Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction

Eleonore Kofman
Parvati Raghuram

Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship Series

Series Editors: **Robin Cohen**, Former Director of the International Migration Institute and Professor of Development Studies, University of Oxford, UK, and **Zig Layton-Henry**, Professor of Politics, University of Warwick, UK.

Editorial Board: **Rainer Baubock**, European University Institute, Italy; **James F. Hollifield**, Southern Methodist University, USA; **Jan Rath**, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship series covers three important aspects of the migration progress: firstly, the determinants, dynamics and characteristics of international migration; secondly, the continuing attachment of many contemporary migrants to their places of origin, signified by the word 'diaspora'; and thirdly, the attempt, by contrast, to belong and gain acceptance in places of settlement, signified by the word 'citizenship'. The series publishes work that shows engagement with and a lively appreciation of the wider social and political issues that are influenced by international migration.

Also published in Migration Studies by Palgrave Macmillan

Bridget Anderson and Isabel Shutes (*editors*)
MIGRATION AND CARE LABOUR
Theory, Policy and Politics

Fiona Barker
NATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY
Old Politics, New Arrivals

Loretta Bass
AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN ANOTHER FRANCE

Michaela Benson and Nick Osbaldiston
UNDERSTANDING LIFESTYLE MIGRATION
Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life

Stephen Castles, Derya Ozkul and Magdalena Arias Cubas (*editors*)
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND MIGRATION
National and Local Experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico and Australia

Daniel Conway and Pauline Leonard
MIGRATION, SPACE AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES
The British in South Africa

Rosie Cox (*editor*)
SISTERS OR SERVANTS
Au Pairs' Lives in Global Context

Saniye Dedeoglu
MIGRANTS, WORK AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION
Women's Labour in the Turkish Ethnic Economy

Gabriella Lazaridis
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION INTO EUROPE
From Subjects to Abjects

Catrin Lundström
WHITE MIGRATIONS
Gender, Whiteness and Privilege in Transnational Migration

Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels
MIGRANTS OR EXPATRIATES?
Americans in Europe

Eleonore Kofman and Parvati Raghuram
GENDERED MIGRATIONS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Eric Morier-Genoud
IMPERIAL MIGRATIONS
Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World

Dominic Pasura
AFRICAN TRANSNATIONAL DIASPORAS
Fractured Communities and Plural Identities of Zimbabweans in Britain

Helen Schwenken and Sabine Ruß-Sattar
NEW BORDER AND CITIZENSHIP POLITICS

Louise Ryan, Alessio D'Angelo and Umut Erel (*editors*)
MIGRANT CAPITAL
Networks, Identities and Strategies

Evan Smith and Marinella Marmo
RACE, GENDER AND THE BODY IN BRITISH IMMIGRATION CONTROL
Subject to Examination

Holly Thorpe
TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITIES IN ACTION SPORT CULTURES

Vron Ware
MILITARY MIGRANTS
Fighting for YOUR Country

Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction

Eleonore Kofman
Professor, Middlesex University, UK

Parvati Raghuram
Reader, Open University, UK

Contents

Tables

1
Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction: An Introduction

1.1 Gender and global migrations

Feminist interventions into globalisation theory and policy have highlighted the ways in which global transformations are also gendered transformations. In particular, gender is an important factor influencing global migration today and this recognition has spurred a range of empirical studies, theorisations and policy measures.

The notion of global migration carries with it many things. Firstly, it signals the widespread spatial extent of migration, the fact that even if only a small proportion moves overall, migration still affects many people in a large number of places, leading Castles and Miller (1993) to call this 'the age of migration'. Secondly, it signals the factors influencing migration – many of which are being reconfigured through processes of economic, political, social and cultural globalisation. The movement of capital, commodities, ideas and ways of living all contribute to and structure who moves. Thirdly, the global agenda of a range of organisations has also influenced migration so that analysing migration through the traditional binaries between sending and receiving countries is no longer adequate. Here global refers to new alliances and spatial formations that are reconstituting the imperatives that influence migration and the directions in which people move. The emergence of regional blocs and the significance of multilateral organisations in shaping migration (Guild and Mantu 2011; Sisson Runyan et al. 2013) also suggest that there are many players influencing the shape of migratory trends between and within an increasingly heterogeneous Global North and South (Bakewell 2009; IOM 2013; Kofman and Raghuram 2010). Fourthly, the increasing privileging of the skilled and exclusion of the less skilled are producing new forms of inequality and stratification

