable to sexual violence at all stages—as they are fleeing their homes, while they are in transit, once in refugee camps, and in their countries of resettlement or upon returning home. (Ramji-Nogales 2011 p. 466; Leaning

2011 pp. 450-451). Sexual violence may also be a force driving them out, particularly in the course of campaigns where ethnic or religious groups are targeted for violence and terror. In many such cases, survivors live in fear and shame, while their attackers continue to live free and hold positions of power in their former towns and villages. (Medica Mondiale 2009; Amnesty International 2009; International Crisis Group 1997).

Beyond providing support to refugee survivors of sexual violence throughout their migratory journey, it is important to confront the root cause of their plight. When women are sexually assaulted in the course of ethnic cleansing campaigns, it is because the leaders who are behind the campaign planned it, endorsed it, or at the very least allowed it to happen. Until responsible leaders are held accountable, women will continue to be targeted as a means of forcible displacement, and history will continue to repeat itself.

This paper describes different ways in which sexual violence has been used to serve the goals of “ethnic cleansing”, using the situations in Burma, the former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda as illustrations. It then summarizes the crimes and modes of liability that can be used to hold leaders accountable for sexual violence committed in implementing ethnic cleansing campaigns. Finally, it urges a uniform approach to defining these crimes by international and national courts, providing for the fullest possible level of accountability under customary international law.

II. Sexual violence and ethnic cleansing

“Ethnic cleansing” has been defined as “rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area.” (Commission of Experts 1993). Forcibly displacing such large numbers of an ethnic population often can only be achieved through the spread of panic, violence, and terror among the targeted population. In practice, ethnic cleansing campaigns also seek to remove all vestiges of the targeted ethnic group to ensure they do not return, preserving the achieved homogeneity. Sexual violence serves both purposes exceedingly well.

While many forms of violence are used in such campaigns, ethnically-motivated rape is particularly devastating because the violation extends beyond the victim’s physical and sexual integrity to her membership in the community. (Price 2002 pp. 253-254). Many rape survivors carry their burden in silence because admitting rape will bring them ostracization and scorn from their families and communities. Those who are married may be divorced by their husbands; those who are unmarried may be considered unmarriageable or forced to marry. Rape is an effective tool of ethnic cleansing because “trauma ripples from the individual victims, to their extended families, to local communities, to the nation as a whole.” (Price 2002, p. 261).

Examples of ethnic cleansing campaigns in Burma, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda reveal the varied ways in which committing sexual violence against women has served the aims of expelling their ethnic communities. While there are many common elements, the most prominent

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among them is the destructive impact of sexual violence not only on the individual victim, but on the entire ethnic community.

Burma

Burmese soldiers have been raping non-Burmese women for decades. In 1978, 1993, and again today, Burmese soldiers are raping ethnic Rohingya women in an attempt to quell nationalism and create a mass exodus. In the early-1990s alone, approximately 300,000 Rohingya were forcibly displaced outside Burma. (Apple 1998 p. 19). The success of this persecutory campaign is now repeating itself. (Wade 2013; Campbell 2013; Global Justice Center 2012). Other non-Burmese ethnic minorities such as the Karen, Karenni and Shan, have faced a similar fate. (Global Justice Center 2012, pp. 5-6, reports cited at endnote 29).

Burmese soldiers have raped these women in their villages, as they flee, and while they are serving as forced laborers and porters. Others have been coerced into marrying soldiers and forced to provide sexual services under the pretext of marriage. (Global Justice Center 2012 pp. 5-6; Apple 1998 pp. 17-18, 56). Despite the varying circumstances, the assault of ethnic women in Burma has been universally intended to “degrade and destroy”. (Apple 1998 p. 25). Burmese soldiers have been indoctrinated to view ethnic minority groups in Burma as inferior to ethnic Burmans. (Apple 1998 p. 24; Wade 2013). Fuelled by “ethno-centric chauvinism and hatred” (Wade 2013), they have been encouraged to “make more Burman babies”, and were told: “your blood must be left in the village.” (Apple 1998, p. 24). Military officers reinforced strong disrespect for women, especially minority women. (Apple 1998 p. 6). While the circumstances varied, these rapes were not random, isolated incidents, but occurred as part of the military’s pattern of terror and violence directed at ethnic minority communities. (Wade 2013; Global Justice Center 2012 p. 5; Apple 1998 p. 26).

The success of this strategy is reflected in the number of victims and displaced minorities. By the mid-1990s, the population of refugees from Burma, mostly ethnic minorities, numbered in the hundreds of thousands, with an estimated one million internally displaced. (Apple 1998 p. 19). Following recent steps by the Burmese government toward democratization, there were hopes that impunity would be reigned in. Instead, Burma’s new constitution grants immunity to members of the military, including for rape. The government’s record is so poor that it has been cited for violating Security Council Resolution 1820’s protections and for allowing the Burmese Military to continue perpetrating sexual violence against ethnic women in conflict areas. (Global Justice Center 2012 p. 6).

Former Yugoslavia

Following a similar pattern, sexual violence was used by all sides in the Balkan conflict that led to the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Women were targeted for rape, sexual assault, enslavement, torture and other mistreatment in order to humiliate and degrade them and their

communities and force them out of designated territories. (Mazowiecki 1993 para. 85; Commission of Experts Final Report, 1993 Annex II). Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights, understood rape both as an attack on the individual victim and as a means of ethnic cleansing “intended to humiliate, shame, degrade and terrify the entire ethnic group.” (Mazowiecki 1993 pp. 20, 57).

In Bosnia and Kosovo, the targeted ethnic groups were raped and sexually assaulted in their homes during forcible displacement campaigns, in temporary or long-term detention settings, and as they fled in columns of departing civilians, often separated from their male family members. Gang-rape was prevalent, as was the sexual torture of prisoners. Some women and girls were kept in private houses by soldiers for lengthy periods, used as sexual slaves and then sold, ensuring further mistreatment. Some victims were told they would have “Serb babies”. (Kunarac Trial Judgement, paras. 342, 654).

The strategy was largely successful. Within a short period, thousands were subjected to sexual violence. (Amnesty International 2009, p. 5). More than one million Bosnian Muslims and 700,000 Kosovo Albanians were displaced from Serb-controlled areas. (International Crisis Group 1997; Dawson & Farber 2012 p. 96). The relative success of the international and national criminal prosecutions that followed is addressed below.

Rwanda

Although Rwanda is most notoriously known for the brutal slaughter that occurred in 1994, investigations soon revealed that sexual violence formed an integral part of the attacks against Tutsi civilians. Rape was “the rule and its absence the exception” (Economist 2011): an estimated 250,000 to 500,000 women were raped during the Rwandan genocide. These crimes were directed against Tutsi women because of their ethnicity and gender, both as a way to punish the women and attack the ethnic group. (Bianchi 2013, p. 126).

The forms of sexual violence used against Tutsi women included individual rape, gang rape, rape with sticks and other objects, sexual enslavement, forced marriage, forced labor and sexual mutilation. (Bianchi 2013, p. 127). These crimes were a means of dehumanizing and subjugating the Tutsi and “resulted in physical and psychological destruction of Tutsi women, their families and their communities.” (Akayesu Trial Judgement, para. 731). An early ICTR Trial Chamber found that the sexualized representation of ethnic identity graphically illustrates that tutsi women were subjected to sexual violence because they were Tutsi. Sexual violence was a step in the process of destruction of the tutsi group – destruction the spirit, of the will to live, and of life itself. (Akayesu Trial Judgement, para.732).

While lower-ranking officers may have openly encouraged sexual violence, high-level commanders at least provided tacit approval (Economist 2011).

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Common features

In all three conflict areas, sexual violence took different forms, but the goal and result were the same: the creation of fear and terror and destruction of the person, family, and community of the targeted ethnic groups. (Bianchi 2013; Apple 1998 pp. 22, 24; Mazowiecki 1993). Rape has been used to “create a new race” through forced pregnancy of ethnic women and “dilute the nationalism” of the targeted population. (Price 2002 p. 253). Given the devastating impact of sexual violence in tearing apart community structures and the resulting long-term biological and psychological damage (Apple 1998 pp. 24-25), its use as a means of cleansing targeted populations from sought-after territories should not come as a surprise. This is even more so when no one is held to account for these crimes.

III. Accountability for sexual violence in ethnic cleansing campaigns

Concrete efforts against conflict-related sexual violence have gained momentum in recent years, but to have any deterrent effect, the cost of permitting sexual violence must increase drastically. As the UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict recently warned, it is still largely “cost-free” to rape a woman, child or man in conflict; this must be reversed to make it a “massive liability to commit, command or condone sexual violence in conflict.” (Bangura 2013). To achieve this, perpetrators must be held accountable to the fullest extent, whatever their role and wherever they reside.

“Ethnic cleansing” is not itself a crime under customary international law, but refers to a policy that can lead to liability for crimes such as deportation, forcible transfer, persecution (Stakić Shahabuddeen Dissent para.50) and the many other crimes used to achieve its objectives, including crimes of sexual violence. In the wake of the ethnic cleansing campaigns in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, which notoriously encompassed sexual violence, international legal experts urged that rape and other forms of sexual violence could be prosecuted under international criminal law. (Commission of Experts Final Report 1994, Part II(J), paras. 102-109). “Rape” and “sexual assault” were commonly referenced in the documents and expert findings leading up to the ICTY’s creation. (Secretary-General Report 1993; Final Report 1994).

While the Statutes of the ICTY and ICTR expressly criminalized rape, their Chambers have interpreted other enumerated crimes including enslavement, torture, other inhumane acts, persecution, and genocide as also encompassing acts of sexual violence. In defining these crimes, as well as the applicable modes of liability, the ICTY and ICTR have interpreted and applied customary international law and general principles of law. As a result, these definitions supply other international and national courts with persuasive authority regarding the elements of crimes and modes of liability under international law. (Brady 2012 pp. 77-80; Goy 2012 pp. 3-5).

A. Applicable international crimes

The elements of crimes involving sexual violence defined by the ICTY and ICTR demonstrate the varied ways in which it was used during the ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The legal elements have been adopted and expanded upon by other international courts and tribunals, such as the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the ICC. In addition to the underlying crimes, in order to constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity, additional “general” elements must be proven. For example, to constitute a war crime, rape must have occurred during an armed conflict and have a nexus to that conflict. Rape can constitute a crime against humanity if it forms part of a widespread and systematic attack against any civilian population. These general elements distinguish these underlying crimes involving sexual violence from ordinary criminal offenses, which may also be punishable under national law.

Early on, the ICTY and ICTR Chambers were faced with assessing whether the crime of rape had been committed (as a war crime or crime against humanity), without the benefit of defined elements under international law. In determining the elements of rape under international law, Chambers considered that most national jurisdictions require non-consent as an element of the offense of rape. The ICTY Appeals Chamber confirmed that the Prosecution must prove this element under international law, but given the different context, did not need to introduce specific evidence from the victims that they did not consent. Lack of consent can be inferred from the surrounding circumstances, such as an ongoing genocide or the victim’s detention. (Jarvis & Martin-Salgado 2013 pp.104-105). In most cases where rape is charged as a war crime or crime against humanity, the circumstances will be almost universally coercive such that true consent will not be possible. (Kunarac Appeal Judgement, para. 130).

Both rape and sexual assault have also been successfully prosecuted as forms of persecution in cases before the ICTY. (Oosterveld 2013 pp. 63-65). Persecution, a crime against humanity, is defined as an act or omission which discriminates based on statutory grounds (race, religion or politics) and which denies or infringes upon a fundamental right laid down in international customary law. (Simić Appeal Judgement para. 177). Rape and sexual assault violate the victim’s fundamental rights to physical integrity and personal dignity. (Milutinović Trial Judgement, para. 199). While generally following this definition, the ICC definition of persecution has expanded the protected groups to expressly include “gender”. (ICC Statute Article 7(1)(h); Oosterveld 2013 p. 62).

Rape has also been found to constitute an act of torture under international law: it meets the definition of “severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental” for a prohibited purpose. Prohibited purposes include obtaining information, to punish, to coerce, to intimidate, or “for any reason based on discrimination of any kind,” including gender-based discrimination. (Delalić Trial Judgement paras. 941, 963; Kunarac Trial Judgement, paras. 470, 496-497; Kunarac Appeal Judgement, para. 148; compare ICC Statute Articles 7(1)(f), 8(2)(a)(ii)-1).

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Sexual violence may also feature in the crime of enslavement, which requires the exercise of power over someone attaching to the right of ownership. This can be shown, for example, by “control over someone’s movement, control of physical environment, psychological control,” “assertion of exclusivity”, “control of sexuality and forced labour”. (Kunarac Appeal Judgement, paras. 118-119). The ICC definition further specifies that enslavement and sexual slavery include trafficking in persons, particularly women and children. (ICC Statute Articles 7(1)(c), (g), 8(2)(b)(xvii), 8(2)(e)(vi); Brady 2012 p. 91).

Forced marriage, which did not feature in cases before the ICTY and ICTR, but has been a common practice in Burma, was found to constitute outrages upon personal dignity and other inhumane acts by the Special Court for Sierra Leone. The Appeals Chamber of that court defined force marriage, as compelling “a person by force, threat of force, or coercion to serve as a conjugal partner resulting in severe suffering, or physical, mental or psychological injury to the victim.” (Brima Appeal Judgment, para. 196). Such conduct would also likely be covered by ICC crimes such as sexual slavery, inhumane acts, other forms of sexual violence or outrages on personal dignity. (Brady 2012 pp.94-95, 99).

The crime of genocide requires the intent to “destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such,” based on acts including “serious bodily or mental harm”, “deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction”, or “imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group”. (ICTY Statute, Article 4; ICTR Statute, Article 2; ICC Statute, Article 6) ICTR case-law confirms that “rape and sexual violence ... constitute genocide in the same way as any other acts as long as they were committed with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular group, targeted as such.” (Akayesu Trial Judgment, para. 731).

These crimes and their distinct elements reflect the varied ways in which sexual violence has been used in forcible displacement campaigns in different contexts: in public and private, in detention, in victims’ own homes, as they fled. All of these forms of sexual violence are punishable, but accountability for these crimes has sometimes been elusive.

B. Applicable modes of liability

Refugees who are forcibly displaced often cannot seek recourse through their home States or traditional human rights mechanisms. Therefore, international criminal law must bridge “the gap between state actors endorsing sexual violence and those actors enabling sexual violence through impunity.” (Ramji-Nogales 2013 p. 471).

As in domestic criminal law, international criminal law incorporates various modes of liability to hold persons responsible for crimes beyond the physical perpetrators. Under the ICTY and ICTR Statutes, perpetrators can be convicted for committing, planning, ordering, instigating,

aiding and abetting, as well as superior responsibility. “Committing” encompasses “joint criminal enterprise” liability (JCE), in three forms: shared intent by the perpetrators to carry out a common purpose involving the commission of the crime under the Statute (JCE I); the existence of an organized criminal system (for example, a detention camp), which the perpetrator knows about and intends to further (JCE II); and (3) crimes committed beyond the common purpose that were nevertheless a natural and foreseeable consequence of its implementation (JCE III). To be responsible for aiding and abetting, planning, ordering, or instigating, the perpetrator must have substantially contributed to the crime. A military or civilian superior can be convicted for failing to prevent or punish subordinates’ crimes that the superior knew, or should have known, might occur.

Despite the successes in more precisely defining the international crimes applicable to sexual violence, most convictions at the ICTY and ICTR relate to physical perpetrators or their immediate superiors (such as camp commanders). Relatively few senior political and military leaders have been convicted of these crimes. (Jarvis & Salgado 2013). This is largely due to the fact that such leaders will rarely order or publicly direct sexual violence, or even expressly contemplate it in their criminal plans. However, there is some precedent for holding leaders accountable for allowing sexual violence to be used as a tool to achieve the goals of their criminal campaigns, even where that was not the intended purpose. There has also been moderate success in holding leaders accountable for sexual violence perpetrated in detention camps, including camp guards, camp leaders, and political leaders at various levels.

Since similar scenarios appear in most ethnic cleansing campaigns, some of these cases are reviewed in more detail below to show how leaders in these settings can be held accountable for sexual violence against members of targeted ethnic groups.

IV. Case Study: Bosnia and Herzegovina

A. Sexual violence as a natural and foreseeable consequence of implementing an ethnic cleansing campaign

Under ICTY and ICTR case-law, criminal responsibility can extend acts of sexual violence if they were naturally foreseeable consequences of implementing the crimes that the JCE members intended. In ethnic cleansing campaigns, these “intended” crimes most frequently encompass forced displacement and persecution.

For example, Radislav Krstić, a Bosnian Serb commander, was convicted of rape as a natural and foreseeable consequence of the ethnic cleansing campaign in Srebrenica. The situation in Srebrenica highlights the gendered impact of genocide and ethnic cleansing: Bosnian women, children and elderly were mistreated and forced from the enclave, while between 7,000-8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were systematically murdered.

The Trial Chamber found that rape was a natural and foreseeable consequence of the ethnic cleansing campaign and ensuing humanitarian crisis. General Krstić knew that an outbreak of rape

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and other crimes against Bosnian Muslim civilians would be inevitable given the lack of shelter, the density of the crowds, the vulnerable condition of the refugees, the presence of many regular and irregular military and paramilitary units in the area and the sheer lack of sufficient numbers of UN soldiers to provide protection in the so-called safe area. (Krstić Trial Judgement, para. 616). The Appeals Chamber agreed with this finding and affirmed Krstić's conviction despite his lack of specific knowledge or notice of the rapes. (Krstić Appeal Judgement paras. 148-149).

Another Trial Chamber analyzed factors that made the rape of Bosnian Muslim women foreseeable while being detained by Serb forces, considering in particular their vulnerability and the means of implementing the common plan through violence and humiliation:

In Omarska camp, approximately 36 women were held in detention, guarded by men with weapons who were often drunk, violent, and physically and mentally abusive and who were allowed to act with virtual impunity. Indeed, it would be unrealistic and contrary to all rational logic to expect that none of the women held in Omarska, placed in circumstances rendering them especially vulnerable, would be subjected to rape or other forms of sexual violence. This is particularly true in light of the clear intent of the criminal enterprise to subject the targeted group to persecution through such means as violence and humiliation. (Kvočka Trial Judgement, para. 327).

Although there were no convictions based on the foreseeability theory, several camp leaders were convicted for sexual violence crimes based on other modes of liability, discussed in the next section.

B. Sexual violence in the detention camps

The rape and sexual assault of detainees in detention camps in the Prijedor area of Bosnia and Herzegovina is well known, in particular the Keraterm, Trnopolje and Omarska camps. According to the Tadić Trial Chamber, "the Trnopolje camp was the culmination of the campaign of ethnic cleansing since those Muslims and Croats who were not killed at the Omarska and Keraterm camps were, from Trnopolje, deported from Bosnia and Herzegovina." (Tadić Trial Judgement, para. 178).

Political and military leaders at various levels have been prosecuted according to their different roles. The modes of liability applied highlight areas of success as well as challenges. In the Kvočka et al. case, camp leaders were convicted under JCE II and as superiors for sexual violence against Omarska camp detainees. One camp leader was also convicted of physically committing rape and sexual assault against detainees in his custody. A municipal leader (Milomir Stakić) was convicted of persecution, including underlying acts of sexual violence, for his participation in the establishment of the Prijedor camps as a member of a JCE. (See Jarvis & Martin-Salgado 2013).

At the next level, regional leader Radoslav Brđanin was convicted of aiding and abetting torture and persecution including gender-based violence in Keraterm, Trnopolje and Omarska camps, by publicly endorsing those camps. However, the Appeals Chamber overturned those convictions because it found no evidence that the people running the camps were aware of Brđanin's public attitude, and therefore, his substantial contribution to the crimes was not proven.

At the Serb Republic level, Momčilo Krajišnik was convicted of persecution on a JCE I theory, including acts of sexual violence perpetrated in the Prijedor detention camps. The Trial Chamber found that, over time, the common criminal plan to expel the non-Serb population developed to include sexual violence and other criminal means. However, the Appeals Chamber overturned these convictions because the Trial Chamber did not make specific findings as to when the JCE members became aware of the expanded criminal means. (See Jarvis & Martin-Salgado 2013).

Serb Republic leaders at the highest level, and alleged members of a JCE, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, are currently on trial. In their cases, the sexual violence in the Prijedor camps is charged as persecution and acts of genocide.

V. The way forward: national prosecutions and adjudications

Now that the ICTR and ICTY will be completing their final cases and winding down, it falls to the national courts to prosecute most of the offenders. Security Council Resolution 1820 requires all member states to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for violence against women and girls, reiterating that: "[w]omen and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group." (S/RES/1820 2008, p.1).

As noted above, when defining the elements of crimes involving sexual violence and applicable modes of liability, the ICTY and ICTR Chambers endeavoured to define these elements in accordance with customary international law. Therefore, these legal developments are relevant to the prosecution of sexual violence as war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide in other international or national prosecutions. These international standards should also be considered in adjudicating the eligibility for refugee status of applicants who are alleged to have participated in these crimes, to ensure that they are not granted a safe haven from criminal prosecution.

Although there have been convictions for wartime sexual violence in the national courts in the former Yugoslavia, where the bulk of perpetrators will be tried, success has been inconsistent. Some chambers have been reluctant to apply international precedent, including with respect to the element of coercion for rape, crimes against humanity, and the doctrine of command responsibility. (Amnesty International 2009, pp. 21-24; Human Rights Watch 2008 pp. 54-55). For example, some courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina continue to require proof of force by the perpetrator and physical resistance by the victim, rather than considering that non-consent can be demonstrated by coercive circumstances inherent during wartime. (Amnesty International 2009, pp. 21-22). There is some

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positive precedent of applying a more contextual approach in assessing non-consent in the BiH State Court with respect to rape and sexual slavery. (Id. p. 24). However, survivors of sexual violence deserve to have fair and consistent standards applied in all cases.

It is equally important to ensure that perpetrators of these crimes are not given a safe haven in other countries as refugees. They should be excluded from refugee status and prosecuted or extradited, in view of the full scope of international law definitions of the crimes and modes of liability, whether classified as war crimes, crimes against humanity, or other crimes recognized under customary international law.

So far, there has been limited reliance on international criminal law in developing concepts of liability for crimes for purposes of exclusion in domestic refugee law. (Rikhoff 2011 pp. 14-15). Nevertheless, there have been promising developments in some national courts, suggesting that international criminal law is relevant for purposes of exclusion both with respect to substantive crimes and modes of liability (*Ezokola v. Canada*, para. 43), particularly where international law concepts provide for broader liability than domestic law. (Rikhoff 2011 pp. 19-24). UNHCR has recognized aiding and abetting and JCE among those sufficient to demonstrate exclusion. (UNHCR Guidelines, para. 18).

While the ICC's codification of modes of liability is indeed authoritative, it is not entirely reflective of customary international law, nor an exhaustive source of international criminal law. (*Ezokola v. Canada* paras. 47-48, 51, 66). Refugee eligibility determinations are not criminal proceedings, and there may be flexibility in applying the standard of liability—whether national or international—that is most likely to prevent impunity for perpetrators who seek refuge elsewhere, so long as their rights are respected (Id.; UNHCR Guidelines, paras. 18-22, 31, 34-36; UNHCR Background Note, paras. 98-100, 107-113).

Applying the appropriate legal standards, it is necessary to dedicate sufficient resources to properly investigate and prove these crimes—whether applying standard of clear and credible evidence required for exclusion, or beyond reasonable doubt in criminal proceedings.

VI. Conclusion

Sexual violence has been notoriously used as a means of achieving ethnic cleansing in forcible displacement campaigns throughout the world. This is not surprising, as “the role of women in the biological and social reproduction of group identity places them in a position of particular vulnerability.” (Crawley 2001 p. 88).

Yet holding leaders accountable for these acts has been challenging, particularly when the evidence does not demonstrate that the leader intended sexual violence as a crime or policy, but rather allowed it to happen in seeking to achieve ethnic homogeneity. During the conflicts in

Burma, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, women have been targeted for sexual violence during expulsions, in detention, and in flight.

Women became easy targets for violence by expelling forces who knew they would not be punished. This ruthless and predictable practice is one for which the political and military architects of ethnic cleansing campaigns should be held accountable by international and national courts alike.

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Forced Up or Down? The Impact of Forced Migration on Social Status

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Abstract

This study explores the perceived impact of forced migration on community and household status using data on Burundian returnees. Special attention is placed on the role of gender as a factor that influences the impact of migration on social status. In general, the roles of men and women in society are conditioned by cultural and social expectations. As such, men and women are likely to have different perceptions regarding their roles in the community and the household. Forced migration brings additional complexity to the issue because conflict and displacement affect men and women differently. In many situations of violent conflict, including Burundi, the likelihood of getting killed, conscripted, tortured or raped varies significantly across genders. Yet, even factors that affect the household as a whole such as the loss of land, and crops, or the death of family members can affect men and women differently because of different degrees of 'sensitivity' to these events.

The fieldwork for this study took place between January and March 2011 in all 17 provinces of Burundi. The main dataset comes from a national household survey of 1,500 households. We focus on a subset of returnees (37% female and 63% male). We also use a parallel survey which collected information on the 100 communities in which the household survey was conducted.

It has been over 20 years since the UNHCR issued its first policy document dealing with refugee women. Since then many other guidelines have been issued dealing with topics related to refugee women, including access to reproductive health services and additional protections against sexual abuse. Our results suggests that an important impact of displacement on women comes from the whole impact of forced migration on societal structure and the possibility of women losing social capital at the community level and decision making power at the household level. Results suggest that women are less inclined to state that migration has improved their community standing in Burundi, increase their ability of making contributions to the community or increase their decision making power within the household. These effects have not received particular attention in the policy discourse.

Keywords: *Return Migration, Refugee, Gender, Burundi*

1. Introduction

The perceptions of forced migrants regarding the consequences of their migration experience are likely to vary according to the different stages of the migration process (e.g. displacement, resettlement, repatriation, etc.). Of particular importance are the perceptions of those forced migrants who return home. These perceptions are important in post-conflict settings because of their influence on household cohesion, community reconciliation and the peace process.

This paper uses recently collected data from returning migrants (returnees from now on) in a post-violence context to explore the post-return perceptions of their migration process. The focus is on the perceived impact of the overall migration process (including displacement and return migration) on community and household level social status. The analysis places special emphasis on how gender affects returnees' perceptions.

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In general, the roles of men and women in society are conditioned by cultural and social expectations. As such, men and women are likely to have different perceptions regarding their roles in the community and the household. Forced migration brings additional complexity to the issue because conflict and displacement affect men and women differently. Daley (2008) explains that in many situations of violence, including Burundi, the likelihood of getting killed, conscripted, tortured or raped varies significantly across genders. Yet, even factors that affect the household as a whole such as the loss of land, and crops, or the death of family members can affect men and women differently because of different degrees of ‘sensitivity’ to these events.

This paper uses data collected in Burundi during 2011. Burundi is a small and densely populated country in the African Great Lakes Region which has experienced repeated waves of civil conflict. It is estimated that displacement in Burundi affected 1.2 million people (Ngaruko and Nkurinziza 2005). After the signing of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Accords in 2000 and the instalment of the first democratically elected government in 2005, the country has been on a path towards stability and peace. Over the past decade, more than 500,000 refugees returned from exile. In the context of this large wave of refugee return it is now important to explore how the overall process of displacement affected returnees and the gender differences in those impacts.

2. Background: Perceptions and gender

Potential differences between women and men in perceptions do not imply that they will perceive the displacement and return process completely differently. For instance, Table 1 reports the responses in the survey used in this paper to the statement: Overall, I feel that migration has been a mistake. The possible responses to the question range from -2 to + 2, with -2 indicating strong disagreement with the statement, 0 being neutral and + 2 indicating strong agreement with the statement. In both cases (women and men), the average response is negative and significantly different from zero. Given that violence was the main driver of emigration, it is not surprising that both, males and females, strongly disagree with the statement. However, the perception that original migration was not a mistake is much stronger among men relative to women. In fact, the difference between the average response of women and men is positive and significantly different from zero. This indicates that even if the general feeling is negative or positive for individuals of both genders, the degree of ‘sensitivity’ to different aspects of the displacement process can vary significantly by gender.

Results such as the one presented above, could have multiple roots. For instance, it could be that men are simply inclined to be more drastic in their responses (i.e. selecting extreme responses) than women. As it will be shown below, this is not the case and in many instances women are the ones providing the more extreme responses.

Table 1 – Perception of original migration

Overall, I feel that migration has been a mistake

Female Male Difference

Mean = -1.32 (-10.51***) Mean = -1.62 (-22.9***) 0.31 (2.14**)

Note: The value in parenthesis is the t statistic from a t-test. In the case of the means the test evaluates the difference of the mean response from zero (i.e. mid-value). In the case of the difference the test evaluates if the difference between means is significantly different from zero. For all tables in this paper *** indicates significantly different from zero at the 1% level, ** indicates significantly different from zero at the 5% level, * indicates significantly different from zero at the 10% level.

Even if there is not a distinctive tendency to provide extreme responses across gender lines, it is likely that the same set of circumstances and experiences are perceived differently by men and women. There is extant evidence in the psychology literature which suggests that women experience emotions more strongly than men (e.g. Harshman and Paivio 1987). Women tend to have particularly higher levels of anxiety and distress regarding the possibility of undesirable outcomes (Ritsner et al. 2001). This research also shows that in equal circumstances, women often feel fear, while men feel anger (Grossman and Wood 1993). The economics literature has also provided ample evidence that there are gender differences in factors such as risk taking and attitude towards competition. Most studies suggest that women are more risk averse than men and more averse to competition than men (Croson and Gneezy 2009).

It is challenging to provide definite evidence for these possibilities in the forced migration context because often women and men have different experiences during the displacement process and differences in their responses could be the result of those differences. The estimations presented in this paper control for many differences in the conflict and displacement experiences of the returnees. Yet, even with these controls in place it is not possible to conclude that differences in responses across gender lines result exclusively from gender differences in their perception of the migration process rather than actual different experiences.

3. Data and methodology

The fieldwork for this study took place between January and March 2011 in all 17 provinces of Burundi. The main dataset has information on 286 returnees (37% female and 63% male). In addition to this dataset, we use information collected about the 100 communities in which the survey was conducted.

The primary sampling unit in Burundi was the colline. A total of 100 collines were selected. Within each colline 15 households were randomly selected. Of the 1,500 households selected (i.e.

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15 households in each of the 100 collines), 286 households reported having at least one returnee in the household. An in-depth interview was conducted with the returnees of those households. If there was more than one returnee per household, then one of the returnees was randomly selected for the interview. The data from the in-depth interviews is used for the statistical analysis in this paper. There is complete information for between 225 and 246 returnees for the different estimations.

The analysis is split into two parts. These parts are the perceived impact of the overall migration process (including displacement and return) on: 1) standing within the community in Burundi, and 2) standing within the household.

Part A of Table 2 presents the questions which are analysed for the first area of interest, the perceived impact of migration on community social status. We use three different questions to explore the impact of forced migration on community social status. The first question directly asks about improvements in social status in Burundi as a result of the migration process. However, the returnee could strongly disagree with the question, and this will not indicate that the returnee perceives a decrease in his or her social status. Questions 2 and 3 explore in more detail the relationship of the returnee with the community concerning the impact of migration on the possibility of contributing to the community and feelings of alienation from the community.

Table 2 – Responses explored in regression analysis

Female Male Difference

(A) The impact of migration on the feelings of belonging to the community and overall status in the community

Question 1: Overall, I feel that migration has improved my social status in Burundi

Mean = -1.59 (-2.35**) Mean = -.85 (1.85*) -.74 (-5.50***)

Question 2: Overall, I feel that migration has increased my ability to contribute to my community

Mean = -1.27 (-2.82***) Mean = -.38 (2.64***) -.89 (-5.40***)

Question 3: Overall, I feel that migration has alienated me from the community

Mean = .58 (3.64***) Mean = .57 (4.57***) .00 (0.01)

(B) The impact of migration in the returnee's household status

Question 4: Compared to prior to your migration would you say that your position in your household has changed at all?

Mean = -.12 (-2.35**) Mean = .09 (1.85*) .012 (-2.98***)

Question 5: Overall, I feel that migration has given me more decision making power within my household

Mean = -1.47 (-14.68***) Mean = -.88 (-8.51***) -.58 (-4.04***)

Note: Possible responses for questions 1, 2, 3 and 5: -2 = Strongly Disagree, -1 = Disagree, 0 = Neutral, 1 = Agree, 2 = Strongly Agree. Possible responses Question 4: -1 = decreased, 0 = not changed, 1 = improved. See note to Table 1 for interpretation the t-tests in parenthesis.

On average both, men and women, reject the idea that migration has improved their social status in Burundi or increased their ability to contribute to the community. Respondents from both genders also expressed that migration has alienated them from the community. There are significant differences between the two groups concerning the impact of migration on social status in Burundi and the ability to contribute to the community. In both cases, women are more negative concerning the impact of migration. The difference between genders is not significant for feelings of community alienation.

Part B of Table 2 presents the questions which are analysed for the second area of focus, the impact of migration on standing within the household. On average, women believe that the overall migration process has decreased their status within the household, while the contrary holds true for men. The mean response for both women and men is significantly different from zero, as it is also the difference between the means across genders. Both men and women tend to disagree with the statement that migration gave them more decision making power within the household. Yet, the feeling seems to be much stronger among women.

In the next section we explore these questions further by estimating regressions which include a series of individual, household, and community level control variables. The variable Land available indicates the availability of land in the community (higher values indicate more availability). The variable Employment available indicates the availability of employment in the community (higher values indicate more availability). Ethnic harmony indicates that there are good relationships between different ethnic groups in the community (higher values indicate a better relationship among different ethnic groups).

In the data, a return migrant is defined as an individual who has returned to Burundi either voluntary or forced to live fulltime after a minimum of three consecutive months living in another country. This definition includes individuals that migrated to a neighbouring country for a few months and individuals who stayed abroad for many years. In order to control for the broad nature of this definition we include a series of migration related control variables. These variables are also important to control for the impact that different migration experiences have on post-return perceptions. The variable time since return indicates the number of years since the person returned to Burundi. The variable length of migration indicates the number of months that the person lived abroad. Finally, the variable part of host society indicates the degree to which the person did feel

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part of the society in the destination country. Higher values for this variable indicate that the person felt a stronger attachment to the host society.

In addition to the community level controls and the migration variables, the regressions control for the following returnee characteristics: gender (female = 1, otherwise 0), age (years), marital status (married = 1, otherwise 0), education (years) and employment status (employed = 1, otherwise 0). The responses to the income questions did not seem to truly represent the actual wealth of the households, as many of the households depend on agriculture and informal activities for subsistence. Therefore, the estimations include a series of variables which are proxies for household level wealth. These are: a subjective wealth scale (larger values indicate greater wealth relative to other households in the community), a variable indicating that the household owns land, and a variable indicating that the household owns animals (limited to poultry, goats, sheep, pigs, cows, and oxen).

We present results from probit models. For Questions 1, 2 ,3 and 5 the dependent variable takes the following form: Disagree = 0, Neutral or Agree = 1. For Question 4 the dependent variable takes the following form: decreased = 0, not changed or improved = 1.

4. The impact of migration on the returnee's community status

4.1 Overall, I feel that migration has improved my social status in Burundi

Column 1 Table 3 shows the result for the impact of migration on improvements in community social status. The Table shows the marginal effects from the probit estimation. The marginal effect of being female is -0.24. Even after controlling for other factors there is evidence that female returnees tend be more negative than male returnees about the overall impact of migration on community status improvements.

Results also suggest that migration length has a significant and positive impact. In this case the marginal effect is small (0.001), but it is important to keep in mind that time spent abroad is measured in months, hence we would expect the marginal impact to be small. Other results suggest that having felt part of the host society while living there has a positive effect on the perceived impact of migration on community standing in Burundi. This result may come as a surprise given that this variable reflects affinity to the host society, but it may simply reflect a pre-disposition of certain type of individuals to be more positive about community relationships in general (i.e. whether in the host or home country). Education has a positive effect on the impact of migration on community status falling in line with general expectations. Finally, being in employment has a negative effect.

Table 3 – Regression analysis: Effect on the impact of migration on community and household level social status

Dependent variable is response to question on					
Social status	Ability to contribute	Alienation from community	Position	in	household
Decision making power					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Characteristics of the returnee					
Gender	-0.24***	-0.23***	0.01	-0.03	-0.21***
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Marital status	-0.06	-0.01	-0.06	0.04	-0.08
Education	0.03***	0.02**	-0.02*	-0.01	0.01
Employment status	-0.13***	0.13	0.13	0.07	-0.13*
Migration related					
Length of migration	0.00***	0.00	0.00**	-0.00**	0.00
Part of host society	0.11***	0.04	-0.20***	0.05	0.06
Time since return	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
Household variables					
Subjective wealth	0.06	0.02	0.16**	0.07	-0.03
Owens land	-0.03	0.01	0.04	-0.06	0.07
Owens animals	-0.01	0.14**	0.15**	-0.01	-0.03
Community variables					
Land available	-0.06	-0.10**	-0.03	-0.00	-0.03
Employment available	0.05	0.12**	-0.02	0.01	0.08**
Ethnic harmony	0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.07**	-0.03
Observations	240	242	246	225	243
Pseudo R2	0.24	0.14	0.14	0.11	0.09

Notes: Table reports marginal effects.

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4.2 Overall, I feel that migration has increased my ability to contribute to my community

Column 2 of Table 3 report the results from the estimations in which the independent variable reports the perceived impact of migration on the returnee's ability to contribute to the community. The results suggest that females are less inclined to agree with the fact that migration has increased their ability to make contributions. The marginal effect of being female is similar to the one for the previous question about community status at -0.23. Once again we see that education seems to play a positive role and that some of the community variables such as land availability (negative) and community employment (positive) have a significant impact. The variable which indicates that the household owns animals, one of the variables which we include to control for household wealth, has a positive and significant impact across both estimations.

4.3 Overall, I feel that migration has alienated me from the community

Column 3 of Table 3 show the results for the estimation in which the impact of migration on community alienation is the dependent variable. Results suggest that once we control for other relevant characteristics, there are no major differences across genders in the response to the question.

Length of time abroad has a positive impact on feelings of alienation from the community. Results for other control variables also reveal some interesting dynamics. Feeling part of the host society has a negative impact on feelings of alienation from the community. As explained above, it could be the case that some individuals are just better at integrating in the community (or at least they perceive themselves to be better at integrating).

On the other hand, subjective wealth and owning animals have a positive impact on the effect of migration on community alienation. Both of these variables reflect the economic condition of the household. Those with greater means could feel alienated from the rest of the community and this feeling may be accentuated by migration.

5. The impact of migration on the returnee's household status

5.1 Compared to prior to your migration would you say that your position in your household has changed at all?

The discussion now turns to the analysis of the impact of migration on household status in column 4 of Table 3. Gender does not seem to affect the perceived impact of migration on household standing.

Migration length has a negative and significant impact on the perceived impact of migration on household standing. The only other variable which is significant is the level of ethnic harmony in

the community which has a negative effect. Overall, the independent variables are not able to explain much of the variation in perceptions regarding the impact of migration on household status.

It is interesting that the ethnic harmony indicator is significant for the first time in a estimation in which the dependent variables reflects the impact of migration on household level standing, while it was mostly insignificant for the impact of migration on community level status. The results suggest that in communities with greater ethnic harmony, individuals more often perceive migration as having a negative impact on their household standing. The marginal effect of ethnic harmony is about -0.07.

5.2 Overall, I feel that migration has given me more decision making power within my household

The last set of results that we present concern the impact of migration on decision making power within the household. Column 5 of Table 3 presents these results. The effect of gender on the impact that migration has on decision making power in the household is negative and significant. The marginal effect for gender is -0.21.

6. Conclusions

This paper explores returnees' perceptions of the overall impact of forced migration on community and household level status using data from Burundian returnees. The paper places special emphasis on the role played by gender in shaping those perceptions.

In general, results suggest that gender does not affect the perceived impact of migration on alienation from the community or the position of the returnee in the household. On the other hand, women tend to be less inclined to think that migration has improved their social status in Burundi, increase their ability to contribute to the community, or to have given them more decision making power within the household. Overall, women have a significantly more negative perception of the impact of the migration process on their community and household level status.

It has been over 20 years since the United Nations High Commission for Refugees issued its first policy document dealing with refugee women (UNHCR 1990). Since then many other guidelines have been issued dealing with topics related to refugee women, including access to reproductive health services and additional protections against sexual abuse (Buscher 2010). However, our results suggests that an important impact of displacement on women may come from the whole impact of forced migration on societal structure and the possibility of them losing social capital at the community level and decision making power at the household level. These effects have not received particular attention in the policy discourse.

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The Anatomy of Gender-Based Violence and Forced Migration in Darfur

GÜLİZ ERGINSOY

"Your mother's family is from the heart,

Your father's family comes from far"

Darfurian saying

Abstract

This paper deals with the saga of forced migration ending in the formation of internally displaced people (IDP) and gender-based violence - "the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world" - as the result of the war between North and South Sudan. It is argued that the status of IDP is characterized by a loss of communication rights and locates the instance where this loss is most visible – the IDP Camps. It investigates the process of silencing and immobilization of women and the particular forms it takes them through the disenablement of communicative acts not only as persons but also as a protector of the integrity of their bodies and gender. In this process the camps become a 'detention' place and the 'detained' women together with men lose their status as 'interlocutors', irrespective of the processes that allow them – or demand of them- to speak. Gender-based violence is a direct derivative of the hierarchical relationships and ranking in a given society and community. The importance attributed to virginity of an unmarried girl and the intact hymen as proof of purity; to the sexuality of a married woman as belonging to her spouse, is closely associated with the honor of the family and the individual in question. Thus, the patriarchal control over women is exercised on their sexuality and is reproduced by "honor and shame" codes. In societies, during crisis, these norms become even more viable and susceptible to abuse; as an easy entry point for the perpetrator / assailant to the already upset community and towards its female members uprooted and living under very difficult circumstances as insecure existences. Rape is the ultimate mode of commodifying and finally mortifying the sexuality of a woman and can be used as way discrimination; resulting in discrimination against race, ethnicity/tribal origin or beliefs. Once a group or community is targeted and labeled as such, they become easy victims for the abuser/assailant/perpetrator/ murderer, regardless of any other explanatory factor. For men different mechanisms work, the ultimate commodification and mortification of their bodies is to be killed.

Keywords: *Darfur, gender, gender-based violence, internally displaced people,*

1. Personal Account on the Darfur Experience

Between 4 February – 5 May 2007 I have worked as a gender-based violence consultant, for UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) in Khartoum and Darfur for the Sudan Country office. My mission had two basic terms of reference. One was to provide technical and program support on Gender Based Violence programming in humanitarian situations; the second one was to provide support to the country office with preparation and coordination of the Executive Committee on Humanitarian Affairs and United Nations (UN) mission to Darfur on GBV (Gender based violence), in collaboration with other UN agencies. These were and are still the critical issues for Sudan.

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Sudan and the Darfur

Between February 2003 and August 2009 the conflict raged in Darfur. This conflict was between the government of Sudan and two rebel groups, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The rebel groups were formed to protest favoritism shown to Arab people, and discrimination against Black Africans, within the region.

Currently in Sudan displacement and population movements occur in Khartoum, the Protocol Areas, eastern Sudan and Darfur. The Darfur Regional Authority (DRA) is an interim governing body for the Darfur region of the Republic of Sudan and replaces the former Transitional Darfur Regional Authority, which was established in 2007 under the terms of the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement. As outlined in Article 10 of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD), the DRA is a regional authority with both executive and legislative functions. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Tijani Seisi, leader of the Liberation and Justice Movement, the DRA assumed its full functions on 8 February 2012. The DRA is the principal instrument for the implementation of the DDPD in collaboration with the Government of Sudan and with the support of the international partners. It is envisaged to play a central role in enhancing implementation, coordination and promotion of all post-conflict reconstruction and development projects and activities in Darfur, and to be responsible for cooperation and coordination among the States of Darfur. The activities of the DRA shall primarily aim to promote: Peace and security; Socio-economic development, stability and growth; Justice, reconciliation and healing.

The population of concern includes around 2.3 million internally displaced persons (IDP), some 140,000 refugees, 7,000 asylum-seekers and an estimated hundreds of thousands of persons at risk of statelessness. Since the independence of South Sudan in 2011, disagreements over oil-sharing between Sudan and South Sudan and the shutting down of oil exports have caused high inflation in the country. DDPD, signed by the Government and one of the rebel groups in 2011 was a promising development. Yet the Darfur crisis continues to undermine the country's progress. The upsurge has included targeted attacks on aid workers and AU peacekeepers, which has adversely affected their ability to access the four million people who are in need of humanitarian aid and protection. According to the briefing notes on 12 April 2013 by the UNHCR spokesperson recent tribal clashes in Darfur displace 50,000 into Chad.

'In southeastern Chad, UNHCR staff are reporting the arrival of some 50,000 refugees from southwestern Darfur during the last one week. Refugees are fleeing fresh tribal clashes in the Sudanese town of Um Dukhun. In last two months, clashes have now displaced over 74,000 people into Chad including Sudanese and Chadians – who lived as refugees in the conflict zone.

This is the largest influx of refugees from Sudan into Chad since 2005. Most of the latest arrivals are women and children. The first waves of civilians who fled Darfur arrived in March

earlier this year to seek safety in the neighboring town of Tissi in Chad. Among some 24,000 people, recordings revealed 8,000 of Sudanese and 16,000 Chadians.

Our staff tells us that most of the people fleeing Sudan have arrived on foot, donkeys or on carts to save their lives. We found people exhausted, traumatized and visibly disturbed by the recent violent events. According to some of the new arrivals, refugees witnessed their houses being destroyed and villages completely burnt down. Many reported their relatives being killed in the latest round of violence.

In Tissi, the new arrivals live in very dire conditions. They have no water, no food and are sleeping under trees. They are in great risk of waterborne diseases as they drink water from a nearby river. More refugees continue to arrive daily. Among them are wounded by bullets that are abandoned to their fate and are sleeping on the ground. There is no health center, or operational clinic with surgical materials in this area.

The location is some 231 kilometers away from UNHCR's nearest field office in Koukou Angaranana at an eight hours drive with bad road conditions. We have deployed teams on the Chad-Sudan border to register and assist the arriving refugees. Available stocks of relief items including blankets, food and medicines are being rushed to the site.

Our teams since last Wednesday are busy registering the new arrivals before relocating them to the Goz Amir Camp, in Dar Sila region of Chad. The camp is already hosting some 26,000 Sudanese refugees and can only accommodate an additional 5000 people. UNHCR is working with the Chadian authorities and partners to develop a new refugee camp to accommodate the latest arrivals.

Immediate needs of the people remain to be shelter, clean drinking water, food and medicine. A local Chadian NGO – ADESK – is helping to evacuate seven seriously wounded persons to Goz Baeida, the main town in southeastern Chad, where they can receive adequate medical treatment. In order to support the new arrivals, local authorities have provided 100 tons of food that have already been transported by UNHCR to Tissi.

UNHCR is concerned that the number of refugees will increase as clashes continue across the border. Our staff report witnessing thick heavy smoke in the Darfur skies fearing this may be the result of more houses being set on fire in the nearby Darfur villages. Since 2003, there are over 300,000 Sudanese refugees in Chad.

There are reports that the same conflict has displaced 4,000 Sudanese refugees to Amnafok, North of Birao in the Central African Republic at the border with Sudan.'

Meanwhile, UNHCR is concerned that the number of refugees will increase as clashes continue across the border. 'Our staff report witnessing thick heavy smoke in the Darfur skies, fearing this may be the result of more houses being set on fire,' the spokesperson said. 'There were already more than 300,000 refugees from Darfur in a string of camps in eastern Chad.'

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Gender-based violence: Feminization of the Darfur

Violence against women and children by warring groups is reaching alarming levels. Despite growing international attention to the phenomenon, sexual violence in Darfur is under-reported and under-treated, and there is little evidence that culprits are being actively sought, let alone punished, for their crimes. Not only women, according to Sonja Grover inquiry on Darfur recognized or acknowledged the occurrence of genocidal forcible transfer of thousands of children (Grover 2013 p. 253).

Cultural taboos prevent many victims of sexual violence from talking about it outside their own families, even to doctors or nurses. Some women may be afraid to seek medical treatment due to mandatory reporting requirements. To be treated, a victim must fill out a form (Form 8) giving her own name and the name of her attacker. Some women interviewed said that the lack of confidentiality prevents them from reporting the crime and, therefore, from receiving appropriate treatment.

Gender-based violence is a direct derivative of the hierarchical relationships and ranking in a given society and community. The social-cultural and political ramifications of the status of women vis-à-vis the institutions of the society determines her position within the family also. This multi dimensional structure is replicated in circles, each larger than the other. The seed of inequality is implanted within the family, reflecting the general power structure of the given society. The power is exercised around prevailing cultural norms such as virginity, honor and shame in the case of women and is accompanied by control. The importance attributed to virginity of an unmarried girl and the intact hymen as proof of purity; to the sexuality of a married woman as belonging to her spouse is closely associated with the honor of the family and the individual in question.

Thus, the patriarchal control over women is exercised on their sexuality and is reproduced by “honor and shame” codes. This is enforced in the society via codes of conduct monopolized by men. Gender-based sexual taboos are closely related to patriarchal norms and expectations woven around it. In such societies, the responsibility for maintaining the “standards of sexual purity” and “honor” is imposed upon women. This same process can inbreed itself by various other mechanisms, once it is activated, it may result in commodification, mortification and discrimination.

In societies, during crisis, these norms become even more viable and susceptible to abuse; as an easy entry point for the perpetrator / assailant to the already upset community and towards its female members uprooted and living under very difficult circumstances as insecure existences. Rape is a way of commodifying and finally mortifying the sexuality of a woman and can be used as way discrimination. Commodification and mortification can be used to discriminate against race, ethnicity/tribal origin or beliefs. Once a group or community is targeted and labeled as such, they

become easy targets for the abuser/assailant/perpetrator/ murderer, regardless of any other explanatory factor. For men different mechanisms work, the ultimate commodification and mortification of their bodies is to be killed. Based on the patriarchal structure, due to the stratification of gender in the community and values attributed to life, women sacrifice themselves as commodities to be used to protect men from being murdered.

In this process women's body and soul enters into a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and sometimes rearranges it. The body may be also and usually is, physically harmed and a political anatomy is born with psychological dimensions as well. It defines a set of relations about other persons may have a hold over others' bodies and minds – in the case of gender-based violence it is the survivor/victim and the perpetrator. This is a kind of discipline which produces subjected and practiced “docile bodies” with physical scars and infections, with a distorted state of mind and gradually produce the blue print of a general method to be utilized as a mechanism in war and conflict namely as rape and murder for women and men, as ultimate forms of hostility and retaliation (Foucault 2006 p. 136).

Types of gender-based violence

In the Sudanese society, the official language is Arabic, and the word gender does not exist in the lexicon. This means that the main focus for advocacy should start for the community awareness for women, girls, boys and men, under all programme initiatives and for all age groups, with concepts related to gender and violence at the Table 1.

Table 1- Gender violence throughout a woman's life

Phase Type of Violence

Prenatal	Prenatal sex selection, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy (rape during war)
Infancy	Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care
Childhood	Genital cutting; incest and sexual abuse; differential access to food, medical care, and education; child prostitution
Adolescence	Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution
Reproductive	Abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities
Old Age	Abuse of widows, elder abuse (which affects mostly women)

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Source: Heise, L. 1994. Violence against Women: The Hidden Health Burden. World Bank Discussion Paper. Washington, D.C. The World Bank

Rape and death due to causes related to rape is a crime against humanity, yet other forms of gender-based violence prevail as well, with a silent protocol, unspoken. Every day, women all over the world are abducted into forced marriage; subjected to harmful traditional practices; married, while still children, to far older men; and injured through gang rape and rape with foreign objects, usually during conflict.

The annual 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, UNFPA highlighted five under-reported stories relating to gender-based violence for 2006; the relevant one is the epidemic of “traumatic fistula” in Africa, which is caused by gang rape and often the forced insertion of foreign objects into the rape victim. This results in the tearing of the delicate tissues separating the birth canal from the bowel and/or the bladder. Seriously injured and psychologically traumatized, the victim is left incontinent, leaking faeces, urine, or both. Often, her family and community reject her, to live out the remainder of her life as an outsider; stigmatized and labeled, both by the incidents of rape itself and its terrible consequences.

The last 16 Days Campaign of November 25, 2012, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women that ends on December 10 on the International Human Rights Day; the theme was, From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let’s Challenge Militarism and End Violence Against Women!. This motto underscores militarism and its role in perpetuating violence against women and girls.

For the Darfur community; conflict fatigue, economically burdened, displaced and traditional community ties lost, a precarious mode of existence, changed division of labour within the family; contribute to the ongoing trend of violence as rape, over and above to the domestic violence. Together with the traditional harmful practice of female genital mutilation or cutting; early (child) marriage, incest, and abuse of women by intimate partners, mainly beating were frequently observed and deserves further research.

The first goal of the mission to Darfur was to identify some of the major priorities for the assessment of gender-based violence activities, based on the main findings of the situation analysis, ground visits, consultations and incident data. Due to an obvious unbalance between supply and demand for gender-based violence activities and incidents, and due to the huge need for capacity building, the first ranked priorities are anyway identified; whatever is the hesitation in data. Due to the strict time constraints and the lack of accurate and reliable data, most of the analysis and trending on gender-based violence incidents were estimations. Sometimes, it was necessary to aggregate data from different sources, and to verify them for plausibility.

Lives and livelihoods of internally displaced people and community: the threat of gender-based violence. Women were still mainly targeted when traveling outside camps or villages in pursuit of livelihood activities, walking up to five kilometers to collect firewood and water, go to the market to sell goods. Some internally displaced families in the camps have houses or relatives near by villages, one other reason to travel outside of the camp is either to go to the village and visit relatives or neighbors. The diversity of reasons increases the risk of women to be exposed to gender-based violence.

The perpetrators were usually armed men, in their twenties or thirties, generally from a different tribe as the victim, and often dressed in government-style uniforms.

Form 8

In 2005, the Government of Sudan has acknowledged publicly that there has been rape in Darfur. The conflict in Darfur has been characterized by sexual assaults and rapes. Until recently, women who were raped suffered the double injustice of being denied, by law, post-trauma medical assistance unless they agreed to fill out a police report, or Form 8.

The rules regarding Form 8, for the recording of rape incidents have been amended, the Government of Sudan has issued a National Plan of Action to address gender-based violence, and State Committees for Combating Gender-Based Violence (made up of local government, United Nations agencies, African Union, and NGOs) have been established in South, West, and North Darfur. Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done, and it would be very dangerous for the international community to let up the pressure now. For example, while the three State Committees have been established, only the one in South Darfur has been meeting with any regularity. Even there, when the South Darfur State Committee has tried to implement its Plan of Action (which includes the dissemination of the Form 8 amendments), not all government parties have been engaged. Members of the State Committee agreed to start informing police officers of the Form 8 changes, but some government officials failed to turn up at the meetings. Humanitarian agencies in South Darfur insist that the dissemination campaign must come from the Government, otherwise the police and health workers will not believe that anything has changed. 'We need to spread the news, we told them it had changed but none of them believed us,' one health care agency told RI. However, as the decree is signed by the Governor, or Wali, and electronic copies of the signed document are available, there is nothing preventing the international community from jumpstarting action by launching its own public information campaign.

Darfur States has a State Committee to combat gender-based violence. Co-chaired by United Nations, State Committees used to meet regularly. Lacking sufficient funds and technical expertise, the monitoring and follow-up of the incidents of gender-based violence is inadequate. Local and international humanitarian aid agencies should help to remedy this rather redundant position of the State Committees against incidents of gender-based violence and rape.

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Sudan wide the issues of allowing survivors to seek medical care independent of the police report; authorized staff to fill the form; the requirement of the original Form 8 to be filled as one and only document and possibility of other alternative recordings; are still vague; the same applies for the “First 72 Hours” after the incident of rape happened.

Referral mechanisms for gender-based violence incidents are still very precarious in terms of medical and psychosocial support not only in Darfur, but all around the globe, including Turkey. These mechanisms needs to be updated for each internally displaced people camp; to enable analysis and to understand better the community mechanisms in question under changing humanitarian aid conditions.

From Theory to Praxis

As the building blocks or theoretical pillars of the anatomy of the gender based violence I argue to work through on three dimensions. The first one being the awareness of the “fragility and coincidental of culturally being a women” that makes any kind of collectivist humanitarian aid untrustworthy. The issue is how to reconcile universalistic principles of “human rights, autonomy, freedom” with our concrete particular identities as members of certain concrete human communities divided by language, by ethnicity and by religion under crisis. As argued by Grover the historical context of the arbitrary distinctions referred to between so-called “Arabs” and “Africans” as racialization of identities has its roots in the British Colonial Period (Grover 2013 p. 248).

The second pillar is about “communication rights” and is based upon the three principles derived from Hegel. The three principles in the state; as morality, legality and ethical life. Morality is what we all should have in common as moral rational beings. Legality is the system of rights under which we live, and the ethical life is basically the structure of the family, the market system etc.

The third pillar is iterations or rethinking processes. Within this context the concept of ‘reiteration’ by Derrida is most useful (Derrida 1991 p. 80-111). The meaning of reiteration is to use an expression or a concept in the repetition processes, is to use it differently and transform its authenticity, as pure copying is not possible. The proposition is to use the concept of reiteration in the following fields: global justice, cosmopolitan citizenship, new political subjectivities and the paradox of democratic legitimacy.

Thus, putting these concepts into the framework of the Darfur the following conceptualizations need to be reiterated not only within the border of the Sudan, but they should be reiterated at the meta level of the Terra by different mouths, belonging to different agenda setting bodies – narratives of the people and the land, cultural heritage, defeminization of the Darfur.

Here, I would like argue that the Sudan; experiencing nation- state building, dealing with war and trauma is in a dilemma between ‘to be’ ‘or not to be’. It is subjected to be put into a frame of an imagination of ‘Westernization’ be it by the United Nations, INGOs, NGOs, or “Western citizens” with “altruistic conscience” as I call it. An imagination is formed, unfortunately based on a trauma of the Darfur, which was and is still triggered by a serious of traumatic events – not only gender based violence, but also human trafficking, child soldiers ... etc. I conceptualize the historical experience of feminization of Darfur as a cultural trauma, a concept borrowed from Jeffrey Alexander who develops this notion through a discussion of the Holocaust as ‘new meaningful and causal relationships between previously unrelated events, structures, perceptions, and actions.’ (Alexander 2013, 86). Further he argues that:

‘[c]ultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks on their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways.’ (Alexander 2003 p. 86).

Ironically, a similar kind of a labeling process has started in the Darfur, which needs to be reversed or stopped immediately and to be scaled according to the local values, norms and mundane daily life experiences of the Darfurians.

Policy Implications

Livelihood programs covers non-formal education, vocational training and skills training, income generating activities, food for work, agriculture, business to start up, self employment and job placement; apprenticeship placement, seed and tools, animal disbursement projects, micro-credit schemes.

Men and women have different resources available to them in crisis situations, and will turn to different strategies for survival; crisis usually increase the care burdens of women; a gender sensitive approach to livelihood programmes entails an understanding of the different skill sets, needs, vulnerabilities and responsibilities of the affected women, men, and adolescent boys and girls; specific consideration should be given to the gender division of labour, responsibilities and coping strategies within the household.

In her paper Aisha Nicole Davis argues that intersectionality is needed in international human rights law, she continues, “this need exists in the discourse and adjudication of international crimes that involve women within ethnic minority groups” (Davis 2013 p. iii). Currently, the crime of rape is being tried in the International Criminal Court for the internal armed conflict in Darfur, Sudan. In these current cases, according to Davis, due consideration of the gender and ethnicity of those who were raped has the ability to lead to better remedies (Davis 2013 p. iii). It can be argued that most women targeted, detained in IDPs and lost their communication rights as interlocutors in Darfur were designated based on their ethnicity.

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Female Genital Mutilations and International Protection: When There is A Right in the Acceptance and in the Refusal of a Corporeal Modification

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Abstract

Migrant women who seek for international protection in Italy can obtain it if, coming from countries with a tradition of excision, can certify to have suffered a practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Nevertheless, the instrumental use that migrant women do of their FGM with the aim of evaluating the request is not aware of the socio-political and cultural implications that similar choice can imply in subjective terms in their near future. On the basis of a sample of women treated in the NIHM P outpatient department in Rome, this anthropological survey highlights: 1. women do not often associate the practice of FGM to a form of torture, 2. women are not completely aware of the socio-political and cultural implications subtended to the possible acknowledgement of a kind of international protection through the denunciation of a socio-cultural corporeal practice with a performatory meaning. The results of the survey were recollected through a semi-structured quanti-qualitative questionnaire and field notes. The reflection that the survey wants to convey to the Institutions for asylum, the international non governmental organizations and socio- sanitary services dealing with this specific population is "to act" recognizing the weight of the ethical, existential and subjective consequences of the acknowledgement of a form of protection due to the FGM suffered by the applicant, so that the acknowledgement of a right does not risk to damage others rights.