that have implications beyond those of the nation-state and contribute to the transnationalisation of inequality (Weiss 2005). Immigration restrictions and the reduction in countries of net immigration are reinforcing an asymmetric globalisation (Czaika and de Hass 2014). Many of the vectors of differentiation – and the intersection between them – which are used to understand migration, such as class, race and nation, are being reconstituted transnationally and globally through migration (Anthias 2012; Bose 2012; Herrera 2013; Purkayastha 2012).

Gender is a significant aspect influencing these processes and the increasing number of women who move has attracted the attention of researchers and policy makers (Piper 2005). Although the proportion of women migrating has not hugely increased in the past half century from 1960 to 2010 (Donato et al. 2011; UNDESA 2013; Zlotnik 2003), it is the feminisation of labour migration[1] that initially altered the nature of many of the debates in migration research (Castles and Miller 1993). For instance, it has long been recognised that male migration impacts on women in a range of ways (Gulati 1993) but as the number of women who move for work increases, debates on women's contribution to development and social reproduction in countries of origin are being rewritten. Social reproduction has been defined as 'the array of activities and relationships in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally' (Glenn 1992). These involve a range of activities such as the purchase of household goods, socialisation of children, provision of care and support for adults, and the maintenance of kin and community ties; they cover both nurturance and non-nurturant reproductive occupations and include in their ambit those who have direct contact with users as well as those who manage the providers of such nurturance (Duffy 2005). Feminist Marxist conceptions of reproduction go beyond this. For instance, Truong (1996: 32) identifies three interrelated meanings of reproduction which include: human biological reproduction; maintaining and sustaining human beings throughout their life cycle; and systemic reproduction which enables a given social system to be recreated and sustained.

The recent literature on the contributions of migrants to reproduction has been theorised through various lenses. Perhaps, the most powerful optic has been that of care chains. Migrant women may be seen as providers (albeit differentially) of several types of care: moral care, or the provision of discipline and socialisation; emotional care; and material care that ensures the provision of the physical needs of dependents (Parreñas 2001: 117). Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) emphasise the role of migrant women in the production of care in its material and

emotional dimensions, enabling economic expansion in the First World to take place under neo-liberal conditions of welfare restrictions and flexible labour. Globalisation has led to the marketisation and the privatisation of various services, including care, which is now brought into global care chains (Yeates 2004). This international transfer of reproductive work, especially to Europe and North America, is one of the most influential theoretical lenses in the analysis of care (Hochschild 2000; Parreñas 2001; Widding Isaksen 2010).

Women's gendered roles are seen to be significantly influenced by familial ideologies and centre around households. Here the dominant imperative is largely analysed through the lenses of stability and stasis, which are disrupted by migration and mobility.[2] Mobility, and hence the transgression of gendered norms of caring for one's own family, is made necessary by the need for survival in the context of deepening global inequalities. This is one script around which female labour mobility is written.

However, in making the journey, female migrant workers often seem to be replicating this gendered labour in a range of reproductive sectors of the economy. While economic globalisation is primarily seen to be corporate globalisation, examining the role of female global migrants forces us to recognise the extent to which it is the restructuring of reproduction that is driving female migration, therefore validating reproduction as a key part of global economics and producing a counter-geography (Sassen 2000). Feminist research in this field has highlighted that it is not only the circuits of production that are being globalised but that accompanying this is a new international division of reproductive labour which is offering many women opportunities for work and therefore to migrate (Truong 1996). Taking full account of the place of women in the new global political economy also requires us to take a long look at the sphere of reproduction, its relationship to production (Katz 2001; Mitchell et al. 2003) and the role of female migrants in these global processes. For instance, Truong (1996: 47) suggested that '[n]o production system operates without a reproduction system and it should not be surprising that the globalisation of production is accompanied by its intimate "Other" i.e. reproduction'. Reproduction involves, as we shall see, the global transfer of different kinds of reproductive labour from one class, ethnic group, nation or region to another.

In the mid-1990s, Truong was one of very few writers acknowledging the importance of the globalisation of reproduction; much of the analysis still centred on the globalisation of production. In the subsequent decade, the 'potent spatiality' accompanying the reorganisation

of reproduction (Mitchell et al. 2003) caught the academic imagination, so that the analytical framework for understanding reproductive work has itself been globalised (Hochschild 2000; Mills 2003; Peterson 2003; Sassen 2000). Much of this attention has focused on migrants who enter the lesser skilled sectors of the labour market to perform various forms of reproductive labour: domestic and care work, and sex work (Agustin 2005; Anderson 2000; Lutz 2011; Parreñas 2001).

But wives who accompany male corporate migrants, and migrant women who work in state-provided reproductive sectors such as nursing (Kingma 2006; Yeates 2009), teaching and social work are also caught up in this redistribution of reproductive labour (Kofman and Raghuram 2005, 2006). Thus, taking account of female migration alters the frame of globalising processes, expands the notion of reproduction to include the multiple ways in which women form a cornerstone of state-provided services in welfare societies and forces us to recognise the intimate ways in which production and reproduction are interconnected.

These intersections become even clearer if we look at the experiences of family migrants. Marriage migrants contribute to biological and labour reproduction (Constable 2005; Toyota 2008; Williams 2010). Older family members also migrate to provide care (Escriva and Skinner 2006). Moreover, women who migrate as partners of work-permit holders are, in many countries, allowed to work in the formal sector, and this labour often goes uncounted. Women may also move as independent migrants, often as care-workers or sex-workers, and then change to a dependant status through marriage so that the relationship between the different forms of work they perform is connected and dynamic (Kofman 2012; Lan 2008). They may shift from providing paid sex to clients in source countries to providing the same service as wives after marriage and migration (Groes-Green 2014).

The multiple forms of globalisation also point to the multiple sites in which globalisation is played out and disrupts the spatial parameters that are frequently used to understand migration. Female migration offers a different set of issues in the governance of migration. For instance, the concern over separated families (Zentgraf and Chinchilla 2012), especially children left behind (Cortes 2008; Parreñas 2005; Toyota 2007), and the ensuing disruption of the family – a key element of the social fabric of society – raise particular questions for states where female emigration is significantly altering the demographics of society. The policing of female bodies by receiving states is also based upon the embodiment of migrants as women. Thus, the pregnancy checks that female domestic workers are required to undergo in Singapore (Huang

and Yeoh 2003) and the targeting of language classes and integration measures for female migrants in a number of Western European countries (Kofman et al. 2013; Kortweg and Triadafilopoulos 2013) presuppose particular imaginations around what or who the female migrant is. Spatially and temporally specific notions of femininity therefore significantly influence how we view female migration.

As the number of female migrants increased and their forms of circulation became more distinctive compared to men, how we understand global migration and what we do about it also change. One analytical response to the new and varied forms of migration has been to recognise the ways in which migrants, particularly female migrants, move between – and invest politically, economically and emotionally in – the sending and receiving countries. The framework of 'transnationalism' offers us a way of understanding how the links between these two places are maintained and of emphasising the agency of migrants who maintain these relations across space (Erel and Lutz 2012; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Pessar and Mahler 2003). It has spurred a whole host of research on transnational processes (migrations and circulations, practices, communications, remittances) that migrants engage in. The use of intermediate staging posts in the broader migration strategy also alters the spatial dynamics of migration. Thus, while Hong Kong may be the final destination for some female migrants, for others, it merely provides a space within which to accrue the forms of capital that are required to move to a more desirable destination, such as Canada (Liebelt 2008; McKay 2002).