Key words: *FGM, torture, international protection, human rights.*

Introduction:

Female Genital Mutilations (FGM), otherwise referred to as feminine circumcision, are a rather ancient practice mainly observed in the African Sub-Saharan regions, in the Horn of Africa, Sahel and especially in Egypt. According to the reports of the main health agencies, nowadays between 100 and 140 million little girls, girls and women in the world have suffered a form of FGM. Africa has the highest ranking, with 101 million girls under ten. In general, the practice of FGM is recorded in 27 African countries, and in Yemen, in other Nations (India, Indonesia, Iraq, Malaysia, United Arab Emirates and Israel) it is certain that there are cases of FGM but reliable statistic reports are not available. The prevalence of the practice varies considerably from region to region within the same nation. Cases of FGM in Latin America and in other Asian and African Countries are not frequently reported, and this practice is not considered a real local tradition. Also in Western Countries occasional cases of FGM have been reported, limited to some migrant communities.

In 1995, the World Health Organization (WHO) has established a univocal definition of this practice, meaning by the term FGM: "all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons" (WHO 2008 p. 10). This study has also included a detailed classification of the above mentioned in

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interventions of: type I – Clitoridectomy or Sunna; type II – Excision; type III – Infibulation or Pharaonic circumcision; type IV – Not Classified (WHO 2008 p. 10).

It has to be specified that 90% of the FGM carried out are excisions (with cut and/or removal of parts of the female genital apparatus), while 10% of the cases concerns the specific action of “infibulation”, aimed at narrowing the vagina and it can also be associated to an excision.

The practice of FGM has been condemned as a violation of human rights (WHO 2008, UNHCR 2009).

Background of the research: Migrant women coming from countries with a tradition of excision who seek for asylum in Italy can get the acknowledgement of a form of protection if they certify to have suffered a practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) because it is considered, at an international level, a form of torture (UNHCR 2009, HRC 2008). On January 1st 2006, the Italian Parliament promulgated the act n° 7 named “Dispositions concerning the prevention and the prohibition of the practice of female genital mutilation”, with the aim of “preventing, contrasting and restraining the practices of FGM as violations of fundamental rights to the integrity of the person and to the health of women and children” (art. 1), in compliance with the article 32 of the Italian Constitution. The mentioned law foresees punishing measures according to three articles of the Penal Code that regulate crimes against person, in particular, “personal injuries” (art. 583), the “aggravations” (art. 582) and “particular personal injuries” (art 583-bis).

All European countries have legislated about this issue and several among them have promulgated ad hoc national laws (CRR 2007, Pawell et al 2004). Undoubtedly, the seriousness of the sanctions foreseen by European national laws on the subject can be interpreted going beyond the practices of excision because they would seem socio-political symbolic implications that encircle the feminine body and the interventions that modify it seem contextual to the European countries. It's not to be forgotten that, in the countries where FGM are performed, they are not considered as a violation of rights, but instead as an unavoidable intervention, a necessary condition for the full manifestation of femininity as a whole, otherwise only latent.

Going beyond the contextual details offered by such inquiries, researchers (Hayes 1975, Boddy 1982, Dualeh Abdalla 1982, Gruenbaum 1982, Parker 1995, Hicks 1996, Mackie 1996, Pasquinelli 2000, Fusaschi 2003, Gruenbaum 2006) agreed in identifying FGM practices as a crucial factor in the social-cultural construction of the female sexual gender, i.e., a ritual practice that, through a permanent modification of the feminine genital organs, would allow the baby to identify herself in the belonging sexual gender, because “nature” would not ascribe automatically the woman to it. Besides the inclusion to the feminine sexual gender, other symbolic meanings are associated, as the possibility of identifying with the female model of the native social group; of access to the current marriage system of the social group; of keeping the social order upon which is

based its organization and survival. All the scholars agree in considering FGM practices as the “culturalization” of a naturally connoted reality, like the sexual one is, as an answer to other kinds of contextual needs, i.e., cultural, social, politic and economic ones. Surveys refer about the different ages of women who are submitted to FGM, about the more or less stressed inscription of these practices in the “passage rituals” and about the correlation of such practices to several socio-economic factors starting from the control over virginity and over female reproductive capacities, mentioning: the social division of feminine and masculine roles, the “price of the bride”, the symbolic and material inheritance, the perpetuation of families and lineages, the safeguard of the economic and politic power of the masculine over the feminine.

The complexity of such practices has raised, among researchers of this field, important ethic and political issues not only about the phenomenon itself but also about the difficulty in finding forms of coexistence between the universalism of human rights and the pluralism of cultural realities in a context of immigration. We wonder, basically, about:

- the universality of those inalienable human rights promoted by the International Community and the chance of “carrying” them in socio cultural contexts where they are neither present nor respected (Merry 2006);
- the ambiguity of some international positions regarding practices of tout court female corporeal modifications in European and not European contexts, such as: the medicalization of FGM (Chsistoffersen-Deb 2005); the similarities and the differences between the first kinds of FGM and masculine circumcision (Darby et al 2007); the difference between the legal consequences for those who practice plastic vaginal surgery and those who practice, consensually, a FGM (Essén et al 2004, Veale et al 2011); the generalized and automatic association of FGM to forms of torture (Bell 2005).

Goals: this research is aimed at:

1. exploring, through a field research, the possible subjective effects derived from the acknowledgement of a form of international protection (UNHCR 2010) after an FGM is reported;
2. problematizing the generalized assimilation of FGM to forms of torture, stressing that this process, meant to guarantee protection from the violation of the right of personal integrity, may instead turn out to be destabilizing and put at risk such integrity, not taking into account two connotative elements of the practices: their performatory meaning and the identity/inclusion issue in respect to social identity.
3. pointing out that a woman who makes a petition for international protection can obtain it declaring that she has suffered a practice of FGM by her relatives or social group, without being aware of the political, social and cultural consequences implied on a personal level in the near future and with no protection whatsoever by the Institutions from the consequences of these assumptions in its future identity elaboration process.

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Method and tools

Since 2009, the NIHMP outpatient department in Rome has been activating a multidisciplinary survey aiming at the observation of the FGM phenomenon in the Italian migratory context. The feminine population involved chose autonomously to participate to the inquiry and, up to March 2013, the inquiry included only persons who submitted an application for international protection and who addressed to the Institute to request a medical documentation that certified the presence of FGM on their genitals (except from the two men of the sample). The issuing of such a certification is the product of a joint work of the professionals involved in the inquiry, because of the plurality and the heterogeneous characteristic of the socio-cultural meanings and the political positions that subtend to such a written production, and, moreover, to protect the person who requests it. Therefore, the sanitary certificate presents, on the one hand, clinical data proceeding from medical screening and psycho-diagnostic interviews, on the other hand, observations, analysis and anthropological reflections which are the result of an ethnography realized through interviews collected with: a semi-structured quanti-qualitative questionnaire and field notes. The questionnaire is administered by the anthropologist and the cultural mediator after the gynecological and dermatological activities; at the same time or separately, the psycho-diagnostic interviews take place. The spheres inquired by the instrument aim, on the one hand, at reconstructing the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of the phenomenon, and on the other hand, at observing consciousnesses, identifications, perspectives and changes inherent the FGM practice according to the biographical past and the migratory experience. At the end of the anthropologic interviews the questionnaire and the relative field notes are inserted within a database specifically constructed and managed for the survey by the NIHMP and shared by all the professionals involved.

Study population:

from January 2009 to March 2013 a specially created department in the NIHMP took in charge 22 persons (20 women and 2 men) who addressed to the Institute asking for a specialized support for the request of international protection presented to the Italian Government.

Results: 16 persons out of 22 taken in charge presented a kind of FGM belonging to the second type of the WHO international classification (WHO 2008 p. 10). The declared age of the practice was less than 10 years; only among those who declared to have suffered the practice between 17 and 18 years old (out of a total of 6 women), 3 persons compared the practice to a form of violence. In the table 1 are reported the specific references of the data above highlighted.

Table 1: Sample of feminine population coming from countries with a tradition of excision taken in charge from the NIHMP from January 2009 to March 2013.

Entry	Sex	Date of birth	Country	FGM	FGM age	Language	Religion	Migratory reasons
2009	F	1984	Togo No	19	Lamba	Catholic Christian	Refusal of the practice	
2009	F	1981	Ivory Coast	Yes	19	Jula	Islam	Tortures
2009	F	1989	Guinea Conakry	Yes	5	Susu	Islam	Refusal of premature marriage
2009	F	1984	Sierra Leone	Yes	12	Temne	Catholic Christian	Refusal to accept the role of “cutter”
2009	F	1984	Sierra Leone	No	12	Temne	Catholic Christian	Refusal of the practice
2009	F	1978	Senegal	Yes	<10	Pulaar	Islam	Conflict
2009	F	1977	Senegal	Yes	<10	Wolof	Islam	Conflict
2009	F	1979	NigeriaYes	<1	Bete	Pentecostal	Christian	Refusal of premature marriage
2009	F	1985	Sierra Leone	Yes	12	Mende	Islam	Conflict
2010	F	1979	Kenya No	18	Kikuyu	Catholic	Christian	Refusal of the practice
2010	F	1974	Ivory Coast	No	15	Dagaare	Catholic Christian	Refusal of the practice
2011	F	1989	NigeriaYes	17	Hausa	Pentecostal	Christian	Tortures
2012	M	1988	Burkina Faso	No	12	Peul	Islam	Refusal of the practice
2012	F	1979	NigeriaYes	<10	Yoruba	Catholic	Christian	Conflict, persecution, torture
2012	F	1990	NigeriaYes	18	Yoruba	Catholic	Christian	Tortures
2012	F	1980	NigeriaYes	<10	Edo	Catholic	Christian	Tortures, refusal of arranged marriage
2013	F	1978	Burkina Faso	Yes	<10	Peul	Catholic Christian	Refusal of premature marriage

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2013	F	1991	Guinea Conakry	Yes	6	Peul	Islam	Refusal of premature marriage
2013	F	1989	NigeriaYes	<10	Igbo	Evangelical Christian	Conflict, persecution, torture	
2013	F	1968	NigeriaYes	<10	Igbo	Pentecostal Christian	Slave trade	
2013	M	1974	NigeriaNo	21	Benin	Catholic Christian	Tortures	
2013	F	1979	NigeriaYes	21	Benin	Catholic Christian	Refusal of arranged marriage	

The most represented nationality in the sample is the Nigerian one (9 persons); its age is placed between 24 and 34 years; those who escaped from their native countries to avoid FGM practice didn't suffer any modifications of the genitals (6 persons, among whom the two men of the sample; only one of the two rebelled against his sisters' excision); and last, although the refusal of an arranged and premature marriage (6 women) was referred as the triggering reason of the forced migration, only in one case it was related with the FGM suffered in the native country.

Analysis of the data: Half of feminine population coming from countries with a tradition of excision, taken in charge and treated in the NIHMP outpatient department from 2009, has often known about the FGM only during the gynecological visit. It means that half of the women in the sample, carriers of a FGM, has little awareness of the socio-political and cultural implications of the practice, it is to say, the socio cultural construction of the female body, the existing relation between the practice and the current marriage system in the context of origin, the socio-political and cultural implications subtended (as shortly mentioned above). Such awareness is frequently missing also by those women who have associated their experience of FGM with forms of torture.

Below are reported two testimonies that can explicate the issue discussed. The first refers to a Nigerian woman, born in 1990 in Ifedore (Ondo State), Yoruba speaking, Pentecostal Christian, educated, submitted to FGM second type when she was 18 by her Islamic family. During the interview that took place in December 2012, the woman referred of her FGM experience comparing it to a form of torture. In January 2013 she obtained the refugee status.

“She converted to Catholicism when she was 15 years old; her family was Islamic and she suffered the consequences of her choice when, at the age of 18, she was submitted, against her will, to the practice of FGM. She was carried in secret to the place of the execution of the practice by her mother and left in the hands of two men that obliged her to lie down on her back while an old woman carried out the excision. After three months during which she recovered physically from the

wounds and the infections provoked by the practice, in May/June 2009 she decided to leave her father's house because the relationship with her parents had then worsened: after the FGM she had completely lost faith in them. She was hosted in a friend's house for 3-4 months but then she was obliged to leave because she had been raped by her friend's brother. During the violence, while the man was threatening her to death with a broken bottle of glass, she managed to grab a cutting object, to hit the man and to escape from the terrible grip. She thought she had killed the man and so she ran out in the street in a state of shock until a passer-by woman offered to help her. She accepted and moved to the woman's house, in Port Harcourt. After one week, the girl was anguished by the idea of having killed the man who raped her and that for this reason she was indictable by the law of her country and so she was convinced by the woman who hosted her to emigrate. She carried her to the port of the city and she pushed her vehemently to embark on a big ship; she gave her water and food and she took her to the hold. She spent one month closed in a small room without light, full of smoke, without any human contact, frightened by all the noises. When she disembarked, an unknown man told her she was in Austria".

The second testimony concerns a Nigerian woman born in Lagos (Lagos State) in 1989, Igbo speaking, Evangelic Christian, educated and submitted by her family to a FGM second type when she was less than 10 years. During the interviews that took place in January 2013, the woman referred to have discovered she had suffered a FGM when her brother told her and that she had no memory related to the event and she had no idea if the practice could be defined as a form of torture or not. In February 2013 she got a permit for humanitarian reasons.

"When she was 12 years old she was informed by her brother of having been submitted to a practice of FGM according to the habit of their parental group who thought that the practice would have reduced her sexual desire after the menarche, making her faithful to her promised groom after the marriage. She referred that she didn't remember the intervention because she was too young. In her biographical past the form of FGM she bears is not referred as a form of torture but as a tradition of her parental group. On October 29th 2011 her father was killed by a maniple of men of the Boko Haram group, while he was in Maiduguri for religious commitments because he was a pastor of the Evangelic Christian church. On October 30th 2011, during the night wake that followed the funeral and the burial, they were attacked by the same maniple of Boko Haram group that had murdered her father. During the attack, she was beaten and kidnapped together with her brother and a woman who was her father's friend. They were transferred in a place very far from Maiduguri and detained there for 3 weeks. She referred that, for the period of the detention, she was threatened and beaten all over the body 3 times and that she witnessed several episodes of violence on her brother and her father's friend".

This can be explained giving the age factor a significant role in the association made by the three women between FGM and torture (if reference is made to the development of the cognitive capacities and the physiological conformation of the genitalia at that age), instead the whole sample hasn't shown any capacity to analyze and criticize the practice and the specific issues related to it also in terms of safeguard, because probably the very recent contact with the Italian migratory

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context doesn't allow women to develop critical thinking on the subject, by way of comparison between the native models and systems and those from the welcoming country.

According to the data, the authors suppose that a woman who makes a petition for international protection testifying an FGM has to be defined "victim of torture" in order for some rights to be recognized (such as protection, residence in the territory, and correlated issues) in a phase of her life in which she approaches a new socio-cultural environment, and therefore new meanings for her own and other people's cultural creations, without coming to terms with one's own personal and social identity. Consequently this question arises: what is this woman going to think about herself tomorrow, since she hasn't associated her testimony of FGM to torture, in the case that a form of protection due to her FGM experience were granted?

Discussion and conclusions:

The Italian Government, and the rest of the International Community, associates FGM to forms of torture and to the lack of respect of some of the fundamental human rights; therefore, it recognizes the right of asylum through the – implicit or explicit – denunciation of the practice at issue, either if it was suffered, or if it was avoided through the escape. The grant of the "right" of residence then takes place indirectly through the denunciation of the socio-cultural system of the native country. Nevertheless, even supporting the eradication of such a practice, the authors of this article maintain that, on the basis of the outcomes of the survey they are realizing in the NIHMP, it would be appropriate that the Institutions for asylum were more aware about the subjective consequences of the grant of this right, so that its application will not violate other human rights.

For this reason, the authors ask themselves: in the future, could migrant women who will have got a residence permit for having suffered a FGM, develop difficulties in the subjective identity position within the Italian migratory context if they ask any questions as: who am I, where am I from, who begot me, which values did my family have, what kind of person do I want to become, how should I present myself to someone I don't know, etc.? In fact, as above highlighted, FGM, focusing on the genital apparatus, imply a series of subjective and collective identity symbolic associations that cannot be easily separated when a person faces a new social reality. Therefore, recognizing the subjective implications that could derive from the acknowledgment of a kind of protection for FGM, it would be desirable that the Institutions for asylum made the woman and her testimony of FGM aware of the repercussions that those declarations could have in her future process of socialization in the Italian migratory context. Therefore it is essential that the members of the Institutions for asylum evaluate the requests of international protection reading the problems reported by women coming from countries with a tradition of excision with a more complex perspective that takes account of the socio-cultural reasons subtended to FGM and the socio-cultural diversity in the construction of subjective and

collective identities. Maybe the same perspective could help in the evaluation of the applications of women who witnessed FGM making a distinction between those who refer about the experience comparing it to a form of torture and those who, on the contrary, don't remember anything about it or that have discovered being a FGM carrier only in Italy – maybe pressed by the request of a medical check up or by associations and lawyers that work in the field of international protection. Adopting such a distinction could mean to reduce at the least the eventuality that the assimilation of their own FGM to a form of torture could be the triggering reason of several subjective difficulties in the daily identitary position within the migratory context. In fact, if the Institutions, “acting” on a temporary suspension of judgment which assimilates FGM to forms of torture, opened themselves to the acknowledgement of the authoritativeness of the subjective judgment of the applicant with respect to her FGM experience, they could protect their work from an ideological slip towards wider spheres that concern the human rights of the person whose request of protection they are evaluating as the freedom to show their own thought, to choose, to identify themselves, etc.

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PART 5

GENDER, VIOLENCE AND MIGRATION

A Double Separation: Divorced Turkish Women in The Diaspora

HACI-HALIL USLUCAN -TIJEN AKDAĞ

Abstract

The female migration and the specific changes it causes were often broadly discussed in the past. The debate is dominated by patriarchal family structures, traditional educational ideas, the headscarf, the importance of the family honour, violence within the family as well as the disadvantaged educational situation of females. While there are many studies about immigrant families and their socialization, although there is a realistic need to summarize the knowledge about the causal variables in the divorce process of immigrant families and to the attitudes during coping with separation and divorce of women with turkish roots living in germany is an academic void.

Some results point out that the disintegration of marriage forms a critical life event for many turkish as well as german women, accompanied by a lot of changes in many life aspects. Those women often have to defend their decision of getting divorced in front of their families and the turkish migration community. Further studies show that the involved women undergo different phases of life with new challenges and difficulties during the whole process of divorce beginng with the separation untill the phases after divorce. Depending on the intensity of these challenges, new coping strategies have to be developed to overcome them.

In our article we will first focus on the consequences of the separation of partnerships concerning women with turkish background in Germany. Next we will outline the demographic changes and the interaction between migration, individualisation, emancipation and divorce, as well as the meaning of divorce in the turkish communities and the migration specific sociological and psychological phases of life after divorce. Last but not least the coherences and consequences of divorce on the next generation will be discussed. The article resumes the most important findings in previous studies and shows the need for further research in this field.

Key words: Marriage, Separation, divorce, Immigration, Diaspora

1. Introduction

The German migration and family research showed for a long time a single-sided and selective focusing on the categories of migration and gender: the role of women was solely outlined in relation to her father, brother or spouses in public and scientific debates. For many years the stereotype image of the oppressed Turkish women that underlie traditional life forms spread through the public and respective scientific studies. By and by new stereotype roles where added, so women were described as victims between the poles of forced marriage and honour-crimes. Those

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polarizing points of view do not consider that the life style of migrants is multifaceted and that specifically through the processes of migration many shiftings in family structures and in the existing gender arrangements are initialized (Gerner 2012 pp.40-41). A differentiated scientific consideration of the complex changes in life situation shaped by migration, only increased in the past few years. Less consideration was given to the gender specific role of separated or divorced migrants. Divorce research focused on causes and sometimes on consequences of divorce while the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity as a special category was neglected.

The following contribution tries to demonstrate the consequences of marital separation and divorce for Turkish migrants in Germany on the base of theoretical and empirical findings as well as to enhance the discussion about the divorce attitudes of Turkish women in Germany. Although many changes occurred in the situation of women and their social ranking during the last years, patriarchal standards, values and distribution of roles as well as basically social structures still dominate (e.g. Beer, 1990; Dietzen, 1993). Marital divorce in the Turkish community in Germany builds the core of this study. The focus lies on the consequences and phases of divorce for women concerned and is additionally examining the social relevance, the divorce determinants and the transgenerational effects.

The life –situation of women with Turkish roots in Germany: The interaction between migration, individualization, emancipation and divorce.

The demographic change and the accompanying social changes of the life situation and familial structures did not pass without influence on the Turkish migrants in Germany. The obvious change in the structure of the Turkish families which is coupled with the process of social alteration is reflected in the partnership, the significance of family and marriage, the change in understanding of matrimony, the role each of them play in the relationship and the number of separations and divorces (e.g. Süzen 2003). The modification of values and norms lead to individualisation of subjective life development and was more evident for women. The multiplication of life forms opened them new action playgrounds and possibilities of choice. However many women with Turkish roots find themselves in a field of tension between the demands of the society they live in, their own claims of emancipation and the expectation of their original society (e.g. *ibid.*).

The results of a quantitative study of the Centre of Turkish studies and integration research in Germany shows that the conditions of life of many Turkish women in Germany today compared to the first migration generation doesn't differ from those of German women, although a few of them still live very traditionally (e.g. Kizilcak & Sauer 2007).

The scientific and public discussion about the motives of partner selection choice and the development in the marriage attitudes of Turkish women in Germany is very variable. In recent years the rise of Turkish women has moved into the focus of public discussion, although this

development is less in comparison to other nationalities . Although the marriage market for Turkish women of the second generation grown up in Germany is socio-culturally diversified, they continue to choose their partners mostly from among the residents of Turkey , followed by marriages within the Turkish population of Germany and as a third option come German-Turkish marriages (Straßburger 2001 pp. 5-6). It is often assumed that marriage-migration is an obvious expression of traditional orientation and less cultural- integration to the German society (Baykara-Krumme & Fuß 2009 p. 137). The phenomenon of marriage migration or the choice of partners from the own cultural context in Germany shouldn't be understood as a repulsion of the German society, because this type of choosing a partner underlies several mechanisms and reasons . Many factors like the generation status, the age of marriage, the level of education and the individual values play a crucial role.

Baykara-Krumme and Fuß (2009 p. 141) found out that the decision of women choosing a certain partner in the land of origin is neither dependent on the level of education nor traditional behaviour as is often claimed in public discussions. In addition the marriage markets or the partial marriage markets in the land of origin partly, because the unbalance in the sex ratio –“marriage squeeze”- in Germany, gives an alternative for migrants with Turkish roots to find a potential partner (e.g. Baykara-Krumme and Fuß 2009). Blossfeld and Timm cited in 2003 that there is a positive correlation between the level of education and the choice of partner, meaning that with an increasing educational level the individual demands in spouse selection not only vary, but the realisation of family planning has been postponed to a later age.

Even nowadays giving up marriage and motherhood is unacceptable in the individualized society of Turkish women. The survey of Mikrozensus (2005) shows that marriage as a life-form is higher estimated in the Turkish population compared to other nationalities: 74.9% of the surveyed with Turkish nationality past or present are married while only 18.8% claim to be unmarried (Mikrozensus 2005 p. 48).

As a summary this shows that young Turkish women of the second generation in Germany compared to those of the first generation don't seek their identity and self-realisation in traditional roles of wife, mother and housewife, but in the harmonisation of work and family (e.g. Kopp, 1994 p. 35, Gümen et al. 1994 p. 70 et sqq.). In spite of the importance of marriage in the life of women with Turkish roots it is not seen as an unsolvable binding anymore which is a phenomenon of our modern age.

The changing of roles in a family, the individualisation of each partner and the high, sometimes unreachable, expectations make it difficult to keep the integrity of a marital state, so that it is more or less a voluntary agreement from both sides (e.g. Süzen 2004).

Separation in the Turkish community

The social meaning, facts and causes of marital separation and divorce

The separation and divorce in the Turkish community in Germany as well as in Turkey is seen as a social abnormality in the familial development no matter which partner started the separation process. While the social view on separated living and divorced Turkish women in Germany has slightly ameliorated nowadays, the situation of separated and divorced women in Turkey is unchanged because of the conservative religious attitude that gained importance in recent years (e.g. Yilmaz & Fidan 2006). The number of divorces of migrants in Germany cannot be estimated because the citizenship doesn't give valid hints about ethnic origin, and re-married persons fall in the category married, so the data of Mikrozensus 2005 show a smaller number of divorces in migrant families (Boos-Nünning 2011 p.42). There is a clear difference in divorce rates in migrants belonging to different nationalities living in Germany (Turkish 4.3%, Greek 5.5%, Italian 5.9% in comparison to the German population which is high as 7%). The recent divorce rates in the Turkish population in Germany are unknown. Based on the data of the survey of Mikrozensus and the ongoing individualisation processes it is an assumption that divorce rates in Turkish people in Germany will rise during the next years. The same tendency can be hold true for the Turkish people in their homeland: Since 2002 the divorce rates in Turkey increase starting from 7.3% to about 13.7% in 2012 (Yilmaz & Fidan 2006 p.1, Federal office for statistics in Turkey TÜİK). Comparing the data shows that the divorce rates of the Turkish population in Turkey is higher than that of Turkish migrants in Germany. The Question is if the experience of migration makes marriages or relationships more stable and strengthens familial alliances or if it forms a barrier for separation.

The German research found the following causes for marital separation and divorce for Turkish women who live in Germany. Süzen (2004) differentiates between three types of divorce causes: (a) divorce as a result of violence, (b) as a path to self- determination and (c) a brake with the traditional community (Süzen 2004 p. 283). The difference between the determinants of divorces in the first and second Generation of Turkish women in Germany is worth to be studied in future. A lot of studies exist explaining the divorce dynamics in Turkey. The most recent of them (e.g. Yurtkuran-Demirkan et al. 2009, e.g. Yilmaz & Fidan 2006) shows that the main reason for divorce in Turkey is adultery and violent quarrels.

As a summary we can state that the life situation, the social attitude as well as the reasons for separation or divorce in the Turkish society resident in Germany hardly differ from those in their homeland.

Consequences of divorce and the adaptation to the changed situation of life.

From a psychological point of view marital separation and divorce is a critical life event for many involved Turkish and local women in Germany. It involves diverse changes in their entire life bringing challenges and burdens like the changed relationship to their former partner, the children and the social surroundings, leading to financial, psychological and health problems (e.g. Beelmann & Schmidt-Denter 2003). Those difficulties and burdens are not felt equally and with the same intensity by all involved women. Marital separation and divorce are always accompanied by emotions like sorrow, anger, fear and feelings of insecurity and failure (e.g. Beelmann & Schmidt-Denter 2003, e.g. Fthenakis & Walbinder 2008).

Filipp (1995) summarised that major life events (like divorce) are a necessary requirement for evolutionary transition and they don't only trigger critical changes but may also present an individual new beginning.

In the process of marital separation and divorce Turkish migrants undergo a renewed separation experience and a familial rebuilding process, compared with local women, which is accompanied by emotional burdens and challenges. For most of the involved it doesn't only mean in general the dissolution of the marriage, but also the non-compliance of the mutual promises of fidelity, loyalty and trust and last but not least a rejection of the own life style (Süzen 2004 p. 283). For Turkish women in Germany and in Turkey, divorce means a life in the Diaspora, which commonly leads to social isolation, stigmatisation and loss of traditional bindings, standards and values (ibid.: 283).

During the process of divorce Turkish and local women in Germany undergo different individual life phases that are combined with new transitional specific challenges, complex duties and individual coping mechanisms. In the following passages we will explain the course of life on the background of three different divorce models.

a) The Disorganization model

In the available literature the disorganization model dominated divorce research and was seen as the dissolution of the family and the end of the familial developmental process. In the past it was seen that way by most of the Turkish community in Germany. Divorce was regarded as a personal failure. According to Hetherington (1982) the time immediately following divorce is a phase of imbalance and disorganization where conflicts with the ex-partner increase and the mother-child relationship changes.

b) The Reorganization model

Contrary to the disorganization model divorce is not seen as a single traumatic event, but as a long-term dynamic process beginning long before the juristic divorce and lasting for a long term after (Beelmann & Schmidt-Denter 2003 p. 510). In this second phase a reorganisation of the whole

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family system occurs and a binuclear family system emerges out of the original family core. During this phase an individual processing and overcoming of the separation and a further development of each family member happens (e.g. Fthenakis & Walbner 2008). Not only the role or status of women changes within the Turkish community, but also the relationship of family members, the mindset and the ways of thinking must be reconsidered.

c) Divorce as a transition in the process of family development

Cowan and Hetherington (1991) characterise divorce as a transition in the scope of the family development process. Divorce, re-marriage and other events not only lead to structural changes in the whole family system, but demand an adaptation to the changed living environment from every single member of the family. So divorce is a developmental task experienced on the levels of individuality, interaction and the whole context (Fthenakis & Walbner 2008 p. 3). Cowan (1991) cited that the adaptation to a new life environment is only possible through a shift in perception of oneself and the world, the acceptance of the divorce as well as controlling the transitional emotional instability and changes.

This clearly shows that divorced women undergo all the three models with different intensities, while nowadays mostly the two last ones dominate. Divorce constitutes a big life crisis bringing up new problems, which demand new solutions as well as some relieving factors (e.g. Wallerstein et al. 1989, e.g. Uslucan 2001).

Transgenerational effects of separation and divorce

The marital separation and divorce comes with extensive consequences for the whole family relations. Although the scientific discussion in German literature is very controversy it often underlines the concept that separation and divorce as a model of solving problems between couples, is transmitted to the next generation. Empirical findings to the transmission hypothesis show that a correlation exists between the parental separation and the risk of divorce of the children, when reaching adult age, since divorce leaves deep traces lasting until adulthood and influencing their whole life (Wallerstein et al. 2002 p. 32). The children not only identify themselves with their parents, but also take over their relationship patterns and build on this foundation (ibid. p.32).

Wallerstein and Blakelee (1989) showed that children from shattered but upheld marriages also suffer from the same or even more extensive consequences than children of divorce. Not only the changes accompanying divorce (f. e. the lack of the paternal role) influence the psychological development of the children, but the greater role is played by the tensions and conflicts before and after the divorce. This assumption suggests that the parental divorce often but not in all cases forms a divorce risk for the children.

The findings on transgenerational effects of divorce on the descendants of Turkish migrants were never studied in the German speaking countries, that's why no evident statements could be made to that subject.

Presentation of problems and open questions

Although the expansion of divorce rates since 2002 in Germany leads to a boom in German divorce research, especially in screening the social and psychological aspects, the separation and divorce attitudes of Turkish migrant women was only considered in a few studies or contributions. So far all the studies to this topic were only limited to divorce risks (e.g. Süzen 2003). The disintegration of the marital community and the results and challenges facing divorced female migrants in Germany was seldom considered. An exception is the study of Begona Petuya Ituarte 2007 about action strategies of divorced Spanish women and the above mentioned study of Süzen 2003, 2004.

Although meanwhile some empirical data about marital divorce and the post-divorce situation of Turkish female migrants in Germany exists, there is a lack of intensive empirical studies in this field. In brief, there are some questions that need to be clarified in future research although an attempt to explain some aspects will follow.

- 1) Why wasn't the divorce and the post-divorce situation of Turkish women in Germany examined until now?
- 2) What is the extension of the divorce rate in Turkish migrants in Germany?

Is there an increase in divorce rates in the last few years? And if so, does it reflect a form of integration and assimilation?

- 3) What implications does the focusing on divorce results of Turkish migrants have on the guidance and concepts of support, like the intercultural sensitization of organisations and offers for children, who are affected by the divorce of their parents?

The insufficient attempts of explaining the divorce situation of Turkish migrant women in scientific research can be explained by the fact that many investigators stand in front of the big challenge of analysing this complex and burdened topic. The approach to potential subject groups is associated with difficulties and obstacles leading to the hazard of not obtaining enough random samples for the study. Furthermore some methodical difficulties in the access to the field are seen: f. e. the determination of the ratio of divorce in the population with Turkish roots because the citizenship does not reflect the ethnicity, and re-married women appear in the category "married" in national counts and thus are missing in divorce statistics. Besides that, there is barely evidence for the post-divorce situation, the social and economic position, challenges of everyday life and the difficulties of Turkish women as single mothers.

Conclusion

The latest state of studies requests a differentiated examination focusing specifically on the consequences of divorce and the future life situation of the involved women. The complex background conditions of partner choice decisions and marriage behaviour of young women, their different family and life biographies must be considered. As former surveys were more or less qualitative and in form of biographical studies and with a small sample size that barely allowed evaluation, we plead for a quantitative scientific approach. Based on a big number of cases, not only the marital separation and divorce attitude of Turkish women should be analysed but also the post-divorce situation and its burdens. Further, we are interested on the coping-strategies and adaptation.

Practically the involved Turkish women in Germany should get stronger support from institutional and individual resources to help improve their life situation and quality after a marital separation, because they need this help much more than local women due to the lack of specialised information centres advising them during the separation process (e.g. Boos-Nünning 2011). A stronger network and cooperation of the social facilities like information centres and their greater intercultural opening and sensitization are badly needed. The same could be said about the urgent and important requirement for advice offers from social facilities for children of Turkish women, from the time of separation until the post-divorce phase.

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Immigration, Gender and the Labour Market in the North East of England

HENGAMEH ASHRAF EMAMI

Abstract

Due to globalisation and push and pull factors, immigration has always been a dynamic phenomenon in the history of British, one which constructs an additional form of diversity in the host society. Thus, it may influence the creation of further challenges for both immigrants and the host community. The social structure and various dimensions of employment, education, culture, cultural aspirations, language, history and the identity of ethnic minorities are significant factors representing the possible transformations in former and latter communities. It is undeniable that the process of adoption of labour market culture by new arrivals is not an effortless and uncomplicated process, considering the variety of obstacles immigrants may have to confront. This paper aims to investigate the level of employment for females with an ethnic minority background in the North East of England, while addressing specific issues relating to immigrant women. The distinctive focus will be on ethnic minority and Muslim women with a professional background, and the challenges they might have to encounter obtaining employment in Britain. Furthermore, the research endeavours to assess and highlight the invisible barriers that exist for women seeking to acquire employment.

To achieve the aims of the study, various women's organisations have been approached and accessed so as to capture the stories and views of marginalized women through focus groups, questionnaires, case studies and in-depth interviews. The study also investigated the challenges and barriers these women encounter in the labour market. Discussions have taken place around aspects of culture and identity, Islamophobia, racism, racial segregation, personal aspirations, the 'glass-ceiling', family, alienation, and some of the factors that enable participants to feel more accepted in the British labour market. Thus, the research will explore the impact of gender on constructing the culture and identity of female immigrants through work, and will investigate the ways they negotiate their identities through their own involvements. Furthermore, it studies their sense of belonging and some interactions with the wider society through work.

Key words: *Ethnic Minority Women, Labour Market, Racism, Islamophobia.*

Introduction

There is no doubt that afterwards events such as 9/11 and the 7/7 bombings the general attitudes towards Muslims turned out to develop an unconstructive attitudes with more resentment towards visible Muslims, and their present in western media and consequently in the wider society. Zine (2006) states that the debates on gender, race and religion have developed in engagements of the "war on terror", therefore, Muslim feminists and activists have been involved with 'gendered Islamophobia' which has been presented by Orientalist tropes and the negative assumptions of being oppressed and backward women who demand political liberation only through Western interventions (Ahmad, 2012). The Islamic dress code makes women more certainty identifiable as Muslim then the consequent assumptions that the wider society may have about them will have impact on their integration in the British labour market. There is a large body of literature on migration and gender migration, yet not much explored and focussed discussion on the defies and obstacles that exist for Muslim women immigrants to procure into labour market in the North East of England. It is undeniable that the experience of the workplace will be affected by race, religion

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and gender, thus Muslim women with visibility of their religion remain unrepresented in numerous professions. Accordingly, this paper attempts first briefly to look at migration in Britain, then review the concept of work and ethnicity and discuss some of the arguments. Afterwards, the methodology used in this research will be discussed, and finally the findings and conclusion will be distributed.

Migration

Migration has always been at the heart of attention of media, policy and academic in recent era. It is undeniable that migration influences due to various influences and even though the mobility of migration either based on pushed or pulled factors, yet they have to deal with other agencies as well. Labour shortages developed in Britain between 1950 and 1970 and the requirement for low-cost labour led to a large influx of immigrants, particularly from ex-colonies; this preceded to some white British becoming uneasy perceiving themselves amongst growing numbers of ethnic groups. The vast majority of migrants were people who could afford their tickets to Britain and were therefore comparatively affluent. Immigrants departed their homes and families anticipating to construct a better life through hard work, and transferring income to their families at home. The late 1950s to 1962 could be called the 'golden age' for UK immigrants, since there were not many obstacles to migration (Gardner, 2002). The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 was a turning point for the growing Muslim population in the UK. Several generations of Muslims settled in cities such as Liverpool and Cardiff, mostly Yemenis who remained whom eventually married English women and settled permanently in the UK. This was followed by the Race Relations Act of 1968, prior to the arrival of South Asian immigrants from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika who had obtained British Citizenship after these countries gained independence. It took eighteen months to implement the Immigration Act, and this offered immigrants a chance to decide whether to stay or return to their original homeland. In 1964, new legislation came into force that prevented unskilled workers from working in Britain. However, racial conflict struck its highest point throughout the UK following Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech in 1968 (Panayi, 1996: 196). Furthermore, media performed unconstructive part in portraying migration; this is more evidence afterwards the events such as 9/11 and 7/7 bombing. Furthermore, debates on social cohesion and integration of heated, immigrants with Islamic heritage have been perceived as minorities and as 'other'.

Work and Ethnicity

Since the paper will discuss work and its relation to migration and ethnicity, reviewing these definitions may be effective to have a better understanding of the situation. The concepts of work and employment exist in all cultures; Parekh (1997, pp.5-9) believes that one of the most important measures of life-chance is employment obstacles to employment will it stands as a foundation for

any economic system. Parekh addresses the issue of ethnic minorities having high rates of unemployment and low wages and states that immigrants are not only discriminated against, but also go through economic, political and cultural disadvantage. He argues that diversity relates to racial prejudice and discrimination. Significant elements of British society have always been hostile to cultures stereotyped as inferior or primitive. According to Giddens (2011), the concept of ethnicity is beyond simple numerical and statistical differences. Furthermore, Giddens asserts that "Members of ethnic minorities are seen as different to the majority of people. They are mostly excluded from larger groups, and tend to be concentrated in small places." Kallen (2004) discusses the myths of racial superiority and inferiority, which have been used by people in power to justify their discrimination against racial and ethnic groups. "Ethnicity has both biological and cultural dimensions. It refers to one's biological ancestors, their ancestral territory or homeland and their culture or ethno culture" (Kallen, 2004). Despite the fact that direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of gender was made unlawful by legislation in the mid-1970s, conditions may be laid down in the workplace which are more laborious for women or ethnic minorities to comply with, indirect discrimination may result. There is evidence that women's work patterns are determined by their gender, religion and race. Ethnic minority women with Islamic heritage and visibility of being Muslim encounter triple discrimination.

The fact that ethnic minority women have been disadvantaged in Britain's labour market has several incentives. Regarding gender and employment in local markets Newcastle, although there was a net increase of over 18,600 jobs in Newcastle between 1991 and 2002, men and women did not equally share the advantage. The research showed that there are fewer Pakistani women in administrative jobs than in the general working population in Newcastle. There are also a lower number of women working in elementary occupations and also fewer of them work in health and social work. Indian women are less likely to work part-time in Newcastle (13% compared with 24%) and are more likely than other women to be looking after their home or family full-time, which is a little higher than women of the same ethnicity regionally and nationally. Compared with Indian women in other parts of the country, there is a slightly higher proportion that is in personal service occupations in Newcastle. It seems there are lower possibilities for Indian women to work in manufacturing, public administration, construction and education sectors than other people in Newcastle. A research conducted by Sheffield Hallam University (2003) revealed that there is high unemployment amongst young Bangladeshi women, at 8% compared with other women in the region and 6% in England as a whole. Compared with 7% of other young women in Newcastle, they have less chance to work part-time and are also less likely to be in a full-time job, at 10% compared with other residents and their counterparts at a regional and national level. Bangladeshi women in Newcastle have fewer jobs in elementary occupations, at 6% compared with 14% for the whole female population of working age. It seems that less of them take part in administrative and secretarial jobs, at 16% compared with 21% for all women in Newcastle. A third of them work in sales and customer service, compared with 14% of other women in Newcastle, and compared with 24% of all women working in wholesale, retail, restaurants and the hotel sector, 30% of Bangladeshi women work in these areas. They are also more likely to work in finance and real

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estate than other areas. However, fewer of them work in health and social work, education and the public administration sector.

Methodology

The process emerged with an initial survey of all learning service providers and users. The framework of the content analysis approach attempted to assess the suitability of learning activities and their impact for ethnic minority women. This aim was achieved by conducting interviews with ethnic minority women with Muslim background who had access to these centres in the past or who were attending them at present. The research method was open and overt. During the researcher's interviews with migrant service users, the art group and focus group, narrative accounts of racism remained vastly evident. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) have stressed the multi-method focus of qualitative research, which involves a naturalistic and interpretive approach to the subject method. Gall (2007) argues that researchers develop knowledge through the collection of mainly verbal data relating to a phenomenon and subjecting that data to analysis. Gunaratnam (2003, p.82) supports the idea of 'ethnic sensitivity' in research and suggest that 'whenever possible' ethnic matching should be practised because it "encourages a more equal context for interviewing which allows more sensitive and accurate information to be collected." A researcher with the same ethnic background as the participant will possess 'a rich for understanding' and an inside/emic view will have more favourable access conditions and the co-operation of a large number of people". Since, the researcher is from migrant background and is a Muslim woman a bond of trust was built up among the researcher and the participants.

Qualitative methods were used to gain the data required for the research. The questions were used to investigate the lives of women from ethnic minorities living in the North East of England. Their life experiences, cultural and religious issues, emotions and feelings, experiences of racism, ambitions and barriers were all considered. The research was undertaken by going to Black and ethnic minorities' women's centres in the West end of Newcastle, giving women questionnaires and discussing women's issues. In this research, different questions were asked of each respondent depending upon their individual circumstances. To bequeath them encouragement, besides creating a relaxed ambiance, issues of confidentiality and data protection were discussed, emphasised and guaranteed. The methods used in the research were, on the whole, very effective in obtaining a wide range of information from a large sample of people in an affable atmosphere. Furthermore, the methods of research were constructive in encouraging women to ponder their forgotten ambitions, dreams and aspirations. This prepared them to be aware of their potential power and abilities, and in addition raised their expectations for the future. The centre users were asked a series of open questions related to their perceptions of barriers to participation in the labour market and good practice. For instance, participants were asked about the obstacles confront in attempting to gain access to service provision, and also sought to reveal what provision and services do ethnic

minority women themselves believe would be beneficial to them besides how can these be implemented.

The women participated in the research have been mainly from three categories, based on their period of residency:

1- Women who have settled permanently since their husbands were working in the UK: most were from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India. They had had a prolonged period of time to become accustomed to the unfamiliar milieu.

2- Students' wives who were originally intending to remain in the UK for a limited period of time. However, a number of them, after a period of time, made the decision to settle in Newcastle for a variety of reasons, such as their children's education, therefore, at least one parent (usually the mother) had to stay with them. In such cases it was vastly challenging for the mother not having opportunity to get employed. Furthermore, perusing their educational aspiration is a not unproblematic possibility for them.

3- Asylum seekers and refugees. Some of the research participants were accompanied by their families, while others arrived independently.

All of participants have been living in the UK for more than ten years. Women explored the dearth of support to access provisional services, since info about accessing services was limited on their initially arriving in the country. Commencing getting the accurate well information up to familiarity process, afterward, managing a long waiting list, altogether is prolong and frustrating process. However, religious centres and local projects acted as an effectual forum to acquire the relevant provision required to admittance services.

The research revealed that there was a common coveting for those women to have economic power and financial independency. There was an impression that lack of financial sovereignty caused a number of the women feeling disempowered, although some of the participants expressed that they were fortunate since their husbands were generous. Likewise, there was an indication that financial dependence on their husband humiliating and demoralising situation for several of participants. As a matter of fact, being from an ethnic minority group as well as being a woman doubles complexity and adversity when attempting to achieve a place in the British labour market. This indication was emphasised by one of the participants who was doing a computer course at the Angelou Centre (a women's centre in West End of Newcastle), while their teacher had emphasized the fact that:

You have to learn much better than white people, because not being white reduces your chances of getting a job. Therefore you must have at least double the knowledge and quality of a white woman to have a chance to get the same job. (RSA/ computer teacher at Angelou centre).

Racism, specifically institutional racism, was emphasized since the research participants had undergone either direct or indirect discrimination, prejudice and xenophobia at certain levels, such

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as verbal and physical abuse in the streets and even in the workplace. Several of the research participants had encountered verbal abuse after the London bombings; afterwards they endured an intense fear and anxiety for their personal safety. Participants discussed and shared many such incidents that had happened to them since 9/11 and 7/7; therefore, it seems that these events had the result of making Muslim women less accepted. Islamophobia exists as a current fact which prevents many ethnic women being included in the British labour market. The obvious visibility of Muslim women who wear the hijab makes them more vulnerable to this hostility. Some women expressed the belief that the current climate of general disdain towards Muslims, as portrayed in the media, makes life even more challenging for them. In addition, many of the women felt that following their faith played a role in their not being able to secure employment. It was not surprising that many of the women considered that their names made prejudice more likely: therefore, they were sometimes recommended to change their names to more European-sounding ones in order to secure employment or at least get to the interview stage. However, none in the group had done so because they had a feeling to lose their personal identity by changing their name. The majority of the research participants had high aspirations, believed that their lives were fallow and uncultivated while significant opportunities did not exist for them to improve their lives and status. The research participants expressed that they had been encountered with racist violence subsequently the events of September 11th.

It was not surprising that vast majority of women had undergone alienation and isolation, certainly in the first stages of their arrival in England. It was found to be a common denominator between those women; they offered each other empathy, compassion and support through their informal network. The longest standing member or the most competent English speaker seemed to take on the responsibility of supporting the others in accessing services. A profound connection was made through local projects and community centres. As mentioned earlier, all of the women touched the point that they were inconsequential in their local environment, since the general consensus seemed to be that locals were not welcoming, therefore, were suspected to be very prejudiced.

Although it emerged that British Muslim families value residential clustering, for reasons of culture and tradition, familiarity, identity and security, the desire for separation from others is not self-evident. Their spatial segregation in poorer neighbourhoods largely reflects bounded choices, constrained by structural disadvantage, inequalities in the housing market (past and present), worries about racism, and . . . racial harassment (Phillips 2006: 34).

Despite the Racial Equality Commission issued a Code of Practice to presage employers of using word of mouth recruitment as it may be affected by race (Ashiagbor, 1999), there was a sense that furthestmost job opportunities were only available to people who were already known. For instance one of the participants shared a case of the unfair recruitment system while she was working as a youth worker for the local authority in the North East, her line manager had told her

that she had been appointed for a new role; however, the job still was advertised and some people went through formal interview process. Through focus group discussions several of the concerns emerged that was related to culture of the language and referred to the communication patterns and the culture of language that have a substantial impact in job interviews, which is palpably more significant for new arrivals.

Findings

Through this research it emerged that economic independence and high educational aspiration was highly regarded by these women. Meanwhile, the sense of not being accepted and the lack of recognition of their skills, qualifications and experiences seemed very frustrating. Making natural social connections was one of the issues that ethnic minorities, especially first-generation Muslim women migrants, had encountered. The wider society has not shown welcoming signals to them; therefore, the sense of rejection from the indigenous “white” community had been widely sensed and explored by all the women participating in the research. This study shows that ethnic minority women, especially those who are visibly Muslim, despite holding high qualifications and considerable work experience in other countries, are still not have the equal opportunity to get integrated in British labour market, as evidence one of the cases was a dentist from Syria who had nearly 10 years training, yet she could not get through the system. Thus, through discussion groups the research has discovered that social ladders for Muslim women are not available certainly and this caused a huge frustration. It was discussed that Muslim names and appearance play as undesirable role in getting job interview. Despite equal opportunities policies, discrimination in the recruiting system exists in many places and has been covered up in undetectable ways. The current recruitment system in the labour market will lead to further marginalization of ethnic minority women with an Islamic heritage, thus excluding a very diverse ethnicity. Visible Muslim women were perceived as strangers in the West through cultural racism, emphasised in the labour market, moreover it seemed to be a rejection of recruiting Muslim women with visibility of their clothing, resulting in a form of indirect discrimination.

It was surprising that the vast majority of research participants agreed that the following issues are their main obstacles: lack of child care support, financial hardship, college and university fees, lack of confidence as a result of a lack of knowledge about available services, a demand for practical support, a necessity to develop language skills; moreover, it is worth mentioning that lack of familiarity with completing job applications and lack of knowledge of interview techniques were crucial obstacles. The research participants expressed their desire of support for a transformation of practice and the implementation of “Equal Opportunities” policies in a tangible system.

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Conclusion

The research explores the ways that these women negotiate their multiple identities through work and their engagement in the workplace. Furthermore, it argues that their professional skills and aspirations have been denied by dearth of opportunity. Nevertheless, discriminatory and unfavourable attitudes existing in the labour market lead to exclusion, marginalisation and lack of opportunity to integrate positively. This research will provide an insight into race, gender migration and the labour market in Britain. Respondents considered this research a definite approach for conveying their voices; besides they expressed their expectation to create a number of transformations in recruitment system of the British labour market.

It is worth mentioning that there is a lack of access to mentoring, career advice and provision; moreover, it is required to certify the inclusion of visibly Muslim women in the labour market. the intersect discriminatory of ethnic minority women specifically Muslim women with visibility of their identity had intensified to the destructive stereotyping and racial gendering , furthermore, growing gendered Islamophobia . It has been proven through the empirical research that despite the fact Muslim women have been proactive in various ways; yet, there is not adequate provision to award them an effective level of recognition. Moreover, the very low level of empathetic of cultural and religious beliefs and practices requires to be tackled through further significant engagement with Muslim women.

Since there is a limitation of the study; further qualitative and quantitative research on Muslim women and the labour market in Britain might support to provide further detailed information on this subject.

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Social and Cultural Tensions of Afghan Refugee Women in Iran

Case study: Second generation of Afghan refugees in Mashad

MOHAMMAD REEVANY BUSTAMI, FARZANEH SAJADPOUR, MOHAMMAD PARHAM

Abstract

Large scale immigration of Afghans after "Sor" revolution in 1979 to Iran which was at the same time undergoing a reconstruction and redefinition in its political and social structures, created a new challenge and tension in social and economical domain. Although the first generation of Afghans in Iran had a better situation, due to ever increasing number of immigrants in the eastern cities nearby Afghan borders, Iran with the help of Immigration Organization of the UN organized entry and exit of Afghans, and also issued entrance card and work permit. Along with this and after the defeat of Taliban with the help of some international organizations, there was a great effort to facilitate the return of the Afghans to their home country. But what happened in these three decades was the emergence of a second generation of Afghan immigrants who had no idea of their mother land except for some bits of information through their parents and relatives. Obviously the cultural and social challenges of the second generation of Afghan women are greater than those of the men of their age. This is due to the dominance of the patriarchy in Afghanistan which is handed down to the new generation through families and the relatives which is in conflict with the host country traditions where women have a relatively freer lifestyle. In this study, the Afghan women and girls born in Mashhad are studied using some research methods such as structured interview. Based on the results of this study, the social and cultural problems of the second generation of Afghan women can be divided into two categories; first, cultural problems resulting from the cultural norms and conventions imposed upon them by Afghan families; second, the problems caused by the Iranian social structure. The second type has subcategories including problems due to the social structure of Mashhad and also the problems due to immigration rules and regulations in Iran. In addition, the result of the study shows that Afghan girls in social interactions and cultural exchanges with the Iranian society have more problems when compared with Afghan boys.

Key words: *Afghan immigrant women, second generation of immigrants, cultural barriers, social barriers*

Introduction

The two countries of Iran and Afghanistan have had a great number of cultural and structural similarities for ages. The occurrence of revolution in 1979 in both countries is also one of the similar cases that greatly influenced the future course of the two countries. While the Islamic Republic revolution got victory in February, 1979, nine months before that in April 1978, the Sor Revolution of Afghanistan with the support of the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics in this country had been able to dethrone the president of the country, Muhammad Davoud Khan establishing a secular state. In fact, 'before the communist revolution 600 000 Afghans had been working in Iran, while after the revolution about 6 million Afghans migrated to Iran' (Johnson 2002 p. 70). 'Anyway the existing differences in the structure of the Islamic government in Iran and the

neighboring communist government provided unique conditions that in fact became the basis for conflicts and future interaction between them especially in relation to women questions' (Moghadam 1999 p.173).

The Islamic revolutionaries in Iran had people's support. Although there were differences and clashes among them from the beginning, they finally managed to take control of affairs by forming a transient government. The war between Iran and Iraq also made this unity and solidarity stronger. On the other hand, the leftist government of Afghanistan was severely challenged from the very beginning with widespread objections of people and Mujahidin. Besides, military conflicts in different areas forced Afghans to inevitably start migrating to Iran. In the meantime, some Afghan migrants were more inclined to move to Iran because they were closer to the dominant majority of Iranian religiously. Hazarehs, Torkamans and Tajiks of Afghanistan migrated to Iran and Pashtoons migrated to Pakistan. During the 1980s, Iran warmly welcomed Afghan migrants and called them its religious brothers. What forced Afghans to migrate was not only war but also reform policies of the communist government which were not so pleasing to them. These policies and reforms were made in some articles of the constitution that were culturally very vital to the Afghans.

'Amendment of 'bride price' law with the implicit aim of ultimately removing it from the constitution destroyed the complete system of exchanging women as goods and according to Afghans it decreased the value of family. In addition, the mandatory literacy law for women was confronted with resistance. Some refugees claimed that they left the country because of that law'.(Gordooz 2000 p. 35).

In fact, one of Afghans' important reasons for leaving the country was their dignity and face which were jeopardized mandatory education. Interesting in Iran, this viewpoint gradually changed so that at present one of Afghans' main demands is for their children to continue their studies in Iranian schools including girls.

The second wave of Afghans' migration to Iran started during "Taliban Islamic State" and related domestic conflicts. Taliban's Islamic fundamentalism and their tough and strict rules regarding women caused some Afghans to migrate to Iran. After US and its allies invasion of Afghanistan after September 11th, another wave of migration started. In all three migration waves , women could be seen as prominent and effective factors in migration process. In the epoch of communists' rule, Afghans migrated to Iran to avoid sending women and girls to public places and schools. During Taliban's rule for escaping wild killings and access to hygienic facilities for women migrations to Iran increased dramatically. The third wave of migration occurred for protecting people from war fatalities which forced Afghan women to migrate to Iran whereas one of America and its allies' motives to invade Afghanistan was to bring 'peace, security , democracy , development and freedom' (Rostami 2007 p. 1, Moghadam 2005 p. 227).

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Statement of the problem

The Afghan women's status has been created by a patriarchal system that has severely surrounded their individual and social identities. Tradition and religion as two important factors produce Afghan women in a social process and offer them dignity and identity. 'In so far as patriarchal traditions in covert and overt ways short circuit the realization of rights consigning women to secondary status(Yulina 1993 p.60). Of course, open social action space provided for Iranian women has influenced the behaviors and viewpoints of Afghan families in their social interactions.

The second and third generation of girls and women having been born in Iran or having spent a major part of their life in this country share more cultural similarities with Iranian women and girls of their own generation, though as usual the primary power sources in family put pressure on them, the second generation of Afghan men treat females with more tolerance in their communications. Furthermore, some of Afghan girls have been able to study in Iranian schools or private Afghan schools and even some have studied at Iran's universities. This has caused them to put their wants along with Iranian women's demands in line with achieving personal and social freedoms. But a great number of complaints from Afghan women are always expressed in mass media or virtual space showing problems migrant Afghan women always confront. But where is the origin of these tensions? Can we find these roots inside the cultural and social structure of migrant Afghan society in Iran or the migrant-accepting society has created problems for this group of migrants? In this article, it is attempted to examine the sources and origins of these social and cultural tensions.

Research Method

This research has been done with an anthropological approach using interview as a main tool in "Golshahr" neighborhood of Mashhad. The qualitative and interpretive approach of this research assisted in conducting an in-depth study of the field. Fifteen single Afghan girls were selected with snowball-sampling method and each was interviewed independently for about 90 minutes. The interview questions were designed in three parts initiated by identification questions and continued with topical questions in two parts. The research findings have been designed, classified and interpreted based on the designed questions.

General Characteristics of the Society

According to the report of UNHCR, Pakistan was host to the largest number of refugees worldwide (1.7 million) followed by the Islamic Republic of Iran (1.1 million) (UNHCR 2009). But Iran Statistics Center has reported that the number of Afghan migrants in Iran in 2011 was 1,452,513

(ISC 2011). Afghans have dwelled in different cities in full freedom, but the greatest number of them is now living in Tehran and Khorasan Razavi provinces. On the average, 463190 Afghans have dwelled in Tehran province and 205859 in Khorasan Razavi. The capital of Khorasan Razavi is Mashhad where the Holy Shrine of Imam Reza ,the eighth Shiite Imam, is located. This has granted Mashhad a kind of spiritual centrality. It is also home to the greatest number of Afghan migrants in the province. The majority of Afghans in Mashhad are from Hazareh ethnicity and they are Shiite. Hazarehs, the third largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, live in Hazarejat. From a religion perspective, they feel more intimate with Iranian Shiites. Of course Pashtoons and Tajiks also live in Mashhad. From linguistic point of view, Hazarehs speak Farsi with a Dari accent which is called Afghan dialect in Mashhad. This accent, in general, is of great similarity with Farsi spoken in Khorasan, therefore there are no major communicative problems between Afghans and Mashhadi speakers.

In this research the habitants of Golshahr district have been studied where middle or worker classes live. Generally Afghans live in this district or other places close to it, but this area is also known as “Kabolestan” due to the large number of Afghans living there. According to the research done by Jamshdiha and Babaei in this region, the population of Afghans amounts to three hundred thousand with sixty thousand households (1381 p.73).

Interviewees’ Characteristics

The girls being studied in this research include 15 singles ranging from 16 to 22 years of age. They were all selected from Golshahr district. Four of them have spent a part of their childhood in Afghanistan and other eleven girls were born in Iran. One of them was born in Tehran, another was born in Ghom and nine others were born in Mashhad. Of the four girls born in Afghanistan, only one has migrated to Iran after the age of ten. All of these girls have come to Mashhad with their families or one of their parents and they currently live with their families. Eleven of these girls finished elementary school, one finished junior high school, two finished high school, one studied at post diploma level and one at under graduate level. Only one of them is now studying at a university. She also has an Iranian birth certificate whereas others were only permitted to live in Iran (there is the possibility that some have denied the truth because of fear from creating a problem due to illegal entry and stay in Iran). Two of the girls have Iranian mothers and an Afghan father, but they didn’t have birth certificates like other girls.

Concerning jobs and income, only four had independent income. The jobs of these four are also not of high- economic income: one is a secretary in a doctor’s office, one is a seasonal worker of tomato-paste factory, one is a tailor and one is a seller in her father’s grocery store in Tollab district near Golshahr. The average income of the girls’ parents is between 3000000 to 7000000 Rials per month. Only one of the girls expressed that her father has an income above 15 million Rials .This girl was the only person having an Iranian birth certificate, but she didn’t deny that she was Afghan.

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Research questions

What are the social and cultural problems that Afghan girls face in Iran?

Has the immigrant acceptor society created these social and cultural problems for immigrants?

Has the patriarchal and traditionalist systems of Afghans had any impact in creating social and cultural tensions for Afghan girls?

Research findings

Achieving the trust of Afghan girls is relatively a difficult task because their own distance from others has always been a barrier in their minds. In answering the research questions, this was very problematic. But after establishing trust and communication and being assured about lack of danger they warmly answered the questions. According to research tensions, the presence of social and cultural tensions among immigrant Afghan girls in Iran is obvious. These tensions, in general, could be classified into two categories: 1-intra-group tensions (migrant society) 2- inter –group tensions (migrant-accepting society).