The policy responses to migration have involved a range of sites, processes and institutions for governance of migration. In addition to state regulations, bilateral, multilateral and regional agreements, such as the EU and NAFTA, have reconfigured the remit and content of immigration regulations (Gabriel and Pellerin 2008; Guild and Mantu 2011; Sisson Runyan et al. 2013). This has resulted in migrants from different countries having stratified rights to entry, mobility, work and access to welfare (Kofman 2002; Morris 2002), creating new forms of stratification which demand novel conceptual lenses of analysis. At the same time the growth in the number of NGOs and the importance of civil activism in claiming rights for migrants have led to challenges and re-workings of these regulations (Basok and Piper 2013; Piper 2004). These processes are altering the nature of public space and of the political sphere. For instance, when a Filipina domestic worker living in Hong Kong stands for elections in her home country on a platform of migrant rights, we are forced to recognise that migration is a key political issue of the future,

to interrogate the notion that residence is a criteria for electoral politics and thus to challenge the boundaries of the nation-state. On the other hand, the figure of the migrant is also increasingly being deployed in electoral politics in receiving countries often occupying the (embattled) ground for media attention, policy making and for a range of activists (Ogaya 2004).

While the above analysis has focused primarily on women, men are also involved in and implicated in gendered social reproduction. Overall, male migrants are far less involved in paid reproductive labour than women who dominate sectors such as domestic work, sex work and care work. However, there are variations to these patterns based both on countries of origin/destination and on the skills of workers. For instance, there is a range of tasks such as household maintenance, driving and gardening which are dominated by men but are often not included in domestic work and are a part of social reproduction (Kilkey et al. 2013; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). Moreover, in some countries such as Saudi Arabia the figure for male domestic workers is higher because of restrictions on female mobility. Moreover, even within each sector there are differences in how male and female migrants are incorporated into the labour market as we will go on to see (Chapter 5). Some male-dominated sectors of social reproduction provide greater opportunities for entrepreneurship and social mobility than female-dominated sectors (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). Finally, skills also influence the extent to which sectors are gender-segregated. Some sectors, such as nursing, are female dominated, but are increasingly employing male migrants, while men have always dominated other sectors such as medicine as in many countries there are more male doctors than female ones. Sectors such as sex work also involve both men and women (Mai 2011). Moreover, men are moving as partners of female lead migrants and are providing some of the social reproductive work that women have historically provided (Adhikari 2013). However, there is much less recognition of these forms of male-provided socially reproductive labour.

Men have dominated migration theories and agendas through their role in productive labour. Thus, both production and men are the implicit centre of much migration analysis. The focus on female migrants and on care in recent years has acted as a corrective to this. In fact, for Oso and Catarino (2013: 626) the 'process of perpetual rediscovery regarding the presence of migrant women has added to the discourse surrounding the "feminisation of migration" and constitutes a situation of gendered asymmetry, as the object of study – migrant

man – does not appear to require any form of legitimisation'. However, this focus on the productivity of men has also meant that they are analysed primarily as economic subjects; there is only a small (but growing) body of work on their social roles and on their masculinity (Batnitzky et al. 2008).

However, the presence of women and men in migration streams is always intimately related. Social reproduction involves both men and women as providers and recipients of this labour. Gender relations influence the nature of social reproduction, how it is divided and performed and who pays for it and where. These relations are contingent not only upon the social norms of sending and destination countries but also on the processes of transit and the immigration regulations that influence who is available to do what and the sectors of labour market demand. Moreover, these relations are dynamic and change not only individually but also in relation to each other. For instance, a growth in demand for certain kinds of male labour will also lead to a growth in female migration, where women are allowed to accompany men, albeit often after a time-lag. Thus, female reproductive migrant labour within the family accompanies male migrant productive labour and the reverse is also true. Increasingly, skilled female migrants such as nurses and doctors are accompanied by their spouses (Raghuram 2004a). Hence, comparisons between male and female migration also need to reflect on how these are deeply intertwined.