I. Intra-group tensions

Intra-group tensions reflect cultural problems and obstacles that Afghan families create for their daughters. These problems could also be classified into two parts: A- problems resulting from a patriarchal system. B- problems resulting from racial and ethnical relations.

In the first aspect, the hierarchy of power distribution depicts more hidden, deep and invisible aspects of violence, especially in kinship systems through internalizing the norms relating to power relationships by family members. All of these fifteen individuals expressed that at least once in life they experienced home violence. This violence was exerted from kinship power holders including father, brother, husband, uncle and nephew or the rest of second–grade relatives. In this realm, physical violence has also been reported. All these girls acknowledged that their fathers and brothers control their behaviors very severely; even their mothers assist them in so doing and report to their brothers and fathers. Halimeh aged seventeen remembered a very painful thing. She was 12 years old when she was severely punished because she went to her Iranian neighbor who was at the same age as her. She showed the symptom of a burn on her arm that her father has done by a skewer to punish her.

The girls believed that their fathers are the main decision makers in all their life affairs and their mothers are less involved in important affairs. The importance of elder brothers or even brothers at the same age is too much emphasized in decision-making and punishing girls. Zeinab, whose father was killed in a battle with Taliban, says that her brother being one year younger than

her always threatens and bothers her. Though Azadeh is studying at a post diploma level, she says that she always has conflicts with her elder brother. She expresses that it is about a year she is not in talking terms with her brother and the cause of this problem is her interest in a boy and her desire to make friends with him. Najibeh says that her mother hits her more than her father. According to her due to their awful economical situation, her mother has lost her psychological balance and even for minor things such as doing household chores with delay she punishes her and her sister by slippers or a hose.

None-physical violence also constitutes part of violence against Afghan girls. The whole 15 individuals believe that they are confronted with this violence at least once a day. This kind of violence is not only from father or brothers, it also covers the rest of male relatives or even males in the neighborhood. Rahil mentions verbal violence as the only type of violence having been imposed on her as an adolescent. Sarcasm and insults by family members or non-Afghans have bothered her. All of these 15 individuals have confronted verbal violence at least once because of being Afghan and only one has experienced physical violence by Iranian children.

The second type of tensions comes from ethnical and racial relations bringing a kind of violence with them. These kinds of violence are very common among Afghans because of intra-group conflicts. For instance, Pashtoons and Tajiks feel a kind of ethnical superiority over Hazarehs. In spite of these facts, several unconscious tendencies are observable among some individuals to racially overlook or insult teenagers belonging to Hazareh ethnicity. They are generally isolated bringing limitation to their intra-group relations. Of course this problem is less seen especially among girls in the society studied where Hazarehs formed the majority and Tajiks and Pashtoons the minority. The conflicts among boys are seen in the form of physical violence and ethnical arguments that sometimes involve parents and close relatives too.

II. Inter-group tensions

Inter-group tensions also consists of internal classifications including problems emanating from Mashhad's social structures and the problems resulting from the conditions of refugee regulations in Iran.

Mashhad as an immigrant-accepting city hosting immigrants from different regions of Iran has accepted lots of migrants. In addition to this, a great number of Iraqi and Afghan people live in this city. One of the important reasons for Mashhad's being migrant-accepting is the city's religious centrality for Shiites. Hosting Imam Reza's shrine and the large number of pilgrims to this city have bestowed Mashhad unique characteristics.

From the very far past, Afghans were also coming to this city for business. After the nationalization of oil industry and Iran's being put in development course, Afghans entered Iran for employment. But massive migration of Afghans to this city at the time of Iraq and Iran war which caused too many economic pressures on Iranians worsened the cultural conditions. The term "Afghani", considered as a kind of insult formed in oral literature of Mashhad citizens and defined

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their social relations with Afghans as a kind of superior to inferior view. Although specialist Afghans also had entered Mashhad, but according to people's views Afghans are defined as workers from lower classes with unhealthy social relations. It is obvious that women in this framework are more vulnerable than men.

The Afghan girls studied in this research were annoyed by not being socially accepted by Iranians. These girls that speak with a dialect close to Mashhadi dialect and even Tehrani which is considered to be of a higher social class, have acknowledged that in daily interactions they avoid to introduce themselves as an Afghan at first. Just one of them in answering this question that if an Iranian asks you where you are from, what your answer would be. She said she would introduce herself as an Afghan. The interesting point is that only this person had an Iranian birth certificate. The girls believed that if it was necessary or they knew that the person would have a stable relation with them in the future, they would definitely say their nationality, but in transient and temporary interactions they are more inclined to introduce themselves as Mashhadi to avoid being insulted or humiliated.

Concerning opposite sex relations and making friends with Mashhadi boys, almost all of the fifteen girls were inclined to make friends with them and even getting married with Iranian boys but they also know the problems due to this kind of marriages. Three of these girls said that their fathers would never agree with their marriage to an Iranian and even they were threatened to death by their parents. Seven girls believed that there might be conditions for marriage, although this would be confronted with lots of barriers. One of these girls that had an Iranian boyfriend, in spite of personal inclination to get married with this boy regarded the disagreements of both families as the greatest barrier.

Concerning clothing and hijab, these girls are similar to Iranian girls of their own age. Inclination to use cosmetics and makeup is seen among them, even if the quality of the goods they use is not so good.

An important part of Afghan girls' problems in Iran is migration regulations which are implemented for Afghans in particular. Not being allowed to attend Iranian schools is one of the most important problems for these girls. Benevolent and educated Afghans have founded schools in resident houses in Golshahr neighborhood. Naturally the lack of knowledgeable teachers in these schools at all levels is the main reason which prevents girls to continue their studies. Some affluent Afghan families send their daughters to private schools by paying tuition fees though in an Afghan family, boys always have priority over girls for education. Still some schools are co-education therefore parents do not allow their daughters to attend such schools. One of the problems of Afghan girls born in Iran is to temporarily return to their country and come back. The special law for Afghan immigrants confirms that if a person is born in Iran and travels to Afghanistan even for one time they would not be legally allowed to live in Iran. Also those who have lived in Iran for

twenty years or more are subject to this law. Afghan girls consider this as a case of violation of their human rights. Although the general picture of the current situation in Afghanistan is not so good but to visit the motherland and relatives is a right that has been denied to Afghan girls which produces a kind of nostalgia for them. Being deprived of the right to purchase residential property, not being allowed to have a bank account and the lack of jobs in governmental organizations or ban on investment in Iran are some cases mentioned by Afghan girls.

Conclusion

Afghan girls are familiar strangers who are not considered Iranian in the formal definitions in Iran, and their only clue to their motherland is their parents who have migrated to Iran for better life conditions. The girls in the process of representing the structure of power relations between parents and children are captivated by the traditions of the country, Afghanistan, but they live in a country where women's rights activists are trying to fight violence against women as an important goal.

The source of inspiration for this structured power is the social and cultural background of parents who are still looking back to the motherland. In addition to this new resource of power, new sources have been created for redefining parents- children relations under the influence of Iranian and global cultures. But this structure tries to maintain its ethnic identity and separates itself from the dominant majority to the extent that it presents its own identity.

Social and cultural tensions emanating from the Iranian culture has created a paradoxical situation for Afghani girls: a defensive position and the position of attraction. In the defensive position they try to challenge assimilation and being overlooked by the majority. There can be seen a kind of exaggeration to highlight Afghan culture. Afghan girls take a defensive position when they feel they are culturally superior to others and when their own culture is either threatened or insulted. The status of attraction would take place when gaining profit or closeness and assimilation is taken into consideration. Having a higher social prestige of being Iranian is heavily involved in this process. This has forced Afghan girls born in Iran to have a greater tendency to follow and model Iranian girls. In addition to this, Afghan girls experience more difficulties compared to boys in social actions and cultural interactions with Iranian society so that the tendency to converge and culturally integrate into the host society are observed more among girls than among first generation of refugees and men. This is obvious in the discourses of these girls.

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PART 6

MASCULINITIES, SEXUALITIES AND MIGRATION- NATION, PUBLIC SPACES AND WOMEN MIGRANTS' IDENTITIES

The Impact of Absent Males on Women Left Behind in Rural Morocco

MOHAMMED YACHOULTI

Abstract

Male absence in some remote conservative regions in Morocco as a result of the consistent flows of migration triggers dramatic changes in the life of women left behind. Despite the limited benefits migration offers them, women left behind, namely wives, find their destiny under a double-aged sword. In fact, the absence of the husband obliges them either to seek protection within the extended family circle or risk their social identity in a very intolerant patriarchal culture. Drawing on materials gathered through questionnaires and interviews, this paper focuses on the experiences women of left behind as a result of the absence of their male counterparts; feelings of loneliness, consistent fear of the controlling eyes of the community, burdens of household management and most importantly the necessity of maintaining honor are all facets of continuous problems that women left behind are doomed to suffer under the absence of a protecting male. Actually, the importance of this study stems from the fact that it would set the ball rolling for further research on the subject in a context where access to such a category of women is very hard if not impossible. Also, bringing such an issue to the surface would help in understanding the multilayered impacts of migration and its potential solutions.

Keywords: Morocco, outmigration, gender, left behind women

1. Introduction: a review of literature

Since its independence in the 1956, Morocco has emerged as one of the world's leading emigration countries. Moroccan immigrants form the largest immigrant communities dispersed all over the world especially in Europe⁴⁶. This fact has triggered much research on the push-pull

46- HEIN, de Haas (2005). 'Morocco's migration transition: Trends, determinants and future scenarios'. Retrieved from <http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/> on April 1st, 2013

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factors, regions of origins, targets of destination and the benefits of outmigration on local development. Interestingly enough, despite the huge literature on outmigration in Morocco, the impact of outmigration of men on women left behind received little attention. In other words, research and studies conducted on outmigration in Morocco have often overlooked the gender dimension. So far, a few studies are considered to pioneer research in this regard. The first attempt is pioneered by the two Moroccan scholars Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji while the other one is by Hein de Haas and Aleida van Rooij⁴⁷. Sadiqi and Ennaji inaugurated their research on women left behind by male migrants with their first article titled “The impact of Male migration from Morocco to Europe: a gender approach”⁴⁸. In this article, the authors report the ambivalent and sometimes paradoxical situation of women left behind by male migrants in Morocco. For them, these women are both empowered by their new condition and disempowered by their social condition and lack of facilities. They argue that left behind women find themselves burdened with the responsibility of catering for the household, maintaining the family honor and raising children. In 2008, both scholars published a book entitled *Migration and Gender in Morocco: The Impact of Migration on Women Left Behind*⁴⁹. The book was the fruit of a survey on Moroccan international migration and its impact on Moroccan society as a whole and on the women left behind in particular. Specifically, chapter eight of the book titled ‘the impact of migration on women left behind’ is devoted to investigating the effects of migration on the women left behind and the various roles these women play in preserving the socioeconomic structure of the family in the north and central regions of Morocco. In this book, Sadiqi and Ennaji conclude that despite their good relationship with their extended families and male migrants, women left in rural areas live under difficult circumstances. This is mainly due to the lack of job opportunities in rural areas.

Hein de Haas and Aleida van Rooij visited the south of Morocco between 1999 and 2005 and conducted a research on women left behind in the *Todgha* valley. This part of Morocco is known by the high levels of males’ outmigration to Europe. During the term of their fieldwork,

⁴⁷-The first author is the Co-Director of the International Migration Institute (IMI) of the Department of International Development and the University of Oxford while the second author is from Avans University of Applied Science, Tilburg, the Netherlands.

⁴⁸ - SADIQI, Fatima & ENNAJI, Moha (2004) ‘The Impact of Male Migration from Morocco to Europe on Women: A Gender Approach’. *Finisterra*, XXXIX, 77, pp. 59-76. Retrieved from <http://www.ceg.ul.pt/finisterra/numeros/pdf> on March 3rd, 2005

⁴⁹ - SADIQI, Fatima & ENNAJI, Moha (2008) *Migration and Gender in Morocco: the impact of migration on women left behind*, Trenton: The Red Sea Press, Inc.

they came to the conclusion that the dramatic changes in the life of women (and men) living in the *Todgha* in terms of access to education, marriage and fertility level were not a direct result of internal and international migration. In their analysis, they showed that “such changes have primarily been part of general processes of social, cultural and economic change”⁵⁰. On the other hand, they noticed that the nature of changes in gender relationships related to migration and the responsibilities and power gained by women quickly disappear when their husbands come back and get back to their traditional patriarchal role within the family and the community.

Against this backdrop, the aim of this paper is to highlight some of the key issues and concerns in relation to the impact of absent males on women left behind in rural Morocco. The paper starts with a general overview on Moroccan migration which results in the long absence of males. It proceeds by drawing a brief socio-cultural and economic profile of the region to be studied. The aim is to understand the value accorded to masculinity in this part of the world. The third section of this paper identifies the data collection instruments used to investigate the issue under study. The paper ends by analyzing the impact of males’ absence on women left behind.

Moroccan Migration: a general overview

In Morocco, the process of migration has undergone diverse changes through ages. Its dynamics, being internal or external, have usually responded to national and international socio-economic and political imperatives⁵¹; that is, flows of Moroccan migration predated Second World War and have ever since been characterized by a diversity of motivations and destinations. This paper focuses on migration dynamics of Morocco from 1960s onwards. The reason for this is linked to the fact that flows of migration of the time witnessed a significant increase, change of intentions from being a temporary movement to a permanent one and by a diversity of destinations. Moroccan outmigration could be categorized into four stages.

From 1960 to 1970: the first flows of migrants

During the 1960s and early 1970s, a number of European countries such as France, the Netherlands and Belgium opened their doors widely to Moroccan migrants; they recruited thousands of unskilled Moroccan workers to solve the then problem of labor. At the time, the

⁵⁰- HEIN, de Haas & ALEIDA, van Rooij (2010) ‘Migration as Emancipation? The Impact of Internal and International Migration on the Position of Women Left Behind in Rural Morocco’. *Oxford developmental studies*, Routledge, 38:1, pp. 43-62. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs> on April 4th , 2013

⁵¹- SADIQI, Fatima & ENNAJI, Moha (2004), Op,cit

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recruitments were in tune with the Moroccan government strategy of dealing with high rates of unemployment and benefiting from migrants' remittances. The latter were greatly needed to reduce the balance of payment deficit⁵². Also, immediately after independence, migration from the Northern regions of Morocco, namely from the Rif mountains, was greatly encouraged partly because of region's opposition to the regime (Makhzen)⁵³ and partly because of its restricted economic possibilities. In other words, the Rif region, along with the southern areas around Agadir known as Sous, were and still are referred to as "le Maroc inutile" (useless Morocco) as their agriculture is very poor.

From the mid-1970 to 1980: European countries change of policies

From the mid-1970s, host European countries started to recognize the necessity of reconsidering their labor importing policies for many reasons;

They realized that they recruit and encompass a great number of migrants who are either unable or unwilling to integrate.

The European countries have become more interested in the Eastern European migrants rather than North African ones.

The oil price crisis of the early 1970s and the consequences of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war had a bearing on the change of labor importing policy. For example, France maintained its door open to Moroccan migration but because of the oil crisis recognized the importance of high levels of remittances transferred abroad. Therefore, it passed a law that encouraged family reunification hoping that more money would stay in France. Subsequently, despite its encouragement of family reunification, France, along with other host countries moved to put up with labor importing policies and imposing what is called "visa".

⁵² - ROB, van Der Erf & LIESBETH, Herring (August 2002). *Moroccan Migration Dynamics: Prospects for the Future*. Switzerland: IOM.

⁵³ - *Makhzen* is a concept associated with an Archaic and a hermetic mode of governing that resist democracy. It has been a factor of stability in Morocco. Because its deeply embedded in Moroccan society, it has served as very sophisticated mean of distributing wealth and power by using clientelism and in keeping Moroccan people loyal to the throne

As a result of these restrictive measures, an important number of Moroccan migrants targeted countries of the Maghreb especially Libya that had bilateral accords with Morocco⁵⁴.

From 1980s to mid-1990s: the results of the new restrictions on outmigration

In addition to the imposition of the “visa” by the host countries in Europe, procedures to leave the Moroccan territory were very restricted by the Moroccan government. The process of getting one’s passport and the necessary credentials to leave the country were becoming complex and intrusive. Moroccans, namely Muslims, had to prove that they had a minimum income to obtain their passports and a kind of “security clearance” was required so that one would be allowed to cross the frontiers. Moreover, several hierarchal elements of the Moroccan state were involved in the process; the provincial, to facilitate rapid delivery of passport, the “arrondissement” to obtain certificates of residence, the “Sureté Nationale” to speed up the police of investigation, and finally the border police and customs services. All these processes to obtain one’s passport were both time and money consuming. From 1990 onward, the process of obtaining one’s passport has become very easy but unfortunately it did not help in facilitating the process of outmigration because of the imposition of the visa.

The above mentioned obstacles have resulted in the phenomenon of illegal migration. Indeed, over the last two decades, this phenomenon has intensified and has been encouraged by clandestine European and Maghrebi traffickers. Moroccan cities such Tangier, Nador, Agadir, Assila, Laayoun constitute the focal points of illegal migrants targeting Europe. In Moroccan culture, illegal migration is referred to in the local variety by the word “hrig” meaning ‘burning’. The word is highly symbolic; it implies that the migrants burn their past and credentials in Morocco and start off their journey to a potential ‘elderado’. Illegal migrants usually cross the 15kms separating Morocco from Europe on small boats called in standard Arabic as “qawarib al maout” meaning “boats of death”, because most of these boats end up drowned in the Atlantic ocean or caught by the Spanish customs or police and brought back to the country of origin. For example, in 2003, more than 22.230 illegal Moroccan migrants were returned to Moroccan within the framework of the 1992 Treaty signed by the Moroccan and Spanish governments and giving the Spanish authorities the right to send back any illegal Moroccan migrant to his/her country.

From the mid-1990s to the present times: the development of a culture of Migration in Morocco

Poverty, successive years of drought, the increasing rates of unemployment, the prevalence of administrative corruption added to the radical changes that characterize Moroccan migrants

⁵⁴ - SADIQ, Fatima & ENNAJI, Moha (2004), Op,cit.

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living abroad namely in Europe (usually coming back with nice cars and enough money to buy or construct houses and spend a good holiday) are all elements that have contributed in the last recent years to construct a culture that favors migration within the Moroccan community. “The main characteristics of such a culture is that migration is an accepted and desirable method for achieving social and economic mobility, a higher income and an improved life style which cannot be sustained exclusively by dependence on local resources”⁵⁵.

Migration has become deeply ingrained in the repertoire of Moroccans’ behavior and the values associated with migration have become part of the community’s values and norms. Now, despite the economic crisis affecting European countries, a significant number of young Moroccans do not consider other options of job opportunities that may be available in Morocco; they still rather expect and aspire to immigrate to Europe as part of the normal course or path that would make life conditions easier. In sum, migration in Morocco is no longer a mere temporary phenomenon but has become an important element of local culture.

Before identifying the data-collection instruments and analyzing the impact of migration on women left behind, the following section draws a brief socio-cultural and economic profile of the area to be studied.

Ribat el Kheir: a socio-cultural and economic profile

Ribat el Khier is a small village situated at the heart of the Middle Atlas Mountains; it is 75 km North East of Fez. In the Moroccan community and specifically in Ribat el Kheir, social organization is built on a rigid patriarchal system. A woman is defined in relation to man, as his daughter, sister, wife or mother and her social position is derived and dependent upon his⁵⁶. She is also defined by her association with reproduction and domestic chores. Women’s interaction with the other sex is usually within home and restricted only to male family relatives; any contact with men outside the family circle is looked upon as an inappropriate behavior. Also, gender division of space is asymmetrical; Men have more space at their disposal than women; hence it is easier for men

⁵⁵ - Faist 2000 in ROB, van Der Erf & LIESBETH, Herring (August 2002), Op,cit, p. 24.

⁵⁶ - SCHAFER, Davis (1988) *Patience and Power: Women’s Lives in Moroccan Villages*. Rochester: Schenkman Books

to cross the boundaries of male and female domains than vice versa⁵⁷. Women's space is marked by distinctive gender practices. Ideally, a woman in Moroccan community in general and in Ribat el Kheir in particular is an excellent house-keeper, a virtuous wife and a devoted mother. While her activity is restricted to home, her father or husband deals with the outside world⁵⁸. He is the protector and provider for his women⁵⁹. Usually, women who cross gender boundaries by doing things a "proper" woman should not do are redefined and classified as "not descent". In a word, it may be argued that masculinity and femininity are polarized and diametrically opposed in Ribat el Kheir. Masculinity is looked upon as woman's social security, whereas femininity is associated with subordination that needs male protection

In Ribat el Kheir, agriculture is the most dominant activity; 80% of population lives on it. However, long successive years of drought affected agriculture very negatively, a fact which made men no longer able to support themselves and their families through farming. Added to this are the deteriorating infrastructure and the total absence of local factories that could absorb the increasing numbers of unemployed youth. As a result, the male youth of the region move elsewhere to look for alternative sources of employment. They often seek to migrate either to Europe through signing work contract or in most cases pay high sums of money to clandestine traffickers. Others join the army in other cities of the country. This movement of males from the town throughout the two last decades has resulted in what is now commonly known as the phenomenon of "wives/ women left behind".

This paper is an attempt to discuss the impact of male migration, whether internally or externally, on the wives left behind. It discusses the problems associated with this phenomenon and shows how the strong patriarchal system maintains itself in such circumstances through the transfer of wives' control from the husband to close male family relatives. I start with a description of the research methodology I used.

⁵⁷ - MARJO, Buitelaar "Public Baths as Private Places". In ASK, Karin & TJOMSLAND, Marit. (Eds) (1998) *Women and Islamization: Contemporary Dimensions of Discourse on Gender Relations*. pp. 103-123. Oxford & New York: Antony Rowe Ltd.

⁵⁸ - SCHAFER, Davis. (1988), Op, cit

⁵⁹ - Ibid

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Methodology of Research: identifying data-collection instruments

This paper is based on the data collected in the summers of 2004 and 2005. The data collected were part of a large fieldwork on migration and gender in Morocco conducted by Professor Fatima Sadiqi and Professor Moha Ennaji⁶⁰. The research sought to trace Moroccan international migration and its impact on Moroccan society as a whole and on the women left behind in particular. Master students of gender studies program (coordinated by both professors) in the 2004-2006 academic years at Mohammed Ben Abdellah University, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Dhar el Mahraz, Fez were involved in this research project by being charged of investigating the impact of men on women left behind in their hometowns or cities. They were asked to submit research papers on the topic as part of the requirements of the first year of the program. Being a student in the program, a native of Ribat el Kheir town and a son of an ex- left behind wife (my mother has now joined my father in the Netherlands in the form of family reunification), I committed myself to seeking to obtain a consistent degree of truthfulness. Therefore, I made use of three instruments of data collection. These are distributed as follows

The questionnaire

The questionnaire was used as an attempt to draw “a configuration of control” that would reveal some insights concerning the status of women in the absence of their male counterparts. The questionnaire was written in English and then translated into Standard Arabic. The form of the questionnaire consisted of an opening statement and a note in which informants were thanked in advance for their help and cooperation. Then different questions were asked. I distributed 40 questionnaires; however, the returning rate was only 29 (72, 5%). Still, this rate was very revealing as it offered me valuable data concerning the issue under investigation.

Interviews

The second type of data collection techniques is interviews. In fact, this technique concerned illiterate informants who constituted (76, 47 % of my informants) and was based on the questions of the questionnaire. Because of the conservatism displayed by the majority of the families and

⁶⁰ - Both scholars are senior Professors of Linguistics and Gender Studies at the University of Fez. They have many publications in this regard. They were also coordinators of gender studies Master and Doctoral programs at the same university from 2002 to 2006. The programs they coordinated included other research projects such as gender and media and gender and politics, among others.

therefore the difficulty if not the inability to access the targeted category of the informants, some female university students, to whom I am indebted, were very helpful in this process. They interviewed this category and filled in the questionnaire. Firstly, they explained the aim behind such an interview and the content of the topic then moved to ask the questions either in Moroccan Arabic or Tamazight as the main spoken varieties in the region.

Also, I had the chance to tape-record the responses of two female informants in Tamazight variety. These two informants raised the total number into 31 respondents.

Participant Observation

During the process of collecting my data through distributing questionnaires and conducting interviews, I engaged myself spontaneously in discussions with natives namely university students, teachers and authorities of the region about the potential and living conditions of women left behind by male migrants. The participation in such discussions, added to my background as a native, was very beneficial because it revealed considerable information which was not mentioned in the two previous methods for one reason or another.

The Impact of Absent Males on Women Left Behind: Analysis of the Findings

Primary Observations

Grounded in the analysis of the data collected through the aforementioned instruments, absent males, in most of the time as a result of migration, proves to make considerable impact on women left behind. This impact is namely psychological and financial. However, before analyzing and discussing the accumulated data, it is worth mentioning some primary observations;

The majority of women left behind are illiterate. They constitute the rate of 76.47%. Informants with little education come in second position with a rate of 18%. This category dropped out of school to get married. Accordingly, in Ribat el Kheir community, because of the conservative ideologies that are still sustained, it is difficult for females to pursue higher education and a career, as it would damage more than enhance their status. Women's family background is privileged at the expense of education. In simple words, education and work endanger a girl's chances of marriage. Therefore, this obstacle of illiteracy makes these women unable to advance in the outside world and assume responsibility, a fact which enhances their confinement to their household. The remaining rate of women (5, 50%) claimed to have made it to the university. In fact, these women belong to a few privileged families in the town. These families are opened on the outside world and insist on the schooling of their children regardless of their gender.

The average number of children per a left wife/mother is almost 3. In fact, in Ribat el Kheir town, women's attitude towards child bearing is a matter of fate or what is called locally "lamktoub". This is true for most if not all women: fate determines the number of children.

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Most if not all women left behind are housewives. Indeed, locally, it is difficult for a left behind wife to work; she needs the permission of her husband and unfortunately all husbands refuse to give such permission, because it would, according to the local norms, dishonor them and challenge their dignity and masculinity. Another secondary reason why women do not easily seek employment outside home in the area is the difficulty and their inability to combine the outside work with the duties of a mother and a housewife. 5% of the informants said that they are self-employed. These women are those who work as modest tailors in their homes, do embroidery or try to raise some sort that of “livestock” on the roofs of their houses or in small huts outside the house, usually chickens or rabbits. These animals are usually sold in the weekly market “souq” of the town by the mother-in-law or most of the time eaten by the family.

Analysis and Discussion of the Data

In principle, one may assume that migration or the absence of males means more freedom and greater role in household decision-making for the wife left behind. Actually, in Ribat el Kheir community this is not the case. The absence of the husband transfers control of the wife to the extended male relatives. In other words, the migrant husband usually leaves his wife in the town under the protection and controlling eyes of his father or one of his married brothers. In the case of the absence or non-existence of these male relatives, the husband resorts to in-laws to take care of his wife. With this, patriarchy maintains itself through the transfer of control from the migrating husband to very close male relatives. These relatives usually take care of the family needs and other administrative businesses, including the schooling of children. They also, namely the father of husband, monitors and control the remittances of the husband if there are any. Furthermore, because sons usually serve as sources of revenue and support, their mothers insist on developing a mutual trust and strong relationships with them. With this, mothers are privileged to choose wives to their sons and later have some symbolic power over them once the sons are absent. In the case of children, wives acquire some power. However, such power remains very restricted to allow a full emancipation of women left behind.

Male absence triggers emotional distress for the left-behind women. Many of them reported their difficulty to cope emotionally with the absence of their husbands. In one of the two interviews I conducted a left behind wife said “the presence of my husband is much better than his absence; it saves me many problems outside and makes me feel more protected”. The controlling eyes of society and the existence of local gender biased norms make these women live in a permanent stress and feel vulnerable within the extended family circle. Continuous tensions within the family would put their marriage at risk and, therefore, further relegate them to margins of society as “undesired” women.

Maintaining honor of both the husband and the family is another burden added to the burdens of wives left behind. For example, an escort, usually the mother-in-law, a male relative or a

son, is needed to accompany the wife to do her shopping or visit relatives. The absence of such an escort would risk the wife not only her reputation but that of her husband and family as well.

The absence of the father has also a very important bearing on children. It prevents the kind of intimacy on which family relationships are built in the region. Many informants revealed at the end of the questionnaire that their young children find it very difficult to integrate with their fathers because of the long absence of the latter. To put it differently, the prolonged absence of the father widens the distance between him and his son or daughter and makes both parts live as strangers during the fathers' holidays. An informant said "during each vacation, my husband and his son live almost as strangers. It is until the end of the father's vacation that the son starts to integrate with him. This fact repeats itself whenever my husband visits us".

Conclusion

Trying to trace life experiences of left behind women when males migrate is a fascinating exercise. It reveals different impacts or drawbacks such a social phenomenon results in. The absence of the husband does not only create psychological problems to both his wife and children but transfers the control of the wife to a close male family relative, usually a brother or father of the husband, a fact which guarantees the survival of the patriarchal norms and values.

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Public Space through the Lens of Migrant Women: “To What Extent?”

MELİS OĞUZ- ÖZLEM ÖZÇEVİK

Abstract

The aim of this study is to understand the difficulties migrant women are facing within the city that they have migrated to and the barriers in front of their integration to the city. This study supports the idea that the real problem does not lie in “being alien” but in “remaining alien”. The social exclusion of women is inherently not just because they are alien to the city and its social, economic system or its physical structuring; but it is more about they remain alien to the city and all the processes related to it.

As important parameters to measure the level of integration to the city are public space use and urban mobility taken. Yet it is important to note that this study is not intended to prescribe how to plan for women, but the position supported here is, as Foley describes, “that to change the spatial situation one first has to change a-spatial (social) structures”.

The field study, which constitutes the first step of the PhD thesis undertaken by mix-social research methodologies, 600 women living in Kartal, Istanbul are being interviewed to put forth how they use the urban public spaces, how mobile they are in the city, what kind of barriers they have to face with, what are their special needs, etc. While discussing whether there are physical and social barriers limiting the movement of migrant women within the city or even on the neighborhood scale, factors such as public spaces and facilities, public transportation, transitional spaces, and production of public/private spaces are scrutinized. The presentation will be based on the key findings of the questionnaires, which will be presenting important data for the prospective steps of the action research and the contents of the workshops to be organized within the framework of this study.

Keywords: *public space, migrant women, Istanbul, Kurfali, inclusion*

Introduction

Rodrigues and Stoer state “You realize that people with special needs are not marginal: it is society which marginalizes them” (1996 as referenced in Geddes 2000, p. 790). A subliminal meaning hidden under this statement is that every group within the society with special needs may be subject to exclusion. Analyzing the migration flows to Istanbul, it can be seen that there are a lot of significant patterns about the changes in the city’s macro form, transportation networks, residential typologies, regeneration waves, and the capital movement along with new forms of poverty and new ways of exclusion. Women in Istanbul, especially migrant women, have been excluded from planning practices and policies; as they were physically-socially-economically limited within the territories of neighborhoods - as they were too “invisible” to plan for.

Especially in migrant groups who are strictly bound to patriarchal social norms, the social and economic integration of women to the city is difficult. On the other hand, women are one of the most significant actors in ensuring the social integration and development of the place attachment feelings; yet, the role of women in the migration process has usually been a neglected phenomenon (Pedraza, 1991). This research focuses on two parameters, use of public space and urban mobility, to measure the process of social inclusion of migrant women to the place of immigration.

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In the field study, on which this paper is based on, 594 women living in Kurfali, Kartal, have been questioned to put forth how they use the urban public spaces and how mobile they are in the city, as well as to understand what kind of barriers they face with and what their special needs are. This field study constitutes the first step of the PhD thesis “Knowledge Transfer and Exchange between Berlin and Istanbul: How to Increase Migrant Women’s Mobility” using mix-social research methodologies. In this paper, not all the finding of the questionnaire will be shared, but only the part which is related to the public space use of the questioned women. These key findings present important data for the prospective steps and the contents of the workshops to be organized within the framework of this study.

Research questions

As the main PhD study contains several steps and tries to transfer knowledge and experience to increase the public space use and urban mobility of women, a mix of various sociological research methodologies are being used. In each step of the study the focus of the research questions slightly changes in parallel to the methodology applied. While discussing the limited movement of women within the city or and their restricted use of public space, the questions listed below constitute the main pillars of the study:

- In which frequency and to what extent are urban public spaces used and experienced by migrant women?
- Why are women’s lives restricted within physical patterns; what are the underlying processes of these restrictions?

Methodology

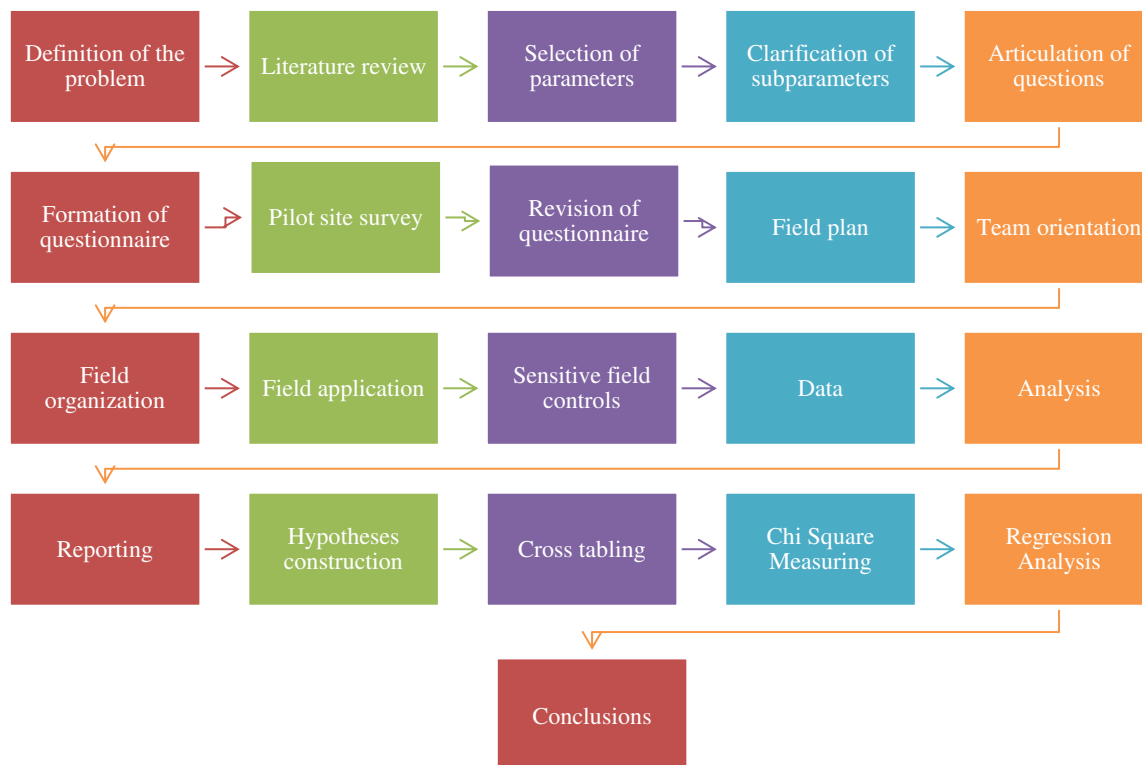
The questionnaire has been applied to 594 women living in Kurfali, trying to measure the public space use and the mobility of women as well as to understand the behavior patterns and the reasons underlying; therefore a lot of sub-parameters have come forth through intense literature review. Not to miss the opportunity of being able to get together all the information as much as possible the questionnaire has been based mainly on quantitative parameters. This way the intention was also not to bore the subjects and to get as much as possible valid responses.

However, there are a growing number of authors who argue that there is a case for integrating qualitative and quantitative research methods (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1984; Myers & Haase, 1989; McKinley, 1993; Barbour, 1999; Burnard & Hannigan, 2000; Bourgeois, 2002). The two types of research are designed to answer different sorts of questions, collect different types of data and produce different types of answers (Barbour, 1999). Researchers have combined the two approaches for a variety of reasons: for meeting different needs at different stages of a project;

compensating for shortcomings in any one method; and triangulation (Mason, 1993; Ong, 1993; Barbour, 1999).

Yet, to be able to grasp deeper understanding about the target group, migrant women in Kurfali, the questions in the questionnaire being mainly qualitative, quantitative questions have been asked to the respondent as well. Especially during the period of preparation of the questionnaire forms and before, the non-structured interviews with women and opinion leaders from Kurfali have been also used to interpret the outcomes of the questionnaire. Questionnaires have been conducted between December 2012 and February 2013. Data has been processed by SPSS. For the planning and implementation steps of the site survey, see Figure 1.

Figure 1: Site survey steps



Sample design

Kurfali is a settlement established of Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet Neighborhoods, which function as one body. Kurfali was established during 1970s when the migrant groups started to settle here; and in 90s when the population grew drastically, Kurfali officially have been divided into two neighborhoods. Kurfali is a settlement, where mainly migrants or people with emigrational

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family history of lower income groups are residing. According to 2008 address based population census, Cumhuriyet Mahallesi has a population of 17.470 and Hürriyet Mahallesi 42.627. Unfortunately, Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) does not announce updated neighborhood census date since 2008. 594 valid questionnaires have been conducted. The application of the questionnaires was face-to-face. As the questionnaire takes on the average 30 minutes, the team has questioned women mostly in their homes. Not to be biased in terms of the representativeness of working/unemployed women the questionnaire has been also done after 6 pm during the day and also during the weekends.

In this study, only women between 25-55 years old have been questioned, as this is an age interval which on the average falls to the ages of retirement and the completion of (undergraduate) studies. In the study a time span from women's lives has been selected where they theoretically would be expected to be at their highest mobility period.

Parameters of the research

The parameters, on which the research is based, can be categorized in two: 1. Basic definitive parameters and 2. Research inquiry parameters. Basic definitive parameters consist of sub-parameters trying to analyze a. demographic structure, b. social structure, c. economic structure, d. health status and e. the living environment. All these sub-parameters have been considered as basic factors to be able to understand the subjects of the study. The selection of these sub-parameters relies on an extensive literature review to perceive the fundamental factors in affecting the social inclusion of migrant women.

Research inquiry parameters consist of questions and sub-parameters to comprehend the public space use and the urban mobility patterns. To appraise the public space use we have questioned women in terms of identity (McDowell, 1993; Yücel & Aksümer, 2011), social basic needs, urban rights and participation, the manner and frequency of public space use, the level of utilization of public services, public amenities, social exclusion and social inclusion.

The barriers against women using the public spaces have been shown in many studies as being related with the physical space within the residential areas such as: inadequacy of open spaces such as streets, playgrounds, parks, problems in their maintenance, quality, use and operation; existence of empty and abandoned spaces, physical infrastructure problems and garbage collection, hygiene of streets, inefficiency of public services (Akkar Ercan, 2009; Alkan, 2005; Takmaz Nişancioğlu, 1996; Ecevit, 2001). Table 1 one summarizes the parameters used in the formulation of the questionnaire and the related literature.

Table 1: Research Parameters

	Parameter	Sub-parameter	Reference
Basic definitive parameters	Demographic structure	Age	(Pateman, 1992, p. 227)
		Education status	
		Family cycle	
	Social structure	Religion	(Healey, 2010)
		Language	(Demirler & Eşsiz, 2008)
		Migration	(Bernath, et al., 2009)
		Place of birth	
	Economic structure	Employment sector	(Roberts, 1991)
		Mobility	
		Employment status	
		Income level	
		Social security status	
Research inquiry parameters	Health	Social aid	
	Perceived physical environment	Dwelling features	
		Surrounding area features	
		Neighborhood features	
		Perception of neighborhood facilities	
	Public Space Use	Identity	(McDowell, 1993)
		Place attachment	(Yücel & Aksümer, 2011)
		Community basic needs	(Akkar Ercan, 2009)
		Urban rights and participation	(Lefebvre, 1998)
			(Greed, 1994, p. 34)
			(Ussher, 1991)
		Using frequency and form	(Akkar Ercan, 2009)
			(Alkan, 2005)

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	(Takmaz Nişancıoğlu, 1996)
	(Ecevit, 2001)
Social exclusion	(Geddes, 2000)
Social inclusion	(Bernath, et al., 2009)

First Fruits

Demographic structure

The subjects of the questionnaire have been selected in parallel to the quota based on the demographic structure of Kartal district (see Table 2). **48%** of the interviewed women are **between 25-35 years old**. Women's education level is low; **67%** of them are **elementary school graduates**; **20%** are **secondary school graduates**; and **7%** are **uneducated**. The mothers of **32%** of the interviewed women are **uneducated**; **67%** of them are **elementary school graduates**; and **1%** is **secondary school graduates**; there are **no graduates of higher educational institutions**. The fathers of **86%** of the interviewed women are **elementary school graduates**. The husbands of **64%** of the interviewed women are **elementary school graduates**, **28%** of them are **secondary school graduates**.

88% of the interviewed women are **married**. **87%** of the interviewed women **have children**. Most of the women have **two children (49%)**; **23%** have only **one children**, **21%** have **three children**. **25% of the children** are **0-7 ages old**. **65%** of the interviewed women leave with their husbands and children (**nuclear family**). On the other hand, **17%** of the women remarked that they are **living alone with their children**; **88% of whom are married and 54% of whom are 31-35 years old**.

Table 2: Demographic data of Kartal District (2011, Address Bases Population Census, Turkish Statistical Institute).

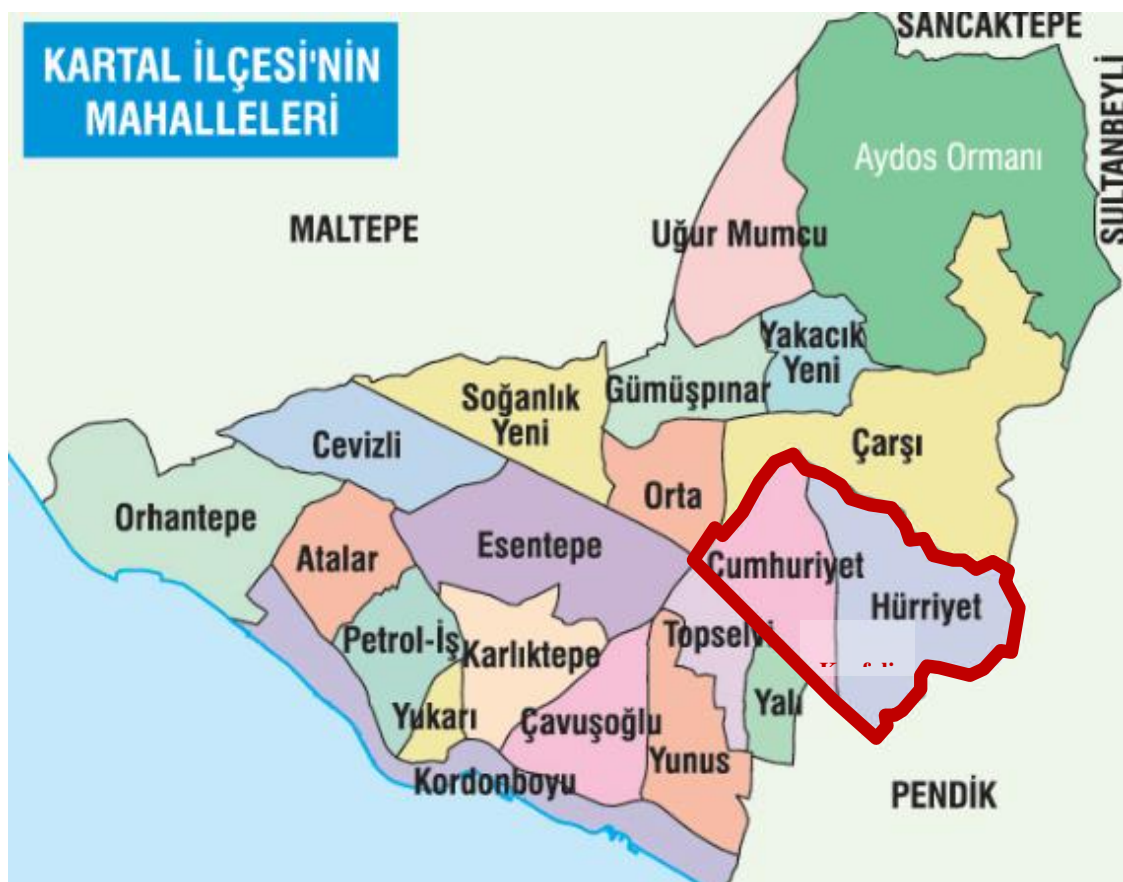
Age		Gender	Never married	Married	Widow	Total
25-29	19,3%	Female	6.301	13.831	694	20.826
		%	30,26	66,41	3,33	100
30-34	21,1%	Female	3.498	17.881	1.384	22.763
		%	15,37	78,55	6,08	100
35-39	18,6%	Female	2.104	16.272	1.699	20.075
		%	10,48	81,06	8,46	100
40-44	15%	Female	1.244	13.333	1.724	16.301
		%	7,63	81,79	10,58	100
45-49	14,7%	Female	830	13.026	2.048	15.904
		%	5,22	81,90	12,88	100
50-55	11,3%	Female	458	9.713	2.003	12.174
		%	3,76	79,78	16,45	100
			Never married	Married	Widow	Total
Total		Female	14.435	84.056	9.552	108.043
	100%	%	13,36	77,8	8,84	100

Social structure

75% of the interviewed women are **born outside of Istanbul**. The families of the women born in Istanbul have arrived mostly to Istanbul 35-45 years ago. **30% Istanbul born women and 41% outside Istanbul born women have settled in Kurfali 0-10 years ago; 28% of Istanbul born women and 33% of outside Istanbul born women have settled in Kurfali 11-20 years ago. Kurfali is for 54% of the women the first place to settle when having arrived to Istanbul. 16% of the interviewed women remarked they were living in another neighborhood of Kartal before moving to Kurfali.**

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Figure 2: Kartal neighborhood map



Economic structure

Only **11%** of the interviewed women are **employed**. From those who are unemployed at the moment only **19%** are **willing to work**; the most important reason (**%56**) for these women why they do not work is that **there is no one to take of children during work hours**. Working women remarked that they are mostly employed as **charlady, laborer, and handicraftswomen**. **Working place** of most of the women is **in Kartal**.

In parallel to their non-employment, most of the women do not have an income. **Total household income** varies mainly **between 1.000-1.500 TL**⁶¹. **85%** of the women are **insured by Social Security Institution**⁶²; **12%** of them have **no insurance at all**. **4%** of the interviewed women remarked they are receiving **social aid**.

Public Space Use

To measure women's awareness about the public spaces in their neighborhood, they have been given a list of public spaces and asked to tell whether these places exist in their neighborhoods. If they answered positively, the frequency of their usage and satisfaction of these places have been questioned. **Most of the women remarked that there is no public education center, cafes, restaurants, tea gardens, parks, cultural center, and sports center in Kurfali, although these public facilities exist in their neighborhood**. Those women who confirmed the existence of these places mentioned that they are finding them insufficient. Women usually did not know about the public spaces to gather and social facilities in their neighborhoods as well; but it is also striking that most of them could not even indicate a satisfaction level for these places. They are not used at all by most of the women in Kurfali.

However, more than 95% of the women could tell that are community health center, grocery, sanctuaries, playgrounds, kinder garden, elementary school in their neighborhood. Playground is also standing out by being confirmed about its existence and not being found satisfactory. Because of the dissatisfaction problem, a high percentage of women remarked that they are not using playgrounds at all. As playgrounds are directly relevant to children's use, it can be seen women are **more sensitive about their indications on the level of their satisfaction**. As consistent with this finding, **the high level of dissatisfaction** about kinder garden and elementary schools is not a coincidence, as these are **places that women are distinctly familiar with**. Also during the non-structured interviews with women that for the interviewed women **children have the priority in their concerns about anything** was remarkable; e.g. when women were asked about the problems they are facing in the neighborhood, they start mentioning the crowdedness of the classrooms.

It is also interesting that women commented a frequent use of kinder garden; whereas many of them even cannot confirm the existence of the high schools in Kurfali. As women accompany

⁶¹ Approximately 560-840 USD (based on the exchange rate of 04.05.2013)

⁶² *Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu*

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their children until a certain age to their schools, they are more familiar with the public spaces directly related with their children's education, health and/or development. As soon as women lose this driving factor to move within the neighborhood (when the children get older and do not need accompaniment anymore), women cannot tell, do not have awareness and maybe also no selective perception further about the facilities such as high schools even these are related with their children. Another factor that the confirmation of the high schools is of course that most of these women are still young and most of them have children of 0-7 years old, so they did not reach to the level of adding these public institutions to their cognitive maps about their neighborhood.

The transient and must-to-go spaces such as invoice payment centers and post office are either not known by women or by those who know them they are used frequently. This means, the women who do not know these places do not have the responsibility within the household to pay the bills, etc. Whereas women who know and use these spaces on a frequent basis, have the responsibility of paying bills etc. as well along with their reproductive gender roles within the house.

Community health center, bazaar, supermarkets are standing out by the high frequency of being used by interviewed women. These places are directly related women's role as "mothers" and "care-takers" of the sick people in the family (children and/or elderly) and to shop for the house and the members of the household to provide them with food and a clean house. However the level of dissatisfaction is also high for these places. This leads us to the idea that **because of the problems women are facing in such public spaces, they are reluctant in using or exploring new public spaces, which are rather optional to use.** Thus, especially those public spaces such as tea gardens, parks, recreational and sports facilities, as well as cultural center, which are not well-known by women, could be made more attractive while observing the difficulties women encounter in the public spaces they have to use. This was necessary and appropriate amendments can be made for the public facilities, which are yet unknown by most of the women. It is also expectable, that the more women use and know a space, facility, institutions, the more they have solid ground to complain about it, whereas for the public spaces they are really familiar with or do not use frequently they rather have a neutral stand and do not know what to complain about or what to expect from such a space.

Women were also asked whether they can go alone and anytime they want to these public spaces mentioned above. **92%** of the women responded that **they can go to these public space on their own any time they like and do not experience any difficulties.** As the reasons of not being able to go alone or not being able to go anytime they like, women commented they do not have the financial means to go to these places or that it is too expensive to go. However, most of the courses offered and engagement in activities within the cultural center and social facilities are free of charge. That these facilities are located within walking distance in the neighborhood is also worth to

mention. Therefore the lack of financial means and the expensiveness being given as excuses will be explored extensively in the coming steps of the study. Still, the first thing coming to mind is that women do not know where these facilities are located, how to access these places and there is a lack of information or a deficiency in the information dissemination about the services provided in the public facilities.

Concluding Remarks

It can easily be said that women are aware of public institutions and places which are related to housework and children's education and health. On the other hand, they are not aware of the public spaces and institutions which are related to their individual personal development. It is also striking, that public facilities, which they remarked as "missing" in the neighborhood such as recreational spaces and institutions for extracurricular time activities, actually exist in the very center of Kurfali. Those women, who confirmed the existence of these spaces, could not give a relevant response for their satisfaction level. This might be associated with the notion that women do not know what to expect from such public spaces. Again, it is worth to mention, by remarking these places as missing and wanting the municipality to fill this gap, their whole concern lies in the wellbeing of their children also mention and there is no mention of themselves requiring such services or spaces as individuals.

According to the responses remarking that they experience no difficulties in wandering within the neighborhood anytime they like, it is though-provoking that women know so few about their neighborhood.

Challenges Faced During the Study

Until now, only minor challenges have been faced during the study. The field survey has overstretched and could not be finished in the expected timeline as just when the site survey started there was snowy weather in Istanbul, which is not quite often and thus affected the normal course of events.

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Working Class, Gender and The Post-2004 Migration Between Poland and Ireland

NATALIA MAZURKIEWICZ

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to unpick the gendering of post-2004 European migration as practiced by the Polish working class migrants in and between two non-city locales in Ireland and Poland. I examine different gendered scales of migration including the work, family, and locality by investigating the (post)communist historicity affecting migrant subjectivities as well as contemporary classed and gendered migrant experience. I use Bourdieu's concept of habitus to account for the Polish working class femininity and to shed light on the gendered nature of the post-2004 European migration.

Key words: Gender, Polish migration, Ireland, working class

Introduction

The post-2004 European migration has been characterized in terms of its fluidity and circularity and as contingently producing 'new' modes of belonging (King 2002; Favell 2008; Garapich 2008) and migrant *mobile lifestyles*. To a great extent, a key characteristic of this transnational mobility is that it encompasses multi-generational families (Ryan et al. 2009; White 2011), including not only those who directly engage in the act of migration but also those who 'stay put' but are a part of the transnational mobile lifestyles. For example, extended family members and friends move back and forth across Europe to maintain relationships and support transnational migrants. As such, European migration encompasses women, men and children alike.

However, the perception of migration and mobility as equated with masculinity (Cresswell 1999), for instance, as affirmed in classic migration theories and the concept of family reunification (women following men), is still at work today. Repeated media accounts (Pszczółkowska 2012a,b; Szyłło 2012; Pawlicki 2012; Maciejewicz 2011a, b; 2012; Kadłuczka 2012; Pidd 2011; Grzebałkowska 2011; Klich 2011; Dominiak 2009) have discursively illuminated the male figure of migrant by emphasizing a single, young worker – a target earner, often leaving his family behind and sending remittances to his family back 'home'. Representations of 'the good Polish worker' embodied by the figure of the *Polish plumber* as emblematic of the 'hordes of cheap foreign labour' (Fortier 2006, p. 313) have become symbolic of European East to West mobility. As such, it has figuratively established the category 'migrant worker' as predominantly male, while the category 'Polish migrant women' has been predominantly represented through discourses of family and childbirth (e.g. Kadłuczka 2012; Grzebałkowska 2011; Pszczółkowska 2012a).

The aim of this paper is to look beyond popular representations of post-2004 labour migration as predominantly male and to address how migrant every day experiences are shaped by gender. I examine different gendered scales of migration including the work, family, and locality by, firstly, investigating the (post)communist historicity affecting migrant subjectivities and, subsequently, examining contemporary Polish working class migrant experience in and between two relatively rural locales in Ireland and Poland. Finally, I use Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to account for the Polish working class femininity and to shed light on the gendered nature of the post-2004 European migration.

This paper is based on the initial findings of a larger study, funded by the Irish Research Council (IRC), which examines circular migration in and between two *non-city* locales in Ireland (Newcastle West) and Poland (Tczew), with special emphasis on *classed* and *gendered* experience of this mobility. Newcastle West is an average Irish town in the west of County Limerick with the population reaching 6327 inhabitants, of which 634 persons are Polish nationals (10 per cent) (Census 2011). Tczew is a Polish town situated in the north of Poland with the population reaching approximately 60.000 inhabitants.

The research investigates the lifestyles of the *working class* migrants, who are not as privileged as, so called, 'highly skilled elites' or 'hyper mobile professionals'. Instead, *working class* women and men are constrained by material boundaries and family routines and they are often highly dependent on others in their daily mobilities. The sample is made of ten trans-generational Polish families and the key stakeholders (inter alia GPs/family doctors, employers, teachers and principals, social welfare officers) in both transnational spaces. In this article I draw on accounts of nine migrant women who are taking part in the overall project.

The migrant families taking part in the study come from relatively rural locales, which (re)produce specific kinds of subjectivities and cultures, i.e. *rurality* as 'located in people's minds' (Rye 2006, p. 409; Panelli et al. 2009). *Rurality* is present in the narratives and lifestyles of the working class migrants, for example, in their 'traditional' perceptions of femininity and masculinity and familiar categorizations of women and men and their 'proper' or 'normal' positioning in the family, community and broader society. The characteristic elements of *rurality* include also the density of social life (Rye 2006; Berry 2000) and the social (community) gaze, which shapes, and sometimes defines, migrant perceptions on everyday realities. Moreover, migrants as incomers are more visible in the non-city settings (Berry 2000) which are often more stagnant than urban spaces, and offer different profile of employment opportunities (Rye 2006; Berry 2000). As such, the non-city locales are perceived by the participants as convenient spaces allowing for comfortable livelihoods on day-to-day basis.

Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical positions which help me to account for the gendering of post-2004 European mobility and place-making are the mobilities paradigm, critical migration studies and feminism.

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The ‘mobilities paradigm’ challenges territorial or sedentary ontological doctrines embedded within spatially fixed national borders and embraces various kinds of movement of people, object, ideas, expertise, etc. as center of inquiry (Urry 2000; Hannam et al. 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006). Studies of migration are, to a certain extent, included in the study of mobility, as they investigate the form of mobility or movement of people. The mobilities paradigm points to the shift between classical, linear perceptions of migration as departure and settlement (and potential return) and allows for investigation of migration in terms of advances in transport, communication technologies and social media, as these not only facilitate contemporary migrations but also change their character. Methodologically, the mobilities paradigm allows for ‘complex, polymorphic and multiscalar’ analysis of social processes (Brenner 2004 in Hannam et al. 2006, p. 3).

As mentioned, contemporary migration is increasingly theorized in terms of transnational circulation, fluidity and flows, and as shaped by ideas of freedom of movement and open borders. This liberal conception of mobility is often criticized for universalizing the desire and ability to move. For example, Fortier (2006, p. 314) argues that ‘the ‘hyper mobile’ world we supposedly live in is not equally accessible to, or desirable for, all’:

If critical migration studies forces reconsideration of the fluidity, accessibility and desirability of the assumed mobile world, mobilities research forces us to situate and to think about migration in relation to the ways in which ‘mobility’ has been variously established (institutionally, legally, technologically, idealistically) as a universal ‘right’.

In this study I critically utilize the mobilities paradigm in order to highlight the shifts in conceptualization of migration and to demonstrate the relative easiness in contemporary travel and communication. On the other hand, I acknowledge that ‘mobility itself is enmeshed in the cultural struggles of migrants themselves as well as the forces that work in controlling their mobility’ (Silvey 2004, p. 7).

I utilize classical migration theories as a structuring factor of mobility but it is the social aspect which is examined in detail and which constitutes central focus of the study. Thus, while classical migration studies address the structural and economic factors triggering and shaping migration (e.g. neoclassical economics, NELM, or world systems theory), critical migration studies see beyond the economic migration rationale and investigate the nature of social reality produced in and by migration (Silvey 2004; Fortier and Lewis 2006).

Feminist approaches enable a focus on subjectivity and reflexivity with regard to mobility and place-making processes of migrants. Silvey (2004, p.10) claims that

Feminist views of identity and subjectivity turn migration studies towards an understanding of the migrant self as constituted through a range of intersecting, sometimes competing, forces and processes, and as playing agentic roles in these processes. They take seriously the experiences and narratives of migrants' interpretative voices as a lens onto the ways in which broader scale structures are represented, understood, mediated and funneled into particular understandings of self and agency.

Accordingly, migrant subjectivities are constituted through discursive practices, 'character attributes, intimate relationships and desires, upbringing and family background, [and] personal feelings' (Laliotou 2007, p.49) as embodied migrant subjects enact the internal dispositions and migrant ways of being.

Mentalities that stick

In the following sections I examine the gendered subjectivities, i.e. mentalities, sets of behaviour and practices, as historically produced by the communist regime (1952-1989) (Sztompka 1993), as well as the post-1989 period of 'transition' in Poland. I claim that these subjectivities became socially ingrained and culturally embedded through the processes of social reproduction and negotiation.

As industrial developments in post-war Poland required additional labour, propaganda portrayed the ideal woman as a woman participating in the mainstream worker movement (proletariat). Lenin called for women's 'emancipation' by categorizing Polish women as 'domestic slaves' occupied by 'barbarian unproductive' work (*O roli kobiety w walce o Socjalizm. Lenin Stalin* 1950) and directly encouraged women into the sector of paid employment. As such, there was an emphasis on women as 'equal' at work but traditional gender roles, i.e. women as solely responsible for raising children and running the household, remained in place. The pseudo-feminist climate of communism, which emphasized and naturalized women as 'other' – other to the West and other to men (Reading 1992) - led to the establishment of naturalized gender categories linked to family, mothering and the domestic work.

The central focus on family, as a unit of reproduction, and the expectation that a woman should be a perfect mother – bearer of 'sons (sic!) of communism' (*O roli kobiety w walce o Socjalizm. Lenin Stalin* 1950) was represented through the figure of 'the Polish mother' (*Matka Polka*). *Matka Polka* was an idealized image of woman as an appendage to the men's state and object of government policy (Reading 1992). This has resulted in a specific positioning of women in the family, community and larger society in which certain ways of thinking and behaviour have been naturalized and (re)produced, for example with regard to family-making practices.

The migrant women participating in this study were born into specific structures, in which patriarchy and tradition were practically unchallenged and thus established certain constructions of

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femininity and masculinity, such as the understanding that women remain ‘in charge’ of the domestic sphere while it is men’s job to provide and ‘protect’ the family.

The leading role of husband often emerged in the interviews, for example, when the migrant women did not feel competent to answer questions during the family interviews and let their husbands speak ‘for the family’. Although the decisions are made in consultation with the wives, the migrant men, the breadwinners, usually take the lead and have critical voice when it comes to the family decision making.

When asked directly, the participating migrant women most often did not notice these gendered aspects of migration and perceived the traditional masculinities and femininities as ‘normal’:

N: Do you think gender affects migration?

K: I don’t think it is gender, more *family conditions*, if there are children it is the husband who goes to look for employment, when children go to school parents try not to dislocate them and men are more mobile, really. For single people I think it doesn’t matter.

N: How about gender roles within the family?

K: Women are traditionally responsible for childcare. I haven’t come across marriage from which a wife would be emigrating, maybe in case when a man cannot find work and someone is needed to look after elderly people, but these are often people [women] who have grown-up children or something like that. But in a *normal mode* it is a man who goes. Among my friends there are a lot of wives whose husbands emigrated and they stayed with the kids. (Kasia) (emphasis mine)

Kasia’s narrative show that the Polish migrants invest heavily in the institution of family and marriage, with inherent heteronormative norms and values. The traditional perceptions of gender roles within the family are reconfigured and maintained in and through encounters of mobility and place-making across transnational locales. These ‘mentalities that stick’ are a significant element shaping the nature of migration. In the following sections I focus on the complex gendered practices of movement and place making as negotiated by participating migrant women in order to show the interplay between the historical and structural dispositions and the contemporary practices of migration.

Gendered mobilities and places

During the 1990s the economy of Ireland was very prosperous and gained the name of the ‘Celtic Tiger’, symbolizing the aggressive economic boom and fast pace of change. This resulted in the large-scale need for labour which was met by foreign, mainly Polish, workers following the

accession of eight Eastern European countries to the EU in 2004. The housing boom created many job positions in the construction sector, which were filled by Polish male labourers. Other occupations available for migrants included low-skilled, low-status, low-prestige jobs in services sector, retail and hotel industry (NESC 2005).

Cresswell (1999, p.178) states that ‘embodied mobility is different according to gender’ in terms of subjectivities and negotiations of the migrant experience. In case of Ireland, the potential for jobs in the construction sector emphasized migration initiated by men who have been perceived as active migration agents, while a lot of migrant women followed their husbands and partners when they migrated in search for work or stayed at ‘home’. In either case, women remained loyal to the traditional gender norms, especially with regard to parenting responsibilities and home-making (White 2011). However, White (2011) points out that Polish migrant women should not be seen as passive agents in the processes of family reunifications as they play active roles in decision-making, for instance through ‘inspection visits’. Moreover, Burrell (2008a; b; 2009) points out that the ‘materialities’ associated with migration, for instance, shopping or gift-giving, and keeping contact with ‘home’ remain largely associated with migrant women.

Yet, due to the fact that women still play more active roles within the family, the category ‘Polish (migrant) worker’ encapsulates an image of a man rather than of a woman. The majority of female participants of this study indeed either have never been in paid employment in Ireland or have episodes of work, often unofficial, which they quit due to their mothering responsibilities at home. Their occupations include cleaning and maintenance, caring for elderly and, less often, retail (deli counter, supermarkets), or simple manual jobs at the production line. The migrant women basically did not see options for work outside these sectors and they perceived informal, odd cleaning jobs as the most available and accessible.

As housewives, women do not have separate income and it is the husband who manages family finances. Some of the male participants recently lost their jobs but they were entitled to social welfare benefits (predominantly Jobseeker’s Benefit and Allowance) through their employee PRSI contributions. In these cases, the social welfare policies categorized the women (wives) as ‘eligible spouses’, i.e. a man received raised benefits because he has a wife and/or children. This implies a sense of dependency of migrant women on men and reinforces the representation of migrant women as additional to migrant men.

The only social welfare benefits that are designed for women are the payments linking to childbirth (Maternity Benefit) and children (Child Benefit), where the former is based on PRSI contributions, i.e. a woman must be in paid employment for certain time before the delivery due date and the latter is based only on HRC (Habitual Residence Condition) in the country. The narratives of my participants show that these ‘women’s benefits’, which are not so easily or indeed at all available in Poland, are very empowering for women:

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So [our daughter] was born and he [the husband] didn't have the job still, you know, CV, FAS, he was tinkering with these cars. It wasn't great. (...) But I got the maternity [benefit]. So I said [to the husband] 'the first month you may have a rest, you don't have to work'. So we were had money for living, and, on top of that, we redecorated the bedroom, the cot, buggy, everything... (Karolina)

Karolina perceives Maternity Benefit as means enabling her to contribute to the family budget and to temporarily relieve her husband from his earning responsibilities. The other participating women often looked for temporary, sometimes unofficial or illegal jobs. Generally, however, not having a paid job was not seen by women as a form of oppression but rather as a luxury enabling them to carry out their duties as wives and mothers:

I can't imagine going back to work and leaving my daughter. (Bożena)

Now I am happy and the children are being raised by their mother. (Małgosia)

These women see self-fulfillment and satisfaction can come from caring for the family (and for oneself) and motherhood and not only from being in paid employment (Capusotti et al. 2007), especially that the occupations which they perceived as attainable were predominantly low-status and low-prestige jobs.

Problematically, however, the devaluation and coding of women's domestic work as 'non-work' (Silvey 2004) have emerged in the conceptions of the migrant women by the local stakeholders. When asked about his experience with Polish migrants (in general), the local GP identified the 'main problem' was 'non-working mums' and the TD expressed concerns with regard to 'integration' of migrant mothers into local community. These 'problems' with women emerged predominantly with relation to their insufficient command of English language.

Language has come to the surface of research very often as a structuring factor of mobility and especially as linked with migrant women or 'mums'. Migrant men, who know English from their participation in the labour market, are often nominated in the family to speak in the public, e.g. during parent-teacher meetings at school or when dealing with various agencies (banks, social welfare, etc.). This contributes to the classical gender division where men are associated with the formal/public and women are seen as closer to informal/private sphere of life. For migrant women the public sphere in the receiving locale appears even more unfamiliar when it comes to limitations imposed by the language barrier. As a consequence, these women feel uncomfortable when they are 'in the public' - outside (pre)schools, crèches, playgrounds and parks - and they become even more pulled into the 'security' of 'home'. However, the women feel the pressure to gain language competency and feel embarrassed or inadequate in relation to language skills:

I have to start learning [English] (Bożena)

It's a shame we are here six years, I should have learned perfect English by now (Jola)

It's time to do something with my [lack of] English (Małgosia)

The women want to learn English and they attend classes and courses, which requires a lot of energy and sacrifices as they perform full-time domestic work. As such, they cannot be categorized as passive, disconnected or absent from the life of the receiving locale. Indeed, the male Polish workers, due to their occupations, for example as drivers or construction workers, are often 'hidden' behind the wheel or in remote and inaccessible construction sites and it is mainly Polish women who are visible in the public domain.

Polish women are not only seen in the local shops as they shop for groceries but, in fact, several businesses in town were set up to accommodate migrant women's needs. The 'transnational businesses', besides the Polish shops, include hairdressers and beauty salons whose aim is to provide familiar services for migrant, predominantly Eastern European (Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian) women. The rationale behind the existence of these ventures is based on a rejection of the Irish ways of doing beauty work (expensive, 'not well done') and on making the local public sphere less unfamiliar for migrant women:

I'm going to the Polish hairdresser. It is cheaper than in the local Irish salons and at least I can tell the hairdresser exactly what I want and she will understand me. (Alicja)

I prefer the Polish [beauty] salons. They know how to do the job properly. It is cheaper too. (Bożena)

I usually do my hair when I am in Poland but if I need to go here [in Newcastle West] I would go to the Polish hairdresser. I wouldn't feel comfortable with the Irish one (Małgosia).

Thus, there has been a negotiation of public space in the receiving locale, which accounts for migrant women's agency but, at the same time, this agency reinforces gender stereotypes concerned with domesticity and traditional, heterosexual, feminine attractiveness. In fact, the popular migration discourse has often constructed the category 'Polish women' in reference to the

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body, e.g. through the fantasy of the ‘Polish beauty’ (Slavic beauty) which objectifies women’s bodies by accentuating physical appearance as constitutive for women’s worth. As such, the Polish women’s presence in the local public sphere reinforces stereotypical representations of the male Polish worker and the ‘beautiful Polish women’ looking after the family.

Discussion

The aim of this article was to examine the gendered nature of post-2004 migration between two non-city locales in Ireland and Poland. It has been argued that this migration is characterised by gendered (pre)dispositions internalized and naturalized by the Polish women before engaging in transnational mobility as well as by gendered practices of mobility and place-making.

These gendered subjectivities are grasped here by the use of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, i.e. ‘a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position’ (Bourdieu 1989, p.19). These *dispositions* are specific ways of thinking, perceiving the world and behaving, for example, in terms of traditional gender roles, norms and values and how they are negotiated depending on levels of *capital*. The *habitus* is represented through the bodily practices and the relationship between the two can be explained as ‘the social inscribed in the body of the biological individual’ (Bourdieu 1985 in Cresswell 1999, p.177).

Having engaged in transnational migration, migrants carry specific predispositions, i.e. baggage of experience and individually negotiated sets of structures, through which they perceive the world. This *habitus* is not unchangeable or fixed but it rather constitutes a sociocultural lens through which migrants can make sense of their everyday lives. These dispositions constitute an important element shaping, or indeed structuring, migrants’ lifestyles in terms of expectations, perceptions of available options, approaches to self and other and various philosophies linked with everyday life.

As shown, migrant women should not be seen as passive agents of the recent phase of post-2004 mobility between Poland and Ireland but the exercise of the women’s agency remains largely related to domesticity, femininity, bodily appearance and the concerns with the welfare of their children and future lives. Migrant women are present in the local public sphere by their active participation in the local ‘beauty’ businesses, which recreate, and often reinforce, gender categories that are ingrained in migrant minds and bodies, in this case, the construction of migrant women as ‘attractive’ while undermining their potential for being more than that.

Women’s work in the domestic sphere is often seen as ‘unproductive’ – the view of domestic labour as somehow inferior to paid employment and its relative invisibility has been carried by ‘the Polish *habitus*’, linked with (post)communist mentalities, and re-entrenched in

migration. Feminist researchers demonstrated how such gendered divisions of labour ‘are inseparable from the processes shaping socially differentiated migration patterns, regulations and experiences’ (Silvey 2004:2). This research has shown that working class migrant women not only remain relatively invisible from the policy perspective but on the local level, there is a perpetuation of objectification of migrant women by key stakeholders through their construction as ‘non-working mums’ concerned only with family and physical appearance.

Conclusion

This research show how the lifestyles and livelihoods of the Poliss working class migrants have been reconfigured to accommodate movement, mobility and change. However, at the same time these lifestyles and livelihoods have re-entrenched and reinforced traditional gender norms and values shaped by (post)communist historicity, heteronormative perceptions of family and marriage, as well as local attachments and working class representations of femininity and domesticity. These conclusions open up the space for further gendered problematisations of the post-2004 European migration, for instance, in terms of spaces and practices of resistance or the meanings of investment in working class ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinities’.

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Language and Identity among Turkish Women in France

An Intergenerational Comparison in Strasbourg

FERAY BASKIN

Abstract:

My proposed study will add a new voice to the field of linguistic anthropology and migration studies and lend new insights into immigration policy formation in the European Union. It will help to better understand the dynamics of the female Turkish immigrant community in France in fostering greater assimilation in the host country while preserving a pertinent relationship with their native country. In this context, the study will hope to focus on the first and second generation of these immigrant communities and the role of language in promoting greater integration within French society. My preliminary research questions are as follows:

1) How do first and second generation Turkish immigrant women in France negotiate with the languages surrounding them?, 2) How are they using language as a tool for the social reproduction of their identity?, 3) How do these language strategies intervene in public versus private sphere, i.e., in different institutions, in religious rituals, ceremonies, family and community gatherings, the workplace?, 4) How symbolic is language in the Turkish community in Strasbourg?, 5) How does language become a form of social and symbolic capital for the Turkish immigrant women in Strasbourg in their efforts to integrate in French society and culture? I hope to demonstrate how the Turkish immigrant women shape, rearrange their habitus (Bourdieu 1980) through language, within complex strategies of taking control over their immigration experience.

Keywords: *immigration, women, language, identity, (non-)assimilation*

On October 20th, 2012, the Franco-Turkish newspaper Zaman published an article entitled: "Success in school: alarming numbers for the Turks of France." The statistics are especially poor for Turkish female students. One of the reasons for this "failure" was linked to the use of their native language, i.e. Turkish, within the family. Only 8% of Turkish households have at least one Turkish parent who speaks French to his or her children. And, if both parents are migrants, this figure falls to 2%. Compared to other ethnic groups in France, such as Moroccans and Tunisians where 29% of families have one monolingual French-speaking parent, this figure for Turkish households appears even more striking. Morocco was colonized by France, as opposed to Turkey, and that is the main reason for the difference in French speaking between Moroccan and Turkish immigrant women. These numbers raise important questions about language use in the Turkish immigrant community in France and potential policy implications. One paramount question is: Why aren't Turkish women as successful as other female peers? And, those who succeed in the education system, how do they do it? Are immigration and language policies the only explanations to their failure or success? Or should we explore a new dimension?

This study will demonstrate how Turkish immigrant women shape and rearrange their linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1980) through language strategies that enable them to take control over their immigration experience. Language becomes a form of symbolic capital for the Turkish immigrant women in Strasbourg in their efforts to resist and/or integrate in French society. My key question is: How do Turkish immigrant women in Strasbourg, France negotiate their identity through language?

The following sub-questions derive from the core question of the study: 1) How are they using language as a tool for the social reproduction of their identity? 2) How do they adapt these language strategies in different situations such as religious rituals, ceremonies, familial and community gatherings?

As Yagmur and Akinci (2003) highlighted, "[the mastery of the French language is] seen as the most fundamental aspect of acculturation process because language is considered to be the overarching value to achieve social cohesion and national unity in France". This situation is similar in other immigrant communities, in France and elsewhere.

Perceived as gatekeepers and carriers of their culture, women, especially immigrant women, use their language in order to transfer their culture to offspring born in the host society. O'Brien (1994) studied "the mechanisms and the reproduction of ethnic identity in a village in French Catalonia." She demonstrated that in that community, women are the ones maintaining and transmitting the culture, including the language, of their home country. Therefore they are responsible for the survival of their ethnic identity. In the village where O'Brien did her research, women shifted their language use from French to Catalan as they get older and older. There is an increase in the use of the native language i.e., Catalan as women age. Why this strong shift towards Catalan identity? It might be because of the fear of losing their cultural heritage. This study confirms the fact that gender role stereotypes are not necessarily accurate. Women rearrange their roles and remain the "queen of their castles" when it comes to maintaining ethnic identity, through culture and language, in and out of their household. However, being able to speak, read, write and understand French gives women social and cultural capital within their social network and within French society. This means that by using French they integrate and, thus, are part of the host society, and have access to more resources. Eventually, they become translators and interpreters for those in need in the community. One could also make this argument about children who serve as translators for parents. However, what is unusual about women in this context is their personal position in the social ladder. The major difference between Catalan and Turkish women is that Catalans are not immigrants: they react as ethnic minority but not similarly to immigrants.

In essence, language becomes a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1980) for the Turkish immigrant women in Strasbourg. Language is one of the very few forms of symbolic capital that these women have access to. Other forms of symbolic capital that have high value within French society might be off-limits to them due to discrimination in housing, sexism, limits placed on them by their families, etc.

Both the Turkish immigrants who arrived in the late 1960s and 1970s to France and their France-born children have a complex linguistic identity due to their linguistic environments and their culture. The Turkish household in France regroups various languages; parents' dialect, the language of the host country through education; French, standard Turkish through television and media, and Arabic through their religion, which is mainly Islam.

Given the described scenario the following questions also need to be addressed to what degree do Turkish immigrant women create the ideal linguistic environment pertinent for the maintenance of their languages? Are Turkish immigrant women, across generations, in France also linguistic gatekeepers? If so, how is this translated in their language use and how do they identify with the languages they speak and/or know? Are immigrant women initiators of a "new language" with innovative linguistic features or are they the gatekeepers of their native language, in this case Turkish or better a "kind" of Turkish? This would confirm that language is constantly changing and that women, regardless of their social status, are innovators in any host country and/or linguistic environment.

Literature Review

In 2008, France⁶³ counted 222,000 Turkish people. This number is smaller compared to other immigrant groups in France but also to immigrants in other European countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, whose Turkish community ranks in the top 3. Studies have been conducted about other immigrant groups in France, such as immigrants from the former French colonies, mainly from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. But a very limited number of studies of Turkish migrants, especially women, have been conducted in France. I hope to build on the literature by looking specifically at language choices and uses. One exception is the work of Kastoryano (1987) who analyzed and compared Turkish families in rural versus urban context (i.e. Paris) and noticed differences in terms of integration. In both rural and urban cases, families hold on to the dream of returning to the home country and therefore are not willing to fully integrate into the host society. There is a resistance to acculturation, which can be seen in food, attire and the perpetuation of traditional norms (reference). Women become the gatekeepers of their culture.

In another study, Petek-Salom (1996) described the new face of the Turkish women in France by referring to the French- born Turkish women (mainly teenagers) and the brides joining their husband in France. Petek-Salom explained the parental and community pressure on their children in order to preserve the traditions through forced marriage. The question of identity emerges for both women born in France and those who joined their spouses. They both leave in a distress of identity and therefore don't know where they really belong. On the other hand, men's traditional roles are threatened in the host society, which doesn't emphasize on the patriarchal system as does the Turkish society (Petek-Salom 1996 p. 6).

One example of identity transformation, in this case through religion, was studied by Weibel (1996), who looked at Turkish immigrant women's life and the place of religion in France. In his study, the author emphasizes women's role in adapting the hijab and claiming a new identity through religion and thus expressing a form of resistance towards French society, which discourages any form of religious display in public spheres.

Another example of creating their identity within a place, this time based on social strategies and not language, is women's daily activities, which have been analyzed by Aksaz (2006) in Parisian *banlieues* (housing projects). In her sample, Turkish women spend most of their time between housecleaning and visiting each other the same way as they would have done in Turkey. She revealed a strong female solidarity strategy against integration in visiting each other, not being involved in the societal activities or even interacting with other Muslim women from North African countries (Aksaz 2006).

⁶³ INSEE: National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies in France

The aforementioned studies have looked at the working class Turkish migrants and at how they segregate themselves to some degree within the French society. On the other side, Oztürk (2006) looks at different strategies used by the Turkish youth in order to integrate into the French society.

Within Europe, one of the few studies looking at language choices among second-generation Turkish immigrants has been conducted by Crul et al. (2012). In this sociological project conducted in five European countries (France, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and Austria) the authors studied the second-generation immigrants of Turkish, Moroccan, and Former Yugoslavian background and addressed their assimilation to the host countries. Although their study addressed the issue of language, it didn't present an intergenerational comparison nor did it use an ethnographic approach. "[They] found that differences in language socialization are not connected to gender and age, though education proved to be a major differentiator." The linguistic ethnographic methods will help me reveal undiscovered patterns in language uses and choices among women.

There is already a stigmatized discourse about the Turkish immigrants, their ancestry and their language, which was triggered by a survey conducted by Tribalat (1995), where she alerted authorities and the public opinion about *Le défaut d'intégration* (the failure of integration) of the Turkish group. This discourse permeates the second generation's attitude.

While linguistic scholars of Turkish immigration in Western European societies have mainly focused on the second language acquisition of the second-generation, some other studies examine code-switching and bilingualism among young children (Pfaff 1991; Boyd et al. 1995). However, more research needs to be done in the area of intergenerational comparative ethno-linguistic studies in France among the Turkish women. Because this will show us whether, how and by whom languages are being used as a form of assimilation or integration into the host society. How are the different languages, French, Turkish, Arabic and perhaps Alsatian, used and associated with different linguistic communities in Strasbourg France?" (4) "Is there really a "new variety of Turkish ...[called] Immigrant Turkish" (Backus 2005)? If so, what are the characteristics of this new code? (5) How important is speaking Turkish and/or French, and knowing the language of the Koran; Arabic, for both the first and second generation Turkish immigrant women?" (6) "When do they face language choice and with whom?" (7) "Do they prefer one language to the other, and if so, in which contexts and why?"

Objectives of my study

My goals are to look at how Turkish women of different socio-economic classes construct their linguistic identity, i.e., “the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 p. 594). How do Turkish women make or re-make or take advantage of stereotypical connections between certain accents, lexical material, and grammatical patterns with certain communities? How do these women employ distinctive ways of speaking associated with different social groups, individuals, and with different social institutions, such as the domestic sphere and the public sphere? For instance, the specific language they speak (Turkish vs. French), ways of speaking (e.g. code switching), genres (e.g. colloquial vs. standard French), and levels of formality. My research in Strasbourg and the resulting analyses will promote a better understanding of the Turkish immigrant women in the French social and cultural context in how they either resist or integrate to the host society through linguistic uses.

Hypotheses

I expect to observe the use of the family Turkish language, but not necessarily standard Turkish at family events. However, a more “standard” form of Turkish will be used at formal events, such as rituals and ceremonies. Also, French will be dominant outside the home setting especially among the second generation. Arabic will remain only in the domain of religion, such as saying prayers. In addition, borrowing and code switching will be dominant in specific cases, such as food terminology: the usage of the original name of a Turkish home-made dish inside the family and also among bilingual friends is an example of this process. Another important phenomenon I expect to observe is the intergenerational difference in language use, a linguistic innovation (e.g. the “immigrant Turkish” language as coined by Backus). A class-based stylistic structure will also appear across the three generations (generation 1, 1.5, and 2) when talking to friends, relatives, acquaintances, and strangers, inside and outside their social network.

My preliminary analyses will allow me to anticipate the following hypotheses:

(1) First generation Turkish immigrant women will use their native Turkish language more often and code-switch considerably less than their daughters, from the 1.5 and 2nd generation, who on the other hand will code switch more often depending on the numbers and proportion of same language-background peers (Ager 1994).

(2) There will be a socioeconomic split between the groups in the sense that the older generation of the lower social class will be more resistant to learn French whereas the 1.5 and 2nd generations would have a stronger desire to master the language in order to ascent in the social strata.

(3) A third hypothesis derives from the use of modern communication technology, i.e., the Internet. All three generations will access Internet resources in Standard Turkish and

will use it more often since they have a linguistic model. Modern forms of media will enable immigrants to keep connections with their home country and have access to a great number of linguistic resources in Turkish on the Internet for instance, but also in French. This can affect their languages and their identities.

(4) A fourth hypothesis is that accessing modern communication technology may actually give Turkish women more exposure to French culture and strengthen their role as gatekeepers in reinforcing the use of the French language.

Methodologies

To answer my research questions, I will conduct ethnographic and linguistic research in Strasbourg, located in the Eastern Alsace region, which is home to the third-largest⁶⁴ Turkish immigrant population in France (Villanova 1997). One of the reasons for this demographic situation in Strasbourg could be the geographical proximity to Germany, where many of their relatives settled. Many studies on immigration have been conducted in the Parisian region because it was viewed as more attractive for job opportunities. By conducting research in Strasbourg instead, which is another important city in France, I want to see whether what's been described in the literature is very specific to Paris or whether it's happening in several other French cities.

My preliminary contact will happen through an online survey, which uses snowball sampling. The online survey asks, in French and Turkish, for uses of languages in different contexts and with different people. Questions on identity are presented as open-ended questions: for instance, "In Strasbourg, you identify yourself as...". "For you what does it mean to be French and to be Turkish? Answers to these questions will enable me to collect preliminary data about language choices and usages, and also about linguistic identity and ideologies.

⁶⁴ Paris is the French city with the highest concentration of Turkish immigrants.

Throughout my study I will focus on three different female informant groups. The first group will consist of what I define as the 1st generation Turkish immigrant women (those who came in the late 1960s and early 1970s). The second group is generation 1.5, children, born in Turkey who migrated to the host country as young children. Thirdly, I will work with the 2nd generation, meaning the generation born in France.

In my analysis of recorded linguistic data, I will focus on the phenomena and linguistic patterns that emerge as most salient for establishing linguistic identities, such as code switching and language shift, and also the discourse around the languages used on an everyday basis.

To collect this data, I will use the following methods: participant observation, informal interviews, the focus group method, and semi-structured interviews. I will conduct participant observation in “Turkish-French” settings such as home and family interactions. I will also focus on everyday settings: workplace, educational institutions, associations, interactions with neighbors, and social gatherings. A third setting of participant observation will include rituals and ceremonies, such as weddings. The semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with members of my target population will enable me to elicit more information about their linguistic affiliations and perceived differences in their own and others’ speech across different situations. Participant observation and interviews complement each other in the sense that, interviews might not yield examples of code switching as much as observation will. But interviews might offer more opportunities for discussions on language when it describes the pragmatic function of some speech, such as code-switching for instance.

Research Schedule

The research timeline will happen in four different phases. In phase 1, I hope to have as many participants as possible through snowball sampling with the online survey and being able to meet them at least once during fieldwork. The online survey data will give me an initial idea of the participants’ language uses in different contexts and with different people. These results will allow me to frame my interviews.

In the second phase of the research, I will meet with members of the *Association des Travailleurs Turcs* (Turkish workers’ association) and I will visit in the Department of Turkish Studies at the University of Strasbourg. Since this will be an intergenerational comparative study, I will try to equally select adult women of different marital status, socio-economic background, education, profession and religion (Sunni, Shia, other). In the first stages of this phase I will develop an interview schedule for the first few months in Strasbourg. The first interviews will be informal. With this interview format I hope to collect information about what they think about their different language uses and their place in the French society. I will also conduct participant observation and intend to get involved in some of the activities, such as organizing cultural events. Integrating into the community I’m studying will enable me to build strong relationships and establish a better rapport with the informants. By the end of this phase, I will also use a focus group to discuss stereotypes

about questions on resistance and/or integration into French society and the importance of language. The initial analysis of my ethnographic fieldnotes will be open coding and will enable me to “identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes, or issues... no matter how varied and disparate [they are about language uses and ideologies among the informants].” (Emerson et al. 2011 p. 172)

In the third phase of the project, I will do more participant observation and semi-structured interviews, which will enable me to gather data about participants’ uses of their language and it will enable me to elicit metapragmatic information on language, that I would not necessarily be able to observe during participant observation. These interviews will enable me to explore the similarities and difference among the three generations (1st, 1.5, and 2nd generations). The interviews will be transcribed, and in-depth analysis will be conducted by using a CAQDAS program. In the analysis of this phase, i.e., “Phase 1”, I will continue to codify the data by using the *focused coding fieldnotes* (Emerson et al. 2011) method, which will help me classify and arrange the qualitative data. Based on both methods’ findings (i.e., the focused coding fieldnotes and the qualitative data program analysis) the research questions may be reframed.

In the final phase I will mainly focus on the ethnographic work (writing or fieldnotes) and the data analyses and coding of it. However, more participant observation and informal interviews might be necessary to fill identified lacunae.

Preliminary online survey results

One of my survey takers, Binaz⁶⁵, is a member of generation 1.5, and arrived in France with her parents when she was nine years old. Before living in Strasbourg, they lived in another city in the Alsace region for 10+ years. At that point she was 19 years old already and moved to Strasbourg for college. She did the first three years of elementary schooling in Turkey and the rest in France. She’s now a doctoral student and in addition to Turkish and French, she also uses English (at work, among friends, when watching TV, listening to

music, browsing the internet, reading books and magazines), German (when watching TV) and Spanish (when listening to music). When asked to list the languages she uses with different people, Turkish is always listed first. Cf. Table 1 below.

Table 1: Binaz' answers to the question: *Which languages to you speak in the following contexts?*

Contexts	Spoken languages
1. au sein de la famille nucléaire	turc, français
2. réunion de famille	Turc
3. fêtes religieuses musulmanes	Turc
4. les événements culturels	turc, français
5. mariage	Turc
6. entre amies	turc, français, anglais
7. à l'école	turc, français
8. au travail	turc, français, anglais

Binaz speaks Turkish and French with her sister, her friends and colleagues. Turkish is the dominant language with her parents, cousins, grandparents (who are actually all in Turkey). I asked her about her ability to read, write, speak and comprehend both Turkish and French. She reported that she was capable of doing all of those things in both languages. With her family she went back to Turkey several times during the year when she was young and within the family, the Turkish language is used and preserved. Although she identifies herself as both French and Turkish, she does say that Turkish is her dominant identity, however both her cultures are important to her. For Binaz, one has to speak standard French in order to be like everybody else, to be unnoticed in the society (e.g. not having an accent). However, she mentions how standard French doesn't help her in the academic world in the sense that it's more about academic achievement than the languages one speaks. When speaking Turkish, Binaz has learned to adapt to her audience and to her speakers. She code-switches with her

bilingual friends to avoid imposing only one language, French in most cases. She differentiates standard Turkish, which she calls “Turkish of Turkey” from academic Turkish. There might also be a “Turkish of France” a form created by the bilingual speakers.

Conclusion

How do Turkish immigrant women in Strasbourg, France negotiate their identity through language? How important are immigration and language policies? Are they the sole explanations to assimilation, to resistance or should one explore a new dimension? What are the linguistic differences throughout the three generations? Binaz’ responses to the online survey answer implicitly some of these questions. It will be necessary to follow-up with her and conduct more interviews with other women in order to analyze their own linguistic discourse and place in the French society. The results of my research will provide a possible avenue for future research on perceptions of the Turkish immigrant women in France and the French-born Turkish upon return to Turkey.

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When the Wives Go First: Migratory Decisions of Peruvian Couples from A Gender Approach

CAROLINA ROSAS

Abstract

This article provides findings related to the decision processes of Peruvian heterosexual couples that migrated to the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (Argentina) after 1990. It analyzes why many wives migrated before their husbands and describes the dilemmas of couples to choose the first emigrant. Also, it compares the perceptions of husbands and wives about pioneer migration of women, and analyzes the thoughts of husbands about their secondary place in family migration.

Here I show that gender norms are questioned when Peruvian women migrated in the first place, especially the sexual division of labor and the women's spatial mobility. Also, the wives migration affect masculinity: husbands lost their place of main breadwinners, they began to hear rumors about infidelity of their wives, and they had to increase their commitment to housework and care of children.

This study shows that research on gender and migration must incorporate men. To ignore the men's experiences also weakens the understanding of the female experiences. Therefore, my proposal provides similar relevance to masculinity and femininity, and considers them as relational gender configurations.

Qualitative data is analyzing (from 45 in-depth interviews collected between 2005 and 2007). Qualitative approach is excellent to explain the social meanings, the senses that people give to their migratory experiences, the social norms that guide the human action, and to observe changes in gender relations. Also, I analyze quantitative data (from Gender and Peruvian Migration Survey - 2007) especially designed for this study.

Key words: *Peruvian immigrants in Argentina, Migratory decision-making processes, Migration headed by women, Male migration experiences.*

1. Introduction

The gender system both configures to the migratory processes and shifts during these processes; it does so at the intersection of other systems of differentiation and inequality (class system, ethnic system, etc). Although there have been numerous significant advances in this field, certain aspects have been neglected.

Researchers have mainly focused on what happens after migration, but the individual and family experiences beforehand (the stage known as 'pre-migration') have been the subject of fewer analyses. Pre-migration is a stage when fundamental decisions are made.

However, not all family members are on equal terms during the negotiations and the ultimate decisions, and these negotiations are rarely free from conflict.

Significantly, most of the studies done in this field involve women and very few consider men's experiences. I believe that incorporating men to our studies will allow us to understand their experiences as beings conditioned by the gender system while helping us to better comprehend the women's situation. This will doubtlessly lead us to more complex findings.

In certain contexts, we see men migrating first (Rosas 2008). However, there are some significant contemporary migration flows that do not respond to the same logic. Women have been the first to migrate in several flows originating in South America. To summarize, although the systems of inequality (gender, class, ethnic, etc) lead adult Latin American men to position themselves as the main providers and to do the activities necessary to fulfill this masculine duty, they are often not the ones to take the initiative in migratory movements.

This article provides findings related to the stage of pre-migration and analyzes the discourses of both men and women. Specifically, it focuses on the decision processes of Peruvian heterosexual couples that migrated to the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA, its Spanish acronym) after 1990. For this article, information was provided by women who migrated before their husbands and by men who migrated after their wives.

This article addresses the factors involved when a couple decides that a wife will migrate first, along with the dilemmas and conflicts that this brings. This section analyzes the migratory networks and the job market's segmentation in the host country, among other topics. I then analyze how husbands perceive their secondary role in the family migration. This section allows us to understand how husbands are affected by women migrating first, especially in terms of their role as household provider and their virility and control over their spouse. Although the decision processes and the migration experiences are heterogeneous, on the following pages I will focus only on the features shared by most of the men and women interviewed.

This article presents only a small part of the findings of a study financed by the Universidad de Buenos Aires, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Argentine Ministry of Science and Technology. For this study, 45 in-depth interviews were done in AMBA from 2005-2007. This article also analyzes quantitative data from Argentine censuses and from the 2007 Survey on Peruvian Migration and Gender (EMIGE, its Spanish acronym), a survey designed especially by my research team.

2. Characteristics of the recent Peruvian migration to Argentina, 1990-2010

Since the beginning of the 20th century, there have been different emigrant waves from Peru, but the largest wave began in 1989-94. This was owed to growing instability and fear of violence among Peruvians, a result of the economic crisis and of the armed conflict (fighting between terrorists, the military and rural dwellers) (De los Ríos y Rueda 2005). After a momentary lull in the mid-1990s, the flow of emigrants began to rise again, reaching

just under 400,000 in 2004. By that year, Argentina was second only to the United States in terms of the number of Peruvian immigrants in the country.

Regarding Argentina, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, European immigration was predominant. In the mid-20th century, there was a qualitative shift in this immigration, which was now almost exclusively from neighboring countries (especially Paraguay and Bolivia). Over the past decades, immigrants from the Asian Pacific, Eastern Europe, Central America and the Caribbean have become more visible, along with immigrants from other South American countries like Peru. Increased migration towards Argentina is related to how difficult it has become to enter the United States or EU countries, along with the social, political and economic crisis facing some of these countries. In addition, Argentina's economy has been gradually recovering and the country has implemented new and more open migratory policies.

One of the initial factors in the growing number of Peruvian immigrants in Argentina was the country's currency board, which it maintained from 1991-2002. Other reasons include the geographical proximity between the country of origin and destination, the shared language, and the fact that travel between the two countries is relatively easy, as is entry into Argentina.

According to data from Argentine censuses, the number of Peruvians in Argentina went from 17,000 in 1991 to 157,500 in 2010. They are currently the third largest group in the country after Paraguayans and Bolivians.

According to Argentina's 2001 census, there were only 68.5 Peruvian men for every 100 women, which revealed the great number of Peruvian women in the migratory flow of the 1990s. The role of Peruvian women as the first to migrate and as the initiators of their own migration questions a rooted social depiction of international migratory decisions as overwhelmingly masculine (Pedone 2008). The 2010 census also showed a higher number of women, though the gap between the sexes had decreased. This means that more men have migrated from Peru in the past decade.

The feminization that initially characterized Peruvian migration is a feature common to other migratory flows in South America. It is a response, in part, to the deepening social inequality and the deterioration of the job market due to productive restructuring and the opening of markets; the breakdown of the male supplier model (which was furthered by the negative effects for men of the processes mentioned above) and the ever-increasing dependence on money sent from relatives abroad (remittances). On the other hand, there is a

demand for this type of migrants in the countries of destination, especially as housemaids and unqualified health carers. This demand is related to factors such as the polarization of the job structure that comes with outsourcing, the increased involvement in the workforce of local women, the rising age of the population, the tendency towards geographical dispersal of the family and the ease with which female migrants find low-paid jobs that require docile obedience (Ariza 2008; Pessar 2005).

Peruvian migrants in Argentina are a relatively young population, given the fact that they are active on the job market and have migrated relatively recently. They are highly concentrated in AMBA, because the job possibilities in this region and the use of networks of fellow Peruvians. Additionally, this is an urban-urban type of migratory flow that mainly involves people born in the city of Lima. Another outstanding feature is the high level of education of the migrants: more than 50% of those surveyed for EMIGE-2007 had finished high school and nearly 20% had taken classes towards a tertiary or university degree. However, their education did not guarantee that they would be hired for a good job in Argentina.

3. Why a wife migrates first

As in other Latin American countries, the work conditions and the wages of male Peruvians worsened significantly in the last decades of the 20th century. Even so, according to our survey, the vast majority of Peruvian husbands were the main provider of the household before the migration, while most of the wives were secondary provider.

Most of the wives mentioned that they were the ones who brought up the idea of migrating and suggested that they go first. It is useful to note that the women did not necessarily want to migrate or become the main providers of the household: instead, they were hoping their husbands would successfully take on that role. However, the harsh economic conditions faced by their families obliged them to make the trip.

One unquestionable factor in understanding why women migrate first is the information that circulates on networks regarding the Argentine job market. In Peru many people think that a female migrant will find a job more quickly and that this job will involve salary, room and board, since most will be hired as housekeepers. This information not only encourages women to move but also discourages men from doing so.

Men are concerned that they will not be successful as migrants; it is difficult for them to accept a reduction in their job status and they are generally more reticent than women to accept work for which they are over-qualified. This adds a second element that explains females migrating first: women are more willing to accept poor work conditions.

In the third place, in most cases, networks are made up of women who don't always want the men to come. According to one of the husbands interviewed, who was clearly annoyed: 'If you ask a woman [in Peru] whether there's work for men in Argentina, she's going to say that there's not.' He then clarified that this was not true, putting into question the information provided by the networks. In other words, beyond the restrictions that the

Argentine job market actually imposes on male migrants, the role of women's networks cannot be underestimated in helping newly arrived Peruvian women get jobs and in dissuading men from coming at all.

Additionally, in Peru people say that Peruvian women are more accepted than men in Argentina because they are not perceived as a threat. Richi pointed out that 'It's easier for women [to get a job] than for men, I think, because we're even more marginalized.' Thus, it is not only the Argentine job market that is segmented by gender but also the stereotypes and social stigma on the part of the host society.

As for couples in crisis (generally due to unemployment, alcoholism on the part of the husband, and/or domestic violence), the women were the ones most affected by the crisis and thus the most eager to put an end to the situation. For some of these women, migration was a way to escape domestic violence.

Yet another factor cited in many interviews by both men and women is the explicit agreement for the wife to migrate while the husband looks for a way to support their children in Peru. If the man had migrated first, he would have left the family without his income, which was generally higher than that of his wife's. In addition, many husbands emphasized the economic support they provided to help their wives migrate. Some of them used their own savings to contribute to their wives' trips, and others obtained loans. This assistance was acknowledged by some of the women, even some who had a bad relationship with their husbands. Other wives received financial support from female relatives, not from their husbands.

There are still other factors that favored that decision for the woman to migrate first: the gradual social acceptance of women's migration both within Peru and abroad; the proximity of the country of destination; and the fact that it is easy to travel back and forth.

4. Conflicts and negotiations behind the selection of the wife as the first to migrate

When debating who will migrate first, couples face many dilemmas and conflicts. The first is that the woman's departure can be seen as a man's failure to maintain the household. Men spent a great part of the interview describing the economic and political situation in Peru in order to emphasize that they had not failed due to a lack of effort but instead because of the neoliberal policies implemented by the Peruvian governments.

Serving as the main provider of the household is one of the pillars of masculinity and it means contributing enough money for the family to access the goods and services it requires. Unemployment and not having enough money often create feelings of frustration (see Burín and Meler 2000; Olavarria 2001; Rosas 2008), which can lead to excess drinking and violent arguments with their spouses.

In most of the debates whether to migrate, the husband's performance as the household provider was assessed. A good number of the husbands tried to convince their wives that they could continue to fulfill their role as economic provider. However, as time went by, they began to understand that opposing their wife's migration would have a negative effect on their children's wellbeing. This is why many husbands decided to overcome the masculine mandate to be the main provider and accept the 'dishonor' ('set pride aside') of having their wife take the hull with regards to migration.

In general, women needed to dialogue and negotiate with their husbands because all had children in common and many needed money from the husband in order to make the move. These conversations are described by the men as an exchange of opinions in which the spouse that made the strongest argument prevailed. The wellbeing of the children was the main argument that women presented in order to justify their move.

On the other hand, when wives migrate first, it not only casts doubt on the husband's role as the provider but also provokes suspicion with regards to their wives' fidelity. For this reason, most of the women had to ensure their husbands that the migration would not affect their relationship. The couples agreed that as soon as the wife was established in Argentina, they would make arrangements for the husband to join her.

To convince their husbands, some of the women learned what to say. Women often transmit strategies for convincing men. This doesn't mean that the women's arguments weren't true or that men were naive to believe them. The need for wives to formulate these strategies is explained by women's dependent role in the gender and family systems. Even so, the formation of strategies reveals women's agency. That is, although most of the men and women interviewed say that the husbands had 'the final word' on their wives' migration, it is important to note that the women had 'the first word' on the topic while designing strategies and working hard to achieve their goal.

5. Being the husband of a migrant

Like in other migratory contexts, Peruvian women in Argentina experience labor exploitation, missing their children, etc. But, in this section I will emphasize the lesser known aspects related to the experience of the men who stayed in Peru. I do not mean to equalize the men's suffering with that of the women, but instead briefly show some of the difficulties that the men face.

When Peruvian migration began to increase in the 1990s, there was a significant difference between what the women were making in Argentina and what the men were making in Peru. According to Ernesto, 'At that time, I was making US\$130 in Peru. And she

was making around US\$700 [in Argentina].’ For that reason all of the men received remittances from their wives, though the amounts varied. Most of the men interviewed did not admit to having requested money from their wives but instead suggested that the women offered to send it.

The men concurred that they felt uncomfortable about the remittances. Some husbands were called ‘kept men.’ This is a common and embarrassing rumor that surrounds the husbands who stay in Peru.

At the same time, the men were bothered because even from afar, the women were exercising greater influence on the economic decisions of the household. The fact that these women became more capable of overcoming obstacles and making decisions is not only related to their new role as the main provider (through the money they sent), but also to the distance from their husband’s and family’s control. At this time, the sharing of information and the advice of other Peruvians who had been living in Argentina for longer became critical; according to the women, these experienced helped them ‘open their eyes.’

In addition, the husbands also had to deal with rumors about their wives’ sex lives. This is related to their inability to closely monitor their wives’ activities and represents an Achilles heel that other men often use to mock and insult them. The distance and time apart during a migration can endanger marriages and that rumors of infidelity through the networks can bring marital troubles. However, only 20% of the couples split up.

A third problem these Peruvian men face to varying extents is related to the care of their children. Although the children’s grandmothers and aunts did assist them greatly, all of the men interviewed were entrusted with their children’s care, and several had to learn to do household chores. ‘When the wife migrates first and the husband stays in the country of origin, she not only gains autonomy by becoming the main provider of the household but also challenges the man’s traditional role by questioning his place as the provider and by positioning him to care for the home in his reproductive role’ (Parella 2007 p. 170-171).

A good number of the fathers who stayed in Peru continued to work and were thus outside the house during the day. In poor areas where jobs require travelling, men were often away for days at a time. In these cases, it was necessary to find someone else to care for the children, at least during the days when the father was away. That is, female relatives play an important role caring for the children of migrant women, but this does not necessarily indicate a lack of responsibility on the part of the father.

To use Parella's term, the 'traumatic tension' (2007) that many men experience when their wives migrate are often 'resolved' when they also migrate. The wives were key actors at this stage, paying for the trip, finding a place to live and using the networks they had formed during their stay to help their husbands find work.

Among the men interviewed who were reunited in Argentina with their wives, we generally found that they travelled because the period agreed to by both spouses had elapsed; because they missed their wives and wanted to join them or reunite the family; or because they feared their wives would forget them.

'I couldn't take it' is a common expression among the men to explain how they felt being away from their wives. This feeling of pain may have been exaggerated (a socially acceptable discourse among men and women) and there are undoubtedly men who care less and are even indifferent, but this does not reduce the importance of how many others men experience these processes. Studies on migration and gender tend to emphasize the painful situations of the women and the 'irresponsible' behaviors of some men. Yet few focus on men who are committed to the wellbeing of their families, men who work hard, and miss their wives. In other words, acknowledging that women have it harder than men (there is plenty of evidence of this, starting with domestic violence and feminicides) does not imply that men's circumstances are free from difficulty.

6. Final Thoughts

The migration experiences of Peruvian couples reveal that marriage requires an important dynamic of communication and negotiation between spouses. Thus, regardless of whether a couple makes decisions on equal terms, wives are not expected to make a unilateral decision on their move, unless they want the end the marriage.

The effects of the gender systems on the decision-making processes cannot be considered alone but in conjunction with other systems of inequality, the contexts (space-time) of origin, the journey and the destination. In this analysis we have seen that there are many factors involved and several dilemmas arise in decision-making processes; especially since there are contradictions between the norms dictated by the gender system (the man as the main provider) and the conditions of the Argentine job market (easier job insertion for women).

In fact, during economic crises more flexible gender norms are required in order to ensure the physical and emotional wellbeing of people and their families. Some family roles are temporally transformed during the migratory process. That could be seen in the experiences of husbands who stayed in the country of origin while their wives headed migration. These men saw their economic role fade when they began receiving money from their wives. Some of them also had to face rumors about their wives' infidelity. The majority—though not all—had to do more tasks usually delegated to women (housework and take care of the children).

Also, we have seen here that before their migration the women have shown agency and autonomy to designed migration strategies, but these processes become more profound during the post-migratory stage (see Rosas 2010). Once at their destination, many became the main providers of the household and from afar, many influenced their family's economic affairs and helped their husbands to migrate. Of course, the magnitude and scope of the autonomy is conditioned by social systems. For this reason, these processes should not be overstated or idealized, since they involve conflict, pain and power struggles.

In this article, I have not analyzed any of the aspects of the post-migration stage, though it is important to note that some of changes in the dynamics of the relationships that occur while the husbands remain in the country of origin are maintained after the couple is reunited in the host country. However, the husband recovers part of the power he has lost once they are back together. We know that complex systems of domination—like the gender system—tend to be resistant to change and when changes do occur, it is frequent to seek out paths to return to the previous state of affairs. To put it briefly, the struggle between the transformations made possible in the migratory movement and the structural mechanisms of gender is resolved in a new kind of relationship: one not entirely different from the relationship spouses had in the past, but different just the same.

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Liberating Battered Ethnic Minority Women on Women's Liberation Day?

LOUISE LUND LIEBMANN

Abstract

Accounts on ethnic minority women exposed to honour violence form a highly profiled subject in Scandinavia. The notion of honour violence is used to designate the violence which some ethnic minority women are being subjected to as an implied contrast to the violence which Danish women are exposed to. The categorization of the violence – and of the women – takes place both within the media and popular discourse. However, the categorization in Denmark also occurs within the Danish civil society; e.g. in Rehabilitation Center for Ethnic youth in Denmark (R.E.D.). The categorization in question was brought to my attention during fieldwork at the center.

In this paper I focus on interpersonal encounters between professionals working at R.E.D. and the battered ethnic minority women living there. More specifically, I analyze a teaching session taking place the day after The Women's International Liberation Day. I participated in the teaching session as part of my participant observation at the center during March 2010 and February 2012.

I argue that the unequal power relations between professionals and residents influence not only how the ethnic minority women perceive the violence they have been subjected to, but also modifies their self-image. I apply the sociologist Donileen Loseke's concept formula stories and sociologist Mitchell Dean's governmentality concept. Loseke defines formula stories as narratives about types of experiences involving distinctive types of characters. As such, stories become widely acknowledged ways of interpreting and conveying experience and they can become virtual templates for how lived experience may be defined (2001; 2007).

Focusing on the interpersonal encounters allows me to bring to the core of the analysis invisible, subtle and subconscious power relations. By combining a narrative and governmentality inspired analysis, I seek to draw attention to how particular regulative technologies contribute to regulate human behavior and create certain subjects (Dean 2006). Seeing social action as a narrative, the encounters become a narrative negotiated in the interaction between the two parties. Thus, the encounters reflect different underlying assumptions in terms of ethnicity, class, religion, culture, gender and violence. As such, the narratives are created by professionals and residents, but they are also shaped by the institutional framework and (political) tendencies outside the institution.

Keywords: *Honour, violence, ethnic minority women, social welfare institutions, narratives*

Liberating battered ethnic minority women on Women's International Liberation Day?

This paper is based on a preliminary chapter from my forthcoming PhD-thesis. The thesis deals with honour based violence among ethnic minority women in Denmark and it argues that the term honour based violence constitutes part of an applicable narrative producing narrative identity. It furthermore shows how this narrative influences identity formation on different levels of society. The present paper is based on fieldwork conducted in March 2010 in a refuge called Rehabilitation center for Ethnic Minority Women in Denmark, in short: R.E.D.

Here I shall focus on the ways in which certain power relations and positionings at R.E.D. affect the way the battered ethnic minority women are perceived (Nielsen 2008, p. 15). To help pinpoint this concealed use of power I will introduce the notion governmentality that deals with how certain technologies of power contribute to regulate human conduct and form certain subjects (Dean 2006, p. 46). A governmentality inspired perspective facilitates an analysis of the interaction between professionals and residents at R.E.D. as a constantly negotiated narrative, and it furthermore shows how the narrative concerning practice is formed by different (narrative) agents. The narrative on power relations and positionings is created by a dialogue between residents and professionals but the dialogue and the interaction do not just occur as the result of one singular event. The narrative is formed by the frames of the institution, by political tendencies and narratives in society outside the institution. Thus, single encounters should be understood as parts of a process within which a negotiation takes place that discusses, which kind of narrative should create a basis for the women's place in future society (Nielsen 2008, p. 51). This paper seeks to illustrate interacting social techniques inspired by the sociologist Donileen Loseke, whose work on narrative identity deals with how so called formula stories create narrative identities on many different levels of society (2001; 2007). That is, how the battered ethnic minority women are encouraged to perceive their own story in light of foreign ethnicity, culture and religion, but also how they challenge this narrative. The social techniques produce institutionalized self-perceptions (Loseke 2001, p. 121) such as that of the young, oppressed and battered Muslim minority woman who is rhetorically opposed to the dominating and violent family. To begin with I will provide a bit of background information on the refuge and its societal role.

Rehabilitation center for Ethnic Minority Women in Denmark: Narrative (re)workings

The Rehabilitation center for Ethnic minority women in Denmark is an independent institution financed by a fund within the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration and it focuses on ethnic minority women escaping from '(...) threats of forced marriage or escaping from forced marriages and/or honour based violence.' [my translation] (R.E.D.dk). The refuge provides housing and safety for the escaped women and it includes them in a rehabilitation programme central to which are education and/or job activity. While I conducted my fieldwork at the refuge the women living there were all between 18-25 years of age, originating in South Asia and The Middle East including Turkey and Afghanistan and

most were of Muslim descent. The women were either born in Denmark or came to Denmark at an early age.

R.E.D. facilitates a regular daily program in which the professionals participate. Collective meals as well as teaching sessions and compulsory daily activities comprise the everyday lives of those residents who are not working or undergoing education. A R.E.D.-professional has the task of teaching the women about different topics thought to be of relevance to society and involves them in discussions on these topics. The women take turn on making dinner as well as on go grocery shopping with the professionals and they are each responsible for cleaning their own rooms and cleaning the common areas of the refuge.

In contrast to regular women's shelters R.E.D. is placed at a secret location as the residents are perceived to be particularly in danger, often threatened by the entire larger family. Due to the extended security level the refuge is video surveilled and only the professionals are allowed to let people in and out of the secured entrance. In addition, the windows are bullet-proof and light detectors are set up to make the alarm go off in case anyone tries to climb the building. Moreover, in each room of the refuge alarms are installed and everyone entering and leaving are obliged to write in a logbook. When moving into R.E.D. new residents are given a new name often of their own choosing. The residents are not allowed to tell anyone about the refuge's location, including family and friends, which means they can only be driven to the refuge by the professionals, the police, social workers etc. and they are not allowed to have visitors.

The very name of the refuge testifies to the fact that R.E.D. constitutes a rehabilitating effort and the (daily) work of the refuge does not in any way reflect participation in women's politics or fighting against society's unequal power relations between the two genders, which often is associated with the work of women's shelters (see Bumiller 2008; Clemmensen 2001). Instead, the refuge offers what could be described as a therapeutic integration effort, which the very subsidization of the refuge alludes to.

Donileen Loseke argues that the work of social welfare institutions is based upon substantial problem identities, which require that the self-perception and biography of the clients are in line with the solution models facilitated by the institution in question to make the residence at the institution successful (2001; 2007). Doubtless, key narrative aspects of the public politics such as preconceptions about forced marriages and honour based violence constitute a deep-rooted part of the incorporated logic and the principles behind the institution regardless of whether or not the professionals agree with these political decisions

surrounding the institution (Loseke 2007, p. 670). Institutions and organizations are compelled to have a clear image about their typical clients as these images justify the procedures of the institution by contributing with ready-made answers to practical questions such as who the main clients of the institution are, what their key concerns are, and how the concerns are to be relieved (2007, p. 671). Thus, the application of formula stories that account for the institution's solution model is particularly distinct within contexts with the explicit objective to rework the narrative identities of the clients making them fit with the institutionally or organizationally sponsored narratives. These narratives are defined as those the clients ought to incorporate into their own story, and accordingly, several similar narrative elements exist in the work of R.E.D., which will become clear during this paper.

International Women's Liberation Day: A teaching session

Frequent social activities such as the weekly teaching of the women who are not working or enrolled in educational institutions constitute some of the most significant daily encounters between the professionals and the residents. In the following I will analyze such a narrative encounter between a teacher from R.E.D. and a group of women participating as students. I find this a fruitful analytical starting point, because narrative negotiation is particularly clear in educational settings.

The morning of March 9 2010 the teacher began her teaching session. She provided two groups of R.E.D.-women with two working questions: One about how 'ethnic women' are raised and one about how 'Danish women' are raised. The teacher had prepared the questions as well as the theme because of the International Women's Liberation Day the previous day, and she had invited me to take part in the teaching session this Tuesday morning.

Group A (Nadia, Aisha and Dina) were asked to reflect on how "ethnic women" are raised and group B (Basma, Danielle and Manar) were asked to look at how "Danish women" are raised. Afterwards, group B submitted its results. On the working paper they wrote: [About "Danish women"]: "She does not need to be a virgin; she can talk to her parents about everything, she does not lie to her parents; when she turns 18, she must be independent; when she is coming of age, she is completely in control of her own life; brought up to freedom within limits; takes care of her own economy from day one. Work; does not think about honour – she controls herself." Daniella said that in contrast "ethnic girls" are not brought up to tell their parents everything as honour is important – for instance a suicide will be followed by 100 years of silence on the matter from the parents. Basma added that "Danish girls" do not need to provide for anyone and that virginity is only important for "ethnic girls". Nadia noted that for some "Danish girls" the virginity is also important and that it depends on whether or not they are, for instance, religious. Especially Nadia, but also Dina emphasized several times that there were exceptions and both "Danish" and "ethnic" families are different and so forth. On their working paper, which had been the subject of a brain storm, they had written: [About "Danish women"]: "Independent – chooses her own future, conscientious. [About "ethnic women"]: Domestic duties and attentive, honour – THE NAME OF THE

FAMILY and her own honour, virgin – pure and faithful, respect for oneself, for people and for the family, economy – helps financially, a good role model to other Muslim girls, to people and to her own family, education, school and work.” Nadia added that her group based their work on themselves and that she, for instance, has been raised to pursue education and work before having children and a family.

This excerpt taken from my field notes written during and after the teaching session illustrates that the very precondition of the teaching’s themes is the distinction between how ‘Danish’ and ‘ethnic’ girls are brought up. The teacher explicitly encourages the women to focus on the differences between the two groups of women. Furthermore, difference constitutes a condition for the teaching exercise as the two groups of women, who take part in the teaching session, are separated on the basis of a notion about differences in upbringing because of ethnicity. Thus, the teacher provides a notion of culture as distinction (Hastrup 2004) when she implies a categorization that marks the dividing line between ‘the ethnic women’ and the ‘Danish women’.

At the same time the teaching session illustrates how the women to a large extent accept the precondition of the exercise. The two groups conduct group work based on the presented logic of distinction, and the majority of the women actually confirm the underlying assumption of the discussion exercise: Differences between the respective methods of upbringing really exist and these differences actually derive from a relationship of opposition. Both group A and B look at the differences between ‘ethnic’ and ‘Danish’ women in a way that opposes the two groups of women’s upbringing to each other. ‘Ethnic women’ are brought up with honour as a focal point, which is both connected to the necessity of keeping ones virginity (until the wedding night) and protecting the family and its reputation or name. In contrast, according to the women, the ‘Danish women’ are not brought up with honour as a focal point, which is why a kept virginity (until the wedding night) is not deemed necessary and the family’s reputation and name are not thought to be important either. Instead, ‘Danish women’ are encouraged, as part of their upbringing, to find work, which leads to financial and social independence, the women explain. This freedom, which includes independence from the family, is emphasized by several of the women. However, Nadia contradicts this kind of homogenization of the two groups of women when she notes that virginity can also be of significance to ‘Danish girls’, for example, if they are religious. In addition, Nadia’s group tries to stress heterogeneity within the given categories by emphasizing differences between “Danish” and ‘ethnic’ families. Likewise, the group’s emphasis on education, work and on independent economy as important components also in the upbringing of ‘ethnic girls’ is to

be seen as an attempt to challenge a so far quite stereotyped presentation and discussion of the established categories of upbringing. As seen in the following extract there is, however, disagreements regarding this perspective, which is why the discussion continues on the same path. Now, a similar division and complex of themes is repeated:

Basma thought, however, that it was common to hit one's children in "ethnic families" and that "Danish women" are stronger than "ethnic women". She also thought that religion was used as an upbringing tool in "ethnic families". Veronica [the teacher] added that in "ethnic families" control is used as an upbringing tool. Manar said that she has been brought up to "kiss an elderly woman's hand and lick her toes" and that her father had hit her many times. Nevertheless, disagreements prevailed in the two groups regarding these issues. Nadia repeated that all her ("ethnic") female friends were educating themselves and that it was the most important thing. Nadia and Dina added that all the "ethnic girls" decide themselves who they are going to marry. Basma disagreed saying: "If I say that I will not marry a certain man I get a beating and nobody can stand that." She also thought this was the reason why many "ethnic girls" are unfaithful.

When I inquired about the difference between the reason why they are living at R.E.D. and on why "Danish women" are staying at other women's shelters Dina, Nadia and Aisha replied that it is because they have run away from their families combined with husbands whereas "Danish" women exclusively have escaped their husbands. Veronica [the teacher] said: "You're here because of your families." Aisha: "If I were to come home with a "Danish" man my dad would butcher me..." Dina and Nadia are lucky, the rest of us have all been hit." Furthermore, she stated that more "foreigners" than "Danes" are hit. Veronica [the teacher]: "Parents are afraid of losing authority." Afterwards, Nadia emphasized that one good thing about "emigrant families" is that they take good care of their elders and they stick together and that their elders are not put in nursing homes.

As to moving away from home everybody apparently agreed on the notion that as an "ethnic" woman you cannot move away from home until you are married or if you have a really good reason. For instance, if you have been accepted at university and therefore have to move away. Veronica [the teacher]: "Again, this is control. Why do parents want to control the marriage?" Nadia told a bit about her own situation and that her parents had pushed her into marriage because her husband belonged to a good family with lots of money and that parents of "ethnic" girls only pressure them to secure them a good future. Veronica [the teacher]: "Parents also want to control marriage because of their grandchildren – to be certain of who the grandchildren's father is. They are the descendants of the future."

The text excerpt exemplifies how the women are repeatedly redirected or even corrected by the teacher during their presentation and joint discussion. The teacher supports different points of view by adding to them when she says that girls in 'ethnic families' are 'brought up with control'. Later, she adds to the women's discussion on how an 'ethnic woman' cannot move away from home before marriage by saying 'that is control again', and immediately afterwards she asks rhetorically: 'Why do the parents want to control the marriage?' Nadia again tries to sketch a more nuanced description of ethnic minority parents'

alleged control with these (arranged) marriages by providing a version of her own story: Her parents put her under pressure to marry a certain man because her husband came from a good family with lots of money and thus could secure her a good future. Yet, the teacher ignores this account and provides the answer herself to her own previous question: 'Parents also want to control the marriage because of their grandchildren – to be certain of who the grandchildren's father is. They are the descendants of the future.' In this way the teacher turns the women's respective experiences and interpretations of the violence they have been exposed to into an unambiguous narrative about the collective and dominating larger family that wants to control the young women's destiny solely because of the family's foreign ethnicity and culture. However, the teacher's remarks are not innocent interpretations of the women's stories. Instead, they consist of institutional techniques in the narrative (re)work that takes place in institutions and contexts like the ones at R.E.D. These are subtle techniques like asking and answering questions, rephrasing accounts and ignoring certain aspects of the women's stories and dramatizing others (Loseke 2001, p. 121). Supported by these narrative techniques the teacher turns the conversation into a plot consisting of social control. The plot revolves around the older generation of the women's families including the parents who allegedly are forced to control and intervene against the women's actions because of an underlying fear of losing authority. Such a plot not only deprives the women of any kind of agency but it also fits well narratively with the formula stories that Loseke found in the work of the American women's shelters (2001). At stake in the R.E.D.-promoted narrative is a clear and distinct division between guilt and responsibility as was the case in the plot concerning 'men's violence against women' in the American women's shelters. However, instead of leaving a violent – and 'guilty' – man the R.E.D.-women are encouraged to leave – or at least break away from – their violent and culturally managed family, if they want a 'better' life associated with independence and self-dependence.

From governing to self-governing: The self-categorization as victims of honour based violence

Although it is possible for me to deconstruct certain interpretations in regard to the women I met at R.E.D. the surrounding narratives do influence the conduct and self-perception of the women; the women can end up supporting external depictions of themselves. This is another important perspective regarding the term governmentality. The term deals with ways in which certain understandings of reality are presented as unambiguously right and moral thus contributing to form certain subjects (Nielsen 2008, p. 75). In other words technologies of power in addition to the governmentality perspective

explore the conduct of others, but the term also deals with conduct of conduct; self-regulation (Dean 2006, p. 46). Thus, it was not all the R.E.D.-women who tried to differentiate and thereby problematize the teacher's presentation of the different methods of upbringing of 'ethnic' versus 'Danish' women respectively. As previously mentioned, it was furthermore clear that the women widely accepted ethnicity and culture distinctions as an implicit precondition for the teaching exercise, and especially the younger women told their stories within the narrative framework provided by the teacher.

It is important to note that the enrollment process at R.E.D. includes a sort of self-categorization, as the women are able to contact the refuge by themselves. The self-categorization, however, also takes place through the (tacit) acceptance of the refuge's response to the implied problem definition. R.E.D.'s rehabilitating solution model requires a confrontation with and safety from the culturally managed family (and/or husband), which stands in the way of R.E.D. and obstructs women from gaining their independence and integration into Danish society. By these means, self-categorization is part of the narrative (re)working as it constitutes a basis for the actual residence at the refuge. Put differently, by entering R.E.D. the women have to a large extent added their support to the plot that is at the core of R.E.D.'s work, as seen in the teaching session. As Loseke emphasizes, the women who completely fail to identify themselves with the refuge's solution models would most likely have left the refuge at a very early stage (2001), or they might not have been interested in moving in at the first place. Moreover, Loseke notes that the institution's success depends on whether or not it is possible to make the women accept the dominating perspective on violence (2001:2007); i.e. violence as a consequence of the controlling and culturally managed family. In one way the (gradual) acceptance of the ideologies is a decisive part of the treatment and thus the development of the women, which R.E.D.'s work on confrontations with and safety from the family are based upon. The acknowledgement and the very mentioning of a culturalized perspective on violence constitute narrative support of the narrative forms of subjectivity that the social techniques at R.E.D. – and in society as such – facilitate. This way, the self-categorization becomes a way for the women to show support of the external depictions of themselves, and by doing so they simultaneously show internalization of the very ideologies, which the refuge's work are based upon. The technologies of power are only successful insofar as agents come to experience themselves through such capacities, qualities and status positions (Dean 2006, p. 75). At the same time they become an important way for the women to show the self-development in question that fits so well with the objectives of the refuge.

Still, it is noteworthy that this also underlines the notion that a narrative influence has already taken place prior to the women's entrance into R.E.D. The dominating narrative on honour based violence in Denmark is a major part of popular accounts in the media, autobiographies, academic publications and projects in civil organizations such as within a project in the NGO Danish Red Cross Youth and of course at the rehabilitation refuge, R.E.D., all of which makes the narrative significant (see Liebmann 2011). What I am arguing here is that that the narrative including the recognizable plot structures large parts of the cultural but also of the institutionalized field of work making it difficult to speak (write and

think) outside of the established categories within the overriding problem definition, a topic I will elaborate on in my forthcoming thesis.

Concluding remarks

In this paper I have tried to demonstrate how particular technologies of power within a dominating narrative plot on social control and the culturally managed family associated with battered ethnic minority women contribute to regulate their conduct and create certain subjects. By examining a R.E.D. teaching session inspired by The International Women's Liberation Day, I have shown that R.E.D. operates with and within an inherent understanding of foreign ethnicity and culture as problematic to the women's (liberation and) self-development as well as to Danish society as a whole. The perspective enables an analysis of the encounters between the professionals and the residents as a narrative negotiated in the interaction between the two parties. Thus, the encounters reflect how the subtle power relations underlying the existing narrative preconceptions encourage an understanding of the violence the battered ethnic minority women have been subjected to solely in light of foreign ethnicity, culture and religion, and this in turn influences the women's self-perceptions.

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Theoretical Perspectives on Transnationality of Motherhood and Professionalism: How We Mother/Shadow Mother as Turkish and Migrant Women-The Example of Istanbul 2013

DR. AYŞE SEDA MÜFTÜGİL

Abstract

This paper offers a theoretical framework of a qualitative research project that explores how Turkish working mothers and migrant paid child care providers interpret the division of 'mothering labour' in the context of in-home care. Today in Istanbul working Turkish women who are shuttling between their homes and jobs cannot allocate enough time to domestic work and to their child/children or they perceive as such. Therefore nowadays a serious number of women of middle and upper level income choose to use domestic services of migrant women to fill the gap and inefficiencies between working women's work and house, especially with regards to childcare.

After 1989, the women citizens of ex-Soviet Republic as divided into different nations, became transnationally mobile due to financial constraints in their home country. Immigrant women, who work as paid child care providers and reside in Istanbul while their children remain in their country, constitute a part of this group.

In this paper, the theoretical mechanisms relevant to the 'working mothers' and paid child care providers as 'mother workers' will be analyzed leading through building the pillars of a future fieldwork. However some pilot interviews and archive material (news from daylies, the Internet etc) were included for their interpretation of the division of mothering labor within the context of in-home care.

Keywords: *transnational motherhood, anthropology of motherhood, feminization of migration*

Theoretical Framework

Inspired by Appadurai's proposition of five factors that contribute to the global exchange of ideas and information, I shall use the term of *scapes* and offer for other relevant theoretical dimensions within the scope of this paper (Appadurai, 1990). *Ethnoscape* refers to the migration of people across cultures and borders, presenting the world and its many communities as fluid and mobile instead of static. I shall rename *ethnoscape* within the scope of this article as "motherhood *ethnoscape*" and explore the new transfer of globalization of domestic work in the Turkish context by focusing on migrant paid child care providers.

Castles and Miller (Castles and Miller, 2003: 8-9) argue that movements of people are globalizing, accelerating, diversifying and feminizing. Against this account of people's

movements, according to Manuel Castells “the control of the state over time and space is being increasingly outmaneuvered by the global flows of capital, goods, services, technology, communication and information” (Castells, 2002: 259) Thus I shall name this as another scape, “maneuver scape”.

In the maneuver scape we observe both legal and illegal practices in time and space affected by the global dimensions in question as Castells argues (Ibid.) Given the increasing “powerlessness” of the state in relation to its traditional tasks, the transnationalization of any care service necessitates the transnational movement of people be it formal or informal or feminized. With the immigration of foreign domestic workers the possibility of observing a development relating to the acceptance and acceptability of deregulation in the everyday conduct of life emerges. The analysis of new types of domestic work and workers- as a social phenomenon and as social actors- is not dwelled upon in the daily life experiences.

In this paper my main argument is that women who have to work and leave their kids with paid child care providers, as well as paid child care providers who have to work and leave their own kids to their relatives back in their homelands live in a perpetual state of “crisis heterotopia”.

Heterotopia is a concept used by Michel Foucault to describe places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions (Foucault, 1997:334) These are spaces of otherness, which are neither here nor there, that are simultaneously physical and mental, such as the space of a phone call or the moment when you see yourself in the mirror. Foucault defines heterotopia in the following way.

‘There are probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places - places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.’ (Foucault, 1997:334)

He employs the term heterotopia to express the radical contrast between these sites and the rest of society which they reflect and challenge.

Out of several possible types of heterotopia or spaces that exhibit dual meanings, I would like to focus on ‘crisis heterotopia’. Crisis heterotopia is a term coined by Michel Foucault to initially designate places that are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc. (Ibid). Foucault argues that in today’s societies, these crisis heterotopias are persistently disappearing, though a few remnants can still be found. He gives the examples of the boarding school, in its nineteenth-century form, or military service for young men, which

he believes to play such a role, as the first manifestations of sexual virility were in fact supposed to take place “elsewhere” than at home (Ibid).

For girls, there was, until the middle of the twentieth century, a tradition called the “honeymoon trip” which was an ancestral theme. The young woman’s deflowering could take place “nowhere” and, at the moment of its occurrence the train or honeymoon hotel was indeed the place of this nowhere, this heterotopia without geographical markers (Ibid).

According to Michel Foucault these heterotopias of crisis are disappearing today and are being replaced by what he calls as heterotopias of deviation: those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed (Foucault, 1997:335) Cases of this are rest homes and psychiatric hospitals, and of course prisons, and one should perhaps add retirement homes that are, as it were, on the borderline between the heterotopia of crisis and the heterotopia of deviation since, after all, old age is a crisis, but is also a deviation since in our society where leisure is the rule, idleness is a sort of deviation (Ibid).

Thus what he means is that sometimes a society sends its members to what Foucault calls a “crisis heterotopia” to perform practices that the society deems accursed or holy. Such spaces of crisis and deviation are heterotopias in that they bear certain similarities to the ordinary spaces of society, but inverting or perverting its norms.

Following this line of thought I think that mother-workers in Turkey, spatially removed from their own societies and halted their own lives for a period of time with the aim of earning money, live in a crisis heterotopia. Better put, I argue that paid child care providing, as an institution is a heterotopia. Because child care providing for somebody else’s child is actually something that is rendered invisible; thus the labour is invisible work, realized in the motherhood ethnoscape of the ‘other’.

As MacDonald argues, we live in a unique historical moment: full-time, at home mothering is no longer the dominant mothering practice, yet the ideology associated with this practice is still powerful (MacDonald, 1998: 26). The delegation of mothering to paid child care providers is practiced within a cultural context that paradoxically values ‘intensive mothering’(Ibid:25). Operating under this system, mothers and paid child care providers manufacture this image of motherhood in tacit agreement. According to MacDonald, this belief in intensive mothering and in the need to manufacture a view of mother-work that coincides with that belief, creates demands for what she terms ‘shadow motherhood’ on the part of paid child care workers (MacDonald, 1998: 26). For paid child care workers, shadow

motherhood' means not only performing mother-work, but masking the fact that they are doing so. Mothers and child care providers collude in shoring up the myth of nuclear family self-sufficiency, by creating an image of the mother that coincides with the 'intensive mothering' ideal and which obscures the everyday reality of share mother-work (Ibid, 27).

Migrant women in Turkey who do paid child care providing jobs come from poor socio-economic background and they do this job because they are in need of it, become too 'shadow mothers'; an extension of working mothers who would stay home as if they were the actual mothers, but who would also 'vanish' upon the real mother's return. This factor, needing to be invisible at home, is exacerbated by the fact that these migrants need to be invisible in the society since they are illegal. Thus a status of illegality, and the nature of the job, 'shadow motherhood' render this job to be a crisis heterotopia. A state where you are not the mother of the child you are looking after, a state where you call home that is not your actual home, neither at the micro level nor at the macro level do you exist. Paradoxically you are needed and desired in the micro cosmos of the house but also unwanted in the macro cosmos of the legal state. Yet this paradoxical situation is exacerbated by another paradox. Your need at the house necessitates that you be a shadow mother and be invisible at certain times just like your presence in the economy is accepted under a silent protocol and your being is accepted with the condition that you be invisible.

To sum, in the state of this crisis heterotopia both the mother and the state is threatened by the existence of the paid child care provider with regards to, respectively, the motherhood of the mother; and the authority of the state.

As argued by Kofman "while there has been a dramatic speeding up of contemporary processes of feminization of migration, our conceptualization of these developments has not moved as fast" (Kofman et al, 2002: 21). In relation to motherhood ethnoscape and maneuver ethnoscape, feminization of migration is a cross cutter with regards to the working dynamics of international migration. Case studies from different part of the world have attempted to understand this new phenomenon in different settings (Anderson, 2000, Chang 2000, Ehrenrich and Hochschild, 2003). Similar to the other globalizing actors Turkey as a nation state, in its affluent cities and provinces such as Istanbul, Ankara, Antalya, Mersin, İzmir, Gaziantep, Tekirdağ, Edirne host to the scapes mentioned above with cross cutting population of migrants: Roma people from Balkans, black people from Africa, expatriates along side with the feminized migration in this paper's scope-the Georgians; in another case it is the Moldovians, the Uzbek, the Mogol, the Armenian, the Filipino people.

Contemporary working mothers and paid child care providers are actively involved in the process of redefining motherhood. The nexus of this redefinition entails the negotiation of child rearing practices of who does what and what that division means (MacDonald, 1998: 25).

According to Hochschild (1989) this transformation owes partially to the second half of the stalled industrial revolution. During the first half of the revolution market-bound fathers were replaced as presence in the family by home bound-omni present mothers; during

the second half working mothers are frequently replaced by paid care givers. Contrary to the above mentioned regions and income brackets, the extended family served better for the Turkish women and is still working positively favoring the working mother.

The delegation of mothering to the female members of the family be it the elder sister, aunt, mother in law, or one's own mother I believe is still crucial for the Turkish society. Yet, for the last decade, there had been a shift for some of the families of certain regions and with a certain income to rely on paid child care providers. Yet, the role of the kin female members of the family in this so-called families can turn out to be a supervisory role. In this process, the role of motherhood with the ideal "intensive mothering" (Hays, 1996: 9) is strengthened by different actors and as a result a false "shadow motherhood" emerges, to use MacDonald's term. I argue that the constructors of this shadow motherhood are mothers, nannies and family members of mothers who adopt supervisory role.

Returning to the actors namely the working mother and the paid child care provider, there is a confrontation with regards to the physical scapes. A transparency, a juxtaposition of blurred borders of work and home depends upon and interpreted by the eye of the beholder; for the migrant nanny a home is her work place but not her own house; for the working mother her home becomes a work place for another mother which is not her children's biological mother.

The Turkish Context: Paid child care providers and Mothers

Turkey, a traditionally migrant- sending country, has become a migration-receiving country in recent years and has started to receive migrants –mostly irregular migrants- from Eastern Europe. In the last decade women migrants from countries such as Moldova, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and many others have joined the migration movements mainly due to geographical proximity, liberal visa regulations and an informal labour market. Today in urban cities in Turkey, many migrant women work in Turkish houses as live-in nannies/housekeepers. These women are mostly young and have their own children back in their own countries. They send their income to their children who are generally taken care by grandmothers or other kins back in their towns. Thus, they constitute a group who transform the meanings of motherhood to accommodate spatial and temporal separations.

In this paper the theoretical background for a future research is discussed. However some initial field observations (pilot interviews with paid child care providers and a preliminary content analysis some of the predominant web-sites of the paid child care

providers, and employment websites) were realized. Below are the examples relevant to the theoretical concerns of this paper:

My first interviewee was a Turkmen woman of 35 years old, a mother of a 9 year old girl, was looking after a 9 month old baby-girl. She narrates:

‘I was in a great depression. My husband had died and I had lost my twins in the last days of my pregnancy afterwards. My dad had died previously. I was really in a bad situation. I was talking to myself and halusinating. My relatives told me that it would be better for me if I went to Istanbul and worked there a bit and save money for my only daughter in this life. Thus I started working. It has been since three years that I did not see my daughter. It feels horrible to be apart. I feel really attached to the baby that I am looking after. I someties talk to her as if she would understand me, telling her about my own daughter. I dont know how what I will do when the day-the departure day arrives- I am giving all my love to her and putting her in the place of my daughter. I bore my daughter but I am not raising her. My only aim is to save some money and to be able to buy a her a house in Turkmenistan.’

The narrative she started with a dream, she first had a dream about her father, the dream went on and on. As read above the motherhood for this woman began with a triple trauma; loss of her father and the loss of her babies and the loss of her husband. She wanted to return to Turkmenistan so much upon her mothers death, yet still she had another minor trauma in the airport. She said that she could not find the desk of the Turkmen Airlines and finally declared herself to the police and deported, for the one and only time. She had to pass through the medical exam for the veneral disease with other women. In my opinion she is still experiencing another kind of trauma, for not seeing her daughter for so long. She used two surnames (maiden and marriage) consecutively, with different passports. Since she has no other surname to use, her departure from Turkey, will apperently be one-way trip to Turkmenistan.

The below narratives are from the Internet of the websites of the working women.

“Many women came to this country for different reasons but each one’s heart ache is the same. I believe it to be so. Who would want to leave their kids and their homes? Children who grow up in the absence of their mothers are deprived of love. Not having one’s mom around, brings up a cold natured generation. This is not something good for the mom and also for the society at large. Also, mothers go in depressions in different countries. This is not something to condemn (to be in depression). This depression is caused due to departure from the kids, relatives and due to homesickness. Albeit these hardships, the mother accepts to work in hard conditions and go abroad with one thing in mind; to help their children.”

One other citation as a narration is:

“Georgian women in Turkey work generally as in-home nannies. Some of them miss their kids, some their house holds, some their relatives but the most important is they miss their countries. To be homesick is really hard.”

The last example of a narrative is:

“I lost my husband while I was young. I was raising two kids. Everybody helped as far as they could. At those times there was an internal war in Georgia. During those times the hardest challenge was the sickness of my child. He had menengitis. I was praying day and night. Nobody told me but apperantly everybody was expecting his death. God is Great and my son is saved. When I came to myself I found myself in great debt. All my relatives worked hard to find me a job and I ended in Istanbul. With time, my situation got better.”

“Every life wants to save itself, including the bugs, insects. Ofcourse people too. Saviour comes in another country serving them.”

The main concepts that emerge from these narratives are alienation, home-sickness, victimization and a state of protest against poverty and their life conditions exacerbated by the fact that they are recruited by high income families, along side a peculiar feeling of gratitude feeling is observed stemming from being employed and helping their children.

Conclusion

Upon this theoretical basis, in the fieldwork I would like to focus on the quality of the mutual relationship between Turkish working women and migrant women, which is inevitably informed by a socio-economic asymmetrical power relation. My focus will be on the ‘motherhood’ perceptions of each party and how that perception influences womens’ relationships vis-à-vis each other, their respective views on each other and their reciprocal attitudes.

On the basis of a survey and in-depth interviews that will be conducted with both Turkish working women who use the services of migrant paid child care providers; and by nourishing from contemporary literature on feminization of migration, transnational motherhood, anthropology of motherhood, theories of alienation and feminist theories, the

research will shed light on how different perceptions of motherhood are accommodated/negotiated/battled over in the same domestic sphere.

Analysis of illegal/legal migrant domestic workers in Turkey is not an under researched area. However foci of these researches are often on working conditions of migrants and social/cultural/health problems that migrants face in Turkey. In the Turkish context, research that tackle with the impact of the feminization of migration and globalization of domestic work is in its infancy. Within this literature on the feminization of migration, research about paid child care providers as live-in domestic workers and their relation with Turkish women as their employers who are in a symbiotic relation is totally missing.

Another reason as to why I think it is valuable to do this research lies at the quality of the work of these paid child care providers, which can be rather alienating. Looking after a child needs more than a physical effort as a labor thus emotional labor is an important component of the work of the nannies. A final concern in this study is to understand the dynamics of the exchange-that is professional-functional and emotional- between the nannies and the employer.

In the context of this paper, the question is: Informed by an asymmetrical economic/social relationship, how do various ‘motherhood’ perceptions of Turkish working women who use the services of migrant paid child care providers and also migrants who work for Turkish women are accommodated/negotiated/battled over, in the same domestic sphere, entailing a touch of alienation and illegality.

I believe that this question has deep roots in macro social institutions such as transnational migration that has repercussions in a micro cosmos; the family. Within this question the conceptualizations stratified are as follows; anthropology and racialization of motherhood, feminization of migration, alienation, emotional labour and transnational motherhood.

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PART 7

RE-THINKING GENDERED MIGRATION: INTERSECTIONALITY, IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION

Transnational Citizenship and Integration through Religious Inspiration: Case Study of Social Activism In Brussels

MERVE REYHAN KAYIKCI

Introduction

The first wave of Muslims flowed into Europe after the Second World War, and their numbers gradually grew after the 1960s (Kılınç 2006: 29). Muslims brought along with them their culture and religion, and their cultural particularities became visible in the public sphere (Göle 2011: 387). The presence of a Muslim population within Europe and as citizens of Europe gradually became visible due to the increase of the education level, their participation in the public sphere and even in politics (Kılınç 2006:28, Göle 2011, Göle 2008). This visibility of Muslims in the public sphere has nearly eliminated the chances of Europeans being ‘indifferent’ to their presence (Göle 2011:388), and has pushed them into the public debates (Göle 2008: 29). The debates concerning Islam’s prominent presence, and persistent cling to its religious symbols, have evolved around the topic of a disintegration of European identity (Göle 2011: 384).

The disintegration of European identity is a supposed dystopic outcome of the rising number of Muslims in Europe whose loyalties are not strictly narrowed to Europe. Their attachments to their visible religious symbols have called into question of whether they have a strong sense of loyalty to Europe (Göle 2011:388). Consequently as the presence of Muslims has become more and more visible the question of whether religion is assertive or adversive in the integration process still lies on the table of debate.

The debates concerning the compatibility of Islam with Western values has entrapped the most visible components of this argument within the middle of it, namely women. Europe today supports a vast population of Muslim women, who may or may not be visible and may or may not be practicing, but experience the implications of their identities every single day.

This research is part of the debate I have discussed above. It aims to study how Turkish Muslim women construct their identity as pious people in relation to the secular modern European discourse. It focuses on how they negotiate with this discourse and transform it to fit their religious and social-professional lives. The study was conducted in the context of the Golden Rose women foundation based in Brussels, in which my female interlocutors are volunteering social activists.

Identity Formation of Muslim Women: Aspirations and Conflicts

It is assumed that people arrange their realities according to the context they are born into, and states encourage that they comply with the nation state discourse. In this chapter I will explain the main theory I used to analyze my epistemological data, namely social imaginaries, and the weaknesses of this theory.

The term social imaginary is used by the philosopher Charles Taylor to designate the way people formulate their social lives beyond theory and as a reality. By putting forward a term as such, Taylor refers to “the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations” (Taylor 2004:23). Taylor explains this phenomenon as a complex, “It incorporates a sense of the normal expectations we have of each other, the kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life. This incorporates some sense of how we all fit together in carrying out the common practice (Taylor 2004:24).” Quintessentially, social imaginary is the narrative societies build around themselves to configure a space for action and belief. It is the prescription through which societies understand their worlds and discourses. I agree with Taylor in that every person exists within a social body that determine how they deal with their reality however he takes the issue up very homogenously. Hence I ask, does the theory not get tied up when two societies co-exist under the same national discourse?

What I am referring to here is when a community of people migrate into a society in which the native people have a completely different religion, culture, national history and in short they have a different social imaginary. Then let us say the immigrant community, as a result of this cohabitation, years long of education, and acculturation got familiar with the local narratives and even internalized them to some extent, while on the other hand they also got to learn their original culture and narratives through the acculturation within their families, would the two completely diverse social imaginaries not collide?

The women with whom I actualized my ethnography are Muslim and they intend to hold on to the spiritual side of their identity, in an environment that can cause major

predicaments in their life for this reason. These women hold on to two different social imaginaries, one is their spiritual world, that they articulate and build on within their families, friends, and the faith based movements they are in (if they are a part of one), the other is the social imaginary of the larger society, of secular Europe now that they are in Europe. If so, how do these worlds develop side by side and not crash, how do these women balance out both imaginaries that are supposed to serve as prescription in understanding and manipulating life?

Formations of the Identity

The women volunteering for Golden Rose live in a hybrid environment and in most cases the hybridity arouses as a fusion of top-down governmental policies welded in the societal and political structure of the people. My argument is that coming from an Islamic background and living in a non-Islamic context creates a dual conflict within the identities of these women. The reason for this is because the identity formation of Europe perceives itself in contrast to certain aspects of the identities of my interlocutors.

The European modernization is almost synonymous with the concept of rationalization. Rationalization in the entities of scientific reasoning basis itself in “empirical knowledge and causality over time” instead of the former belief that “the world is a divinely ordered, that is, somehow ethically meaningful cosmos” (Mueller). The social sciences were dominated by the overall belief that religion had died (Norris and Inglehart 2004:3). The end product of the rationalization process is a ‘modern society’; hence the rationalization, modernization, bureaucratization and urbanization processes are noticed almost synonymously (Mueller, Norris and Inglehart 2004:3). The modernization process was perceived as the process of transformation during which the effects of religion on social life observably diminished, and its privatization (accordingly it’s concealment from public life) was seen as the solution to the ongoing religious-cultural conflicts (Amiriaux 2007:132). As the authority of the church diminished so did the impact of concepts, as morality, from social life, which mounts to the conclusion that, “Politics, culture, and social morality are supposed to remain independent of any religious influence” (Amiriaux 2007: 132).

Europe’s experience with religion is very unique in itself and entails very unique historical results, which Charles Taylor deduces as, a declination in religious beliefs and their practices, and its withdrawal from public sphere (Leon, Leeuwen 2003:78). His interpretation of religion’s retreat from the public sphere is an outcome of, “institutional changes in the modern world”, where social life was taken out of the domains of the church in many areas

because those areas were included to other institutions than the church, such as “economy, politics, science” (Leon, Leeuwen 2003:78).

If European secularism were to be taken as a continental process, Islam in Taylor’s words is a contrast to that secular worldview, hence the discourse surrounding the Islamic tradition is a concrete example of a non-modern, non-secular ethos (Barre 2012:140). Islam belongs to the part of the world that the West for centuries determined as a designation for everything it was not, it belongs to a culture whose anti-thesis formed the Western identity, wherein if modernity was born out of the Western context Islam was definitely not part of that (Bracke and Fadil 2008:2). Therefore the problem with Islam is not solely about dress codes and gender segregation; it is about the history of identity construction and the compatibility of the two discursive traditions. Asad, states that although Muslims do live in certain countries of Europe, there is non-recognition of these people as part of the European civilization (Asad 2003). According to Asad the word identity in its present sense was developed after the Second World War, referring to the recognition of the self, and in Europe’s case it embodies the anxieties towards those who do not belong to the Western civilization (Asad 2003:161). The problem today is that Islam was geographically over there and safely different, today it is here and it is confusing history by claiming it can be a part of the whole.

As a representative of the “other” I decided to conduct my research on Golden Rose members. They aspire to stay pious in such a conflicting context. For some reason or another they imagine a world where religion can be lived in a secular entity. But my argument is that these worlds are not incompatible, and in a state of *rencontre*, although in varying degrees it is confrontational. My assumption is that both social imaginaries exist in the mind worlds of these women. I believe a very essential part of their life history would be glossed over if we were to argue that their secular formal education, their non-Islamic social life, and the whole non-Muslim society around them did not influence their social imaginary nearly as profoundly as their spiritual context influences them. A question concerning the possibility of these two worlds resulting in an activist reactionary selection of one identity may occur, but the outcome of this research indicated that this was not the case.

I Chose the Rose: The Movement as an Equilibrant for European Muslims

My argument for this chapter is that my interlocutors strive to find a place in the society they are living in. Hence they use social activism, through Golden Rose, in order to bridge the gap between their religious sensitivities and the society’s apprehension towards this visibility. The methods they use while doing this is through a discourse in order to be fully understood by the people who are not familiar with Islam, its traditions and discourses.

Social movements, is an outcome of communities departing from the established traditional structures and institutions and moving closer to a more interactive relational and constructive order, (Melucci 1992:43). Meaning is thus produced by this relation, hence “Social movements are a form of action which distance themselves from the inherited and signal the sites and ways in which society constructs itself” (Melucci 1992:43). Social

movements come out of established, and sustained orders but are movements of societal change, coming about with the collective actions of “loosely knit networks of groups and organizations” (Peterson 2013:420). Contemporary social movements should not be confused as a revolutionary force aiming to change the system from the roots, they do not question holders of sovereignty and power, their aim is not conflict but negotiation, whether the subject of negotiation is tradition, religion, or other aspects of identity (Çetin 2010:9). Theories concerning social movements debate that they should be analysed in terms of a quest for, “the recognition for new identities and lifestyles” (Polletta and Jasper, 2001:286).

The Gülen Movement is one unique part of an ongoing phenomenon all around Europe. Muslims, especially young and educated Muslims are seeking for ways to bridge the gap between their traditions and the Western context they are living in, giving rise to a concept now coined as critical Islam.

This new shift among Muslims brought about a new necessity of an articulation of Islam that would meet these needs. Gülen’s articulation of Islam and the Movement enters the picture here, because it arises as an outcome of this need. Most people may argue that being part of the Movement transforms these people into more liberal believers but I argue that the fact that there is an ongoing transformation among Muslims towards a more liberal ideology brought about social movements as the Gülen Movement.

One of my interlocutors conveyed that the main reason she decided to join the Gülen Movement was that the religious circles her parents followed were not answering the problems she experienced. They were too repellent and not flexible enough for the needs of a Muslim who lived in Europe. She recalled that she needed a religious articulation which made her feel happy as a European and content as Muslim. This is why she chose to join the Gülen Movement. In the case of critical Muslims, life in the West is something not to be appalled of to be adjusted to without losing touch with core belief, and the main issue of concern is the tidal flows of the identity and the relational issues between Muslims and non Muslims (Mandeville 2001:136-137).

My interlocutors as European Muslims experience similar phenomena to what I have stated previously. There is a gap where the social imaginaries of my interlocutors meet with the conflicting social imaginaries and this affects the courses of their lives, their social statuses and most importantly their self identification and the right of self representation. Because these women share the public sphere with the rest of the society, as a result of education and employment etc., and still wanting to maintain their unique religious-cultural

sides they seek to bridge that gap, hence resorting to social activism as the ultimate means of building that bridge.

Focusing on Golden Rose as a local institution inspired by the Movement, it is apparent that such an association responds to the individual needs of a changing community. My first reaction towards Golden Rose, when I was first introduced to the association was that it was another ground for Muslim women to meet and talk about the headscarf issue, and discrimination. What I did not understand was why they did not talk about the problems and discriminations only Muslim women face. When I confessed to Ms. Yorukoglu about my surprise she explained that they realized in society everyone experiences discrimination relating to their background. She added that their aspiration was to reach out to all levels of the society to eliminate the concept of discrimination itself, not solely towards Muslims.

Taking my observations into consideration, regardless of its composition of members, I argue that Golden Rose can be categorised as a faith based movement, however it is a secular association. This may cause some raised eyebrows, but one must give benefit of the doubt, and see that there is a difference between believing and practicing a religion, and using it as an identity politics.

Hence with identity politics the issue at stake is more about who we are, in contrast to whom they are, and how can we be acknowledged with our specific differences. This is the main axis of faith based initiatives, they want a system where they feel comfortable with the expression of their identity, and indeed do something to promote development in their communities, whereas with Golden Rose sticking to ones community is bluntly out of the question.

Women but not Feminist

This mere issue of avoiding identity politics is why they are strictly against being defined as a feminist association. This chapter argues why as a women's association Golden Rose does rejects being categorised as a feminist institution. Movements such as feminism in most cases entail an intense promotion of identity politics, in which identity can refer to gender, ethnicity, class, and/or political ideology, a liability even third wave feminists who were very diligent about identity enhancement, fell into (Zimmerman, McDermott, and Gould 2009:77, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy).

The idea of having a women's association lies in the fact that before Golden Rose there was another association BETIAD, also a member of Fedactio, which was based on business. When the founders of BETIAD realised that the association lacked women, as apparently there are not many business women among the immigrant community the founders of Golden Rose decided to erect their own association which would address their own needs and comply with their own lifestyle as professional Turkish women. This did not mean that it was exclusive to women or was about the predicaments women faced but it was an association that brought a women's perspective on problems related to current issues. The founders state that men are welcome to enrol in Golden Rose and hence are women to

BETIAD. I believe what they are trying to eradicate is the self-suppression of women carried out through homogenization, as there are many layers of the social composition that are victims of discrimination.

The association is set up in Brussels by women and administrated by women, although they do not define themselves as feminists or an all-women association, and this clearly shows that they acknowledge the stereotypes placed on Muslim women as oppressed and the Western sentiments on female emancipation. The founding of Golden Rose is a statement that they are not following BETIAD, but following their own rules, their own needs and their own association, and by doing so pointing out that they also acknowledge female emancipation. At the same time they define their association to be focusing on issues revolving around solidarity, culture, and education (2013), but not specifically on problems women face. As they do not feel oppressed by their religion or culture, forming an outlook based on challenges (specifically) women face will bring with it the connotations of the oppressed Muslim woman, something they do not wish to emphasise. They believe that as good Muslims and as women their duty is to represent their piety through serving their country and making sure that service reaches everyone regardless of differences.

The Representation of Piety

Social activism is how my interlocutors try to bridge the two conflicting worlds. This chapter argues what the objective of social activism is. How do these women construct a bridge, how do they bring forth a recognition of their identity? I argue that recognition according to my interlocutors comes with representation and understanding.

Representation for Gülen is a crucial point that every Muslim should take seriously. According to Gülen, representing religion through one's actions and behaviours in everyday life is a much more powerful signifier than preaching (Gülen 2008). And faith primarily means commitment to your country and to your people, thus serving them in order to please God, and the sympathisers of the movement instead of taking this literally and on a national basis, interpret it to enhance *whatever* society they are living in, because if they are living there, it is their society (Aydüz, 1998). Only through representation (living one's principles in daily life) can one clearly and honestly indicate their intentions (Gülen 2008). The theme of representation came up in nearly all of my interviews. Having been inspired by Gülen the members of Golden Rose have developed a firm belief in the power of representation, which what they are using the association for.

One of the most interesting events organized by Golden Rose parallel to this understanding of ‘a good citizen is a good Muslim’ is the panel, The Impact of Women in the Culture of Co-existence (April 27, 2012). The conference took place in the European Parliament in Brussels, hosted by Isabella Durant the co-president of the Green Party. The topics that were debated focused on all the cultures and religions that flourished in Belgium, and how not only politicians and the law could solve the problem of incompatibility but also on how civilians, normal citizens can be a bridge between the law and the society. Considering that Golden Rose is an association founded by Turkish-Muslim women, it is quite expected that they are more informed on the problems their community may be experiencing, although they did not say that, I am coming to a logical assumption. On the individual level all the members of the association there that day would be perceiving the issue from their own angles but when it comes to actually debating the problem of social problems and intolerance they never express their reference as Islam or the Muslim community and go to lengths to include representatives of other communities, transforming it from a you-we problem to an ‘our’ problem

Through the events and panels they are representing their ideas of how a good person/citizen/Muslim should be, and that they are those people who can co-exist peacefully within the Belgian system and values. Representation however is about enabling the “other” to understand you, and for this reason although my interlocutors believe Muslims, who want to uphold their piety use secular discourse in most cases.

It is safe to assume that the members of Golden Rose are very well aware that for communication between them and the larger proportion of the society they have to speak their language, and explain their ideals in Western concepts so rather than using social activism as a practice of being a good Muslim, they use it to be a good citizen. Believing that a good citizen is also a good Muslim makes it easier for them to internalize this principle in their daily lives. Their social activism is approved and accepted by Belgian officials because they are seen as an act of responsible citizenship. Likewise instead of coming around a discourse of “helping Muslims”, they come around a discourse of “helping the society” of which Muslims also will inevitably benefit.

This humanistic approach and shift of discourse to societal issues is what enables Golden Rose to access the wider public sphere and discussions, because the language they use is recognized. This access to debates and recognition by politicians and representatives is the cement of the bridge. These women are not like the first generation immigrants who came only for working reasons; they are here because they acknowledge Belgium (or any other country in Europe) as their home country and they feed from both their cultural tradition and the secular tradition of Europe (Göle 2008:152). From both traditions they generate a language born in Islamic discourse that they believe can apply itself to the Western discourse.

Conclusion

My data and analyses unearthed my interlocutors feel at home in Belgium, and they feel comfortable in most cases because they were born and raised in Europe. They feel at

home in Europe because they have confidence in the welfare system and feel secure. In this case their social imaginaries are constructed so as loyal Europeans they believe they can live in Europe in peace with the rest of the society regardless of the cultural-religious differences, which they see as minor matters. My interlocutors however are very well aware that this is not the case in many incidents they experience or see other people experience. They see that there is a rising prejudice towards Muslims, and their social and professional lives are more difficult than the non-Muslim (non-visible Muslims). They are not willing on the other hand on giving up on the religious part of their identity and seek for a way to integrate their identities within the larger part of the society and gain recognition. My argument is that this where social activism serves as a rescue line, as civil society and social activism is quite common and widespread in the European context this is how they organize themselves in order to work together and come at a common achievement, which is self-representation. They represent their aspirations through the panels/conferences/events they organize and try to reach out from the highest level of government and to the common people, to show that although they are culturally different they can come to common grounds with the rest of the society to serve that exact society. They articulate these ideas as advices from Fetullah Gülen, who believes that a good Muslim is first a good person who lives for the well-being of other people (cite). Social activism thus is a signification of their piety and it is the method they use to bring their imaginaries to life. This is a utopia as it may sound and one cannot know if they will live long enough to see if whether it may come true, however the reality remains that it is the locomotive of their initiations.

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Indigenous Women and Migratory Vulnerability

An intersectional account

MARÍA ARÁNZAZU ROBLES SANTANA

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to examine the vulnerability of indigenous women in the migration context using interdisciplinary approaches as a conceptual framework. There are several types of social tension and different kinds of discrimination that impact the lives of indigenous women who migrate voluntarily or by force – a very controversial question. For this reason the whole migration process must be analyzed to verify, from the normative point of view of Human Rights, whether their rights are guaranteed or not along the hard route toward their destination as well as after they have arrived. At the same time, we want to consider indigenous women's possibilities of empowerment in this new phase of her lives. Will they be a disempowered minority forever? A gendered minority doomed to remain subordinate? Since colonization, indigenous people have always been marginalized; have been placed "outside" society. In this context, realities such as "racial segregation", "oppression", "violence", "subordination", and even their remarkable exclusion from the "social contract", are central topics in the discussion on migration and indigenous women in a global world where identities are constantly being reconfigured. Vulnerability and defenselessness are feed-backed by the intersection of gender, ethnicity, poverty and the new condition of migrant, which stigmatize indigenous women as others, as outsiders. These factors mark the difference between the nation-state citizenship and the lack of civil status of migrants. In addition, migrant stereotypes are socially constructed by media and political discourses as a big threat to national security. In this sense, the barriers that these women come against when trying to reach their goal must be unveiled, recognized and accepted in the foreign country, in spite of their gendered and race-marked body. In order to analyze the urgent need to make indigenous women visible in the migration context, we first need to scan the numerous types of interdisciplinary violence that partake in the process; secondly, we must try to understand how the ethnic and gendered prejudice affects transnational migration; and finally, we must detect the consequences that make indigenous women more and more vulnerable.

Key words: *Indigenous Women, Structural Violence, Intersectionality, Ethnicity, Human Rights*

Does my nana know that I hate her when she brushes my hair?

No, she doesn't know. She doesn't know anything.

She's an Indian, she's barefoot

and she doesn't wear underwear under the blue fabric of her skirt.

Rosario Castellanos (Balún Canán)

I want to start this communication by examining its theoretical framework, which places indigenous women as the main subject of this investigation. In this sense, and before reaching the set objective, which is the vulnerable condition of these women, as migrant women and racial minorities – we cannot forget that their skin colour, and thus their phenotypic traits define and limit them – we must examine all the sensitivities involved and which play a role in their lives and constrain them even more.

At this point, the epistemological framework is related to the Human Rights paradigm, for as we will come to realize, it is not promptly attained. Therefore, in this research certain analytical categories will be intersected in order to understand all forms of discrimination involved therein, in a supposedly democratic and multicultural world.

Indigenous women: the segregated subject

It cannot be stated at present that indigenous people are accepted in the Western world, even in the countries they live in. There are many examples of constant humiliation and lack of tact toward this group as a consequence of their historic construction, based on a rooted moral superiority and the political order of medieval Europe. The medieval image of the Indians also fed from Greco-roman documents and history, where the world was divided in two distinct parts: the civilized world and the barbarian world. In the case at hand, indigenous people were always seen and constructed as primitive and uncivilized people of a barbarian condition, to the point of exceeding this disproportionate ethos deeply rooted in Ancient times, questioning their human nature.

Nowadays this ‘civic’ border is still alive, in other forms, despite international legal attempt to counteract this trend⁶⁶. Even so, they are still victims, and continue to suffer violence and face multiple discriminatory challenges that are even posed by other subordinate groups, such as mixed-race people. A clearly social pyramid is drawn here, which feeds itself when a subaltern collective feels more integrated than another in the society they live in. In this way, indigenous people within their geographical contexts as state-nation members were discredited and placed a lower social class, in many cases without the necessary resources to respond to this unfair and unequal situation. In this social pyramid of inferiorities, indigenous women are at the base, and thus carry this historical burden that still causes injustice and violence, and is accentuated by gender discrimination.

⁶⁶ The *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*, 1989 (No. 169), and the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), 2007, UN -Declaration that was adopted with 144 States voting in favour, 4 voting against (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) and 11 abstentions (Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, Kenya, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Samoa and Ukraine)-, are the most important International Instruments for the protection of Indigenous peoples Human Rights.

Throughout history, indigenous women have been ignored and disregarded. In the 15th century, when the Spanish conquerors arrived in the West Indies, they discriminated against them and started to lay down the norms for their customs and the gender roles implied therein. As an example, we can have a look at this quote by Christopher Columbus from his fourth and last voyage:

‘In Cariay and in these lands near, there are great enchanters and very awe—inspiring. They would have given the world that I should not have been remained there an hour. When I arrived there, they sent to me at once two girls, very showily dressed; the elder was not more than eleven years old and the other seven; they were both so abandoned that they were not better than prostitutes. They carried magic powder concealed about them. When they came, I commanded that they should be decorated with some of our things and sent them back to land at once’⁶⁷.

These words can be found in similar terms in other conquerors’ letters; I find it appropriate to call this a ‘discursive colonization of gender’, because before the colonization process took place, a brutal conquest was told and justified through words, in the diaries and letters sent to the Crown⁶⁸.

Not only indigenous women, but all aboriginal people were increasingly segregated in the colonial period. The colonizers founded – as they called them – *The Spanish Republic* and *The Amerindian Republic*. Women suffered the massive consequences of this andro-centric system of domination, ‘the civilizing mission’, as María Lugones states, ‘was the euphemistic mask used to brutally access people’s bodies through unimaginable exploitation, violent sexual violation, control of reproduction, and systematic terror – feeding people alive to dogs or making pouches and hats from the vaginas of brutally murdered indigenous females, for

⁶⁷ FERNÁNDEZ GUARDIA, Ricardo (1964), *Cartas de Juan Vázquez de Coronado conquistador de Costa Rica*. San José de Costa Rica, Barcelona, 1908, Academia de Geografía e Historia de C.R., pp. 297.

⁶⁸ ROBLES SANTANA, M. Aránzazu (2011), “Mujer y género en el discurso indiano del siglo XVI en Costa Rica” in Vázquez Bermúdez, Isabel (Coord.), *Investigación y Género. Logros y Retos*. Sevilla, CS9 Producciones, pp. 1689.

example'⁶⁹. On the one hand, this gives us a clear vision of the asymmetrical, ethnocentric and euro-centric social division constructed in those days, a social construction that even today – under other forms of practice and in a different context – is still perpetrated. On the other hand we find the andro-centric domination of females, or what María Lugones has called 'The colonialism of gender' where 'the semantic consequence of the colonialism of gender is that "colonized woman" is an empty category: no women are colonized; no colonized females are women'⁷⁰. So, in the midst of the colonial process of dehumanizing the other, we find women, or the female, more vulnerable, oppressed and violated than other indigenous people.

Independence did not necessarily bring citizenship with full rights. This 'privilege' was not easy for the people of these communities, and was hardly and slowly instituted in the different American republics, not always being *de facto* integration. We can affirm that this unequal legal situation continues today.

In view of the foregoing, this historical continuity in the marginalization of indigenous people and their exclusion from political arenas and citizenship, and on the basis of the specific subject of study – that is, indigenous women – de-colonial studies are a significant theoretical framework in which to understand the category of indigenous women in contemporary and present history. According to Patricia Muñoz Cabrera, we believe that a profound research that considers structural violence against indigenous women cannot ignore colonialist legacy; in this case, that of the Latin-American continent. Victoria Stanford (quoted by Patricia Muñoz) is working on colonial domination and considers that colonialism 'has framed the relationship between the state and indigenous people, particularly that of indigenous women, within the limits of direct violence, terror and the expropriation of their lands'⁷¹.

Indigenous women: Intersection of oppressions and Structural violence

In addition to the aforementioned factors involved in the continuous segregation of the subjects – that is, being a woman and being indigenous – other social and structural categories will affect and intersect the segregated subjects, consequently oppressing and disempowering them, if they ever had power.

⁶⁹ LUGONES, María (2010) "Toward a Decolonial Feminism" in *Hypatia*, no. 4, vol. 25, pp. 744

⁷⁰ *Ibíd*em, pp. 745

⁷¹ MUÑOZ CABRERA, Patricia (2011), *Violencias Interseccionales. Debates Feministas y Marcos Teóricos en el tema de la Pobreza y Violencia contra las Mujeres en Latinoamérica*. Honduras, CAWN (Central America Women's Network), pp. 13

This is true to such an extent that the classic subordination / oppression triad intersecting in the classic categories – gender, race and class – is crossed by other oppression levels. Their historical poverty, identity, culture and citizenship (?), among other factors, come together in a social landscape that removed them from the ideal of womanhood that derives from the social contract. This contract creates differences aimed at resulting in their exclusion, and so they are marginalized, disrespectfully addressed as ‘minorities’ – in this case, ethnic minorities – in an act of displacement that starts in the language and has direct consequences and effects on civil population through xenophobia and racism.

The social contract is based, in the words of Boaventura De Sousa, ‘in certain criteria of inclusion that logically correspond to criteria of exclusion’. Among these criteria we find the idea that ‘only male citizens are included in the social contract. All other people – whether they are women, foreign people, ethnic minorities (but sometimes majorities) – are excluded; they live in a state of nature, regardless of whether they can actually coexist with other citizens (...)’⁷² and he goes on to state that ‘the potential of contractualization to englobe is opposed by a radical separation between those included and those excluded (...) For that reason, the excluded ones are sentenced to be alive in a civil regime of death’⁷³.

It is here that we want to place indigenous women, in this limbo, where the ‘civil death’ stands. But not only in their condition as migrants, an aspect that we will look at later, but also in relation to their condition as citizens in their native country. Their inclusion in population censuses has been slow and complicated, a fact that has hampered their access to formal or legal citizenship; this determines their marginality and exclusion.

We now stand at a crossroads of structural oppressions that are described in the so-called ‘matrix domination’ elaborated by Patricia Hill Collins which is surrounded in an andro-centric and euro-centric line of thought, where ‘persons of ambiguous racial and ethnic identity constantly battle with questions such as “what are you, anyway?” (...) the search for

⁷² DE SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2011), *Reinventar la Democracia, Reinventar el Estado*, Madrid, Sequitur, pp. 8

⁷³ *Ibíd.*, pp. 9

certainty of this sort requires that one side of a dichotomy be privileged while its other is denigrated’’⁷⁴.

Thus we see here how different kinds of exclusion intersect:

They are indigenous (they are not civilized women⁷⁵), they are poor (they have no opportunities in the capitalist world and are systematically marginalized), they are ethnically marked (they are not white), they are women (they are not men), most of them are not formal citizens (they have no access to state resources), they are rural (they are not urban), they have polytheistic worldviews and hold a kind of religious syncretism (they do not only believe in the Catholic dogma), etc. In sum, it would mean, as Teresita Hernández and Clara Muguialday said, that ‘everything seems to indicate that indigenous women are more unprotected than men in non-indigenous society, because they move (they are on the border) between a patriarchal culture that submits and protects them, and another, also patriarchal, that rejects them because of their ethnic origin, without giving them the overprotection that, as women, they found in their native culture’⁷⁶.

Violence against women derives from the state domination historically exercised by men, which has significant after-effects in women living on the edge of social compliance and is reproduced and perpetuated by civil population. Gender category operates in a pyramidal manner and affects women in different ways. Here ethnic women suffer more violence by these multiple oppression levels, social and civil institutions, men and empowered women. Thus a hierarchy of oppression is established which operates from the hegemony of power and is normalized by its institutions and population, building first, second and third class citizenship, securing violence against women as the result of the existing system of inequality.

As Patricia Muñoz Cabrera states, ‘they are involved in the myth that defines indigenous women as inferior to mixed-race women, *ladinas* and other privileged racial categories. And, if as is usually the case, they are also poor, this double vulnerability triples itself’⁷⁷.

⁷⁴ HILL COLLINS, Patricia (1990), *Black Feminist thought. Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*, NY, Routledge, pp. 225

⁷⁵ We must remember that indigenous people always was linked with a barbarian state.

⁷⁶ HERNÁNDEZ, Teresita; MURGUIALDAY, Clara (1992), *Mujeres indígenas, ayer y hoy. Aportes para la discusión desde una perspectiva de género*. Madrid, Talasa Ediciones, pp. 90.

⁷⁷ MUÑOZ CABRERA, op. cit., pp. 32

Indigenous women who migrate

This triple vulnerability is multiplied in the migration process; in addition to their normal categories of indigenous and poor women, another one, the migrant dimension, is added. We call this a macro-category, because it intersects various levels of discrimination, which means greater vulnerability for indigenous women in their transit through unknown spaces, reducing their chance of survival.

The decision of indigenous women to migrate is no trivial matter; on the contrary, it is quite complex. The ties of indigenous people to their territory, as well as communal and familiar ties, break down in view of this new horizon with supposed opportunities, changing a particular way of life that will not be easy to attain in the host societies. There are many different reasons to migrate: these are not only related to economical problems or threats to their territory; gender and structural violence against women within their family and indigenous community also exist and must be expressed as a privation of their liberty and autonomy as women.

We consider the shy but steady empowerment of these women through the different civil movements present in some indigenous communities aims to give them the necessary tools to reach their autonomy. Once they acquire these skills, their migration can become a viable way to improve in their lives whatever their ultimate reason to migrate. However, we need to be aware of the serious risk inherent to this change in their lives. In this context, we wonder how they see themselves, how they manage their identity on the one hand, and their integration into a new culture and the loss of their own on the other. We shall work on these aspects as analytical categories. How do they reformulate their identity in an urban, individualistic, competitive, patriarchal, and racist new territory? How do women integrate into the new culture, in a hostile space that is completely different from their own culture?

At this point, there are several matters that intersect to hinder their access to the new society. Social and gender differentiation in the host countries increases the discrimination against this women, as well as xenophobia, racism and the protection of the local citizen's interests. Nevertheless, there are more relevant factors that make indigenous women more vulnerable in the migration process. These factors are present in the difficult path to their destination: we are talking about migratory routes; these routes put them under continuous risk; we are talking about physical and emotional violence against indigenous women, and women in general, before they reach the target country of migration.

Migration routes: Intersectional violence and Human Rights

Migration routes are the places where women who travel alone and without legal permission are most vulnerable, where they are *illegal aliens* and, because of that – in this world of permanent dichotomous borders (male-female, good-bad, culture-nature, include-exclude, and so on) without citizenship rights – a very questionable concept – but this reality makes them more unprotected. They normally accept it and assume it as a risk that can bring horrible consequences. In the case of Mexico, for example, according to a detailed study in 2012 which focused on migrant women in general (not only indigenous ones) asserted that ‘Within migration, sexual violence against transit migrant women has become one of the most aggressive and common practices...it is enacted as sexual assaults that vary from harassment to forced penetration (...), the rapists use the women’s body to blackmail the group or the man using their emotional or family ties (...)’⁷⁸. The same study lists different kinds of violence against women, such as psychological, physical, patrimonial, economic, sexual, family-related, institutional, against their own lives as well as their community⁷⁹.

Thus we see that it is not uncommon to find migrant women who are victims of physical and psychological aggression to their female condition. In the present case under study, being a woman and being indigenous makes them inferior to other migrant women. Their racially marked bodies have a negative impact on their difficult transit; the symbolic violence exerted on their bodies throughout history renders them more frail, and they are threatened by institutional laws, workers, and civil population. The hierarchical structuralization of the state implies a pyramidal form of domination where each collective, even oppressed groups, accept, bear and practice discrimination and oppression against other inferior collectives.

This violation of basic rights is complemented by ignorance or little knowledge about their rights as persons, as migrants and as indigenous women. Also involved is their language and illiteracy, as without these skills they are more vulnerable; they cannot get valuable information on their rights nor file a complaint.

Another aspect of violence involved is the lack of consistent public policies to favor, prevent and protect them in their dangerous path. Until violence against migrant women can be effectively prevented through serious policies, this irrational and unjustified violence will continue to violate the Human Rights Declaration and perpetuate an unfair, andro-centric and dominant system of values that allows violence against women.

⁷⁸ ROLDÁN DÁVILA, Genoveva; PÉREZ GARCÍA, Nancy (Coords.) (2012), *Construyendo un modelo de atención para mujeres migrantes víctimas de violencia sexual, en México*. México, Incide Social, Sin Fronteras, pp. 43

⁷⁹ *Ibíd.*, pp. 79

In sum, this violence against migrant women in general is rooted in the gender inequality that feeds from social, economic and political inequalities. As a result, indigenous migrant women are under multiple oppressions and suffer discrimination in different ways.

Despite the existence of International Declarations and Conferences on Human Rights related to migrant people, there is no real protection of their rights. At the same time it is difficult to find statistical data on indigenous migrant women. There is a slow increase of gender-based data, but it is not as comprehensive as it should be. A good example of this is the lack of updated information provided by the International Organization of Migration (IOM). The latest statistics shown is from 2010 and we can see that migrant women form 49% of the world migration, and 51% in Latin America and the Caribbean⁸⁰. These figures bring to view the so-called ‘feminization of migration’ and their complicated lives in their native countries.

Immigration does not stand as a positive concept in the collective imagery. Immigration laws are strict, explicit and are drastically imposed. Migrant people are seen as a threat. When I, as non-racial person from a developed country, migrate, I have the right to move elsewhere, but when someone else, someone racially marked, not European or North American enters my territory, they are susceptible to suffering whatever outrage can be conceived, based on my right to national security, to the protection of my national culture from invasion on behalf of foreign people. It is at this point that human rights and migration become clearly imbalanced.

Professor Gabriel Bello talks about ‘judicial asymmetry’ between migrants and host states, between ‘a person’s right to enter a state that is not the one they have left when they decide to migrate, and the right of the state to deny them entry’, the state’s right being ‘a positive right, supported by laws and protected by a coercive power apparatus, and by the police, justice, and military systems, and ultimately by a common political will that is democratically expressed. While the migrant’s right is moral or human, it is not positive and it is not supported in any law, it is not protected by any state system: it is the positive right,

⁸⁰ <http://www.iom.int/cms/es/sites/iom/home/about-migration/facts--figures-1.html>, (Accessed 26 April 2013)

supported by forces against moral right, expressed in total vulnerability⁸¹. Additionally, Asier Martínez Bringas, in his research related to indigenous migratory processes, analyzes the existing gap in formal, recognized and internationally supported rights, and quotes that this gap exists between 1) the formal recognition of indigenous rights, 2) awareness on behalf of the interested parties of these rights, and 3) their full and effective implementation⁸². This logic makes us wonder how well indigenous women know their rights; whether their rights are applied and whether this has any legal effect in a real migratory context.

Basic Human Rights as stated in International legislation, are lost when people cross borders in search of a better life, when they try to enter countries that reject them because reasons of national security. Nowadays we can read in the papers and listen in the news to how *Drones*, unmanned sophisticated aeroplanes pre-programmed for different missions, have been set in this particular case to control borderlands against illegal immigration. Are migrant people a real threat to the national security of states? The Media reproduces this state ideology that makes migrant people illegal, opening an old and always present dichotomy between citizens and illegal persons, where the latter, the ‘illegal migrants’, are shown as criminals, and the nation state has the ‘positive right’ to control and oppress them. In this line of thought, women are more and more vulnerable.

Why have they no rights in the host societies? Why are they so difficult to attain? The debate on access to citizenship is central when we are talking about migrant people. When it comes to indigenous women, they have the same right as others to hold it. But in this arena we must intersect the citizenship category with others that are must also be analyzed when studying indigenous women; such analytical categories as ethnic citizenship and multi-nationality, among others.

Conclusions. The emergency with respect to Indigenous women

We are in the historical present and we analyze the present history relating it to the past to understand our present and improve it. Indigenous women and the Community Feminism are playing a very important networking role in this sense, emerging and breaking the clichés that have been stigmatizing indigenous women for centuries throughout history, discrediting their situation and leading them through downward spiral paths. Moving out of their ancestral communities, despite the challenge, will also pose new challenges to their

⁸¹ BELLO REGUERA, Gabriel (2011), “Perspectivas éticas sobre la emigración” en Serrano-Niza, Dolores (ed.), *¿Visibles o invisibles? Mujeres migrantes, culturas y sociedades*. Madrid, Plaza y Valdes, p.27

⁸² MARTÍNEZ DE BRINGAS, Asier, “Pueblos indígenas migrantes. Un análisis del impacto de los procesos migratorios sobre los derechos a la identidad y a la cultura indígena” in Sánchez Rubio, David and Cruz Zúñiga, Pilar (eds.), *Pueblos indígenas, identidades y derechos en contextos migratorios*. Barcelona, Icaria, pp. 69

lives, as well as give them a new signification and ethnic identity. Their idiosyncrasy and ethnicity should not be a chain of oppression, but a chain of empowerment. As José Bengoa stated, we are ‘in a new indigenous Latin American reality... There is a change, a “re-invention” with regard to indigenous issues... There is an increasing combination of rural and urban relations with international contacts and communication in permanent confrontation between the ethno-cultural tradition and modernity’⁸³.

The participation of indigenous women in social community organizations is so important because it both empowers them and makes them become aware of their identity. The subordinate subject can and must speak. Structural injustices must be combated; self and ethnic awareness is needed to address the real problems they face so that they can confront change, not just oppression. Indigenous women have remained closely linked to their lands, and they should also have the right not to migrate; however, difficult circumstances push them to move and search for opportunities for change; this challenge empowers them, and at the same time can damage them in their everyday life and even cause their death, as a consequence of all the violence that they are faced with in the difficult migration route. Indigenous migrant women are faced with at least four types of exclusion: gender, class, ethnicity and migrant condition. All of these are connected to a lack of protection that they cannot face in many cases because of their illiteracy.

Due to the above, we consider that it is necessary to:

- 1) Provide assistance through migrant policies (of security and protection; legal, medical and psychological) to all migrant women, particularly indigenous women.
- 2) Stop the hypocrisy of states that adhere to the Human Rights Declaration but do not respect it in their own nations, where rights are so restrictive.
- 3) Stop ‘states’ double standards, claiming protection for their national migrants in other countries while violating immigrant rights in their national territory, where women are under continuous risk.

⁸³ BENGOA, José (2007), *La emergencia indígena de América Latina*. Chile, Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 35

If we could stop the structural violence exerted upon women that is rooted in the institutions and it is reproduced in the media (TV, newspapers, magazines, and so on, where symbolic violence plays a very important role), schools, social areas and domestic spaces, it could be the first step to end social tolerance and indiscriminate abuse against all women as a normal behavior. And at this point, another challenge we face is that we should become ethnically awareness -because we are involved in and live in a multicultural and multiracial world-, to found spaces for social inclusion without ethnic and racial prejudices.

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“INTERSECTIONALITY”: Can It Be an Approach for Addressing New Crossroads of Migrant Women Who are Excluded?

DUYGU ALOGLU

Abstract:

This paper analyses the concept of ‘intersectionality’ which addresses the concern of difference among women, so it can be also used to understand the effects of intersections (such as race, class, ethnicity etc.) on migrant women’s everyday lives, experiences and their struggle for empowerment in regards to marginalization and exclusion in migrant countries. Main question in this paper is to understand how intersectionality can be incorporated into the study of gender studies while considering the differences among migrant women (e.g. Turkish migrant women in Berlin in my case) and also hidden crossroads of multiple discrimination. Can be “intersectionality” implemented as a method to integrate into the debates of “multiple identities” of migrant women and their experiences of exclusion? What can “intersectionality” serve to understand the marginalising process of migrant (Turkish) women? Referring to these questions, this paper tries to show a methodological example about conducting intersectional research. The analysis is structured by the concept of “intersectionality” and feminist discussions about the fieldwork in regard to my fieldwork experience.

Keywords: *Intersectionality, Gender studies, Migration studies, Feminist methodology*

Introduction

This paper analyses the concept of ‘intersectionality’ which addresses the concern of difference among women which is also related to my research context. My topic is about the socio-economic integration of women with Turkish migration background in Berlin. The concept of intersectionality is about the issue of difference of women, so it can be used to understand the effects of intersections (such as race, class, ethnicity etc.) on migrant women’s everyday lives, experiences and their struggle for empowerment in regards to marginalization and exclusion in migrant countries. Therefore I consider the concept of ‘intersectionality (Davis 2008; Winker&Degele 2010)’ as offering one such a method for finding the intersections such as gender, religion, ethnicity etc. to understand the exclusions or discriminations better.

Main interest and the question in this paper are to analyse how intersectionality can be incorporated into the study of gender studies while considering the differences among migrant (Turkish) women and also hidden crossroads of multiple discrimination. Can be “intersectionality” implemented as a method to integrate into the debates of “multiple identities” of migrant women and their experiences of exclusion? What can “intersectionality” serve to understand the marginalising process of migrant (Turkish) women? How can researcher study intersectionality? In this context, I will try to give a general look at intersectionality by considering the connection with migration studies, also to address some central debates about intersectionality in feminist studies. At the end, I will show a methodological example based on the analysis method of Winker&Degele (2010) with my notes. I will ask open questions but also the new possibilities coming from the concept instead of giving a concrete idea.

The Concept of Intersectionality

The concept of 'Intersectionality' is currently engaged in gender/diversity studies as a flourishing approach though it has a long history. bell hooks (1981) traced it in 1851 with the article of Sojourner Truth, who asked "Ain't I a woman" to argue the construction of her position as less of a woman and a mother than women from privileged backgrounds. The intersectional analysis was headed by mainly black women in the U.S.A for many years 'to combat the oppressions that all women of colour face' (Combahee River Collective 1981 p. 210; cited by Walgenbach 2007 p. 27). Yuval-Davis (2011 p. 156) defines 'black and other racialised women' as the implementers of intersectional analysis:

'who, from their situated gaze, perceived as absurd, not just misleading, any attempt made by feminist and others since the start of the second wave of feminism to homogenise women's situation or oppression and especially treat it as an analogue to that of blacks'.

With the debates about interdependency in the Gender Studies, intersectional approach was based by several marginalized women and feminists on the critics of the Western Gender/Feminist Studies, which cared only white, Western, heterosexual, middle class and able-bodied females. bell hooks notes (1981) that the claims and theories of 'white feminists' were orientated to legitimise and speak in the name of "all women". The politics of "self-centerist" critics of "women as a universal and homogeneous group" was supported with post-colonial feminism in order to problematize the differences and hierarchies between women. "The personal is political" also helped this process to shift the lens from the 'worldwide patriarchy' to the different themes such as sexuality, violence, language; and after a while the development of the feminist standpoint, and diversity, power relations, differences between women considering their contexts (Walgenbach 2007 p. 25-29).

The word of 'intersectionality' was used by Crenshaw as a metaphor of the images of a road intersection with a number of intersecting roads, to describe and explain the ways in which racial and gender discrimination compounded with each other. A single axis framework failed to consider how marginalized women are vulnerable to the grounds of discrimination. The road metaphor specifically served to describe the way in which a minority group navigates a main crossing, whereby the racism road crosses with the streets of colonialism and patriarchy, and "crashes" occur at the intersections. Where the roads intersect, there is a double, triple, multiple, and many-layered blanket of oppression (Dhamoon 2011 p. 231). Intersectionality refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements,

and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis 2008 p. 68). In words intersectionality reflects:

‘the multiple identities and the intersections of categories to an understanding of how identifications and disidentifications are simultaneously experienced by subjects in specific spatial and temporal moments through the course of everyday lives’ (Rose 2007 p. 18).

At the crossroads of migration and gender (Pedraza 1991; Gümen 2003; Lutz 2010), intersectionality is opening a new way of understanding the effects of gender, race, class and etc. on women’s identities, experiences, and struggles. It can be “a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people seem to get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalized (Staunæs 2003 p. 101; cited by Knudsen 2006 p. 62)”. It gives a toolset for analysing power relations, social and cultural hierarchies within discourses and institutions in order to “capture every day, subjective, structural and social levels of differentiation such as ‘the level of personal biography; the group of community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systematic levels of social institutions’ (Dhamoon 2011 p. 235)”. On the one hand, intersectionality addresses “the acknowledge of differences among women (Davis 2008 p. 60), which can be used to deconstruct the conceptualization of migrant women as ‘homogeny’; as Brah draws the attention to the importance of ‘challenging the homogenous and simplistic migratory histories’ (Brah 1996; cited Anitha et al. 2012 p. 758). It must be highlighted “divisions among ‘women’ by pointing towards processes of racialization and class and how the intersections involved produced specific forms of complex disadvantage through underlining differences in experience (Anthias 2012 p. 106). On the other hand the concept of intersectionality may show the multiple forms of discrimination and exclusion which migrant women experience in different levels (Bastia et al. 2011 p. 1493-1494; McCall 2005). Besides, the concept “opens the analytical view to cultural hybridisation and fluid self-definitions of individuals’ (Bürkner 2012 p. 189).

Potentials and Critics

The concept of intersectionality is concerned with ‘decentring’ of the ‘normative subject’ of feminism and can create some formulations of the subsequent theorisation of a ‘decentred subject’ (Brah & Phoenix 2004 p. 78). In another study, Davis (2008) explains the intersectionality as a central role player in decentring the collective subject ‘woman’ by addressing the differences among women. Also, it has a promise to “address (and readdress) the exclusion” through ‘asking the other question’. In that regard, intersectionality is a fluid, open ended process (Anthias 2012 p. 13) in order to:

“overcome some of the limitations of previous ways of thinking about intersectionality. First, interactions between multiple-identity categories are experienced with the fluid and unstable nature of intersections of categories therefore; secondly, it rejects the determinist definition of identity, which classifies individual into fixed categories as oppressed and oppressor, by taking into account

that individuals are actively involved in producing their own lives (Rose 2008 p. 14)”.

Herewith intersectionality is challenging and productive by leading to new questions (Lykke 2011 p. 212; also see Hancock 2007a; 2007b). As mentioned above, the concept of intersectionality is a way to analyse the multifaceted inequalities and differences, also in terms of the power relations (Lutz et al. 2011 p. 8; Dhamoon 2011). Intersectionality has impelled new questions to analyse the “production of power and processes between gender, race, ethnicity etc. and is involved with analysing social and cultural hierarchies with analysing social and cultural hierarchies within different discourses and institutions” (Knudsen 2006 p. 62). Davis describes “intersectionality” as a ‘buzzword’ by the reason of the attractions which it has created in feminist academics. Nevertheless this brings some debates and discussions about the concept (Davis, 2008).

In brief, I try to mention three critics which I find important and see common in the literature about the topic. Some feminists mention that intersectionality can cause the loss of the subject of gender/feminist studies (McCall 2005 p. 1777). For example Young (2004) objects intersectionality by asking if ‘women’ are left out there is nothing specific for feminist politics. Conceptualising women as a collective unit gives feminism a point of view, which inserts “women” as a categorical unit into structural analyses but brings personal issues to the domain of the political. Another important critique can be defined as the problem of “listing (of categories and differences)”. Intersectionality has not replied these questions: “How many categories should be considered? Which ones are examined and which ones not? Which ones are the most important ones and which ones stay in marginal areas? (Walgenbach 2007 p. 41-44).” Hereby ‘listing’ of differences is endless, indefinite and open-ended since it is impossible to take into account all the markers of differences (Anthias 2012 p. 6; Ludvig 2006 p. 246). This leads to another problem which is, I think, most doubtful issue about intersectionality, namely its methodology. The concept gives new methodological problems like the problem of ‘listing’. Furthermore there is a gap between empirical studies and theoretical debates, that is to say that methodological examples are recently published but still they are far away to fulfil the potentials of intersectionality wholly. The question is here how to operate the concept or how to study intersectionality? (see McCall 2005; Anthias 2012; Winker & Degele 2011).

A Methodological Example

Although there are variable debates in gender/feminist and queer studies about intersectionality, it can be sensed a lack of methodological analysis –may because of the doubts and critics how to conduct it. Due to this reason Denis mentions (2008 p. 685) that feminists have written relatively little about the methodologies for studying intersectionality. “It can be used in both quantitative and qualitative work, which examines the micro level of lived experiences, the meso level of organisations or social structures, and the macro level, including internationality” (Winker & Degele 2011 p. 52). As a matter of fact, I have found more resource in German debates about the methodological issues, so I benefit from the book of Winker and Degele (2010) in order to understand their methodology about intersectionality and create the sample which I am going to use in my field research.

Winker and Degele understand intersectionality;

“as a system of interactions between inequality- creating social structures (i.e. of power relations), symbolic representations and identity constructions that are context –specific, topic-oriented and inextricably linked to social praxis” (2011 p. 54).

They try to show an approach of the multi-level analysis on the basis of theorizing categories of inequality on the micro, meso and macro levels. They claim that this approach will be able to analyse the interactions of categories difference on both a single level and through-out all three levels (54).

The authors (2010) refer the 3 big (gender, race and class) plus body as categories which intersects with these levels, however they mention that these categories can be multiplied by adding “age, sexuality, religion,” etc. These categories are described the socio-structural level (macro level) for identifying concrete relations of power and then analyzing their interrelatedness and changes. Power relations are based on “classisms, heteronormativisms, racisms and bodyisms”. With the aim of trying to explain what they mean, they mention classisms as “power relations perpetuating considerable income and wealth inequalities on the foundations of social origin, education and profession (2011 p. 55; 2010 p. 42-44). Gender is a socio-structural phenomenon, which does not only mean the binary concept, but it also related with sexual orientation, hence heteronormativisms mean “power relations that are grounded in hierarchical gender relations as well as in unquestioned assumptions about naturalized heterosexuality and a binary gender order” (2011 p. 55; 2010 p. 44-46). Racisms are as “relations of power resting on a structural asymmetry of power between human groups that have been transformed into the races” and related with the “core of the differentiation between centre and periphery” (2011 p. 55; 2010 p. 47-49). They receive bodyisms as “power relations between human groups in terms of physical characteristics like age, attractiveness, generativity and physical state’ (2011 p. 56; 2010 p. 49-51). Symbolic representations (meso level), as a supporter of these mentioned categories, are related with prevalent norms, values, stereotypes, justifications which effect the individual subjectification processes through performative acts and symbolic representations accommodate with norms of justifications and structural power relations (2011 p. 54; 2010 p.

54-59). Then they theorize “identity constructions” as micro level for multi-level analysis of intersectionality. In order to make it clear, they apply ‘the doing difference approach (West & Fenstermaker 1995)’ according to which gender, class and ethnicity form and function simultaneously, refers to the interrelation of categories at the construction of identity. That said, on-going processes of individualization make no sense to limit the categories that is why we should ‘keep open the number of socially defined categories available and necessary for the analysis’ (2011 p. 54, 2010 p. 59-62). They focus on the interrelatedness of power relations, which labelled as ‘four categories above’ because the interactions with each other. They take into account the symbolic representations as the securing processes of power relations through activity-oriented and structure-forming norms and ideologies, and furthermore, identity constructions refer to others ontologically and function with related to norms and structures which influence them also (2011 p. 56).

They put the social practices of the centre of the analysis as a starting point since they believe that these three levels are linked through the social practices of individuals.

“Through social practices like social actions and speech, individuals delineate themselves in social contexts, construct their identities, process symbolic representations, support social structures or challenge them. Conversely, the three aforementioned levels construct a framework for social practices. Thus, social practices are intrinsically linked to each other through categories of difference and those three levels (2011 p. 56)”.

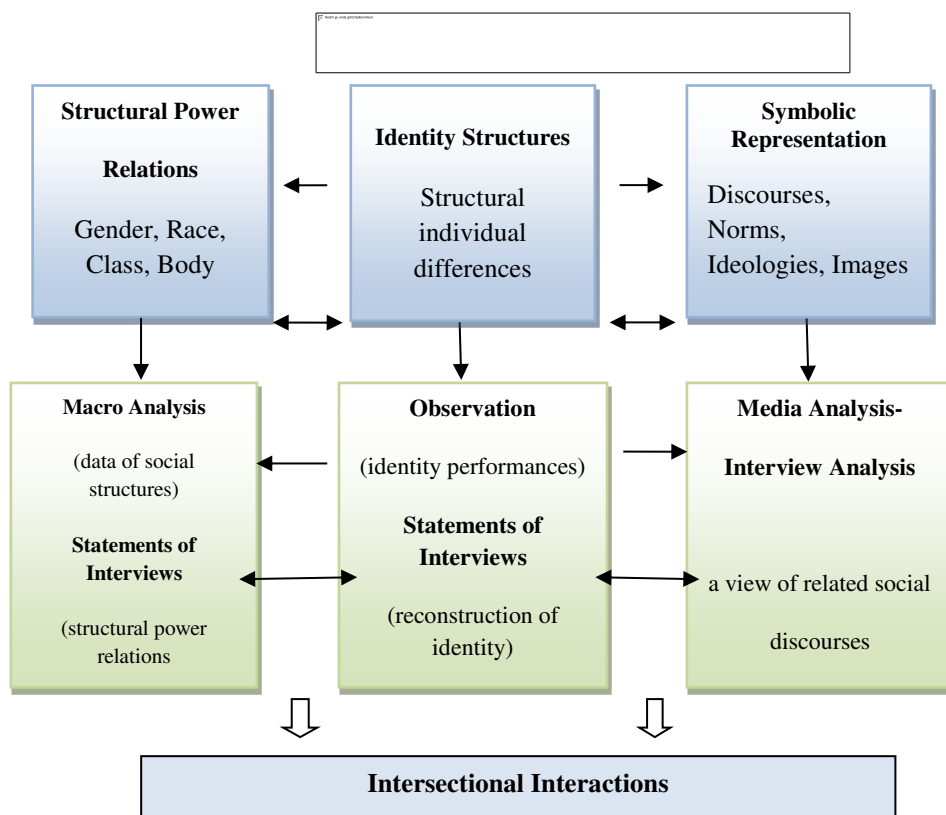
Winker and Degele (2011) suggest some steps for multi-level analysis of intersectionality such as “describing identity constructions, identifying symbolic representations, finding references to social structures”.

With that background, I try to make a list of categories of differences but more specifically to find the identity markers and differences of identity construction of my research subjects while their access to labour market. In the terms of symbolic representation, I consider the image of Turkish migrants, and norms, conceptions, laws about migration/integration and its historical process additionally. For the level of structural power relations, I try to make some matching in order to find the meanings of categories in my research context generally:

Categories	Meanings (in General)	Example: accessing labour market
Gender	Gender roles- Sexual Orientation Hierarchy in occupations- Salary Structural barriers/opportunities	Gendered labour market
Race	Ethnicity, felt identity, nationality, religion Minijobs, low-paid jobs, migrant jobs (Hairdresser, saleswoman) Language problem, public image and prejudices	Ethnicized labour market
Class	Education/Opportunities for high education Family background social roles, migration history of the family Job Situation, Occupation/Profession (part time/full time), Income	Social mobility- marginality Possibilities and resources
Body	Age, disability, appearance Symbols of religion Performance	Obstacles and changes Public image and prejudices in the labour market

(Table 1: Categories of difference and their general meanings in research context)

In this step, researcher must gather together those categories of differentiation that are important to the interviewee. Which categories are mostly repeated, and it shows that they are important. It matters to check all the data again, to find which are crucial and meaningful for categories, identities and symbolic representations (2010 p. 86-89; 2011 p. 59-60). The following steps proceed to find the interactions between social practices and power relations, identity performances and symbolic representation to answer the questions, such as how they affect each other, how they change each other? In order to give a short summary about the steps of analysis, I use this chart:



(Table II: Multi-level analysis model of Intersectionality, based on: Winker&Degele 2010; Segebart&Schurr 2010)

Doing intersectional analysis...

The debates about intersectionality are not able to solve the complexity of doing intersectional analysis. As a young researcher, who intends to make an intersectional analysis, I have problem to overcome the problem of “listing”. Which categories should I take into account; how should I these categories study and implement; who decides ending the list of differences etc.? I sense a risk of re-categorization again to divide the statements of interviews into groups or types in the sense of their similarities or features. Besides that it has a blurred picture that may bring any possibilities to come up with generalizations by “reciting the ‘race-class-gender’ trinity like a mantra which runs the risk of lapsing into uni-dimensionality” (Lutz et al. 2011 p. 8). Also, studying an open-ended process creates some doubts and lack of some tools or methods for my research. However, it can direct me to handle to concepts as a ‘discursive and productive site’ (Lykke 2011 p. 208). Parallel to this, the problem of listing can convert a challenging process which leads new questions and perspectives.

Using the concept of intersectionality as a fluid concept is good to think with the new identity theories. It gives strength to personal experience which is 'important when it comes to analyzing the living conditions of minorities' (Bürkner 2011 p. 186). Davis (2008 p. 76) presents the intersectionality as "a bridge between feminist researchers and feminist theoreticians". In that sense, intersectionality can 'promise to enhance the researcher's reflexivity (Lykke 2005; Schurr&Segebart 2012). "The concept of 'intersectionality' is very helpful to comprehend my 'positionality which can interconnect with the intersectional positionality of the ones researched' in the concept of the reflexivity of the researcher" (Aloglu 2013 p. 31). McCall attaches importance to the concept by saying that 'intersectionality is the most important theoretical contribution that women studies has made so far' (McCall 2005 p. 1771). When considering of the term of gender not as a single category, intersectionality helps to find out the discriminations or inequalities, and furthermore to understand the axes of differences among women, an intersectional approach leads us to see the different social positions and identities, and their reflections and relationships with each other in the sense of participating and reproduction of social structures.

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Masculinity and Mobility in Rural Cambodia

MARYANN BYLANDER

Abstract:

This paper explores how gender norms and expectations frame the migration decision-making processes of Cambodian young people in a community characterized by high levels of migration to Thailand. Based on qualitative fieldwork with migrant and non-migrant youth, I examine how young people make sense of migration and its local alternatives, and highlight the various gendered pressures that frame migration-decision making. I specifically focus on the links between migration and masculinity, and describe the gender-specific household and peer pressures for migration that make migration feel obligatory for young men. Where young men choose to remain in the village to pursue education or alternative livelihood strategies they report feeling judged, ashamed, and marginalized. In contrast, young women experience less forceful migration pressures, perceive meaningful alternative life-making projects in the village through caring and home-based work, and feel more free to actively resist migration. More generally, my findings highlight the importance of interrogating gendered processes of migration not only as they affect women and those who choose to migrate, but also as they affect men, and those who choose –or would prefer– to stay home.

Keywords: *masculinity, gender, migration, youth, Cambodia, mobility*

Introduction

A wealth of literature documents the gendered experience of migration, focusing not only on the different opportunities, vulnerabilities and challenges men and women face through the migration process, but also on the ways that socially constructed gender roles, expectations, and responsibilities shape migration experiences (Chant 1992; Pessar and Mahler 2001; Carling 2005). Yet most work in the field still focuses on women, noting how gendered expectations and norms mediate women's migration experiences, but routinely neglecting to critically assess how gender relates to the same for men (Hibbins and Pease 2009; Carling 2005). In light of this gap, this paper explores how gender norms and expectations frame the migration decision-making processes of Cambodian youth in a community characterized by high levels of migration to Thailand. Specifically I highlight the various factors that make migration feel compulsory among young people, and why these are particularly strong for men. In part, migration pressures relate to the specific gendered expectations around young men's contributions to the household economy. However these pressures are bolstered by the fact that work abroad is widely seen as the only possible life-making strategy neatly complying with hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Thus young men

experience strong pressures to migrate at young ages, and report feeling negatively judged by peers, family members, and their community, when they reject migration.

In focusing on the pressures that orient young people, but particularly men towards migration, I highlight the gendered nature of both mobility and immobility among youth in Cambodia. This paper proceeds as follows: first, I discuss how gender, and particularly masculinity has been posited as related to mobility/immobility. I then describe the data and contextual background for this study. Finally, I discuss the ways that gender mediates the opportunity for young people to stay at home in Chanleas Dai, focusing on the experiences of young men who experience a variety of gendered pressures to leave. I conclude by briefly contrasting this with young women's perspectives.

Masculinity, Youth, and Migration

My study focuses on the experiences of young people (defined here as those aged 16-25) in a community characterized by a strong tradition of migration. Over the past two decades, a growing literature has highlighted the important ways that dominant traditions or "cultures of migration" can influence decision-making and generate migration aspirations (Horvath 2008; Massey et al 1993; Kandel and Massey 2002). This may be particularly compelling for youth where migration becomes perceived as a critical step in the transition to adulthood (Kandel and Massey 2002). In some contexts, migration can come to be seen as a "rite of passage" for young people (Ali 2007, Horvath 2008). Thus, while not requisite, the framing of migration and the alternatives perceived can make certain choices feel obligatory.

Gender is central to the construction and realization of migration aspirations. And while there has been comparatively less research unpacking how men's migration processes are gendered, we know that gender mediates migration opportunities and shapes migration experiences at multiple levels. At the macro level, there may be gender-specific demands for workers in specific sectors (for example in fisheries and construction sectors there is often a demand specifically for male workers). At the meso level there may be ways in which work is organized that are explicitly gendered (for example sectors which require flexible or part-time work be less inclined to hire young male workers and opt for "cheaper" or "more docile" women workers). Finally, at the micro-level hegemonic ideals and norms shape individual practices, identities and positions. Put more simply, masculinities and gendered practices are embedded in the contexts of not only sending and receiving households and societies, but also of labor markets (Lutz 2010).

In the Cambodian context, we know very little about what masculinity means, how it is changing, or how it might relate to migration decision-making. Almost no research has focused on the social construction and meaning of masculinities, with a handful of key exceptions focusing on domestic violence, prostitution, alcohol abuse, and housework (Brickell 2008; Brickell 2011a; Tuot 2006). This literature portrays masculinity as being associated with having multiple sex partners, drinking, violence, and not doing "female" tasks such as household chores. However these findings only begin to unpack what it means to be a man in Cambodia and how gendered household and peer pressures influence young

men's decision-making. As Tuot (2006) notes, beyond gambling, sex, and drinking young Cambodian men also associate masculinity with being hard-working, strong, and the concepts of struggle, employment, leadership, self-management, and responsibility. These ideals suggest a more complex hegemonic notion of masculinity, and one that resonates strongly with the act of migration for wage labor.

Research in other contexts offers some suggestion that norms around masculinity can prescribe, encourage, or otherwise shape migration decision-making. In Bangladesh, Gardner notes that young men from Sylhet link international migration to the "construction of an active, adult malehood" (Gardner 2007: 15). In Hyderabad, what Ali (2007) calls "migrant heros" are seen as more desirable for marriage partners, "challenging and even displacing other ascribed status identities" (54). Research in Kerala, has linked migration to hegemonic ideals of masculinity for its potential to provide cash, a source of male-specific dignity and status (Osella and Osella 2003). Similarly, in parts of Mali, Jónsson (2011) found that non-migrant men were feminized—"considered immature, lazy, and cowardly by their surrounding community – in short, not real men." (2011:11) Taken as a whole, these examples suggest gendered pressures may be highly influential in mediating men's migration choices, particularly in areas where leaving is normative.

Chanleas Dai: Data, Methods and Context

My analysis draws on observations, interviews, and focus groups with current, former, and non-migrants from Chanleas Dai, a rural commune in Northwest Cambodia. Between 2009-2010 I conducted 82 semi-structured interviews with current and former migrants, non-migrants, and the family members of migrants, many of whom were young people. I also conducted two focus groups with migrant and non-migrant youth, and returned in 2011 to do an additional focus group with non-migrant young people pursuing education. I also stayed for extended periods of time in the community between 2007-2010, and regularly spent roughly half my weeks there over this period of time.

Chanleas Dai is one of many Cambodian communities experiencing a growing pattern of international migration; in this case to neighboring Thailand. In the context of few employment opportunities, a growing youth population, chronic rural poverty, increasing numbers of land-poor and landless households, few employment opportunities, and relatively high wages across neighboring borders, international migration has become a significant household diversification strategy in many areas of the country. At the time of my fieldwork, a majority of households in Chanleas Dai had one or more family members working abroad

in Thailand. Migrations were primarily cyclical; with those in the working age population leaving for a period of months or years and returning regularly for visits home. Young people were particularly drawn to work abroad, and it was not uncommon for children as young as fourteen or fifteen to migrate independently or with relatives. Though these migration patterns began only in the late 1990's, by the mid 2000's migration was considered to be a normative household strategy.

Meanings of Migration

For young people in Chanleas Dai migration is linked to a web of social expectations, cultural norms, and individual desires. Most commonly, youth told me they “had to go”, that there was “nothing for me here”, that “poverty” or “my family’s situation” “made me go”. In this discourse, migration was described as either a sacrifice that one made on behalf of other household members, or in rare cases an act explicitly tied to survival. Often, regardless of their household’s economic situation, youth reported parental pressures for migration and noted that they felt they were doing what they “should” by offering to work abroad and support the household economy.

Yet underneath the oft-cited primary motivation of chronic household poverty, youth shared a wealth of additional factors that prompted their migrations. Migration was a way to “be as rich as others”; “avoid being looked down on”; “have cool things”; “show off”; “buy expensive things”; “build a big house”; and “have as much as others have.” Migration allowed young people access to a range of consumer goods that were associated with status, wealth, and idealized expressions of both masculinity and femininity. When migrant youth returned, they provided a compelling example for their peers, a visually stunning different potential future. Across the village young men typically returned home with trendy Thai haircuts, cell phones, stylish clothing, jewelry, piercings, and at times large tattoos. Women returned with much of the same, and also (by their own description) had whiter skin than before, an indication of beauty and status attained by virtue of working and living in the shade. Non-migrant young people described their migrating peers with hints of awe and respect. As Srey Chen, a twenty-two year old non-migrant, put it [migrants], they have money, they get to play and hang out at night, and they’re beautiful too. If they work inside in the factory, their skin is so light when they come back, you see them so beautiful-- with money, and you want it too.” While home, migrant youth not only physically embodied difference, but also made it clear that life was somehow more full and exciting abroad. In the village they routinely complained about the boring, unexciting food, the lack of things to do, the dust and dirt, the distance to the market, and the lack of friends and young people around. These discourses created, sustained, and reproduced the belief that migration a way of attaining status, power, and a somehow “better” life.

Drawing on both sets of discourses, most young people articulated that their migration choices felt somehow inevitable. However the pressures for migration were typically not due to some objective level of poverty (i.e. survival migration) but rather due to a web of interconnected orientations: individual desires for money, status and a more modern life;

peer and social discourses that glorified view migration and marginalized life-making projects based in the village; the social expectations of parents around contributing to the household economy whether for survival, stability, or social mobility; the anxiety around increasingly common household debts; and perceptions about a lack of meaningful alternatives through education or village-based production. As a result, young people described migration as “a last resort,” but also “a lucky opportunity”; the “best way to wealth,” but also “the only thing we can do here”; a “way to support the family” and also a “way to be on my own,” an “alternative to boredom,” a “chance to live an exciting life,” “the way we become beautiful,” a “dangerous risk” and also “an easy life,” complete with working hours and days off. Often, it was all of the above within a single conversation.

Gendered Pressures and Possibilities

Although all young people in the area experience overlapping and strong pressures for migration, these are gendered in at two particularly critical ways, leading to stronger and more persistent calls for migration among young men. First, men experience stronger parental and peer pressures to contribute to the household economy and become wage-earners. Second, peer and generalized social pressures link status and masculinity with migration and the consumption goods it can produce, leading to strong peer pressures for migration. Together these produce a context where migration is effectively the only “gender-appropriate” life-making project for young men. In contrast young women perceive alternative and culturally appropriate life-making projects at home through the provision of caring roles and home-making, making it more possible for them to justify (and enact) a decision to stay at home. The next section of this paper unpacks these arguments further.

Household Pressures

The most explicit pressures young people face for migration come from parents and household members, and are situated around the expectations that all young people should be contributing to the household economy once they reach an appropriate “working age.” In Cambodia, most children are involved in productive work from the age of ten or younger (World Bank 2005; UCW 2006) and within households there is a tacit understanding that children have a responsibility to help their parents make ends meet. In Chanleas Dai, “making ends meet” is believed to necessarily involve migration. As a result, it is not uncommon for parents to exert pressure on children, either explicitly or tacitly, to support both stability and social mobility for the family. As Vean, the parent of a young migrant, noted parents often

“wish their children grew up faster” so they could start contributing to the household economy sooner. Though youth were often hesitant to directly express to me that their own migrations were the result of parental pressure, when I asked about the reasons that other young people migrated, the most common response referenced parents’ desires.

For their part, parents admittedly encouraged migration, though this was not perceived as exerting undue influence or power, but rather an acknowledgement of the household’s situation and young people’s responsibilities within it. Some parents were explicit about their expectation that after a certain age, children were expected to leave school and work abroad. As one parent noted “going to school here is never going to help put food on the table”. As a result of these discourses, most youth migrants reported some kind of perceived family pressure to migrate, though often indirect.

Pressures to contribute to the household economy are present for both young women and men, however this pressure is gendered in several important ways. First, pressure for children to contribute to the household economy through out-of-home labor is often stronger, and begins earlier, for young men than it does for young women. This builds on differences what are characterized traditionally “feminine” and “masculine” tasks in Cambodia, with the former being more associated with home, service, and caring based tasks, and the latter more associated with work away, agriculture, and wage-labor. From early ages, parents orient children to support the household through gender-appropriate tasks. The act of leaving the household for periods of time to seek work elsewhere has been a traditionally male role in Cambodia. In contrast, women have traditionally have been encouraged to stay close to home, restricted in their long-distance movement, and/or allowed to work away only when they have close social/family networks in their destination. These traditional beliefs make “work away” broadly speaking more acceptable for young men than for young women and lead to stronger migration pressures for young men at earlier ages.

An additional source of gendered household pressure for migration relates to marriage traditions in Cambodia. Rather than working on a dowry system like South Asia, Cambodian marriage tradition uses a bride-price model; meaning that the families of young men must pay large sums of money to the families of their would-be brides in order to arrange a married. The sums of money that are typically offered range from several hundred US dollars to up to two thousand dollars, and often require significant investment and savings on the part of young men’s families. As a result, young men know from an early age that they will need to save a significant sum of money in order to assure a desirable marriage partner. Many young men thus report that a part of their migration motivation is to save for marriage. Similarly, parents shared that one reason they encouraged their sons to migrate was that their sons needed to earn enough for marriage.

Finally the gendered nature of the labor market in Thailand also contributes to gendered household pressures for migration. Male migrants earn more than their female counterparts in nearly all labor sectors in Thailand. Thai employers justify this on the basis of productivity and the difficulty of tasks assigned, a justification that many women argue is not borne out in reality. Families are well aware of salary differences, and recognize that the

earning power of young men is greater than the earning power of young women. As a result, families sometimes encourage male children in particular towards migration, as they associate their migration with larger earnings (and therefore potential remittances).

Life-Making Projects and Status

The examples above primarily highlight the gendered household pressures young people face for migration. However young people also face indirect and non-economic pressures to migrate; pressures that largely come from peer groups and differ among men and women. Specifically, peer pressures for migration were stronger for men as a result of the associations of masculinity with: risk-taking, being active, trying to improve one's standing in life, independence, and western/"modern" consumption.

Over time in Chanleas Dai the status of migrants and migration choices has become elevated over other traditional forms of status. Particularly for youth, wage labor is strongly preferred over the type of piecemeal work and land-based livelihoods that prior generations relied upon. Moreover, because of its inability to promote the kind of social mobility that households seek, staying in the village is often discussed as a relatively low status option. In other words, even when migration doesn't actually lead to wealth or mobility, it is an effort to attain, either for oneself or for one's family. Because it was viewed as active, in comparison to "lazy" or "passive" life in the village, it was also generally positively judged. While those who stayed behind were certainly not passive about their livelihoods, there was still a general sense that they were letting opportunities pass them by, taking what comes without seeking out more. This was particularly seen as problematic for young men. Migration, I was told, was a means of showing a "hard-working spirit", "not being lazy", and thus obtaining status, both through one's willingness and effort, and hopefully through the real economic gains from wages abroad.

As traditional livelihood alternatives have come to be regarded as lower status, young people now have fewer meaningful life-making opportunities at home. This lack of alternatives extends to agricultural work, animal husbandry and also traditionally high status roles such as teaching. In a compelling example, during the course of my fieldwork a handful of male school teachers left their jobs for work in Thailand (no female teachers did the same). One of those teachers, Phally, spoke with frustration about the migration pressures he felt as a teacher, which he clearly linked to status. As a teacher, Phally felt that he used to hold an elevated position in the village, as teachers were relatively respected both by students and families. Status, he noted, used to be about power in the village, measured either through

one's position of authority or through the amount of land one's family held. However more recently, he began to feel that even as a teacher he was looked down on, a result of his low salary. Today, he argued, status is no longer about power within the village, but rather earning power---how much money you can bring in. He noted that his students regularly teased him for his choice to remain in the village, teaching everyday but receiving only a low government salary, far less than what they could, and often will, make abroad. When we first spoke about this in 2009, the issue clearly bothered Phally. Not only did this type of disrespect (whether perceived or real) inhibit his teaching, it also evoked emotional responses: disappointment, anger, and at times even admittedly jealousy. When I returned to the field on a follow up visit two years later, Phally had left to work in Thailand, despite his assertions that he would never do so and the fact that he had a stable, paid job. Vanna, another former teacher who worked in that role less than two years before leaving for Thailand, noted that these pressures were common among teachers, particularly for men. "Here," he said "we don't think why go to Thailand, we think why wouldn't you go."

Importantly, youth who stayed in the village also describe feeling judged negative by others. Young men who remained in the village to pursue their education, or because they didn't want to migrate any longer routinely reported being embarrassed when their peers returned for visits, and regularly felt judged by others: as being unwilling to take risks, as being unwise, as being poor, and as being unsupportive of their families, and as being scared. One young non-migrant noted that every time his mother was angry at him for something (often, in his words) she would tell bring up migration and chastise him for staying at home when he could be away earning money. These kinds of incidents, coming from both peers and parents, facilitated these feelings of embarrassment and shame for young men stayers. In contrast, young women stayers primarily described feeling "left out" from a more modern, wealth-generating experience when they stayed at home, yet they did not report feeling negatively judged by their peers for doing so. Where they did feel judged they believed they were seen as scared of being cheated or abused, or going too far from their parents. Given the norms around femininity and what is appropriate for women in Khmer culture, these are far less problematic, if at all. Moreover, these young women were actively contributing to caring and home-based tasks that were widely deemed as "what women are supposed to do," carried meaning and status, and were perceived as "valid" reasons to stay at home. Women also felt able to express fear, a lack of desire for migration, or an interest in staying close to home with less retribution, as these discourses did not threaten dominant ideals of femininity.

Women and Life-Making Alternatives

In contrast to their male counterparts, young women experienced less pressure to migrate, and were more able to negotiate staying where they did experience family or social pressure. In particular, women often explained (and at times defended) their non-migrations to others with reference to the caring roles they were needed to fill at home and the traditional ideas that it was more "appropriate" for women to remain close to home. These negotiations were possible because of the multiple representations of femininity in Cambodian culture, where women can achieve meaningful status as women through a variety of paths: business,

caring work, household work, and wage labor. Importantly, because women viewed domesticity and caring work as valid and valuable tasks for them to pursue (Brickell and Chant 2010), these were viable alternatives to migration. In contrast, housework and caring roles are undesirable or viewed as “impossible” for Cambodian men to do except under extreme circumstances (Brickell 2011a). Whereas men who stayed home and performed caring or home-based responsibilities put themselves at risk of being labeled effeminate, women were able to retain and achieve status through these roles.

However women faced a different set of migration-related constraints. Though this paper focuses on pressures associated with migration, it is important to also note the role that gender plays in shaping what Carling calls “involuntary immobilities”: situations characterized by a lack of alignment between migration aspirations and the opportunity to migrate (Carling 2002). For example in Chanleas Dai although young women were relatively more able to manifest a preference to stay at home when they desired to do so, they often faced gendered limitations on their mobility where they had an express desire to migrate. For example young women with migration aspirations were often expected to perform caring responsibilities at home, and also were also often tacitly or expressly encouraged to wait to work abroad until they were married and/or could be accompanied by a male relative. These imposed restrictions often conflicted with preferences, and directly related to the gendered expectations of women primary performers of caring roles, and those who were meant to enable migration for male family members. This was particularly the case for young women from relatively more wealthy families. In more insecure households, or where there were no men performing wage-labor, young women’s expected economic contributions could trump the social and cultural expectations that women should remain close to home (See Derks 2009; Brickell 2011b for similar discussions). In contrast, where the economic contributions of children were less economically essential, young women were seen to have less “good reason” to work abroad and thus were often more constrained in doing so.

Concluding Thoughts

This article has described a community where gendered expectations and pressures contribute to young people’s desire for migration as a life-making project, and also to their perceived ability to reject migration and pursue alternative paths. In this context, household, peer, and social pressures for migration are particularly acute for men. Young men who attempt to resist the “rite of passage” of migration report having to cope with parental conflicts, feelings of shame and embarrassment, and a continual need to justify and defend

their choices. They feel an obligation to earn cash in order to arrange a marriage, are often pressured by family members to seek out wages abroad, and perceive that local alternatives are low-status and (in the words of one respondent) “not good for young men who can go earn money [in Thailand]”. This includes pursuing an education, or formerly high status work such as public school teaching. In contrast, young women are more able to assert a desire to remain at home, perceive themselves as having alternative life-making projects through caring work and home-based work, experience less severe pressures from parents, and did not report similar levels of embarrassment or shame from their peers. However, they are often constrained in their ability to migrate when they want to do so. Recognizing that individuals have different preferences for migration, this paper highlights instances where gendered norms and ideals mediate the ability of young people to manifest their preference; for young men limiting the perceived ability to stay home and for young women, in some cases, prescribing it.

Although this is a limited case study of one community, this work suggests a need for further research interrogating how hegemonic notions of masculinity and gender norms affect migration-decision making. In particular, I suspect that there are many contexts where young men face similar gendered migration pressures and migrate in response to a similarly narrow set of perceived options. In such cases, while these migrations are ultimately chosen, the fact that young men feel that undocumented migration represents the only decent option for “life-making,” can be read as problematic, and invites a range of further questions. For example, a capabilities approach to development (e.g. Nussbaum 2011), would suggest there are deep development challenges within such contexts. This perspective would recognize that although the decision to drop out of school and migrate may be beneficial for young people, it might also jeopardize or close off opportunities across a range of areas of life, given the ways that education is likely to promote other freedoms, life changes, and capabilities. Similarly, to the extent that young people perceive only one viable life-making project, the choice they have in actualizing it is largely a reflection their constrained socio-economic location, rather than their individual agency. Given the growing prominence of international migration as a development strategy, and the complex and varied ways that migration shapes social change, these processes and questions remain critical areas of inquiry.

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Journeys of Change: The Experience of Female Migrants in Mumbai's Slums Singh

SHIVANI SINGH

Abstract

M East, a ward located in the eastern part of Mumbai, is the site of one of Asia's fastest growing slum communities. Built beside one of the city's dumping grounds, it is home to a diversity of residents originating from across the country, primarily from the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and intrastate migrants from rural Maharashtra. North Indian migrants may speak different dialects, but often share a common set of norms and values - Purdah - which prescribe the ways in which women's behaviour is moderated as a means of controlling their exposure to those outside their household. Despite their limited financial resources within their new communities, female migrants appear to be able to navigate around patriarchal restrictions such as Purdah and have greater bargaining power within the household. This paper discusses the findings of a community census, and examines the ways in which women's lives change as a process of rural to urban migration.

Keywords: *Mumbai, India, Slum, Migration, Purdah*

1. The residents of M East ward

From September 2011 to March 2013, Mumbai NGO SNEHA (Society for Nutrition, Education & Health Action) conducted a census of 40 areas in M East ward. M East is one of 24 wards that make up the greater Mumbai area and is 32.5 sq. kilometres in size. Over half of Mumbai's population live in slums, in M East ward 84% of residents are slum dwellers (Census, 2011). The United Nations has defined slums as areas in which residents lack one or more of the following; durable housing of a permanent nature, sufficient living space where no more than three people share a room, easy access to safe water, access to adequate sanitation, and security of tenure (UN-Habitat 2006). Much of M East ward would be considered to be slum communities by this definition. With 4,000 metric tons of garbage being dumped into the area daily, no access to free drinking water, and poor sanitation, the ward ranks the lowest on the Human Development Index. Of the households included in the census only 10% had access to private toilets, with 89% of residents sharing a limited number of public toilets or defecating outdoors.

Interviewers collected information on a variety of topics, including health, access to goods and services, and migration history. SNEHA had an established presence in the community through on-going interventions and was able to collect interviews from over

17,000 individuals. Wherever possible, interviews were taken with adult women within the household. In instances where there were no women present, interviews were done with men. The interviews included information on all members of the family in order to build a household profile. Utilizing the census data, in 2011 and 2012 a series of open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected women in their homes. The women were selected based on the requirement that they were migrants, had lived in the community for a minimum of three years, had been married, and were of varying religious and cultural backgrounds. More than 40 interviews explored issues of division of labour, decision making within the household, and *Purdah*. Men were interviewed when possible, although due to logistical constraints most of the respondents were women.

The census data generated profiles of an area whose communities showed a high degree of heterogeneity. A number of residents said that they had always lived in Mumbai and had settled in M East ward from other slum areas, but there was also a sizable population of migrants from 18 Indian states. The greatest percentages of migrants were from Uttar Pradesh (65%), intrastate migrants from Maharashtra (14%), and migrants from Bihar (11%). The vast majority (93%) were from villages, with only 7% moving from a town. There was a greater proportion of Muslims (79%) than Hindus (21%), and less than 1% of residents were from another religious group. Also examined were the reasons that respondents chose to migrate. The most commonly cited reasons were that their family moved (49%), that they had moved because of marriage (27%), and for improved job prospects (15%). The findings support the literature on women and migration in India, which suggests that women's migration is often associational. There is growing evidence, however, that women also work - often in the informal sector - and that they are not passive actors in the migratory process.

Living with *Purdah*

Purdah, literally a screen or veil, is a set of cultural norms and conditions which are more than simply the act of physically veiling. Crossing religious lines, it is used by both Hindus and Muslims to promote modesty through the modification of women's behaviour. The practice is Persian in origin and spread across North India during Mogul rule. The ability to keep women secluded is essentially a reflection of a family's affluence, and it was historically a largely upper class activity. Over the years it has been adopted by both Hindus and Muslims and by less wealthy groups, and has also been relaxed in many areas of an increasingly modern India. The way in which *Purdah* manifests has evolved over hundreds of years, but the underlying intent - to define the rules of conduct in the space between the public and private spheres - has not (Papanek, 1973 p. 289). The literature provides a range of attempts to define it, and the following definition encapsulates both the social and physical practice of behaviour modification (Chowdhry, 1993 p.91).

1. *Ghungat*: avoidance of certain males in the husband's family, and outsiders: moderation of the behaviour of married women.
2. Norms governing sex segregation: responsibility of women to avoid situations which may lead to contact.

3. A variety of norms relating to women's mobility and visibility outside the home.

The manner in which *Purdah* is practised varies with the community, but in rural areas Muslims tend to place greater emphasis on mobility and visibility, while Hindus focus on physical veiling. Though there is a wealth of literature on the practice of *Purdah* in rural communities, less research has been done on how it is practised in a cosmopolitan city such as Mumbai. *Purdah*-related practices that follow residents from rural areas to urban centres tend to be relaxed and less moderated than they are in native villages. Women may be less strict about the physical aspects of veiling, but the cultural norm of behaviour modification remains. The women interviewed identified several common reasons why they no longer observed the tradition as strictly as they used to. Many said that the physical environment of slum communities made it far more difficult to live in seclusion than was possible in villages. Another commonly cited reason was that the moderators of their behaviour - village elders and mothers-in-law - were no longer living nearby and this relieved them of some of the pressure of observance.

Purdah controls many aspects of a woman's life, but perhaps most restrictive is how it limits her ability to engage in income-generating activities. For both men and women in urban slum communities the informal sector is one of the main areas within which they are able to find work. For the male head of the family, the most common occupations included 'unskilled work' (39%), 'skilled craftsman' (27%) and 'plant operator or driver' (14%). Many men work in small one-room factories that produce clothing and shoes to be sold in markets across the city. When asked about their own income generating activities, the women of M East overwhelmingly said that they did not work, and often cited *Purdah*-related restrictions as the reason.

When asked about what kind of work their partner did, women answered quite straightforwardly that he was a driver or worked in a factory, for example. However, when asked about their own work they often did not seem to understand the question, or did not seem to see their own contributions as 'work'. Less than 20% of the women interviewed engaged in any kind of income-generating work, and, for those who did, all of it could be done within the home. When asked why they did not work, even though the additional income would have been useful, a few said that the amount they would earn would be a pittance compared to their husbands' earnings, but most said that it would not be allowed, would be looked upon badly, or that their partners had forbidden it outright.

Effects of Migration

During the interview process it became evident that a number of women had similar experiences post migration, particularly those from north Indian states. Though it was unlikely that the majority of women knew each other, their views on work and social and cultural expectations were almost identical. These ideals are widespread amongst north Indian migrants and are uncommon amongst those from southern states such as Tamil Nadu or Kerala. South Indian migrants often worked alongside their husbands on family farms and had relaxed views towards women and labour, they also did not follow the veiling aspects of *Purdah*. Focussing on the experiences of north-Indian migrants, there are several ways in which migrants felt their lives had changed since coming to the city. The majority of these can be attributed to the change in family structure and a shift towards a nuclear family model.

Within both Hindu and Muslim communities in rural areas the practice of village exogamy, whereby a woman moves in with her husband's family after marriage and leaves her maternal village, is common. In a scenario in which migration is occurring, a couple may get married in the village, but do not stay there, creating a division between the couple and their extended family. They are still joined by the practice of sending remittances home, something that is closer to a contractual obligation than a purely altruistic move. A few of the respondents interviewed were happy with village life as they had company during household chores. Most, however, enjoyed the freedom they found in living independently of their in-laws. In this context the weakening of social ties can be beneficial for women. Another result of this change in family structure is that there is greater flexibility in how *Purdah* is practised as the only moderators of their behaviour are themselves and their husbands, who are often less strict than older family members. Many women stated that while they followed *Purdah* during visits to their villages, they didn't feel the need to observe the tradition in the city, particularly middle aged or older women. Though there was a reduction in the veiling and behaviour modification related behaviours, the majority of women still followed rules against working. None of the women interviewed engaged in income generating activities outside the home.

The process of migration is often facilitated by knowing someone who has previously migrated and then returned home to share their experience. This chain migration leads to a number of weak ties in their destination city, but often no strong social network. When asked about their relationships with relatives in the city, most women said that they were friendly, but that they could not be counted on in hard times. Both husband and wife were aware of this and it often strengthened their own relationship, as there was limited influence from the extended family. The caveat to this was that if there were problems in the marriage or the husband was abusive it made it harder for the wife, as she had fewer choices of people to turn to. Divorce is not generally a culturally acceptable option and stigmatization makes it difficult for men and women to find new partners. If women cannot return to their parents, their options are even more limited.

Another way in which the migration process can be beneficial for women is the greater decision-making capacity they are granted within the household. In traditional joint

families the income brought in by sons is given to their mother, who then uses it for expenses within a shared home. When a couple begins living independently from the husband's parents, the wife moves into the position within the household normally occupied by her mother-in-law. The majority of respondents said that their husbands gave them their earnings to allocate towards household expenses, having taken out an amount for their own spending. Respondents were also asked about decision-making regarding their children, goods for the house, and personal purchases. While the husband in many instances may have final say on large decisions, many women said that decisions were made jointly. Most also said that their husbands would rather ask their opinion on a decision than anyone outside of the home such as extended relatives. It is unlikely that a couple would be able to act with such autonomy if they lived within a traditional joint family: there would be increased pressure to maintain the family hierarchy and for the husband to treat the wife as a subordinate.

Bargaining

The migration process can be seen as a catalyst that leads to some change in the way in which the husband and wife behave with each other. However there are a number of other factors, including their relationship with their partners, their financial situation, and their perception of any consequences that may result from their decisions. These interactions between partners can be viewed as a form of 'bargaining'. Deniz Kandiyoti's *Bargaining with Patriarchy* recognizes that "different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct "rules of the game" and call for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression."(Kandiyoti, 1988 p. 274) The bargaining model is useful because it allows for recognition that the family does not exist in a vacuum and has to contend with external social and cultural pressures. These pressures may stop women from seeking work for example, or strictly following *Purdah*.

A bargaining framework is a useful way to examine how women and men deal with cultural pressures and negotiate what they want within their relationships. In a case study of rural women and land ownership, Bina Agarwal identifies a number of factors that can affect the bargaining power held by an individual. Of eight factors, the ones relevant to an urban context are: ownership of and control over assets, especially arable land; access to employment and other income-earning means; access to traditional support systems such as of patronage, kinship, and caste groupings; support from NGOs; and support from the State (Agarwal, 1997 p. 8) In the case of the urban migrant, the amount of resources they have is

often limited by the expense of moving across the country, the high cost of living in the city, and the pressure to send remittances home to relatives. Many of the residents interviewed were in debt to moneylenders because of the costs of moving to the city. Despite having fewer resources, and still facing cultural restrictions in the form of *Purdah*, a number of women felt that they had more bargaining power in their new urban environment.

One of the strongest indicators of how much bargaining power a woman has within a relationship is the quality of her marriage. Arranged marriage was the norm: of all interviews conducted, only one involved a couple who had had a love marriage. Women described the greatest satisfaction in relationships in which their husbands showed them affection and respect. They were asked about ways in which their husbands showed them they cared. Due to financial constraints, it was uncommon to buy gifts or material goods as a way of showing affection, and women described it more in terms of sharing work within the home, or men doing work that was traditionally seen as women's domain. A woman in her 40s who did sewing work from home spoke about how her husband recognized that she worked and tried to help in the house; by, for example, making tea in the morning when he got up and helping to prepare food for their children. Another example was women whose husbands sided with them when they were treated badly by extended family members, facing a rift with their mother or siblings rather than allowing their wives to be abused.

It should be noted that these negotiations are not static, and may continue throughout the marriage as the couple is presented with new challenges. While many couples were happy with a reduction of *Purdah* within the household and a relationship with an increased sense of partnership, they did not feel comfortable abandoning the practice altogether. A number of the women interviewed who had daughters had – or intended to – pull their daughters out of school when they reached puberty and keep them at home till marriage. This was seen as a safeguard to their purity and to protect them from sexual advances. Teenaged girls were also expected to only go out in the company of their siblings or parents rather than alone for similar reasons. Though the parents themselves may have relaxed their view of traditional practices, not exercising caution with their teenage daughters is seen as negligent and potentially damaging to their marriage options. They are forced to act in accordance to the rules that govern pre-marriage female sexuality, which are seen as separate from rules around post-marriage female sexuality. Thus despite evidence that there has been a change in the way in which *Purdah* has been practiced in an urban setting, it is likely that in some form or another it will continue in Mumbai's urban slum communities.

Conclusion

M East ward is home to a wide variety of migrants from diverse backgrounds trying to settle into their new urban environment. Despite this heterogeneity, there are common experiences shared by north-Indian migrants as they conform to or circumvent the traditional norms and practices of *Purdah*. The census and interviews with residents of M East ward shows that migration is often the cause of transformation within the relationship leading to greater equality between partners evidenced by women having a greater say in decision

making within the household and control over finances. This process is seen as ‘bargaining’ and is an on-going process, one that is dependent on a number of factors, the most important being the relationship between partners . There is also evidence that while traditional practices such as *Purdah* are not followed as strictly as they may have been in rural areas, that they are still being passed down generationally.

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Migrating for More Autonomy and Freedom – A Case Study of Chinese Women Migrants in Nigeria

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Abstract

China's involvement in Africa has drawn a large amount of attention across disciplines. A number of interpretations have been put forward for this. For example, such involvement is seen as changing international power dimensions; it can also be seen as an example/new model for south-south development. Not surprisingly, many discussions focus on the economic impact of investment and aid. Chinese migrants involved in the large scale state/private sponsored investment/aid projects are usually male. They tend to work and live in compounds provided by the projects and in relative isolation from the host community. Hence, empirical data concerning migration experience of such migrants is difficult to come by. However, emerging debates are increasingly focusing on independent migrants in Africa and their daily lived experience (Mohan et al, forthcoming).

Despite a surge of Chinese female migrants to Africa since the 1980s, very little is known about their lives. My paper aims to provide an account for embodied experiences of female migrants in Nigeria, based on the data I collected in 2011. To examine why there is a sudden surge of Chinese women migrants in Africa, I will analyse the historical/political context of modern China as well as the changes in Chinese gender roles and gender relations since the 1960s.

The 'Chinese women migrants in Africa' is by no mean a homogenous social grouping. Here I will focus on women who originated from mainland China. There are a number of interesting features concerning these women migrants. Many of them experienced social and political upheaval during the Cultural Revolution. They attribute their success to what they went through. Although the recent economic reform has provided Chinese women with more variety of work to choose from, the opportunities are scarce and competition is fierce. Some women migrants see Africa as 'frontiers' where they can find adventure and earn success. Furthermore, Africa is seen as a place that offers the opportunity to escape the constraining stereotypical gender roles.

Key Words: *Chinese women migrants, Migration, Nigeria, Africa, Chinese gender relations*

Introduction

Since the 'Open Door' policy and economic reform in the late 1970s, many Chinese men and women have taken advantage of their newly found mobility for a better life. By the end of the 1990s, there were nearly 130 million rural labourers and migrants in urban areas (Bailey 2012: 129). Many Chinese opt to go abroad, which they had not been able to do during the Mao era (1949-1976). Although the number of Chinese migrants working and living outside of China since the later 1970s is difficult to pin down, the impact that Chinese migrants have had created around the world for the past few decades is felt acutely (see Bailey *et al* 1994, Bao 2002, Beck 2007, Benton 2003, Brautigam 2003, Ceccagno 2003, Chu 1996 and Mohan and Power 2009, to name just a few).

Since the late 2000, Chinese migration in Africa has drawn a large amount of attention across a number of disciplines. A substantial amount of literature focuses on the economic impact of investment and aid (Taylor 2007 and Brautigam 2009 for example).

Increasingly empirical data has begun to feature independent migrants' experiences (Nyiri 2006 and Mohan and Lampert 2013). Despite a surge of Chinese female migrants to Africa since the 1980s, very little is known about their lives and lived experiences, unlike the literature on Chinese migration elsewhere (Lee 1997, Bao 2002, Basu 1991, Ceccagno 2007, Greschwender 1992, Lee *et al* 2002, Ryan 2002, Sargeson 2004, Siu 2005 and Waters 2002).

In May 2011, I carried out two pilot studies, one in Nigeria and one in Tanzania, in order to assess the possibility of conducting a more substantive research project examining the works and lives of Chinese women migrants in Africa. During the pilot studies, I collected a number of case studies. My informants included Chinese women migrants (and in some cases their husbands) from different ages, professions, backgrounds and class. They had migrated to Africa from the Republic of China (Taiwan ROC), Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

In this paper, I will focus on Chinese women originated from the PRC (China). Although my sample is small, their experiences illustrate that Africa (Nigeria in this instance) provides a space and an opportunity to have more independence, autonomy and freedom. A brief examination on how Chinese women's roles changed since 1949 will shed light on why the contemporary women's roles in China are, in comparison, more restricting.

Changing gender roles and relations between 1949 - today

China has witnessed unprecedented political and social upheavals since the beginning of the twentieth century. Women's roles, status and experiences have not only been influenced by 'their age, life cycle, ethnicity and age' (Bailey 2012:4), but also by the policies and the key political events during this period. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on the key policies and events since the creation of the PRC in 1949.

Before I begin this discussion, it would be useful to provide a brief discussion on how Confucius teaching has significantly impacted on the traditional female gender roles. Confucius is believed to have said that women are of a lower social status than men and can never attain full equality with men. To be a woman meant to submit; they are to be 'obedient, unassuming, yielding, timid, respectful, reticent and unselfish in character' (Croll 1978: 178). A woman should obey her father as a daughter, she should obey her husband as a wife and she should obey her sons as a widow. Marriages were arranged by parents (fathers in particular). After a woman was married, she moved to where her husband's family lived (patrilocal residence). Patrilocal residence ensured that a woman had no claim over her own

labour. Women were to take no part in public affairs; their domain was restricted entirely to the domestic sphere. The most dramatic illustration of women's oppression in traditional China was perhaps the custom of footbinding (Bailey 2012).

The traditional roles described briefly above were visibly challenged when the communist party gained power in 1949.

The then new government of China adopted a number of legal, economic and political policies and programmes to redefine the roles of women. The attempt was to place women in a position of equal status with men in both the public and domestic sphere. The 1950 Marriage Law was the first effective campaign to implement marriage, divorce and rights for women (Bailey 2012). The impact of this law is significant. For example, if a woman wants to choose her own marriage partner in opposition to her parents' choice, she can resort to court action. The state also began to support women in finding employment in the state sector by providing maternity leave and day care facilities. There was a wider range in women's employment opportunities too. Commentators generally agree that by placing women in collective services, the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) exerted an extensive effort to release women from the ties and responsibilities of maintaining the small individual household (Croll 1983, Andors 1983, Davin 1979 and Evans 2008) and making them visible in the public domain.

The period featuring The Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the post-Cultural Revolution (1958 – 1977) was about 'decentralization, mass mobilization of all labour, the development of all forms of production, the creation of services, and a political emphasis on the elimination of all kinds of inequality' (Andors 1983:171). Some commenters (such as Andors) argue that such ideology was conducive to the rapid transformation of women's gender roles; however other commentators (E. Croll and D Davin for example) argue that the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) did not go far enough to reject the principles that contribute to women's oppression. As a result, in the cities women predominated in the service industry, the textile trade, food processing and other light industries. Men however, were recruited into the more prestigious and better-paid occupations on a large scale. Although there is no consensus on the extent to which the CCP's policies created an environment for a more equal gender relation and how patriarchy operated during that period, it is generally agreed that women were given more rights and were able to move and work in public domains unlike before. In terms of political participation, Bailey argues that during the Cultural Revolution women had achieved their highest participation rate in party and legislative organisation since 1949. It is worth noting that women's political presence was gradually to decline after 1976 (Bailey 2012).

Evans argues that almost as soon as the curtains fell on the Cultural Revolution, the unchanged assumptions about women's gender roles resurfaced (Evans 2008). This can be seen from the examples provided in the McLaren volume (McLaren 2004). During the economic reform, people were exhorted by the CCP and the state 'to get rich' as it is viewed as a 'glorious task' (Bailey 2012:130). Women have a wider choice of employment to choose from. However, they are considered to be more suited to a certain type of work, as

well as being cheaper and being less likely to cause trouble in factories. Some women have clearly been disadvantaged by the reform, and often quite explicitly because they were women. For example, women workers in former state-owned enterprises have found themselves to be put out of work first as a result of economic restructuring and down-sizing because they are not considered as the bread winner in each family (McLaren 2004). In terms of the effects on urban family life, after the reform, fathers spend more time away from home to take advantage of market competition. Mothers generally work longer hours (Evans 2008).

Prior to the reform, the reinforcement of the household registration system had restricted the migration from rural areas to cities. After the reform, it became possible for a rural resident to move unofficially without a permit. Since the economic reform, not only do women have more variety of works to choose from, they also have more mobility. Commentators (Fan 2003, Xu 2000 and Huang 2001) argue that female migrants are at a disadvantage in the labour market not only because of their gender but also because of their rural identities and outsider status. The socio-cultural traditions rooted in Confucianism have now resurfaced to reinforce this process after being suppressed during the Maoist era (Fan 2003). The process of being exposed to the market and capitalism has created the phenomenon of the feminization of migration in which young rural Chinese women are increasingly exploited by factories in the cities. They work in appalling circumstances and have no rights/benefits either in their work place or in the cities (Xu 2000).

However, migrant work can be empowering to women (Fan 2003 and Xu 2000). For example, although they are often disappointed, young women continue to pursue their aspiration for a love marriage and independence by migrating. Zhang argues that some women make decision to leave their parents' homes, seek jobs and lead an independent existence in the city. Although they are often vulnerable to exploitation especially as newcomers to the city, access to paid jobs away from the parental households give some female migrants a measure of personal freedom and independence (Zhang 2000).

Unfortunately, for many such autonomy and freedom is short-lived. Rural women usually return to the village upon marriage to look after their children on their own. Husbands then become circular migrants working in cities (Fan 2003 and Xu 2000). Interestingly, this is not a universal experience. Some rural women, having worked as migrants in cities, are then able to succeed in the industries that are traditionally associated with women.

Gao and Kuah-Pearce's article provides such an example. Their informants started work as migrant labour/petty traders and gradually become entrepreneurs. Most of them were married; they left their children in their hometown to be cared for by grandparents. Some of them owned (or co-owned with their husbands) garment factories and the others were stall-keepers at garment whole sale markets (Gao and Kuah-Pearce 2004).

In summary, the CCP implemented a set of policies and ideologies that are conducive to promoting equality amongst men and women. Although the impact of these policies and ideologies is debatable, they did provide opportunities for women to seek employment provided by the state and have a presence in the public domain. Since the economic reform, women have been able to find work in a variety of jobs and have become more mobile. Urban women are able to find full-time work as white-colour professionals. But they tend to work long hours and have little time for family life. In so far as rural women are concerned, the types of work available for them in urban areas are low paid and low skilled. Furthermore, they experience harsh working conditions and endure long working hours. For many, the experience of migration can be empowering. But upon marriage, they have to move back to villages so that their husbands can be circular migrants in urban areas. I have not been able to locate much substantial literature on women entrepreneurs. The only article I have been able to find suggests that these women have the support of their husbands and in-laws and are able to utilise the network and cultural capital they gained whilst being a young rural migrant. Although this article does not examine women's roles and the gender relations in detail, it does imply that these successful women enjoy a degree of independence and autonomy and that patrilocal residence does not apply to them. All these points will be followed up in the analysis section.

Methodology

It was mentioned earlier that I carried out two pilot studies. The data for this paper was collected in the study carried out in Lagos and Kano (Nigeria) in May 2011 and funded by the Centre for Innovation, Knowledge and Development (Open University). I chose these locations because a colleague, Dr. Ben Lampert, had previously carried out an extensive field research in Lagos and Kano whilst working on an ESRC project led by Professor Giles Mohan. Dr. Lampert introduced me to his research assistant, Mrs. Dorothy Johnson. I was able to begin my pilot research using some of Dr. Lampert's contacts and with Mrs. Johnson's assistance. In fact, three of my informants were a sub-sample of Dr. Lampert's research.

The method I used was case studies. Given the time constraint, case studies were the most suitable way to elicit an account of why women migrated to Africa (Nigeria, in particular), their work and lived experiences.

During my stay in Lagos, I met with twelve women informants who originated from the PRC in Lagos. My informants' ages ranged from late 20s to early 60s. The duration of their stay in Nigeria ranged from 1 month to over 30 years.

Below, I will outline my findings. As the sample of my pilot is small, I will triangulate my data with Dr. Lampert's findings where appropriate. I will also highlight the areas that warrant further investigation.

Analysis

1. Work

Six of my informants migrated to Nigeria because they had business interests in Nigeria (self-employed), which included soft furnishing, pottery, office equipment, boutique, garment shops and immigration advice. Some of them were the sole proprietors of the businesses and the others either had Chinese business partners or Nigerian business partners. Married informants had the help of their husbands and/or extended families.

Single informants employed Nigerian workers. Their businesses were not exclusively confined to textile/garments as in the case study presented by (Gao and Kuah-Pearce 2004). However, similar to what Gao and Kuah-Pearce found in their research, my informants were able to build and utilise their networks (both local ones and the ones at home). The data collected by Dr. Lampert with a much larger sample also collaborates with the above observations (Mohan *et al*, forthcoming).

Five of my informants were employed to work in Nigeria. Two of them were employed by a digital channel company (one as a sales representative and the other one as a cook). One informant worked at a restaurant. One informant was a volunteer at the Confucius Institute at Lagos teaching modern Chinese history. One managed a Karaoke bar-cum-brothel. All these jobs are traditionally associated with women.

2. Living arrangements

None of the married informants, regardless of their ages, lived with their husbands' families. One informant was married one year before I met her. She chose to be a circular migrant instead of giving up her business when she became married. She said that her husband agreed with her that giving up a successful business was not a good idea and that she should split her time between China and Africa.

Dr. Lampert carried out a few interviews with couples. In some instances the husbands joined the wives' families to work and live in Africa. Instead of patrilocal residence, these couples practiced matrilocal residence.

As for the informants who had young children, the couples working in Africa, left their children to be cared for by grandparents, a similar arrangement was reported in (Gao and Kuah-Pearce 2004). Two informants had grown-up children and their children took turns to go to Nigeria to help out with the family business.

The informants who were single/divorced either shared accommodation with their co-workers or lived on their own.

3. *Marriage*

Out of five single informants, two of them were considered to have reached an age to be too old to get married. Both of them had their own business: one was sole proprietor and the other one had a Nigerian business partner. They both mentioned that they disliked visiting their families in China. Single women of their age were social anomalies. They said they much preferred Nigeria where they were not stigmatised. Same sentiment was voiced by the two informants who were divorced. One informant compared her experiences of being married in China and being a divorced woman in Africa, she said 'I am my own boss here'.

One married informant who was single until she was in her early 30s said that she was quite happy to be single because she had a successful business in Lagos. But she could not bear her parents' persistent urging, she decided to take the plunge to go on blind dates arranged by a dating agency and subsequently met her husband. Her attitude towards the marriage was worth mentioning. She said: "I was curious about what being married was like so I did it just to find out and of course to get rid of my parents' nagging. I thought if I don't get on with my husband, I would divorce him. I have a successful business so I don't need to rely on my husband'.

The above informants were all too aware that the oppression marriage might bring. 'Africa' seems to provide a refuge for women who do not wish to conform. It would be interesting to find out the extent to which Chinese women migrants think/feel the same in other African countries.

4. *Motivations*

All my informants chose Nigeria as their destination because they had heard about Nigeria from someone who had lived/worked in Nigeria. Speaking to these contacts, they felt Nigeria offered good business/career opportunities and an adventure.

Older migrants (in their 50s and 60s) said that they did not have the opportunity to go abroad in the past because they were not allowed to do so during the Mao era. As soon as China was 'open', they felt they had to grab the opportunity to see the world. During the Cultural Revolution, they received very little education. They said they had no skills to go into other professions but to trade. Trading, as they reckoned, does not require many skills. As Nigeria had a sizable market and money (from oil extraction), they felt it was a good place for them. Younger migrants (in their 30s and 20s) saw going to Africa as providing them

with the opportunities to gain independence and a positive adventure. One informant in her late 20s took extra measures to do so:

As a single child, she knew that her parents would not allow her to go to Africa. After graduating from college, she found employment 300 miles from home. When she heard from an acquaintance that there were jobs to be had in Nigeria, she found herself a 'sponsor'. The sponsor paid for her fare but in return retained her passport. The job she was asked to do was to work in a factory, carrying out admin duties. However, she did not like the environment very much. By chance, she came across a Chinese woman restaurateur, looking for workers. She left the factory job and went to work at the restaurant. Her mother found out that she was in Africa by chance but her father was ignorant of her true whereabouts. Like the rural migrants in Zhang's work, this informant exercised her agency to gain independence from her parents (Zhang 2000). The desires of wishing to be independent and wanting an adventure were also cited by other informants who were in their 30s and 20s as reasons to come to Nigeria.

Perhaps a more conventional reason to migrant for a Chinese woman would be to live with her husband's family upon marriage. One of my informants was married to a Nigerian man whom she met in China. Prior to their marriage, the husband had been conducting business in southern China for a number of years. Once they were married, she relocated to Nigeria whilst her husband continued to spend substantial time in China. According to her, there were a number of Chinese/Nigerian couples in Lagos. However, the husbands were always Nigerian, never the other way around. Without more data, it is difficult to explain why this is the case. If the practice of patrilocal residence is alive and well, perhaps one would only find Nigerian husbands and Chinese wives in Nigeria. Data on intermarriage in other parts of Africa and in China would shed more light in this area.

One informant said that migrating to Nigeria temporarily was the only option for her to earn enough money to pay off her debts. This informant was in her mid-30s. Initially, she came to Nigeria to be a prostitute. But when I met her, she was managing a Karaoke bar-cum-brothel. There were a dozen women working in her establishment.

The karaoke bar traditionally was a place where business men entertain their clients. This establishment was no different. It served food, drink and sexual services. The clients that frequented the establishment came from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Lebanon. My informant described the business as buoyant and she had managed to pay off her debts and was in the process of buying a house in her hometown. She said that her parents were not aware of where she lived. She said that '...working in Africa is good. It is far away from home and no one would ever find out what I do'.

The above example alone is not sufficient to conclude that Chinese women who work as prostitutes were not vulnerable to exploitation. However, it does illustrate that in some contexts they come to Africa by choice because it offers the opportunity and distance to be free from social stigma.

Conclusion

This paper presents the findings of a pilot study carried out in Nigeria in 2011. I found female migrants involved in a range of businesses, some of which were not traditionally associated with women. However, the occupations women migrants were employed to do were conventional ones. By living and working in Africa, the married informants no longer had to observe the rule of the patrilocal residence. The single/divorced informants clearly valued their freedom and autonomy as well as the fact that living in Africa provided an environment for them to be free of stigma. In short, the majority of my informants found Africa to be an adventure that offered good business/job prospects. To all of them, Africa offers a space and place to be independent, autonomous and free from many of the constraints of contemporary female roles in China. Research investigating lived gendered experiences amongst Chinese migrants in other parts of Africa would help to triangulate the findings of this research.

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PART 8

GENDER IN ART, LITERATURE, HEALTH AND DIASPORA

'This Country Would not Survive without Its Women'- Intimate Transnational Relationship in the Finnish Media, 1990-2010

JOHANNA LEINONEN

Abstract

This article uses Finland as a case for examining the gendering of national identities in the media. I focus on representations regarding Finnish society and Finnish men and women in discussions on intimate transnational relationships in print media. While migrants often act as a mirror against which national identities are reflected, the question becomes more charged when the foreigner enters the family unit. Family is seen as the core unit of society, and it plays a central role in the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation. Therefore discussions surrounding transnational relationships offer a fruitful medium for studying the formation of gendered national identities. My research asks what kinds of differences between Finnish and foreign spouses are marked as meaningful enough to make the intimate relationship 'mixed'. What do these processes of differentiation tell about ideas regarding Finnish men and women and Finnish society? The research is based on analysis of newspaper and magazine articles on transnational relationships published in the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat and women's magazine Anna in 1990-2010. I employed a qualitative, textual analysis of meanings attached to transnational relationships by a close reading of different types of articles.

My analysis leads to three main conclusions. First, it shows that ideas regarding gender equality play a dominant role in the processes of inclusion and exclusion in Finland. Second, 'skin color' often becomes the marker of a 'meaningful difference' between the spouses, in particular in relationships between Finnish women and foreign men. In these stories 'Finnishness' becomes equated with 'whiteness', and the 'black/dark' man embodies the ultimate foreigner in Finnish society. Third, Finnish media create and maintain a few caricatural figures of marriage migrants, such as passive and victimized migrant wives of Finnish men or 'black'/patriarchal husbands of Finnish women. At the same time, the media (re)produces stereotypes of Finnish women as strong and independent and Finnish men as trustworthy strongholds of Finnish society. However, these representations are not stable or fixed. While some narratives are stronger than others – in particular the narrative of Finnish women as independent – representations of 'us' and 'them' are shifting and sometimes contradictory.

Keywords: *intimate transnational relationships, gender and nation, national identities, 'whiteness', Nordic countries*

Introduction

Media scholars have pointed out how the media plays a central role in the forging of identities: 'our sense of selfhood; our notion of what it means to be male or female; our sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality; and of "us" and "them"' (Kellner

2011 p. 7). Additionally, scholars studying nation-building processes have noted the importance of the media in creating a feeling of belonging and maintaining a coherent national identity. Shani Orgad (2012 p. 83), for example, discusses how different forms of media invite us to ‘think of and relate to ourselves as a nation’. According to Orgad, the media often engage in rather mundane ways of producing ideas about ‘us’ and ‘them’ – or in ‘banal nationalism’, to borrow Billig’s (1995) influential concept.

The ways these national sentiments and processes of nation-building have been gendered in the media has received less scholarly attention. My research uses Finland as a case for examining the gendering of national identities in the media. In particular, my focus is on representations regarding Finnish society and Finnish men and women in discussions on intimate transnational relationships in print media in the time period spanning from 1990 to 2010. While migrants and other foreigners often act as a mirror against which national identities are reflected (e.g. Lepola 2000 p. 19), the question becomes more charged when the foreigner enters the family unit. Family is seen as the core unit of society, and it plays a central role in the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997 p. 11-23). While relationships between partners from the dominant society are represented in the media simply as unions between two individuals, relationships that cross national borders often get a broader meaning: the foreign partner is not just an individual citizen’s spouse but a potential member of a family and, on a broader scale, a member of a nation (Toyota 2008 p. 3). Therefore discussions surrounding transnational relationships offer a fruitful medium for studying the formation of gendered national identities.

Ideas about ‘us’ and ‘them’ are built through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Different groups of migrants – depending on ‘different cultural conditions, economic needs, political exigencies, and social conflicts’ – are labeled as foreign ‘others’ against which ideas about ‘us’ are constructed (Behdad 2005 p. 11). In this paper, I explore how the difference between those who are included and those who are not is articulated in stories on transnational relationships published in two publications, the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (*HS*) and the women’s magazine *Anna*. What kinds of differences between Finnish and foreign spouses are marked as meaningful enough to make the marriage or other intimate relationship ‘mixed’? What do these processes of differentiation tell about ideas regarding Finnish men and women and Finnish society?

My analysis leads to three main conclusions. First, it shows that ideas regarding gender equality play a dominant role in the processes of inclusion and exclusion in Finland. Gender equality is presented as one of the defining qualities of Finnish society. Second, while

the concept of 'race' (*rotu*) is often avoided in public and academic discussions in Finland due to its connotations to colonial and eugenic ideas, 'skin color' often becomes the marker of a 'meaningful difference' between the spouses, in particular in relationships between Finnish women and foreign men. In these stories 'Finnishness' becomes equated with 'whiteness', and the 'black/dark' man embodies the ultimate foreigner in Finnish society. Finally, Finnish media create and maintain a few caricatural figures of marriage migrants, such as passive and victimized Filipino or Thai wives of Finnish men or 'black'/patriarchal/Muslim husbands of Finnish women. At the same time, the media (re)produces stereotypes of Finnish women as strong and independent and Finnish men as trustworthy (but silent) strongholds of Finnish society. However, these representations are not stable or fixed. While some narratives are stronger than others – in particular the narrative of Finnish women as independent – representations of 'us' and 'them' are shifting and sometimes contradictory (see also Horsti 2005 p. 11-12). For example, while Finnish men appeared in the articles as 'gate-keepers' of the Finnish nation, another strong image that came through was that of Finnish men as less capable than Finnish women and as prone to have social problems, such as alcoholism. In these types of stories, Finnish men's relationships with foreign ('non-Western') women were stigmatized as unequal and abusive.

My study is based on newspaper and magazine articles pertaining to transnational relationships between Finns and foreigners published in *HS* and *Anna*. *HS* is the largest Finnish newspaper by circulation, and it is also regarded as the leading quality daily in the country (Pietikäinen 2000 p. 131). *Anna* is one of the most widely read magazines in its genre in Finland, and is also regarded as a 'good quality' women's magazine. I employed a qualitative, textual analysis of meanings attached to transnational relationships by a close reading of different types of articles.

Country of Gender Equality

Migration scholars have pointed out how gender equality plays a crucial role in the processes of 'othering' in Finnish society (and in Nordic societies in general) (Mulinari et al. 2009). Gender equality appears as something that Finland has already achieved and that needs to be taught to migrants coming from 'patriarchal cultures' (Huttunen 2009 p. 107-108; Tuori 2007). For example, Jaana Vuori (2009 p. 208) found in her research on guidebooks directed at migrants in Finland that the first statement in many books was, 'in Finland women and men are equal'. Discourses on gender equality can thus marginalize those who do not seemingly follow the 'Nordic gender norms'.

In the articles published in *Anna* and the *HS* on relationships between Finns and foreigners, gender equality and its position as the defining quality of Finnish society were recurring topics. On the one hand, diverging ideas regarding men's and women's roles in family and society appeared in the stories as one of the main factors that could potentially drive a wedge between the Finnish and foreign spouse. This was the case in particular in stories on relationships between Finnish women and men from 'non-Western' or 'Islamic' cultures. On the other hand, migrant spouses also used the vocabulary of gender equality

when trying to show their integration into Finnish society. These stories also mostly featured spouses originating from the Global South, although sometimes also ‘southern European’ spouses were depicted as having to learn the principles of Nordic gender equality.

Anna published regularly interviews with transnational couples, describing the family life of the couple and possible cultural differences between the spouses. The issue of gender equality was a regular topic in these stories. For example, a wife of a Turkish man noted in an interview published in *Anna* in 1990 (No. 17 p. 21) how her friends and family had suspected whether the husband would understand Finnish gender equality: she had received warnings about ending up as ‘the doormat of a “southern man”’. In stories about Finnish women who had divorced their foreign husband, it was often highlighted how the man had not accepted Finnish women’s active role in society. In 1993 (No. 18 p. 14), a former Miss Finland was interviewed about her recently-ended relationship with a Moroccan man in an article titled ‘Can a Bi-cultural Marriage Work?’ She noted that the reason behind their break-up was the ‘fact’ that ‘in Moroccan culture, women’s position is completely different than in our culture. (...) Even the fact that I was working was strange for an African man’. Migration scholars have noted that the stereotypical ‘migrant man’ is often associated with patriarchal gender and family systems in public discussions in Finland (Säävälä 2009 p. 39; Vuori 2009 p. 212, 215). This construction of a migrant man was reproduced in *Anna*: the ‘patriarchal husband’ was often the imagined foreign partner of a Finn, and the source of potential marital discord. In 1998 (No. 7 p. 10-12), the magazine reminded Finnish women to first find out how closely their potential husband followed his religion, in particular if he professed ‘patriarchal religion, such as Islam’. The article pointed out that ‘even in southern Europe’ it was not a given that the husband and his family ‘will accept the fact that the Finnish woman is independent and works [outside home]’.

While differing ideas regarding gender roles were depicted as causing problems in transnational relationships, foreign spouses of Finns – as well as migrants in Finland more broadly – often used the vocabulary of gender equality when claiming membership in Finnish society. Karina Horsti (2009 p. 80) has found that when a migrant man or woman is portrayed in the Finnish media, the migrant’s transformation into a ‘Finn’ is highlighted by emphasizing how s/he learned to appreciate gender equality. Similarly, a migrant spouse learning Finnish gender equality was a character that recurred in stories published in *Anna*. In 1999 (No. 11 p. 53-54), the magazine featured an article titled ‘How a Foreign Man Manages with Finnish Values’. The men interviewed in the article originated from Nicaragua, Tanzania, and Russia. The journalist inquired the Nicaraguan man about how he had

managed to ‘deny the lessons of a strong macho culture’ and learn to appreciate being an equal husband and father. In his answer, the man highlighted that his relationship with the Finnish wife was an ‘equal companionship’ and that he admired ‘Finnish woman’s independence and self-esteem’. Similarly, in an article published in the *HS* in 2005 (International Edition, June 18), a Thai woman praised the gender equality she had encountered in Finland: ‘Here in Finland I have learned what equality means. Here things always get planned and decided together.’

Finnish Nation, ‘White’ Nation?

Scholars have traditionally argued that racial ideas have not played a significant role in the processes of nation-building in the Nordic region. Indeed, the Nordic countries often see themselves as ‘innocent’ when it comes to colonialism and racism (Mulinari et al. 2009). There is still very little discussion on racism in Finland, and if racism is debated publicly, it is explained away as attitudes or acts of individual racist persons. Structural racism has received only little attention in public discussions (Keskinen 2009 p. 44). Diana Mulinari et al. (2009 p. 2) explain the resistance to talk about racism in the Nordic countries by pointing out how they ‘never went through a clear period of critique of colonialism and its presence in everyday environments and encounters, as did the colonial centres in the aftermath of the dismantling of the empires’. Therefore the Nordic countries have continued to view themselves as outsiders in colonial discourses and legacies.

The word ‘race’ gets almost a biological meaning in the Finnish language, and therefore those conducting research on or working with minority groups often avoid using the term (Forsander, Ekholm & Hautaniemi 2001 p. 12-30). It is also rarely mentioned in public discussions on migration in Finland. Against this background, I was surprised to find that the word was used rather often in *Anna*. In addition, racism experienced by foreign partners of Finns was discussed in the magazine, in particular in the 1990s. In the 2000s both the word ‘race’ and the talk about experiences of racism started to disappear from the magazine. In contrast to *Anna*, the newspaper *HS* did not use the word at all, nor did it write much about racism in Finland.

In *Anna*, skin color often became the main signifier of difference between spouses who were seemingly of different color. In other words, the assumed cultural differences between the spouses were reduced to their diverging complexion; their cultural differences became racialized. For example, in 1996 (No. 41 p. 4) the magazine interviewed a Finnish woman and her husband from France. Despite the man’s origin in France, the fact that he was ‘black’ was, in the journalist’s view, the defining difference between the spouses. She wrote, ‘When a Finnish woman and French man are together – in particular since one is white and the other black – they must have bumped into cultural differences.’ Similarly, in 1995 (No. 33 p. 72) the magazine featured an interview with a Finnish woman and an African American man. Again, the journalist left from the assumption that their ‘racial’ differences were to blame for any possible cultural schisms in their marriage: ‘[W]hen a black man from California and shy country girl [from Finland] meet, you need a lot of mediation and

negotiation (...).' In addition, stories that discussed the situation of transnational couples in Finland more generally often problematized relationships between 'white' Finnish women and their 'dark-skinned' husbands. In 2000 (No. 8 p. 94-95), for example, the magazine highlighted the difficulties experienced by Finnish women whose partner was black. The journalist wrote, 'Everyday life for a woman living with a black man is about being continuously stared at and tolerating inappropriate questions.' This difference was also reflected in the choice of images attached to stories on transnational relationships: they often contained images of a white Finnish woman and a man with dark hair or skin color.

The racialization of relationships between Finnish women and foreign men is particularly interesting when considering the history of racial imaginings regarding Finns. In recent years, scholars have revealed how racial thinking contributed significantly to ideas concerning the Finnish nation in the twentieth century. For example, scholars have pointed out how theories assigning Finns a lower status in racial hierarchies as '(descendants of) Mongols' unsettled Finnish elites up until the mid-twentieth century and pushed them to 'prove' that Finns were a Western, 'white' race. Maija Urponen (2010) shows in her analysis of debates on intimate relationships between Finnish women and foreign men during the 1952 Helsinki Summer Olympic Games, how these debates revealed the country's desire to be culturally and racially associated with the West and North, in contrast to the 'less civilized' and 'darker' southern and 'oriental' nations. The articles analyzed here firmly reproduced the association of 'Finnishness' with 'whiteness'. The Finnish women appearing in the stories confirmed the 'white woman with the golden hair' as the normative representation of a Finnish woman (Rossi 2009 p. 193-194). Whiteness thus becomes a defining quality of Finnishness, and the 'black husband' the ultimate other in Finns' relationships with foreigners.

Shifting, Contradictory Representations

I won't have similar problems with her as with Finnish women. Filipinas are contented with very little. They can take pleasure in the simplest things and don't complain and moan about everything. Finnish women always have something wrong (*HS* September 4, 1995).

The first widespread media controversy surrounding relationships between Finns and foreigners took place in the fall of 1995. On September 4, 1995, the *HS* published two articles on a correspondence service introducing Filipino women to Finnish men, started by a Finnish

man named Veli 'Sir Vili' Karppanen. Throughout the fall of 1995, the newspapers published news reports, opinion pieces, and other stories pertaining to the 'Sir Vili' case and the 'flow' of Filipino women to Finland. The man quoted in the paragraph above was interviewed for the *HS* in September 1995. He had been married to a Finnish woman before but as the quote reveals, he did not want to have another relationship with an 'unsatisfied' Finnish woman. As this example illustrates, while the stories seemingly focused on Finnish men looking for a wife from abroad and Filipinas looking for a husband in Finland, they also produced representations of Finnish women. Finnish women appeared in these stories in two roles: either as the 'reason' why Finnish men looked for a Filipino wife or as experts who were worried about the plight of their Asian 'sisters'. What combines these two narratives concerning Finnish women was the idea that Finnish women were (too) demanding and active, as opposed to victimized and passive Filipinas.

The idea that Finnish women had gone too far in their demands for equality is not, of course, unique to Finnish men looking for a spouse from abroad, nor is it present only in articles focusing on Filipino wives. On the contrary, scholars have found similar reasoning when studying Western men looking for a spouse from Asian countries (e.g. Constable 2003). Jana Sverdljuk (2009 p. 138) points out how these kinds of 'orientalizing' discourses are also applied to Russian women: they are claimed to be more family-oriented and feminine than emancipated Western women. Similar views were expressed by a Finnish man married to a Russian woman interviewed by the *HS* in 1997 (July 20): 'A Russian woman wants to start a family and have children. Finnish women are looking for an independent life. A marriage in which you have to take your spouse into account does not fit with that.'

These transnational, orientalist images of Asian/Russian women and ideas of assertive Western women are particularly interesting in the Nordic context, as gender equality is often claimed to form the core of the 'nationhood' in the Nordic countries (Mulinari et al. 2009 p. 5). In Finland, the myth of 'strong Finnish women' has been much debated in gender studies. According to this myth, Finnish women were the 'co-authors' of Finland's national narrative; they were part and parcel of the nation-building project, and continued to participate in the labor market and education throughout the twentieth century. This history allegedly created a 'heritage of strong, capable Finnish women who fulfil a range of obligations inside and outside the home' (McKie & Hearn 2003 p. 92). These ideas have later been challenged by gender scholars who have argued that the celebration of gender equality hides gendered hierarchies that persist in Finnish society (Lahelma & Öhrn 2003 p. 51; Peltonen 1998 p. 66-72). In the process of building the Finnish nation, a gender system was created in which women occupied the 'feminine', private sphere and men the 'masculine', public sphere. While women have certainly been part of the labor force throughout the twentieth century, they have been the 'caretakers and nurturers' in the labor market and carried the main responsibility for housework (Juntti 1998 p. 400-401; McKie & Hearn 2003 p. 93-94).

In the stories analyzed here, the relationship between ('non-Western') migrant women and Finnish women experts who work with migrants was imbued with hierarchical power relations. This power hierarchy was most explicit in articles that dealt with domestic violence experienced by migrant women. In January 1991 (January 18), the *HS* interviewed Tarja

Summa, Ombudsman for Foreigners appointed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, about domestic violence experienced by women married to Finns. She observed that unreported domestic violence 'is mainly a problem of women coming from outside Europe. European women do understand that violence is not allowed'. The quote reveals in a poignant way how migrant women were portrayed as in need of help by Finnish women, the 'experts of equality'.

The immigration officials who appeared in the articles were most often Finnish men. In fact, the division in the Finnish labor market between nurturing women and controlling men seems to extend to those working with migrants as well: while Finnish women helped migrants integrate in Finland, the task of Finnish men was to guard the borders of the nation. Men guarded the borders of the nation from 'illegal immigration' and 'human trafficking' – both terms that were associated with match-making services and fraudulent marriages. In these types of stories, Finnish women appeared sometimes as 'dupes' that foreign men used to gain access to the country. In 1995 (October 23), in the midst of the upheaval surrounding the Sir Vili case, the *HS* published a story on Moroccan men's desires to find a wife in Finland. The article started provocatively by stating, 'Moroccan men do it without Sir Vili. These young men come to the country on a tourist visa, find a fair Finnish woman, and get married quickly.' While the article tried to explain Moroccan men's desire to move abroad through marriage by describing the tough economic conditions in their home country, the main image that comes through is that of scheming men using gullible Finnish women to enter wealthy Europe.

At the same time, representations regarding Finnish men were contradictory: while men protected Finland and the Finnish welfare state from those trying to circumvent immigration rules, they were also depicted as home despots who threatened the personal security of their migrant wives. As the example of domestic violence mentioned above suggests, a common depiction of a Finnish man was that of an alcohol-drinking and even abusive husband of a wife from the Global South (usually a Filipino, Thai, or Russian wife) (see also Flemmen 2008 p. 123; Sirkkilä 2005 p. 14). In the 2000s, after the publicity surrounding the Sir Vili case subsided, the focus of the newspaper articles on foreign wives and on domestic violence in their marriages shifted from Filipinas to Thai and Russian women. (This likely reflects the fact that the number of Thai and Russian wives of Finnish men multiplied in the 2000s.) More than half of the articles on Thai wives discussed abuse and violence that the women had faced in their marriages, and in stories on Russian wives as well violence and alcohol use of Finnish husbands were central issues. In an article published in the International Edition of

the *HS* in 2001 (August 7), titled ‘The Prince Who Turned Into A Frog’, ‘Eugenia’, who had been involved with Finnish men twice through a matchmaking service, told that her first Finnish fiancé ‘drank himself into a stupor every evening’. She further explained that she was ‘used as unpaid labour’ and when she left Finland, she was ‘happy to put an end to my slavery’.

Gender scholars have pointed out that while Finnish women are regarded as strong and capable, Finnish men are often stereotyped as ‘less capable, unhealthy, and more likely to be socially isolated and engaged in alcohol abuse’ (McKie & Hearn 2003 p. 92). Most studies on Finnish men have, indeed, been explorations of their social problems rather than critical studies of Finnish masculinities. Such studies, Jeff Hearn and Emmi Lattu (2002 p. 56) point out, contribute to the idea of ‘miserable Finnish men’ – in spite of their structurally dominating position in Finnish society. This division between morally strong women and weak men is a long-continuing ‘tradition’: it is a depiction that has been reproduced in popular culture (in books, movies, and later in TV shows) already before the age of mass media (Peltonen 1998 p. 69). As these examples illustrate, this division is also strongly reproduced in articles on transnational relationships, in particular in stories published in the newspaper *HS*.

Conclusion

The two publications analyzed in this paper wrote about relationships between Finns and foreigners in rather different ways, which is unsurprising, considering the different purposes of a daily and a women’s magazine. While the *HS* tended to present transnational relationships in a problematic light, focusing on issues such as immigration fraud through marriages of convenience and domestic violence experienced by migrant women, *Anna* presented these relationships more positively, as befits the overall ‘tone’ of the genre it represents. The stories often celebrated the ‘multicultural richness’ in relationships between Finns and foreigners – a theme that was much rarer in the newspaper. However, there were also themes that recurred in both publications. Finnish society was presented as gender equal, and the independence of Finnish women was confirmed. Finnish men, on the other hand, while being the protectors on Finland’s borders, were often presented in a more negative light. These images reproduce popular ideas regarding Finnish men and women, which have been strongly present in the Finnish mental landscape throughout the twentieth century. The discussions also created a few stereotypical characters of ‘epitomized’ marriage migrants, such as abused migrant wives or patriarchal, ‘dark’ migrant husbands. Migrant men were depicted as more active than the passive, victimized women. Foreign men were sometimes portrayed as using Finnish women to gain access to the country, at other times creating marital problems because of their patriarchal ideas regarding women’s role in society and family. Finally, ‘Finnishness’ was associated with ‘whiteness’, thus creating racial boundaries for belonging into Finnish society.

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Turkish Speaking Immigrant Women's Access to Counselling Services in the UK

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Abstract

It was suggested that immigrant community have difficulty to reach to available services for them particularly counselling services in the UK. There are various obstacles for immigrant community to be heard by care givers.

The present research aims to shed light on the focus group's difficulties accessing counselling services and investigate the focus group's experiences in terms of seeking help when they most need it.

The research findings inform us that Turkish speaking immigrant women who live in the UK have a variety of different problems accessing counselling services, such as lack of information, language, confidence, and trust to interpreting services. The research suggests that culturally sensitive practices and improved interpretation services would make Counselling Services more accessible for immigrant communities. Key Words: Women, Counselling, Alienations, Barrier, Language, Psychological problem

Introduction

The Immigrant Community has difficulty to reach and to use available local public services due to barriers such as the lack of confidence, language, understanding of the culture and trust. It was suggested that immigrants' mental health needs are more complex and hard to deal with properly (McColl & Johnson, 2006). Hence, mental health issues are very common among immigrants due to pre and post immigration factors such as identity, social disorientation, and cultural bereavement; even trauma and torture in some cases, depend on the circumstances on where they come from.

This research will shed light on how the immigrant community perceives these hurdles and how they get over them in general. Particular attention is paid to women from the immigrant community who are Turkish speaking and currently living in London as a focus group.

The present research concentrates on three distinct areas that are separated by the following questions:

1. Do immigrant women feel the need to use the counselling services provided? Or do they feel the need to have counselling?

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2. What hurdles do these women see in order to use the Counselling services provided? If they have to get over these hurdles, how do they?
3. How many of these women have been seen by counsellors? What are their main concerns, such as being an immigrant, being treated badly, alienation?

Firstly, the researcher has conducted an empirical study, although, s/he has had her own observations on the issues for many years. Secondly, there is no research conducted specifically on this topic. Thus, this research will allow other researchers to study different dimensions of the problem and attract interest for further study. Thirdly, this research will identify the problem and offer some guidance to people who provide services and those who want to use them.

In this study, initially, a literature review will be placed. After that, the study will illustrate the findings of the research. The researcher will discuss these results. A conclusion and recommendations will be placed.

Literature Review

There is not enough research on this particular topic. Nevertheless, there are other studies on Turkish immigrants in the UK and in other European countries and relating to immigrants' mental health and to accessing the mental health services. Some of these studies pay attention to women and children rather than men.

A review on publications in three European countries, namely Germany, the UK and Sweden on how much and what type of empirical research has been conducted between 1996 and 2004 indicates that, there was not enough research on immigrants' mental health (Claassen et al, 2005; 542). Majority of the research conducted in the UK had at least one author from an immigrant background. 71% was conducted in London. Research questions were generally about assessment, psychopathology, diagnosis, treatment and outcome. Only one research focused on asylum seekers, while 7 researches focused on refugees out of 95. The research in Germany suggests that Turkish immigrants' usage of the services was low. The research in the UK points out that service use and the outcome differs among immigrant communities who come from various places and ethnic backgrounds (Claassen et al 2005, 545).

Another study on 26 asylum seekers and refugees who live in Edinburgh indicates that 54% had symptoms of anxiety disorder, 42% had symptoms of clinical depression, 33% had trouble sleeping which increased by the length of time spent in the UK (McCormack, 2005, 7). The study suggests that the post-migration factors have a great contribution to these results (Ager, et al. 2002; McCormack, 2005).

In Turkish speaking communities ‘one in eight households had a member who was experiencing mental health problems’ (Greater London Authority, 2009, 37). It is assumed that the majority of these are women, because they are isolated and discriminated more than men who socialise with other Turkish speaking people in the city. Recognition of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK will help them to have direct access to public services despite the perception that this community’s experiences are a result of ‘lack of services provided to them’ (Greater London Authority, 2009, 8).

Since their arrival to the UK, members of this community have been treated unequally and this treatment has prevented them to integrate into the UK. Topal et al. states that ‘like other vulnerable groups, they face with various obstacles in access to health care services. Studies draw attention to cultural and linguistic barriers and a lack of information or understanding about how the healthcare system works in the United Kingdom’ (Topal et al, 2012, 1-9). To reiterate once more, there is no other study on the counselling services used by Turkish-speaking immigrant women.

Available literatures indicate that there is a gap between perceptions of the service providers and the service users, in this case, immigrants. Further, a gap is clearly seen when one considers the Turkish-speaking community living in London particularly. Therefore, this study tries to fill this gap and give a fair assessment on the topic.

Research Method and Design

The Researcher has chosen Qualitative research strategy to have deep understanding of participant’s experiences as immigrants who are living in the UK. The researcher uses a purposive sampling method of random sampling among people who regularly visit community centres of the Turkish immigrant community in North London. The researcher has to note that convenience method is also used to reach to participants who volunteer for the research, as some of the people at the centre did not want to take part in such study which was inquiring very sensitive, personal information to be disclosed to the researcher.

The structured interview is to give more realistic figures on the research questions. Interviews show evidence to cultural understanding of cultural members by projecting their own views and feelings with their own words. Therefore, when one analyses such data in depth, even one interview would be enough as stated (Baker, 2012, p.5).

All questions are open-ended questions. The interviews took place at a community centre in September-October 2012. Nearly all interviews took the same amount of time.

The researcher has asked five main questions to all participants.

1. What is your experience of pre, during and post immigration? How was it like for you?
2. What barriers do you see in order to use available local services provided? How do you get over them?
3. Do you feel the need to be seen by counselling services or to have counselling?
4. Do you need interpreters to talk about your problems? If so, do you find it helpful to include a third person into counselling?
5. What is your ideal in terms of your needs as an immigrant woman in the UK?

The researcher used the Nvivo 10 software programme that has been designed especially for qualitative researches. The audio recordings as well as transcripts were loaded on to the programme. Then, the researcher began analysing the data by following the instructions of the software.

It is vital to declare that during the whole research and after the completion of the research, the researcher has abided by the ethical code of The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

The Participants

The limitation for the participants has been identified as Turkish speaking immigrant women who are over 18 years of age. There have not been any other criteria.

The researcher has interviewed ten women from the focus group. The youngest woman was 28 and the oldest was 55 years old. At the time of immigration, the youngest participant who came to the UK was 18, and the oldest was 50 years of age.

This study has accommodated Turkish speaking immigrant women in general who come from four different geographical locations: Turkey, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Greece, to reach a more reliable, realistic and homogenised view of their experiences as a result. To our knowledge, this is the very first study which covers Turkish speaking immigrant women who come from four distinctive geographical locations to the UK. Three participants out of ten come from Cyprus, Bulgaria and Greece. Two of the participants out of the seven who come from mainland Turkey are Kurdish. Therefore, all participants' contributions to the study are very valuable.

Findings

The results need to be categorised under two subgroups; the first category is regarding the participants, the second category is about their responses to the research questions.

Presenting their problems: Major problems faced in the UK as immigrants

I came here when I was 26 and I have started a life not from zero but from minus. Because I didn't know the language, I didn't know anyone. I didn't have any network here. The language is the biggest difficulty first of all. Secondly, you don't have any background as you didn't grow up here. You don't have background, you don't have network. Culturally so different culture (P.3)

All of the participants stressed the lack of language as the biggest problem without exception. Whatever their education level or how many other languages they speak, they all suffered from becoming alien to a new world which they entered. They suffered from isolation, exclusion from social life, loneliness, cultural shock; separation from one's homeland, social environment, and family members; all contributing to the minimum effect any migrant could experience. The level of distress has been increased due to post migration factors.

I have left a beautiful, sunny day and my parents behind, it was the most difficult day of my life, and the day was dull and dark here when I came. My heart was covered with the clouds too (P.4).

Some of them had housing problems for a long time. They do not have access to local services available to them because of the language barrier.

They were not aware of the services available to them and they did not know what they were entitled to. Some of them were not aware of their right to ask for an interpreter and had to find one themselves, paying them privately for many years. Some of the participants who came to the UK at a young age had dreams for further education. But they could not find the opportunity to fulfil their dream as they did not know the system. That caused frustration, distress and affected their self-esteem.

What Participant 3 mentioned as a second problem was the general misconception of being immigrant or asylum seeker in the UK.

The problem in this country is refugee matter. They put immigrants in the same category with refugees. This is a problem. When you look at it, the differences between working and unemployed people are not very clear (P.3).

She pointed out that due to the misuse of services by refugees; immigrants cannot have or use their rights effectively. That creates problems for immigrants who are genuine and need support.

I wanted to get an international accepted certificate relevant to my profession but I failed in that course too. It became an obsession I feel that I am incompetent. I say to myself, I am in this country for fifteen years; I couldn't even sort my language problem out (P.3).

She said she has lost her confidence in herself; she sees that she is incapable of achieving what she wants. She is in a fight with herself and wants to prove herself to her own self. So it became an obsession and a problem for her.

When she was reasoning the problem she said:

...the language becomes an issue in social relationships. I can't get in to any deep conversation with people. I always worked with Turkish people. We don't watch English TV channels at home. We have a Turkish life in England. We live Turkish, this is the problem. When you don't improve your language, you couldn't be successful in academic life (P.3).

Participants' Responses on Pre-Post Immigration Experiences

The participant who was separated from her partner for the longest period has started using anti-depressants. Coming here to join her husband has increased the level of distress because of the language barrier, isolation, loneliness, cultural shock and being homeless. Seeking asylum once they are here and the process of waiting for the result was another factor for their long lasting distress, as, one reported that she could not see her family back in Turkey for nine years.

Counselling Experience in the UK

I didn't know that there was such service until last year. The doctor referred my daughter to face to face counselling last year. My daughter suggested that it would be good for me too. I didn't know such thing before. If I knew, I would have gone. The people don't understand why I am taking medicine. They think differently. I don't want people who know me to know that I am taking anti-depressants (p.5).

Although all participants had psychological distress, only two of them were offered counselling through their GP's.

I was crying a lot as I was helpless and hopeless. My doctor suggested counselling, I waited a long time for it. At once, we wanted emergency counselling. They referred me to X place. Even if they were Turks, I couldn't express myself to them. They were offering couple therapy, my husband didn't agree on coming to the therapy either that time. Later on I requested again, this time they referred me to an English counsellor. I have waited around three months for therapy. I continued around six sessions. I wasn't satisfied with that. Later, they sent me to Y place (P.7).

Another participant sought professional help, and found a psychologist to talk about her problem, and was referred to a psychotherapist. After two sessions, she realised that it is in her hand to get rid of the negativity from her life to feel better.

I have understood that the solution is only inside of my head. It was more beneficial for me to lay all my problems on a table and deal with them one by one. I have a strong character. You must learn how to deal with your sorrows (P.6).

Participant 8 could not go more than twice as she did not have anyone to leave her young children when she needed to go to therapy. Only one participant had counselling experience from both Turkish and English therapists, using interpreters for the latter. She reported that, when they referred her to get group therapy, she had panic attacks from hearing the other immigrant women's stories and was traumatised during the session. Therefore, she had to leave the therapy. One of the participants was complaining from anti-depressants, using it the last fifteen years.

I wasn't offered counselling. My daughter said to the doctor that 'my mum is very aggressive, she gets angry to everything' just before the summer holiday. They gave me medicine again. The medicine doesn't help, it makes me relax but everything in your mind and inside of you stay there (p.5).

While I am talking with people I would be lost in thoughts, past incidents come to my mind. Sometimes, even when I am praying, I would disconnect from the present moment. It would take 2-3 minutes to come back. I just stare into empty space (P.5).

The other participants also mentioned that they were unaware of services available to them, if known they would have used them. Whilst some reported problems of the past and present, they mentioned that they did not feel the need of requesting counselling.

I have friends who use me to talk about their problems. Most of them live their lives with unawareness of such need. They say 'I am happy, I don't have any problem, everything is normal'. They don't have any goals living here, or they have a purpose but they are not aware of it. They only fill the days in the calendar. Most of them need counselling. They are lost in this country's procedures, and in their own worlds. They are not happy inside or outside, they live with masks. They couldn't come to a stage to get help (P.6).

When they manage to get counselling another issue arises. Long waiting lists; inappropriate translating services; therapists not knowing-understanding the client's culture; wrong interventions; lack of culture-ethnicity sensitive practice; not giving unconditional positive regard were reported by participants as problems regarding counselling services.

They took me in to group therapy after first six sessions there. But I couldn't do it. Hearing the other people's heart breaking stories was too heavy on me. I wasn't in a state to take other people's problems. It made me even worse hearing their stories. I had panic attacks there, so I couldn't continue (P.7).

I wish I could go to there every day and be relieved completely at once. It makes me relaxed but because my problems are still there, I can't get rid of this discomfort from my life. If I didn't have a language barrier, it wouldn't have lasted that long. Talking through an interpreter also shortens the time I spend in the counselling session. This country made us really tired of living. We can't go to our homeland whenever we want. Our physical and psychological needs aren't met (P.7).

Interpreters and Trust

I am translating for my friends. They become very uncomfortable with interpreters. They say that they can't tell everything, if they say one thing, they leave the rest aside untold. They don't want interpreters. They want me next to them as a loyal friend (P.4).

The participants reported that they were not always offered interpreters when they go to local services available to them.

I found an interpreter and paid them most of the time. The interpreters were telling me my rights. But still I wouldn't believe them completely. I have suffered a lot from their misguidance (P.8).

Sometimes they have to wait longer for interpreters, also there are times that even they wait for hours, and their appointments could have been cancelled or postponed to another time due to the interpreter's timetable. The problems reported in regard of interpreters are not being trustworthy, not translating what they want to say correctly. Most of the participants reported that they would not want to disclose anything to a third-person when they are talking about their personal problems to mental health professionals.

If I knew that there were such organisations offering that service, if they were going to understand me in my own language, it would have been much better. Because, I couldn't explain my problem through an interpreter. This is not like an arm ache or having a headache. It is something inside, very personal and I don't want to talk about it through an interpreter. (P.1)

Even though they mostly use children, a family member or a friend as an interpreter, they see themselves as a burden on other people. They reported that they are not happy using their children as interpreters as their children get upset when they hear about their mother's psychological problems.

Our data shows that, the majority of participants who do not have access to services to seek professional help, created their own self-help groups unconsciously to heal themselves by using their own sources. Some mentioned that meeting with people from their own community, who speak the same language and have the same cultural values, make them feel better. Further, some feel better by being useful to others through offering help and doing voluntary work. But many obstacles on their way make it harder for them to fulfil their desires.

But I don't want to share everything with her. This is upsetting for me. When there is an interpreter, I would like to say everything as it is, but when I see a Turkish speaking interpreter I feel distressed. I want to tell things only to the doctor. Being depended on someone affects me. They try to help me through interpreter but that intrudes with my privacy. I want to talk one to one; I don't want anybody else to hear. Amongst us Turkish people, when a third person hears, there is anxiety that they will tell someone else which causes lack of trust (P.5).

Discussion

The findings of this study comply with the literature that the target groups' mental health is under threat from various angles. Most of the women do not admit that they have any psychological problems or they ignore their needs to counselling. However, the data shows that 80% of them, to some extent, have been suffering from psychological related problems.

The result of this research supports the findings of Leavey et al (2007) and Topal (2012). Hence, according to them, there is no immediate help that enables them to achieve their desires. Before they arrived to the UK, some of the women were working and happy to some extent. They had dreams about their future with over 50% having had high school or university education in their country of origin. Moreover, some of them are illiterate which makes it harder for them to learn a new language. While they have very complex unmet mental health needs, they also have to struggle with institutional racism, prejudice, unfairness, ignorance alongside the other barriers any immigrant faces.

Findings of this research also prove that there are problems for immigrants accessing ESOL classes in whole country as it was accepted (McCormack, 2005,12). As Cakir (2011) indicates, our results too show that Turkish speaking immigrant women have very low level of readiness to experience immigration and acculturation (Cakir & Guneri, 2011; p.227). She also found that there is a link between higher levels of psychological distress with lower levels of empowerment, which is supported by our findings.

The analysis of the collected empirical data shows that immigrant women from the Turkish-speaking community have a great difficulty to gain access to the counselling services provided by the local government and community organisations.

Conclusion

This study sheds light on this particular area of study. The target group carries heavy burdens by coming to the UK as immigrants. There is no information available about the mental health service and counselling as part of helping these immigrant women. The lack of English language is the main obstacle to getting access to not only the counselling services but also to all other services provided by the local government and community services.

Finally, the mental health of these people is very important. Their well-being may have an influence on their children who will continue to live in this country. It is assumed that the community will live longer if they have healthy individuals.

We suggest that more culture/ ethnicity sensitive practice through bilingual practitioners should be used and all mental health workers should get appropriate training to deal with the complex mental health needs of immigrant communities. The service providers should only allow professionally trained interpreters from immigrant community's spoken languages. Further, there should be one constant interpreter assigned to immigrant women throughout the therapy to give trust.

Counselling Services should be more accessible for people who are in need. Therefore, service providers should consider vulnerable individuals who have no knowledge of services and some with no language proficiency.

General assessment measures might be helpful to monitor immigrants' mental health states prior to their arrival to put them into the system as quickly as possible.

Further research on this area will help tackle this problem more effectively.

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Migration and Community Formation: Narratives of Three Generations of Women Living In a Greek Diaspora Community

ALEXIA ZINONOS

Abstract:

This paper is focused on findings from research carried out with three generations of women living in a Greek Cypriot Diaspora community in an area of Eastern England. It is through gaining insight and understanding the experiences of these women that a clearer view of this migrant community is formed. This study allows us to gain an understanding of the natural processes of assimilation over generations. It is also through the study of this more established migrant community that we are able to gauge what kind of support is beneficial for newly arrived migrants.

This study was carried out using an ethnographic approach; which included observations, the collection of community documents and carrying out interviews with three generations of women living within the migrant community. Studying women from different generations reflects how diaspora communities are formed, evolve and change and gives an insight into how the women's role in the community has changed over the generations. From the women's stories, themes of the changing expectations of women through the transformation of the community and over generations have been identified. There is a focus on the control of women which is implemented not only from immediate family but from the wider community and diaspora. This control is perceived to be at its strongest during the time from when the girls reach puberty until they get married. Their courting, who they marry, and the wedding are all carefully controlled rituals within the community. It is through this control that family honour remains intact and girls untarnished.

Female Migrants, Three Generations, Control of Women, Puberty to Marriage

A Diaspora Community Ethnography

The Greek Cypriot diaspora is a very old and wide spread diaspora, with communities in a number of countries (Tastsoglou 2010). Although Greek Cypriots have been migrating to Great Britain for a number of centuries, there is relatively limited literature on the people in the diaspora community and the process of community change. Evergeti (2006) infers that despite the fact that there are approximately 200,000-250,000 Greek Cypriots living in the United Kingdom, making them, one of the largest white ethnic minority groups in London, the study of the Greek Diaspora in the United Kingdom has been much slower to develop in comparison to the work being carried out in the United States and Australia.

At present, there are large established Greek Cypriot communities in London, Birmingham and Liverpool. The Greek Cypriot community in Great Yarmouth is a newer

community in relation to these other populations. However, it is well established and is believed to be the second largest Greek Cypriot community in England (Great Yarmouth Local Authority 2004).

A better understanding of this diaspora community has been formed through an Ethnographic study of the community. Narrative interviews and focus groups have been carried out with three generations of women living in the community. Data has also been collected through observations, the collection of artifacts and community documents and participant research.

It is through the analysis of data gathered through these varied methodological approaches that conclusions have been reached about the individuals and the community as a whole. It has also given participants the opportunity to give in-depth accounts of their individual and family experiences. Extracts from the narrative interviews will be used in this paper in order for the voices of the migrant women to be heard and to gain a better understanding of their experiences.

The 1980 census reports that there were 180 Greek Cypriot families living in Great Yarmouth at that time (Census 1980). These numbers have since fallen due to the older generation dying or returning to Cyprus and the younger generation moving away. It is difficult to get clear numbers, as the Census does not record 'ethnic origin' and therefore does not evidence the second and third generation of Greek Cypriots. On interviewing women from the second and third generation, it was very important to them to be identified as Greek and they all self-identified as Greek or Greek Cypriot. However, there is no statistical evidence that reflects this.

The Yarmouth community was first established just after the Second World War by two Cypriot men from the village of Eptakomi in the Northern part of Cyprus. They initially worked in restaurants in London but during a visit to Great Yarmouth, saw a gap in the market for Greek restaurants and opened their first restaurant there. Chain migration followed, with relatives and fellow-Eptakomites being employed in the fast growing business ventures that were started by Cypriots in the area. Once these new arrivals became more established, they too opened their own restaurants and in turn a chain migration began with more people from their village of origin being brought to staff the restaurants. At present, the majority of the community are still involved in the service industry, owning and running restaurants, bars and clubs in the area.

This particular Greek Cypriot diaspora community has some features which make it rather unique. As referred to previously, the majority of the community all hail from the same village in Cyprus. It is estimated that around 70% of the community at present have roots in the village of Eptakomi (Benns, Catchpole & Williams 2011). With this in mind, the community is made up of a number of large, close-knit family groups. Some of these families started as seasonal migrants, living in either Cyprus or London during the winter and then moving to Great Yarmouth for the summer season. This pattern changed when children

reached school-going age and families made the decision to make Great Yarmouth their permanent home. One of the participants explained how this happened in her family.

‘...they lived in London and they’d come here just for the summer season and then when I was five and about to start school, that was it, they just moved here permanently.’

(Katie, 39, second generation)

The first Cypriots moved to the area seventy years ago to work in the service industry and the majority of Cypriots living in the area remain in the same industry today. These are family run businesses with the lease often being passed down from one generation to the next. As many of the families run rival businesses, there is some economic competition between them.

‘I think they do in Yarmouth, I think they, yeah, there is, if you talk to some people in Yarmouth, uh, I mean my friend...she had a, some other people next door to her and they never used to get on did they? But that’s business...’

(Katie, 39, second generation)

This economic conflict also flows over into community life and a lot of rivalry exists between families in the community. In this paper, four themes will be explored. The gendered divide that exists in the community will be looked at in order to illustrate the different expectations placed on men and women. Women are integral to the maintaining of family honour and controls are implemented when girls reach puberty to ensure this. These controls are usually in place from puberty to marriage, and the process of finding a partner and getting married is also controlled.

Boys Can, Girls Can’t: The Gender Divide

‘They [brothers] were allowed, they were allowed to do whatever they wanted. They were boys, as far as my parents were concerned and we had to do everything for them. And that was it!’

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

A recurring theme in all of the interviews is that of the gendered divide in families and in the community as a whole. Sons and daughters are treated differently and have very different expectations placed on them. This theme runs throughout the three generations that I have interviewed and even though the second generation believe themselves to be more lenient with their daughters, the third generation do not interpret this as being the case.

‘The girl and boy thing is majorly different. We get stopped from doing half the stuff because we’re girls. They’re allowed to do everything, do what they want because they’re a boy.’

(Christina, 16, third generation)

In a joint interview between mother and daughter, one daughter confronted her mother about not being allowed to do the same things as her brother. Even though her mother shared a similar experience and hated it, she finds justification in not allowing her to have a boyfriend. This justification illustrates the control that is implemented and which becomes part of a belief-system despite the mother expressing her dislike at having this control applied to her when she was younger.

‘...we won’t allow... I won’t allow it until she’s about 18. Once she’s 18, I just feel that maybe the boy that she finds will be genuine with her at 18...’

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

Georgia later goes on to tell her daughter that she is now experiencing what she had to go through when she was younger but that she is only ‘going through that little bit now’ and that it was what she had ‘felt all the time.’ Her talk indicates that daughter has more freedom than she had at her age as she was not allowed to talk to boys or go out at all. This scenario is not exclusive to this family and was a recurring theme across conversations. The women expressed an awareness that these rules apply in other Greek Cypriot families in the community as well.

‘It wasn’t just my family, all the boys were allowed to go out from, whenever they wanted and have girlfriends, you weren’t allowed to go out.’

(Katie, 39, second generation)

Evanthia, an eighteen year old girl who was born in Great Yarmouth, puts these gender differences down to males and females being expected to carry out different tasks. She describes how her brothers use this as an excuse to get her to tidy up after them. She is expected to help her mother with the housework and any chores her brothers refuse to do.

‘Because they know because they’re boys and Greek...boys are meant to do the hard stuff and they’re not meant to do this sort of stuff so yeah, they can.’

(Evanthia, 18, third generation)

This idea of gendered obligations that have to be carried out are another example of the control implemented by parents in order to ensure that their daughters are not ‘tarnished’ and can be married off successfully. Hibbs (1999) considers that daughters are usually socialised ‘to be good *noikokyres* (housekeepers), good wives, dedicated mothers and eventually caretakers of the parents’ (Hibbs 1999 p.225). All of the interviewees spoke about carrying out chores around the house, often cleaning up after brothers and having to learn how to cook and clean from an early age.

This idea of girls being socialised into being ‘good housewives’ was narrated in a number of interviews. Recently, girls have more freedom to obtain an education and pursue a career however, their primary place within the Greek community is still to be a wife and mother. This is evident in one participant’s story. After coming to England at the age of 16, Despo completed a dress making qualification while attending night classes to improve her English and working in her uncle’s garment factory. At the age of nineteen, her father met a man, who would later become her father-in-law.

‘I was introduced to my husband, and everything ended there.’

(Despo, 60, first generation)

There is a finality expressed here which reflects the expectations of married women. Her daughter speaks about being encouraged to study, spend time abroad and was never pressured into getting married by her mother. Although it appears that there have been some shifts in the pressures put on the next generation of girls, the preservation of the family honour is still of utmost importance and this is maintained through their control.

An Untarnished Girl: Family Honour Preserved

The economic conflict previously discussed is not the only conflict evident in this community. Another reason for conflict is the purity and piety of daughters. One of the participants referred to how this conflict had an impact on the girls living within the community when she was growing up. It led to girls feeling that they could not risk being friends with other Greek girls.

‘A Greek girl would not be friends with another Greek girl. Because they were scared. And the reason they were scared, because say, I said something to you, and you said it to your mum...you’ve tarnished me.’

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

This ‘tarnish’ that this interviewee is so afraid of, involves family honour, and the ‘tarnishing’ of the family name. In this, and many other Greek Cypriot diaspora communities, it is a mark of a man’s success if he is able to ‘control’ his daughter and prevent her and the family from being tarnished by her actions. This directly links to a girl’s virginity and how well a father has managed to control his daughter’s sexuality. Hibbs (1999) believes that Greek migrants bring a number of ‘moral values’ with them, one of these being a ‘daughter’s ‘honour’-that is her virginity’ (Hibbs 1999 p.224). A girl’s honour is used as a bargaining tool when carrying out ‘*proxenia*’ [matchmaking with the intention of it leading to marriage]. If a girl did not have a good reputation, ‘the bargaining power of a potential husband was enormously increased, allowing him the chance to make extortionate demands for property settlements’ (Roy 2010 p.7). This community pressure, leads to many control mechanisms being placed on girls in the family. This control comes from the parents, brothers, extended family, wider community and even stretches to the broader diaspora.

‘...as soon as you were like 12, 13, you weren’t allowed out, like, that was it, you know, everything stopped.’

(Elleni, 46, second generation)

My informants frequently talked about the subject of control over girls. Katie (second generation) told me about her cousin who walked home from school with an English boy. By the time she got home, three members of the Greek Cypriot community had phoned her mother to tell her that they’d seen her daughter with a boy. This is an example of how the wider Greek Cypriot community controls how girls should act. There is a definite gender divide in how the control is implemented in the family. The control is mainly concentrated on girls, leaving sons with a lot more freedom and leeway to live more freely and make their own choices.

You’re 13 and everything stops: Puberty and Control

Through the interviews, it appears that this control of girls begins, or at least is felt when girls reach puberty. Many of them tell stories of having freedom and being friends with boys when they were younger. One of the participants spoke about having a male friend when she was younger and says that her ‘*parents didn’t mind him coming around so much*’ (Elleni, second generation). This freedom came to an end when the girls reached puberty.

‘...when I was younger you were allowed to play out in the alley with the other kids and then as soon as you were like twelve, thirteen, you weren’t allowed out, like, that was it, you know, everything stopped.’

(Elleni, 46, second generation)

This change came about due to the belief that girls become more sexualised when they reach puberty and therefore have to be protected from their own desires. It is also the parents' way of keeping the 'honour' of the family so that their daughters are 'pure' when they carry out '*proxenia*' [matchmaking with the intention of it leading to marriage]. Katie, a thirty seven year old woman speaks about parents protecting their daughters from getting a bad name for themselves which might lead to them not being able to get married.

'You would just get a bad name that you were a tart or something. So, they didn't want the other Greeks to think that otherwise no one would want to marry you. Obviously things are really different now, but that was the first generation.'

(Katie, 39, second generation)

However, what she believes is a value that only the first generation of immigrants held, seems to be an experience that even third generation girls are experiencing. Evanthia discusses how her parents will not let her have a boyfriend because :

'...if I've had boyfriends, as soon as a Greek man comes along and he wants you, he's going to find out that you've had all these boyfriends and he's not going to want to marry you.'

(Evanthia, third generation)

When asked what traditions are upheld within the community, Tassoulla (first generation) told me that the way they brought up their daughters was a tradition that they have kept. She says that her daughters were not allowed out; she states '*I never used to let them go school trips, never have sleepovers, never.*' They were allowed to start going out at the age of twenty-one '*but with Greek girlfriends ...we were strict with them.*' She went on to tell me that her mother was the same with her '*and my two sisters. We were never allowed to go out*'. So she has continued the same 'tradition' of control that she experienced from her mother when bringing up her own children.

My parents say 'I do': Marriage and decision making

'I'm not having it, you're not going to force me to marry someone!'

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

Marriage was an issue of great contention amongst most of the women I interviewed. Women narrated a number of stories about conflicts that they had with their parents, and extended family about marriage and marriage partners. Parents in this Greek Cypriot community have a lot of control over when and whom their daughters marry. One of the women interviewed expressed that her whole life was lived in the fear that her parents would force her to marry someone that she did not want to marry. It was this fear that led her to conform to their rules. Her life was controlled by the fear of being forced to marry a man that her parents chose for her as they did for her sister.

‘Because I saw how they forced my sister to marry, that put the fear of God in me...my dad said to me ‘I will never force you to marry, but the day you ask me for a disco, I will force you.’ So I never asked him!’

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

Despite her conforming to all of her parents rules they tried to arrange a marriage for her. On a number of occasions, they introduced her to potential suitors and whilst on holiday in Cyprus they would ‘accidentally’ bump into friends who had their single sons with them. However, she believes that due to her conforming to all of their wishes, she was able to stipulate that she would only marry a British-born Greek Cypriot. This was very important for her because she believes that ‘*there’s a difference between, I know it sounds awful...them [Greek Cypriots] and us [British born Greek Cypriots]*’ (Georgia, 42, second generation). Her wishes were respected and she was introduced to a British-born Cypriot who lived in London. She told me that although she is very happily married, and has been for over twenty years now, she regrets not being able to ‘*experience falling in love*’. She was introduced to her future husband and knew that this would be the man she would marry, because that is what her parents wanted.

This was not the case for all of the women that I interviewed as some told me stories about marrying for love. One of the women, fifty-seven year old Tassoulla has two daughters who she has brought up ‘*in the Greek way*’ (Tassoulla, 57, first generation). Both of her daughters are now married. She told me the story of how her and her relatives organised a ‘*proxenia*’ for one of her daughters and their son. This story was an illustration of the control that parents have of whom their children marry and the courtship itself. However, Tassoulla’s other daughter did not get married in this way. She met someone and was dating him without her parents knowing about this.

‘He is from London, not from our village though, he was playing music here actually...that’s how they met. They were seeing each other behind our backs!’

(Tassoulla, 57, first generation)

When her parents did find out, they controlled the courtship: ‘*if they wanted to go out, all of us used to go out together*’. Tassoulla stipulated that they were not allowed to get married until after her daughter had finished her studies. Even though this was not a marriage

organised through *proxenia*, the relationship was strictly controlled and shaped by the parents' desires.

This strict control over marriage relates to the way in which parents are judged by other members of the community around this issue. If your daughter has married 'a good Greek boy', especially one you found for her, and if she has stayed married to him then you are judged to be a successful parent.

'One woman said to my mum, which, not, I'm not boasting in any shape or form, she goes to my mum 'mono esi Despina, ekames kores sto Yarmouth'. {Only you have managed to 'have' daughters in Yarmouth, Despina} Because 'oi dikes sou, einai akoma pantremenes kai oute Englezous eferan sou esso.' {Your daughters are still married and neither of them brought an English guy home.}'

(Georgia, 42, second generation)

Not only is there competition between families as to whose daughters have had the most successful marriages but also the wedding itself. The community has many expectations on how Greek weddings should be and many of the participants spoke about the competition between families around weddings. Each family attempts to make their wedding bigger and better than previous weddings. The following extract from an interview with a mother and her daughter, illustrates the competitiveness involved in Greek weddings in Great Yarmouth.

'Georgia: They'll bring the violinists, and one person will have one the next wedding there'll be two. It's got to be better all the time.

Christina: Like, all the dances include money.

Georgia: Flowers! Yeah, this person spent £2000, they're going to spend 3. And that's how it is, it's show. It's big. Like gypsies sometimes, you know!

Christina: Like Vera Wang dresses and all of that.'

(Georgia, 42, second generation and Christina, 16, third generation)

However, some of the members of the community are finding ways to break this tradition of competitiveness. Katie (second generation), decided to have her wedding in Cyprus as she did not want to have her wedding compared to others that had previously taken part in Great Yarmouth.

Once daughters are married, they become less of their parents responsibility and more their husbands responsibility. Georgia spoke about her father telling her husband *'If Georgia gets out of place dere tin' {smack her}'* (Georgia, second generation). It appears that control of a woman is being passed from her father to her husband when she gets married.

Women therefore are controlled by their parents and the wider community. Brothers also play a large part in this control. Both Christina (third generation) and Evanthia (third generation) spoke about how their older brothers had beaten up boys who had asked them out. They spoke about the effect that this has had on them amongst their peers at school and socially. Elleni (second generation) told a story about when she was being looked after by her grandmother and a male friend came to visit her. Her grandmother would not allow him into the house and when her parents returned he was never allowed to visit again. This is an example of how the wider diaspora maintains some control over what happens in this community.

The Greek Orthodox Church also plays a large part in controlling the actions of the community. This is through mandatory attendance at Church events, economic contributions and the expectation that you will follow religious norms and traditions.

Deniz Kandiyoti (1988) coined the phrase 'Bargaining with patriarchy' encompassing actions women take in order to negotiate patriarchal systems they find themselves part of. It can be said that some of the younger generation women in Great Yarmouth are bargaining with patriarchy when they marry outside of the community, against their parents wishes or move away from the community completely.

Conclusion

Despite some of the women who were interviewed expressing that the younger generations are allowed more freedom, there is still much evidence to show that not all of their experiences mirror this. Girls are controlled from puberty to marriage and to whom and how they get married is also very much a controlled process. Some women have found ways to negotiate their way around this control. They have moved out of the Greek Cypriot community they were brought up in, married outside of the community or cut themselves off from it completely. The third generation appears to have changing views on the gender differences between girls and boys in the community and express that they do not intend to implement these values on their own children.

The initial finding around the gender divide, control of girls and issues around puberty and marriage give some insight into this unique diaspora community. It is through gaining

this insight and understanding the experiences of these women that a clearer view of the community is formed. It is also through the study of this more established migrant community that we are able to gauge what kind of support is beneficial for newly arrived migrants.

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Jamaica Kincaid and the West-Indian Diaspora: Women, Islands and Cages

LARISA PÉREZ FLORES

Abstract:

A detailed study of the US-Antiguan writer Jamaica Kincaid's work will be carried out in order to develop a reflection about the West Indian migratory process from a gender perspective. Kincaid's writings contain plenty of elements that let us understand the complexity of West Indian diasporic identity, marked by a forced migratory in their origins, and then by another migration, which is apparently free, from the former Caribbean colonies to the old European mother countries and the new empires. Her main characters, who are always women (in interaction with other women), spread out that diasporic identity in a non-conformist way, from the dark preserved feminine side, challenging a world where colonialism and patriarchy are inseparable from each other.

Jamaica Kincaid's texts allow to carry out a deep philology revision that turns into a critical cross-disciplinary research. Far from a case study, this paper tries to portray the sociocultural and epistemological significance of the diaspora phenomenon. It maintains that migratory phenomenon is the condition of possibility of the two main current social sciences keys: post-colonial theory and intersectionality theory. In order to prove this hypothesis, the origins of these theories will be examined and their relation with diaspora will be determined. From this perspective, post-colonial literature will be used to spread out the variety of aspects linked to gender that appear in the West Indian neocolonial migratory context. The discussion that Jamaica Kincaid's female characters confront us is the basic matter that social theory, in general, and feminism, in particular, have to deal with. This paper offer a suitable description of these current problems analyzing the way in which migrant condition and gender condition intersect in identity.

Key words: *West Indies, diaspora, intersectionality, post-colonial, gender*

Introduction

This paper is an introduction to the US/West Indian writer Jamaica Kincaid that will allow us to get into a deep analysis of diasporic phenomenon. A slash between the two nationalities of the author is included because mentioning only one of the nationalities will be incomplete. However, including an hyphen (US-West Indian) will be also incomplete, since it shows a certain continuity which is not real.

Kincaid is born at St John's, Antigua's capital, in 1949. She was 17 years old when she arrived to USA and she has stayed there until today (she now lives in Vermont). She did not send letters, nor returned for a long time, because she wanted to be far from her mother and the Small Place where she came from. But, who is actually Jamaica Kincaid? She is a black woman whose name is the name of a Caribbean island. Her real name does not matter, she decided to rename herself as writer as a way to break with her past and protect herself from accusations, and she did it in a specific way. She did not call herself Vermont, a horrible name by the way, but Jamaica. She is among the rejection of her original land and the lack of identification with the migrant destine. She sits between her heritage as West-Indian woman and the possibilities of the reconstruction of femininity in a new world, without the oppression of the mother in a broader sense (as parent as well as mother country).

The fact that Jamaica Kincaid is West-Indian, a mere literally definition, will be the key of to indivisible aspects: her work and her life. But, what are West-Indies? West Indies are an archipelago composed by several archipelagos whose little islands are unknown. They are called “Antillas” in Spanish, probably due to the fact that cartographers from Christopher Columbus’ time registered an island called antilha in Portuguese (the anti-island, the antipodes of Portugal). Therefore, the Antillas are the antipodes of the known land, that is, they are the opposite of the norm, the Other.

All the poetry and the mystery about Caribbean islands, with theirs cannibals, pirates and hot mulatas, is part of an old seductive mythology of the Other. If we want to go far away from these myths, we have to land to earth. We have to feel the earth in our feet, we have to breathe the hot air, we have to hear the sound of the sea and look at the landscape. If we achieve that, where will be then? We will arrive to a hot land plenty of black bodies in the West of the Atlantic Ocean. Afterwards, we have to ask ourselves what is the significance of this landscape.

The Trasatlantic Truth

The hurricane does not roar in pentameters

Kamau Brathwhite

Space determines a lot of things. It is not the same to live in a rainy area as it is to live in a no rainy area. It is not the same to have oil as it is to not have it. It is not the same to live in the centre as in the periphery. In the case at hand, the reasons of colonization and the ways in which colonization works are obviously linked to geographic situation. West Indies were the gatedoor in the conquest of America and then the most important operating base of USA imperialism in America. These aspects determine the constitution of a society, and so identity construction.

But also climate and extension are fundamental elements. Postcolonial literature authors were forced to create a new language because metropolitan poetry and prose did not respond to the space or the time of the colonized territories. The Trinidadian author Derek Walcott expressed this task like that: "We were blest with a virginal, unpainted world / with Adam's task of giving things Their names ..." (quoted by Louis James, 1999, p. 101). This “adamic” task of naming for the first time represents what Walter Benjamin (1991) pointed out as the way to meet truth. But there is no nostalgia for what we can call an “old Transatlantic Truth”, because that was only the winners’ truth, with their ideas of time and

space. There was not and there is not a transoceanic truth. The correlation between happiness and spring is maybe an English truth, but not an Antiguan truth. The sounds, the colors, the textures and the odors are different. Therefore, ideas are also different, and the truth changes.

All Jamaica Kincaid's main characters, when they are children (Lucy, Xuela, Annie John), and herself in her explicit autobiographical work *My brother, stop the time* in the sensory perception as an endless bacchanal. Kincaid and the rest of West-Indian writers are dealing with a sort of "tropical condition of being" that they have to express, and they inevitably do that by paragon with a sort of metropolitan "temperate condition". They have to tell the rhythm of life, by collecting samples such as Creole-speaking, Calypso, grandmother tales, banned prayers, or the sound of vermins in warm nights. They have to remove the white postcolonial powder from their secret black treasures.

A wounded diasporic heart

Je ne suis jamais arrivé à comprendre comment on parvient à vivre dans une autre culture que la sienne. Malgré ces trente-trois ans passés à Montréal le mystère reste pour moi complet. Comme s'il s'agissait de quelqu'un d'autre.

Dany Laferrière

Apart from the "tropical condition" there is another characteristic, which is not related to climate but to extension: insularity. Only people who have lived on an island know the specificity of having the sea as horizon. On the one hand, islands are inaccessible and isolated, breeding grounds for the endemic features. On the other hand, they are manageable, strategic and operational territories. Moreover, islands are pieces of land surrounded by sea with a high level of mythological density. In literature, both oral and written, they are heavenly, eschatological or terrible lands, they are utopian or dystopian.

Taking into account this specificity and, at the same time, their active role in the History of continental lands, Caribbean islands are the indisputable muses. The traffic of bodies that have passed these islands purchasing myths, trafficking with other bodies in order to achieve their dreams, is so enormous that it has left us the greatest oceanic cemetery of History. Then we can say therefore that the Atlantic Truth is a cemetery, and that the Caribbean dream is, in certain way, a nightmare.

Most people who settled down in the West Indies after the aboriginal genocide were "imports" enabled by the largest forced exile of history. There were not only African people in this forced exile, but also European and Asiatic people. Colonialism, as an expression of capitalistic development, needed workforce for these new exploitation areas. Explicit slavery was carried out until it was preferable to have wage labor (due to European revolutions, the devaluation of sugar cane against beet, and other elements from the History of world capitalism). Then, when the old empires started to need more workforces, the migratory flow was inverted, and the modern Diasporas to Europe and the new empires started. Therefore migration is an essential part of imperialism and a characteristic of the history of the islands.

Taking into account that for some people islands are open doors to heaven but for other they are like cages, I propose to see the West Indies as golden cages: there are plenty of people that wish to stay but there are also others who want to go away. The West-Indies are islands populated by dark bodies with a wounded diasporic heart beating inside. Jamaica Kincaid is a diasporic body with a diasporic heart that has left West Indies in order to achieve a new life in the United States. She has lived within the context of mass migration after II World War and the raising of the famous “American” Dream, where West-Indian demographic explosion occurred and Latin America and Caribbean dictatorships (perpetrated by USA) were taking part. Jamaica is known because she emigrated to the empire. Otherwise, she would be a *nadie* (nobody), as Eduardo Galeano says (2005), and she would not even call herself Jamaica. She is a writer because she emigrated and her writing style as well as the contents of her works are inseparable from her migration.

Kincaid and the rest of West-Indian migrant literally/intellectual voices want to shape their destiny away from the losers’ home they had inherited, away from the small places where they come from, places which are the source of their devotion as well as the engine of her flight. Are they forced to leave their land? In some cases it is a question of life or death. Dany Laferrière, for example, is a Haitian/Canadian author politically exiled since 1976 which escaped from one of the many dictatorships in his country (32 coups until today). He leaves to live. But to leave also means not to die in a metaphorical sense. Leaving means surviving oppression, and this oppression is always political, violent, and not only expressed by security forces.

On the other hand, these authors, and West-Indian migrants in general, are forced to survive also their “exile”. Going out is a sentence to live at the crossroads, as the Chicana writer Gloria Anzaldúa says (1987); it means changing a known black hole, like Xuela says when she talks about abortion, to another, which is unknown. Migrating is like aborting a situation for which one has been “predestined”, that is cutting, killing something –either figuratively or literally –in order to survive.

However then you will have to survive to exile, to the contradictions of your ownership, to the objective fact that when you travel from colonies to empire you carry on your shoulders “the mantle of a servant”, as Lucy says. So the struggle for survival never ends. As Jamaica Kincaid states, if she had not written, she would have thrown bombs. The diasporic heart is always bleeding, and migrants are always trying to save themselves. Some of them they do that writing.

Tightrope

Can the subaltern speak?

Gayatri Spivak

When Jamaica Kincaids writes, she is trying to save herself, even though paradoxically, because she is aware that she writes in the language of pain. She knows that the words of English have been imposed with blood in the mouths of her ancestors. Even pidgin appears as a bastard son of the colonial language. Besides, he has been relegated to the domestic, the vulgar and even the obscene spheres.

In *The Autobiography of My Mother*, probably the best book Jamaica has ever written, the stepmother of the main character Xuela, uses patois (french-based creole language) to denigrate her, suggesting that she doesn't deserve the language of privilege, but the language of shame. In turn, Xuela will reappropriate creole with her white husband (representative of European domination) always confronting his friendly English with a rebellious patois.

All the nationalist movements and the poscolonial works have gone through this process of linguistic and cultural re-appropriation. In the case of Jamaica Kincaid, we can speak about a constant presence of this empowerment, always held by female, marginal or rebel characters, since childhood, incompatible with family structure on the one hand and, on the other hand, with public institutions. They all seem to ask us what is involved in the fact of speaking a language that does not justice to space-time conditions. In *Lucy*, a largely autobiographical fiction, the main character has an aversion to daffodils as an expression of horror against metropolitan flowers poems. How deep is the absurdity of learning poems at the age of nine about flowers that you will see when you are nineting, as the migrant Lucy, or never in your life? And, on the other hand, what is involved in the fact of speaking a language when "black" is already a devalued concept, it is already the dark, the purely sensory, the perpetual childhood, against light, spirit and morale? In other words: what is involved in the fact of speaking a language which denigrates you as a speaker from the beginning?

In the matter at hand, all these questions can be summed up as one: how deep is the condition of being a woman and black and colonized and migrant? Lucy symbolizes Jamaica Kincaid. She is a West Indian black woman who does not feel satisfied in the cage that this world has prepared for her. She wants to exit from the cage within the cage that is in fact her island, so she migrates to a more golden world that is nothing more than a golden cage. In *Lucy*, the love-hate relationship with the place of emigration masterfully unfolds through the relationship between Lucy and Mariah, the mother of the family she goes to work with. Her similar subaltern position, due to the fact that both are embedded in patriarchal societies, is crossed by at least two major differences that will become an unbridgeable breach of class and race. Lucy is aware of her subordinate status in relation to this other woman who, paradoxically, treats her in terms of equality and even wants to introduce her in emancipatory

doctrines. So the same rift that opened up in feminism originated by the accusations of being white, bourgeois, colonial or heterosexual are floating in their relationship. Lucy is a black and poor woman, she comes from a colony and, at least, she has a different way of living sexuality. And this gap exemplifies the abyss of the two worlds that are in touch through migration.

As I stated before, Lucy is completely aware of this abyss, and therefore makes Mariah confront it as often as possible. This woman would not hurt a fly, but in front of Lucy she becomes an executioner. The young au-pair knows that daffodils only hid the enormous rifts of land, and it is because of that fact that she can only have a multidirectional relationship with the United States. Who is she? She is two lands within the same heart, fighting for an impossible balance in the identity tightrope.

Displacements

You insult me/ When you say I'm/ Schizophrenic/My divisiones are/Infinite

Berenice Zamora

Here we find the social theories twist of our time. The redistribution issue seemed to be the engine of all protests and utopias, but it turned out that oppression was not so simple. In other words, social justice was not only a question of social class. Thus, "identity" appeared on the discussion map and Western democracies were as accused to be blind. We were not equal and everybody knew it. We were different, and in our system the difference was paid for dearly.

Postcolonial theories are based on this assumption. The colonialist oppression is not only a question of economic domination, but a cultural issue in terms of assimilation processes or genocide practices. One of their founders, the West-Indian psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, postulated that minds are also colonized and that West-Indian or African people had black skin but white masks, which make them see themselves through the eyes of colonizer. In fact one of the most important postcolonial tasks is the exploration of the fact that identity is inseparable to "coloniality of power", a term used by different Latin-American authors to indicate the permanence of colonial thought and practices after the independence processes.

Fanon migrated to Europe in order to study this connection and, as other West-Indian authors, performed a critical work about Western truths. His displacement, both physical and theoretical, permitted this sort of deconstruction. In fact, all deconstructions have to do with some kind of displacement in which a so called natural binarism, with its inherent hierarchy, is revealed merely cultural, and therefore reversible. But what I want to remark is that the first displacements, the first historical momentums to "deconstruct" colonialism, were developed by authors from all over the world who were united by a fundamental fact: making part of the global Diaspora from colonies to old and new empires. They were literally displaced.

At the same time, in the new empire, some groups started to fight for their civil rights. They all came from explicit forced diasporas, as African, or implicit forced diasporas, like West-Indian and Chicane migration, resulting from the US occupation of Puerto Rico or Northern Mexico. These groups claim that there was a hegemonic identity who enjoyed democratic privileges and welfare, or at least that could opt to them through political fight, as in the case of white male workers. Subaltern identities, however, did not enjoy the same privileges (although officially they had citizenship, and they could even vote) and their claims were not included in the struggles.

Second Wave of Western Feminism in general and the Black Struggle in the United States in particular, are two paradigms of the reaction to this situation. These movements vindicated "woman" and "black" as inferiorized identities, and demanded recognition to enjoy the full citizenship that constitutions and declarations of independence promised. And here we find the second twist. Within these streams, and many others, several groups claimed

sub-subaltern identities, such as "lesbian" within "women" and "black woman" within "black".

This was a feminist turning point that changed our way of understanding the social theory and feminism itself. There was not such a thing as universal patriarchy or universal women fights, because there was not such a thing as "woman", but "women". And even that fact was questioned, in the sense that there were not "women" but bodies constructed as "women" according to a medical and educational division which is cultural, as queer studies showed.

Again, most of these claims have their origin in displaced bodies, particularly bodies read as women, caught up in the cage of what their families want them to be (cultures that betray, as Gloria Anzaldúa says) and what US men and women want them to be (even those who want to "liberate" them). Intersectional studies, as Kimberly Crenshaw stated, were born to help to understand the tightrope in which each body is balancing. Only by examining the different factors of oppression that intersect in one single body can we be away from a flattering Transatlantic Truth, and near to a more "insular" truth.

Women, islands and cages

To survive in the Borderlands

you must live sin fronteras

be a crossroads

Gloria Anzaldúa

If we say that decolonization has never taken place, it is not only because economy is clearly neocolonial, but because the truth about the world is also Eurocentric, transoceanic, neocolonial. A U.S. person arrives to Antigua as easily as a US product and a migrant from Antigua arrives to the United States with the same level of difficulty as an Antiguan product. So we are an X on a world map and a world map is only a symbol of the fact that the same person that drew the borders also decided how, when, where and who can cross them. A world map is only a symbol of an old spirit of conquest and control of the things that becomes imperialism.

This is not only economic, but epistemologic. The colonial spirit is to control nature, at all costs. And what is nature? Nature is everything that is not a man. And what is not a

man? Things, beasts and women. According to this view, everything that is not masculine is feminine, and everything that is not properly feminine, but neither masculine, is a beast (from fags to walrus). In this binarism, man defines femininity by opposition to its own mystification of masculinity. Since a man is nothing but a construction –as a nation is- the definition changes according to different interests of power, so in each space and each time there is a separation between who is a man and who is not a man, that is to say between who possesses the world and who will be possessed.

Lucy or Xuela or Jamaica herself are bodies interpreted as women, and those bodies are like islands, like cages, in the sense that interpretation imprisons them. If their identity condemns them to live behind bars, the main question is how could they get a room of One's own.

Xuela, the girl without mother, is a good example to answer this question. She starts by asserting her body, the beginning of her prison. She loves her sweat, her cervical fluid, her breath and her menstruation. She does not want to go to school, because it is what her father expects of her and because it is full of lies and useless things. Xuela gets to work wearing the clothes of a dead man, with her hair cut. She metamorphoses herself into something new, not only surpassing decorum, but also gender. Then she will choose bright colors and uncomfortable heels, acting once again against decency. Xuela will not be opposite to pleasure, that is, against life. She will make love with men without joining them, being only devote to her own desire. If she joins a man at the end it is only because she does not love him. She inverts roles, marrying a white man who, rather than doubly subjecting her (she is black and woman), is subjected to her. She will reign in a mysterious and opaque world, the black world, which he cannot access. By playing the "dominant", she became a sort of witch (even accused of killing her husband's old woman) because she has a deep wisdom that others (white people, men in general) cannot understand.

The magical events of her childhood are censored by his father in the same way that colonial "knowledge" tried to banish the slave "superstition". However, Xuela wants to be faithful to what she sees and what she feels, so she does not break with that incomprehensible other side. She became a master of the art of abortion, helping other women and denying herself the most undisputed feminine destiny: maternity. In a world where men make the rules, fertilize, break the rules, fertilize, change the rules, fertilize, and expect women to follow the rules, including taking care of the fruits of their inseminations, she decides to take care of herself.

This implies breaking with family and breaking with her own culture: betraying. So, ¿where is the room of One's own? Because inside is the space of blackness, of Creole language, of precristian traditions, the own landscape. Out there is the colonial world, with its sexual revolution and its anonymity. However colonial means also patriarchal, and in the empire, as a woman, you can study and abort in a clinic (if you are migrant maybe it is not possible), but you have to work at home, to care for everybody and to have an impossible body meanwhile, and no one will pay you for that. In addition, you can change your name but your surname will be "black woman". Therefore anonymity is doubtfully anonymous

because, if you don't have money to buy a white mask or a phallus, you will be a black skin vagina.

So where is the own room? Both lands are open doors and cages at the same time, and the only ones who can see one of them are the ones swallowing a lie, a narrow binarism, a Transatlantic Truth. Life is a performance, as Judith Butler (2001) taught us, so once we understand the weight of being an X on a geographic map (in the physic and social sense), an X related to other X, each one living in her particular cage, we can escape. We can face the oppressions fronts, organizing ourselves, choosing different identities. But we cannot leave the cage forever, because identity is always a cage, a limit to the infinite divisions and possibilities of our bodies. Nevertheless, we can use the open doors, and exit, and enter, challenging the borders which imprison us, looking for the adequate room in each space and each time of our lives.

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Migrant Families Abroad: The New Generation of Iranian Feminine Diasporic Memoirs

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Abstract:

Memoirs support the idea that everyone has stories to state and each story costs to listen. Iran's history after the Revolution of 1979 is full of political events affected new generation of Iranian women memoirists who are usually bestseller writers, outside of their mother country. Memoirs replace their readers with authors, show readers what authors confronting after moving to a foreign country, awaken to another culture, and unclasp the differences. Memoirists do this by loving their background. Iranian memoirists have the habit of seeing their native country through Westernized eyes and the West through Middle-Eastern eyes. Maybe this feature helps them be unique and bestseller so. They show their readers the troubles and challenges they faced in their adopted countries with a new culture. Like other women memoirists, Iranian women memoirists started talking about historical events, customs, details of everyday life and life at home. Most of the Iranian women memoirists, started their writing careers by writing the oral stories of their family members and about how kept their cultural values in the United States during decades, and how respected to the traditional values while becoming a part of a new and modern western societies. Best-selling Iranian memoirists like Azar Nafisi, Firoozeh Dumas, Nahid Rachlin, Sattareh Farman Farmaian and Azadeh Moaveni who born in Iran and lived abroad, acclaim how the older generation of parents were unhappy about what Western customs were doing to their children, and Iranian behavior. What these memoirists want to show is how their migrant families became the victims of cross-cultural situations and the clash of cultures. For a typical Iranian parent, the biggest task is to raise their children and daughters worry more about their parents' concern about the new society, more than their own distress. Against of much parental control and restrictions for daughters in Iranian migrated families, children feel obliged to obey the rules to keep their family solidarity, which is the common sense of whole Iranian female memoirists abroad.

Keywords: *Memoirs, Women, Iran, Cultural Differences, Immigrants.*

Introduction:

The search for identity comprises a key theme in modern thought and literary movements, especially in the writing of memoirs. In their search for identity between two cultures, Iranian women memoirists try to show that Iranians and Westerns truly have more in common than they have differences. According to them, similarities and differences are what bind us together. Usually they take their readers down the memory lane, show how they came to a foreign country, got to experience another culture and embraced the differences, despite a few drops of tears here and there. They do this by respecting and loving their

background. They have the habit of seeing their native country through Westernized eyes and the West through Middle-Eastern eyes. Maybe this feature helps them to be more unique and bestseller.

The Iranian Revolution is crucial for most of the Iranian-American memoirists. The revolution was one of the biggest turning-points in the lives of many Iranians both living inside and outside of Iran. A short look at the written memoirs and other literary pieces of the decade shows the importance of it for Iranians. In 1964, Iranian parliament passed a bill granting full diplomatic immunity to all American military personnel and their dependents in Iran because of American insistence. American soldiers could now run over the Shah in the street, and no one would punish them. If an Iranian, hit an American's dog, he would be hanged at once. The passage of the bill caused anger against the Shah regime and affected the Iranians deeply since they rejected any form of capitulation or the passage of unfair laws. Because of strikes, on 1979, the Shah and his family left for Egypt and Ayatollah Khomeini returned in triumph to Iran. After the revolution of 1979, a group of Islamist students took over the American Embassy in support of the Iranian Revolution and took 52 Americans for hostage for 444 days from November 4, 1979 to January 20, 1981. The event known as the Iran Hostage Crisis and it was a diplomatic crisis between Iran and the United States.

There has been a tremendous growth in memoir writing by Iranian women writers since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. The books were written and published, not inside Iran, but abroad also, not in Persian, but in English and French. A decade after the Iranian Revolution, scholars called attention to the rarity of autobiographies and biographies written by Iranian men and women. Approximately 25 books of "khaterat", a Persian word for any autobiographical narrative written the following decade, but they are not considered as memoirs according to the western literary standards. Memoir, a subclass of autobiography commonly defined as a literary genre "in which the emphasis is not on the author's developing self but the people and events that the author has known or witnessed" (1, p15). It is a personal narrative autobiography that examines a certain time or experience of the writer's life. Also, memoir is about the effects of certain events on the writer's personal life, feelings, learned matters and experiences as a whole. When compared to autobiographies, memoirs are more personal since they are about the impacts of events on author. They make us feel close to the author. They, not only contain the private life of the author, but also the public events and experiences of the time. The Western movement in women's memoirs has allowed Iranian writers to give importance to the ordinary details of life. Like other women memoirists, Iranian women memoirists started talking about historical events, customs, details of everyday life and life at home. Most of the Iranian women memoirists started their writing careers by writing the oral stories of their family members. "For example, Gina Nahai started writing her first book *Cry of the Peacock* after a summer she spent at home, in the kitchen with her mother, grandmother and aunt, retelling old stories of life in Iran, of the events in family and neighbors' lives" (2).

'Undoubtedly the Iranian Revolution of 1979 is the catalyst for almost all these memoirs... The shock of displacement, of exile, even if not necessarily the writer's, but for her parents and extended family; the inability to return to one's homeland

easily, safely; and awareness of the suffering of family, friends, and those left behind-all such overwhelming life-experiences propel these books of memoirs. Moreover, the nostalgia among the Iranians in exile and the westerners' curiosity about Iran reinforces the momentum.' (2)

Another characteristic of Iranian women memoir writing is that most of them are written in English for commercial considerations. Once written in English memoirs receive a wider audience and thus bring popularity of the writer. Besides, "the new generation of hybrid Iranians, barely remembering Iran, read the memoirs nostalgically, comparing them with the stories of their parents' experiences in Iran" (2) and this also gives momentum to the memoir writing.

To minimize the west's fear of the Islamic Republic of Iran, many Iranian "writers look for metaphoric images to reveal the western side of Iran, the familiar, friendlier aspects of the country and its people as victims themselves" (2). For example, Firoozeh Dumas attempts to preserve her Iranian culture and tries to describe Iranian customs in details. Azar Nafisi, who spent her High School years in England, and received her higher education from Oklahoma University, brings her western readers closer to Iranian life through Western books. Like many other Iranian women memoirists these two writers received a western education style, and English is the language in which they feel themselves comfortable with. Mahnaz Kousha with *Voices from Iran: The changing lives of Iranian women* and Azadeh Moaveni with *Lipstick Jihad: A memoir of growing up Iranian in America and America in Iran* are other examples. They are contented with the language they use and their adopted cultures. That is why many Iranian women's contemporary memoirs have earned them international recognition and wide readership. All of these works of Iranian women memoirists have broken the barrier of language and culture for Iranian writers outside Iran. There is no doubt that they will affect Iranian culture and people in the coming years as most of the scholars argue.

Since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, there has been an enormous growth in the writing of memoirs by Iranian women writers. The revolution acted as a catalyst for them. The shock of displacement and exile on the writers or their extended family members propelled their writing. Sufferings and uneasy life experiences of the time contributed a lot to the genre. Most of the Diasporic Memoirs of the Iranian women writers are written and published, not in Iran but abroad, mostly in England and in English or French. Also, most of the Iranian women Diaspora memoirists received western-style education and have received international literary prizes and became bestsellers. Sattareh Farman Farmaian's *Daughter of*

Persia, Nahid Rachlin's *Persian Girl*, Azar Nafisi and Firoozeh Dumas's memoirs are some of these bestseller books.

Some eras in the history of a country are more influential than others. Social, economic, political and cultural changes occasionally converge and reshape the way a society understands itself and sets its future course. The importance of Iranian Revolution is obvious in the whole Iranian-American writers of diaspora memoirs. The Revolution was one of the most pivotal turning points for Iranians both living in Iran or abroad. Writers, form a bridge between the two cultures, and help in understanding the value of cultural pluralism. These Iranian memoirists help feel the fear in first encounters with a new culture, also help us see the world through immigrant glasses, when these immigrants try to create a space for themselves in a new country. Anyone who is from an immigrant family, or who knows of an immigrant family will undoubtedly find many things in common with their descriptions. For instance Firoozeh Dumas conveys many messages about American culture and also her native country, Iran, and determining where one stands in this complex world, through her memoirs.

Social, economic, political and cultural changes occasionally converge and reshape the way a society understands itself and sets its future course. The Iran hostage crisis of 1979 is one of them. It had an important effect on the foreign policy of United States. Azadeh Moaveni in *Lipstick Jihad: A Memoir of Growing Up Iranian in America and America in Iran* from another point of view criticizes this matter by saying that;

'When radical students took the American embassy hostage in 1979, they transformed a classic revolution into a dramatic confrontation with the United States. The hostage taking energized the uprising and added an iconoclastic dimension, a historic triumph of East over West. That is why, to this day, the Islamic Republic cultivates its stale anti-Americanism, once the life force of the revolution.' (3, p8)

For Moaveni, "To be Iranian in the United States during the 1980s meant living perpetually in the shadow of the hostage crisis. Many Iranians dealt with this by becoming the perfect immigrants: successful, assimilated, with flawless, relaxed American English and cheerfully pro-American political sentiments" (3, p8).

'That my name gave me away, that people would ask in a smiley, kind way where I was from, and that I would have to say it, "Iran" and watch their faces settle into a blank, this was a permanent source of discomfort, I wasn't sure what made me feel more wretched: being embarrassed to be Iranian, or guilt at being embarrassed. Saying I was Persian helped, but no one knew what or where Persia was, exactly, and there would often be follow-up questions. The adults were marinating in politics, and had little sense of how hard it was on us, the kids.' (3, p9)... 'The hostage crisis had forever stained our image in the American psyche, and slowly I saw how this shaped so much of what we did and strove for as immigrants. We could never take for granted that ordinary Americans...would know that the very fact of our living in the U.S. differentiated us from the type of Iranians who held

U.S. diplomats at gunpoint for 444 days, Each time I told someone I was Iranian, I would search their face for a sign that they understood this....Whether we were monarchists or not, whether we took some responsibility for what happened in Iran or blamed others, the shame of the revolution placed enormous pressure to be successful, but discreet about being Iranian. As though to make up for this image's awfulness we had to ever more exceptional, achieve, more, acquire more degrees, more wealth, make more discoveries - to become indispensable. All this effort was needed to dear up our nationality's good name; being average, obviously, would not cut it Redemption became our burden.' (3, p25)

Mahnaz Kousha in *Voices from Iran: The Changing Lives of Iranian Women*; reminds those days as such;

'A generation of American children grew up remembering the hostage crisis and praying in their classrooms for the hostages' safety. Their parents, on the other hand, started seeing Iran and other countries in the Middle East as a major threat to America and to their own lifestyle. More importantly, they saw the emergence and solidification in Iran of a government that embodied anger, hostility, and Anti-American sentiments. The mere mention of Iran invokes suspicion a sense of backwards, fundamentalism, and terrorism.' (4, p3)

Nahid Rachlin in *Persian Girls: A Memoir* remembers those days as such:

'During this period I found that my friends who had never been particularly political suddenly became patriots and attacked Iran. Even though their anger at the hostage takers was justified, they lumped all Iranians, myself included, with them. My husband tried his best to be fair, but I was sensitive to his remarks, and, to me, everything he said sounded slanted in favor of America. When I gave readings from my work, people with no interest in fiction came to ask questions about Iran and Iranians. One magazine, which had published several of my short stories as well as a condensed version of my first novel, rejected a story because it was too sympathetic part of Iranian characters. My daughter came home from school one day looking sad; she asked me if she could change her name to Cindy. One of her classmates had asked her where she got her name, Leila. My daughter told her it was an Iranian name. Her friend made a face at the word "Iran." I didn't know how to distill the complex political situation into terms that a seven-year-old could understand.' (5, p241)

More than thirty years passed since the hostage crisis. One cannot discuss this issue without considering its hidden causes and of course historical events have significant impacts on its citizens. Prior to the revolution in Iran and cut off of diplomatic relations between the two countries, American universities were immensely popular among Iranians. After the Iranian Revolution and the abolition of the monarchy, the Iranian-Americans grew in number because some of the Iranians studying in the U.S. did not want to go back to Iran. This resulted in the formation of a highly educated and skilled diasporic group in the United States. For Firoozeh Dumas as an instance, it did not take long to figure out that most of the Americans she had met knew nothing about Iran. The answer of the Americans “How nice” (6, p20) when she was asked to say which country she was from meant that they did not know where Iran was. Every American seemed to have a favorite France story or Mexican, but not an Iranian story or experience to tell:

'Like so many immigrants before us, we found not only what we wanted but a few things we didn't even know we were looking for: Girl Scouts, freedom of speech, affordable community colleges, guacamole, public libraries, clean bathrooms, the pursuit of happiness, and Loehman's. Of Course we also found a few things we didn't like: marshmallows, the Hilton sisters and all their friends, the lack of interest in geography, those pants that ride way too low, and tomatoes that taste like cardboard. Regardless of the influences, we swore we would live in this country but never change. We were wrong. America changed us, in ways we didn't realize. Oddly enough, we also changed America.' (7, p160-1)... 'My relatives and I are proud to be Iranian, but we also give tremendous thanks for our lives in America, a nation where freedom reigns. But although 'land of the free,' refers to the essential freedoms that make this country the greatest democracy on earth, it could also refer to the abundance of free samples available throughout this great land.' (6, p75)

According to Nahid Rachlin, another acclaimed Iranian-American women writer, for people who are not quietly American or completely Iranian, being called as “Camel Culture. Bedouins” (5, p231) is not acceptable. They confirm and respect both cultures. They “hung posters of John F. Kennedy next to posters of the dark-bearded Imam Ali, the first imam of the Shia Muslim faith” (5, p259). A sample American, may announce: " I hate about Iranians living in America is that they pick up this kind of ridiculous jargon." (5, p261) President Bush, in his state of the Union address on January 29, 2002, named Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, an "axis of evil." (5, p283) For Azar Nafisi, a well-known Iranian-American author, being an Iranian- American is not different from Firoozeh Dumas or Nahid Rachlin's experiences. In her book *Things I've been Silent About*, she narrates her feelings as the following; “They asked me question tinged with curiosity, in a tone that was both indulgent and mocking: How many camels do your parents own? Ever been kissed? It assumed them to no end that I did not know what a hickey was or that I had once seriously asked a girl what a kiss tasted like. But I soon became one of them-almost” (8, p95). In Nafisi's another book, *Reading Lolita in Tehran*, she tells how everything changed for Iranian-Americans after the Iranian Revolution.

'I had hoped that when I came here, people, because they are free to read and to know, would see the multiplicity of images that exist in Iran- the contradictions, the paradoxes. But unfortunately I felt that the dominating images of Iran were those that the government had talked about. It was a very 'reductionist' mythology, the myth about Iran. First of all, one thing that bothered me was that, since the Iranian Revolution, since 1979, all of a sudden these different countries that have very different backgrounds and histories and traditions like Malaysia, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia- all of them are now reduced to one component which is religion and so they are all now called 'the Muslim world.' We never do that with, say, Europe and America. ...are all Christian majority countries, but we don't call them 'the Christian world.' (9, p362)

Also, the Iranian writer Marjane Satrapi, retells how hard it was to be an Iranian diaspora member in her autobiographical graphic novel entitled *Persepolis*. "At the time, Iran was the epitome of evil and to be Iranian, was a heavy burden to bear...My grandmother told me: always keep your dignity and be true to yourself!" (10, p41) She shouts at her friends saying, "I am Iranian and proud of it!" (10, p43) She remembers the days when she travelled around Europe as such; "It was enough to carry an Iranian passport; they rolled out the red carpet. We were rich before. Now as soon as they learn our nationality, they go through everything, as though we were all terrorists. They treat us as though we have the plague" (10, p49). Sattareh Farman-Farmaian cannot accept this situation. In her autobiography named *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from her Father's Harem through the Islamic Republic*, Farman-Farmaian explains:

'We Iranians have lived on our hospitable land bridge between East and West for much longer than our three thousand years of recorded history, and for many centuries Persian civilization, with its arts and architecture, its poetry and its highly cultivated way of life, was regarded as the greatest civilization of the Near East.' (11, p27)

All these writers in diaspora, started to learn what West taught them since going to the U.S. or Europe, was their destiny. They were sure that luck would be with them all the time. Azadeh Moaveni in *Lipstick Jihad* tells about the people whose life had been neatly divided between the two worlds (3, p23):

'That my name gave me away that people would ask in a smiley, kind way where I was from, and that I would have to say it, 'Iran' and watch their faces settle into a

blank, this was a permanent source of discomfort. I wasn't sure what made me feel more wretched: being embarrassed to be Iranian, or guilt at being embarrassed. Saying I was Persian helped, but no one knew what or where Persia was, exactly, and there would often be follow-up questions. The adults were marinating in politics, and had little sense of how hard it was on us, the kids.' (3, p9)

Some Iranians identified the source of Iran's problems as stemming from its relationship with Western powers. They included influential phrase 'gharbzadeghi' variously translated as Westoxification, Westomania or struck by the west. Azar Nafisi wrote in *Reading Lolita in Tehran* that during her first years abroad when she was in school in England and Switzerland, and later, when she lived in America, she attempted "shape other places according to" her "concept of Iran"(9, p82). Nafisi tried to personalize the landscape and even transferred for a term to a small college in New Mexico, mainly because it reminded her of home. In an interview with Random House Reader's Circle, she says: "There are so many apologists for this sort of thought who say that people over there...natives...they deserve what they are getting. This is their culture and the west should not criticize it because, you know, we tent it. They do not differentiate between the state and the people, and take the state's view of religion and tradition and history and culture as the only one." (8, p368) Farman Farmaian also wrote in *daughter of Persia* that: "Many people felt that we were not only trying to catch up with the west, but to become the west, while an entire old generation of parents, even among Persians of my class, was shocked and outraged at what these Western ways were doing to their children, culture, and what Iranians considered moral behavior."(11, p263) These are some examples that show Iranians of diaspora never change their traditions, and also keep their identity in the latest country as well.

Conclusion:

Some eras in the history of a country are more salient than others. Social, economic, political and cultural changes occasionally converge and reshape the way a society understands itself, and sets its future course. Iran's history after Revolution of 1979 is full of these events which affected new generation of Iranian women memoirists who are usually bestseller writers. They take their readers to the difficulties of living in a new country and the challenges a person faces in an adopted country and a new culture. Regularly they show respect to the traditional values while becoming a part of a new and highly modern western societies. Also, they illustrate that while they are from a different culture, the differences are as the same as the similarities.

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Transnationalism and Gender: Russian Migrant Women in Antalya

AYLA DENİZ⁸⁶, E.MURAT ÖZGÜR

ABSTRACT

Having become a popular topic of study and a complementary dimension of globalization in recent years, transnational communities support multiculturalism by establishing the personal, social, cultural, economic and political ties between the source and destination areas of migration. Migratory movements that create transnational social spaces are partially shaped by gender. One such example is the transnational community created in Antalya (Turkey) by Russians who migrated after the collapse of the USSR. Female Russian migrants stand out in migration management and transnational community formation. This study focuses on how touristic human movements from the Russian Federation to Antalya evolved into transnational community formation based on gender. The study also centers around female Russian migrants' experiences throughout the migration and settlement processes. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study in the literature that uses gender to examine Russians in Antalya who are different from other migrant groups and are constantly growing in number and visibility. The study uses questionnaires and in-depth interviews with 78 female Russian migrants who were reached with the snowball method. The findings showed that the dynamics of globalization and tourism activities are the most important factors which motivate transnational migration and create a transnational social space in Antalya. Women were found to participate actively in work life and strengthen their position through strategies such as marriage throughout this process. It is therefore understandable that more women are present in this migration system. Female Russian migrants in Antalya speak Turkish well and have started to build their own social networks, initiatives and institutions and own property. However, despite their unique migration system and high integration levels, these Russian women experience problems as they are viewed by the host community as foreigners and due to the negative image of the Russian women in the area. For these reasons, the Russians who make up the largest foreign population in Antalya demand policies that will help overcome these problems as they become a part of this city.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of gender includes “social and cultural norms related to masculinity and femininity demanded by the society” (Yılmaz, 2007), is based on the biological bases of masculinity and femininity and depends on the social context (Bora, 2010). According to this definition, gender is not only the reconstruction of biological masculinity and femininity with social values, but also lays the foundation of the roles that women and men are expected to play in the society. The social view on women and men has changed in history and, as stated by Connell (1998), gender has the nature of a process.

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Studies on migration and gender started to gain importance after particularly the 1990's when migration models started to be reconsidered with a critical view (Curran and Saguy, 2001). Present studies show that in the geographical and cultural migration and transnationalism, there are significant differences between men and women regarding their reasons for migration, in the ways in which they migrate and in the overall experience of migration, and these differences have been attributed to education, age, social class, ethnic identity and gender (Buijs, 1993; İlkaracan and İlkaracan, 1999; Moore, 1988). In different words, cultural expectations from a woman or man in a society affect human behaviours and attitudes ranging from who is going to migrate first to the outcomes of migration (Tamur, 2010). Brettell claims that gender plays a pivotal role in migration studies (Brettell, 2008). As Harding (1996) states:

“Critics argue that traditional social science starts its analyses by taking male experiences as its only basis. Therefore social science only asks questions about the social experiences unique to males – white, Western, bourgeois males. On the other hand, there are many events stemming from female actions that are waiting to be revealed” (Tekin-Yılmaz, 2005).

In our day, international migration is perhaps the best studied subject in the field of social sciences and carries an interdisciplinary quality (Brettell and Hollifield 2000). Focusing on the migrants in this multidimensional process, it can be seen that almost one of every two people that migrate around the world are women (International Organization for Migration-IOM, 2010). This phenomenon is conceptualized as *“the feminization of migration”* (Castles and Miller, 2008) and it has been stated that women today act in a more independent way (Kofman et al., 2000).

There are several reasons for the increasing number of female migrants globally. Understanding these reasons would also help a better understanding of the gender aspect of migration. The first reason is that women in Europe have equal working and life conditions, pension rights, and free travel opportunities. Another reason is the preference in aging Europe for Far Eastern women, owing to their good reputation for elderly, child and health care (Gökbayrak, 2009). Another important reason is the fall of the USSR and the movement of many women to other countries to secure work. As is common knowledge, the Soviet system meant that there was little income distribution difference among the different countries in the union; all segments of the society had equal rights to highly advanced social opportunities; big social expenditures were made for all parts of the society; and salaries differed minimally (Corrin, 2005). With the fall of this system, women became doubly disadvantaged and felt

the catastrophe more deeply as they lost their jobs. Indeed, it was shown by research that two thirds of the unemployed following the fall were women (Agathangelou, 2003). In Moldova, 68% of those who lost their jobs during this period were women and those who did not lose their jobs earned only 60 to 70% of what men earned (IHF, 2000, cited in Tavcer, 2006). In a previous study with such women, 17% of the participants defined themselves as very poor, and 56% as poor (Laczko and Gramegna, 2003).

The source and target country relationship seen from Turkey shows the presence of many different migrant groups. One of the most significant findings of studies focusing on foreigners living in Turkey is the high number of female migrants (Bahar et al. 2009; Özbek 2008; Südaş, 2012; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş and Kalfa, 2009). In a study by Özbek conducted in Marmaris, the rate of women was 67,4 %, while Bahar et al.'s study (2009) in various tourism centers yielded a woman migrant rate of 61%. In Turkey, the rate of female EU nationals married to Turks is 95% (Kaiser, 2003). As Özbek (2008) states in relation to the Marmaris example, the high number of woman migrants means that the incoming migration is mostly done by women. Similar findings were found in other studies conducted in Marmaris (Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011), Antalya (Deniz and Özgür, 2010; Deniz, 2012; Gebelek, 2008) and Trabzon (Aydın, 2006). Approximately 70% of those involved in suitcase trade from the former USSR are women (Blocher, cited in Yenal, 1999). Police records show that most visitors in Turkey from the former USSR other than Romania and Bulgaria are women (Erder and Kaşka, 2003). Some of these women gain Turkish citizenship by marrying Turks (Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011).

By considering the areas that these women, who migrate independent of their husband or as a result of a family union, mostly work in (housework, child/elderly care, sex sector/entertainment, suitcase trade), it is possible to talk about a gender based division of labour and thus a different dimension of femininity of migration (İçduygu, 2004). It can be argued that in Turkey there are more job opportunities for female migrants than males in informal economy and that women participate more to the migratory workforce (İçduygu and Biehl, 2008).

Among the migrants heading towards Turkey, Antalya, which is one of the most important tourism centers in Turkey, has turned into a home for especially Russian women. While these movements were confined to touristic actions at the beginning, later they changed into permanent migration. The acceptability of Russian women increased in the city as a result of the corporate structure they presented and socio-economic effects they created. The basic motivation of this study is to make people understand the importance of the 'new' residents of Antalya and make them more noticeable. Since there is a limitation in the national data system and the records of local units, the exact number of these people is not known. However, it is known that 59% (6,449 people) of the people having their place of birth as Russian Federation (11,021 people) are women (DİE 2002); and in addition according to the records of Antalya Police Department, when the gender of foreigners is analyzed it is observed that the percentage of women vary between 65-70% among the Russian foreigners who have residence permit between the years 2007-2010 (Deniz and Özgür, 2010).

This study is based on questionnaires and detailed interviews carried out with 78 Russian female migrants who lived in Antalya for more than three months in a year and who were found through snowball sampling in 2010-2012. The results of the study are evaluated in three parts: the first part 'Migrant Profile' constitutes demographic and socio-economic qualities of the participants; the second part, 'Migration and Process of Settlement', includes the participants' reasons for migration, the networks they used and their experiences in this migration; in the last part, 'From Tourist to Settler: the Formation of Transnational Social Spaces' people's acts leading to permanent settlement from short-term stay are discussed.

FINDINGS

1. Migrant Profile

67% of the people who participated in the study are between 20-30 years of age. If this age group is also expanded so as to include those aged 40, the aforementioned percentage increases to 94%. This picture clearly shows that the migration from Russia to Antalya is a migration of women. As is well known, the educational level of the migrants affects not only the work life in the country they migrate to and the experience they have during the migration process but also the relations they have with the host society. The fact that the level of education increases helps decrease the risks during the migration process and frequently helps meet the economic expectations of migration. The participants in the study have a high level of education such that the percentage of those who have university and graduate degree is 86%. The marital status of migrants is of great importance in order to test the independent female migrant understanding which is a typical trait of modern migration moves. According to this, when the marital status of participants is considered it is striking to see that the ratio in Antalya is 68% for those living alone (including those that are single, divorced and widow).

A strong connection depending on tourism and trade has been formed between Turkey and Russia in the last 20 years and the Russians in Antalya maintain their lives in the city especially by using the former of these connections. The Russian migrants frequently hide

under the guise of tourist due to various difficulties involved in obtaining residence and work permits. This is clearly put forward by the fact that 59% of the participants stay in the country with a tourist visa.⁸⁷ 32% of the participants have got the Turkish Citizenship (T.C.) as a result of getting married to Turkish men. 6% of those interviewed have residence permit and 2% live without any papers (fugitive).

By considering the kind of work (like housework, child/elderly care, sex worker/entertainment, luggage trade) female migrants generally carry out in Turkey, it is possible to talk about a sexist division of labour; thus, another dimension of feminization of migration (İçduygu, 2004). It is yet another fact that female migrants have more opportunities for work in informal economy in Turkey and that women have a high participation rate to the migrant workforce (İçduygu and Biehl, 2008). It is well known that at the beginning of 1990's, after the transnational moves of the citizens of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) which resulted in their spreading to the cities on the coast of Black sea in Turkey and making İstanbul based, generally small scale, shuttle trade and working in entertainment-sex sector (Erder, 2010; İçduygu, 2004), especially the Russians have started working in jobs in tourism and other sectors related to it in Antalya; the tourism center of Turkey (Deniz, 2012; Deniz and Özgür, 2010; Özgür and Deniz, 2012). Similar results have been obtained in this study as well. While accommodation/restaurant services are among the primary jobs the participants work in, there are also others like trade in tourism services, real estate agency, entertainment and animation services, elderly/child care and tourism organization. Only 4 people among the participants- in the time the study was carried out- were unemployed and they have all become Turkish citizens by getting married. When the salaries of the participants doing the jobs mentioned above are considered, it is observed that they frequently earn between 1001 and 1500 TL (37%), 1501-2000 TL (37%) and 2001-2500 TL (15%). It can easily be concluded that the salaries of participants are fairly high considering the minimum wage in 2012 in Turkey was 701.44 TL and that generally migrants earn the minimum in the countries they go to.

2. Migration to Antalya and the Process of Settlement

In this study the Russian women living in Antalya were asked why they migrated to the city, which is a crucial question to be asked for classification of migration. Having an abundance of job opportunities and the expectation to have a good income are among the first in the respondents' answers (37%). This is followed by the recommendation of previous migrants (28%), influence of spouse/partner (23%), not to face any bureaucratic obstacles

⁸⁷ In the time when the study was concluded, travellers between two countries were not required to have a visa as of 16 April 2011.

(5%) and others (7%). According to this picture, it can be said that the starting point for the migrants comprise both economic and social facts. The migrants who have started out especially with economical expectations worry about sending money to their families that they have left behind. A well-known fact is that Russian women working in Turkey are accepted to be dependable about sending money back home in the process of migration. It can be said that maybe because of this reason women are encouraged more in the process of migration. The research carried out in this field reveal that there might be gender based differences in the people's act of sending money back home after migration. Although sometimes men are found to be more reliable in this subject - contrary to women, the men migrating to America from the Dominican Republic are inclined to save more in order to send money to their country -, it is frequently emphasized that women are more reliable –it is observed that women migrating to urban areas from rural areas in Thailand send higher amounts of money to their families compared to men (Curran and Saguy, 2001).

24% of the participants who are also dependable about sending money to their families did not take any help from anyone during the process of migration and settlement. Those who received help (31%) did so mostly from their spouses or partners. The other people/institutions they got help from in the process of migration are friends (24%), their families and relatives (14%) and intermediary people/firms (7%).

The majority of these people have come to Antalya for the first time after the year 2000 (86%). The reasons for their first visit are; in the first place tourism (55%), visiting relatives (13%), work (13%), marriage (13%) and education (6%). Russian female migrants made the decision to settle to Antalya after visiting the city for 2-3 times in average and mostly after the year 2005. Migrant women, during their visits to the city as tourists, have developed various bonds with the householders of the society, and have settled in the city after arranging the job they will work in and determining the house they will live in. The least risky group here is the one coming to Antalya after getting married since they have met their needs of shelter and work via their husbands. The single participants have, at first, lived with their Turkish partners or shared a flat with other Russian women in the same situation. However, after they have adapted to the city they moved into a different place by choosing their own neighborhoods and houses.

3. From Tourist to Settler: Formation of Transnational Social Spaces in Antalya

Transnational social spaces are those in which the decision of migration and re-migration is not irrevocable and irreversible, where even the refugees and migrants who have been away from their hometown for a long time are frequently engaged in transnational ties and where they can escape to some extent from the controls of the nation state in which these activities are held (Faist, 2003). According to Thomas Faist the factors that bring about transnational social spaces are long distance communication and travel and different dynamics that lead to economic, political and cultural transnationalism (Faist, 2003). The presence of cheap travel programs for foreigners in Turkey as a result of all-inclusive system in tourism has made it possible for different spaces of living to be known. These changes related to tourism in the country took place starting from the year 1990s. As a result of tourism's being accepted as a major source of income for the country, big scale campaigns have been organized in international platforms by taking the government's support. Structural and technological developments have also freed the societies from spatial limitations. The Russians who have arrived in Antalya as tourists have started to live in the city after some time as a result of some reasons like marriage or work. However, they kept up with the intense relations with their countries. In this process, they frequently visited their countries, followed the country's agenda and continued their existence with various demands.

Focusing on the transformation process of Russian migrants in Antalya to transnational society reveals important findings. The first of these is the duration of the migrants' stay in Antalya within a year. 90% of the participants spend more than 6 months a year in Antalya. 73% of these stay in Antalya for 10 months or more. 32% of the participants who spend such a long time in the city own the house they live in, 49% are tenants, and 19% are those staying in their relative/friend's house for free. The neighborhoods that participants live in are those which are preferred by other migrants in Antalya and in which municipal services are developed and real estate prices are high. The tenant participants have the desire to buy a house in Antalya when they can earn more money. Underlying this wish is the participants' desire to spending the rest of their lives in Antalya.

Another important finding is the level of Turkish knowledge the migrants have. As is known language is the most important means in migrants' integration. In this respect, the fact that 91% of the participants' knowing Turkish with an intermediate or advanced degree makes it possible for them to be able to make many things in town without any help. In addition, it provides the means for them to decipher different features of the culture in which they live in. Knowing the language of the host culture also allows them to both communicate with local authorities and learn what kind of rights someone in their status in Turkey has.

The migrants have also experienced joining an organization in this process. Currently there are two organizations that run in Antalya for Russians both to develop their relations with Turkey and to sustain their own cultural values. These organizations allow women to be represented in relations with local authorities. Owing to this they can regularly hold

traditional Russian culture festivals and can get support from the Anlatya municipality in things like providing free activity spaces. Especially children's, born out of Turkish men-Russian women marriages, participation in activities, where the characteristics of Russian culture are displayed, supports their 'cross-breed' form. In these organizations the members are also offered the services of Turkish education and consultancy concerning Turkish law. Another important finding in terms of socio-cultural transnationalization led by female migrants is the Russian school operating in Antalya. This school offers service especially for the education of qualified tourism personnel that is needed by the workforce in the city and the ones being educated there are mostly citizens of Russian speaking countries. The participants believe that it is more important for children to attend to Turkish schools for integration. For this reason all of the participants having school-age children send their kids to state schools. Moreover, the participants believe that there will be more demand for the Russian school as a result of the fast increase in the number of Russians in Antalya.

The participants also point out that there is a prejudiced social structure in which everyone speaking in Russian is accepted to be Russian and that everyone is thought to be a sex worker. Although these sorts of prejudices have relatively been overcome, there are still socio-cultural inconsistencies. In this respect, Russian female migrants try to prevent experiencing any problems due to their physical appearance by dying their blonde hair to black or brown colors. Yet, the most structural initiative they have is founding organizations as mentioned above. Among the participants there are people who actively take part in these organizations especially as parents because their legal procedures are separated from the others and they have to get involved in some legal matters. For instance, after getting married with a Turkish man even though they bear a child, they cannot get Turkish citizenship before the end of three years and before it is understood that the marriage is not a fake one.

CONCLUSION

In this study which focused on transnational social space of Russian women in Antalya, it is revealed that as a result of the migrants' being qualified ones they start leaving traces in the city in a short time. It is not a very common occurrence that a group can progress in their institutions, lives and experiences not with international accord but through an individual's acts. Russian female migrants have made this possible even before their presence has been accepted through laws. However it should also be acknowledged that legal constraints surpass many of the demands of these people. Russian women who experience being independent and individualization very early on have to cope with negativities like not

being able to vote in local elections for many years and not being able to find a responsible authority in solving problems and realizing their demands since their legal recognition is obtained through long procedures. It is believed that the increase of cross-breed children as a result of cross-bred marriages will diversify the demands and if regulations in line with human rights are not made the problems will become chronic.

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