These articulations between genders, forms of labour and immigration regulations also intersect with other variables. The new imperatives driving global migrations are altering social hierarchies in complex ways. As a result, our analysis suggests that race and class differences as they intersect with gender require fresh thinking. For instance, since the late 1960s immigration policies in the major states of immigration have shifted from crude racialised policies, which excluded the vast majority of Third World migrants, to more selective incorporation of migrants, especially the skilled and educated. In European states, until the stoppage of mass labour migration in the mid-1970s, labour migrants were largely restricted to less-skilled employment with the exception of small numbers from former colonies (British, Dutch and French). In this case, the metropolis attracted tertiary students from the colonies where the educational system was modelled on that of the centre (Madge et al. 2009). Metropolitan and recognised colonial qualifications then allowed skilled colonials, both of metropolitan origin and racialised others, to work in the mother country (Raghuram 2009). Progressively by the 1990s, the dismantling of overtly racist policies, an emphasis on skilled

and educated migrants, and geopolitical changes, for example in China and Hong Kong, led to a massive expansion in the number of migrants from Asia. In Australia, Canada and the USA, Asian migrants constitute the largest groups (Castles and Miller 2009) so that what it means to be a Chinese or Indian migrant in these countries is itself changing.

New migration regimes have enhanced the value of skills and education, with states drawing sharper distinctions between the skilled who are welcomed, at least temporarily, and the lesser skilled whose movement is often much more constrained (see Chapter 6). Economic recession has, in many countries, also reinforced this divide. Being skilled has opened up opportunities for mobility, so that mobility has come to increasingly signify the possession of certain social and cultural capital within the global economy. However, mobility, despite being coveted as a resource, does not in itself guarantee the valuation, recognition or transfer of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1997) and its legitimation as symbolic capital. For instance, the 'protectionism' of professional associations and state regulations, can play an important role in shaping labour force participation of migrants and their settlement experience. Thus, in Canada, for example, the migrant's cultural capital, especially in its institutionalised or educational form, is devalued through the failure to translate foreign credentials and work experience, a barrier which benefits national labour by excluding migrants from the higher echelons of the labour force (Bauder 2003; Raghuram 2014).

The possibility of such transference is also influenced by gender. For instance, skilled migrant women are more likely to be employed in regulated professional occupations such as nursing, and are therefore more dependent on their educational qualifications and the transference of these credentials than male migrants who dominate newer and less-regulated occupations such as information technology and management. Some of this transference is influenced by new geopolitical alliances such as regional blocs (e.g. EU, NAFTA), but historical formations such as colonial alliances also significantly influence the ability to transfer capital (Raghuram 2009). Thus, the processes through which inclusion/exclusion are written are not racist in any simple way. Rather, the racism that marked the history of colonial and postcolonial mobility is being reformulated in these new landscapes of migration.

Class continues to be a key variable along which migration is being stratified, albeit in novel ways. Class has been claimed by some to be in retreat and displaced, partly eclipsed through the politics of identity on the one hand, yet generating some resurgence of interest, on the other (Crompton 2000; McDowell 2005; Skeggs 2004). Amongst

the latter, there have been lively debates around class, especially a rethinking of the 'middle classes', on class processes through labour as exploitation (Gibson-Graham et al. 2000) and the multidimensionality of class, namely its intersections with other social dimensions such as ethnicity, race, sexuality and gender. Amongst those writing on gendered migrations, the significance of class positions has also increased but these reflections remain at a fairly general level and are framed within debates around social differentiation and inequalities. For instance, Anthias (1998) and Phizacklea (2003) have drawn attention to the need to take into account class in our understanding of diasporas and transnationalism. Phizacklea (2003: 80) has suggested that transnationalism as a strategy is not open to all actors 'who have very different points of departure or degrees of autonomy over the nature of transnational transactions'. The diversification of migratory streams, for example, among the Chinese in Australia (Ryan 2002; Wei Wei Da 2003) and the United Kingdom (Lee et al. 2002), has led to calls for the rethinking of migration strategies in broader terms of class and gender relations.

Others have focused on processes through which women alter class positions through migration (Gibson et al. 2001) and the resultant contradictory class mobility they experience (Morokvasic 2004; Parreñas 2001) as they move between societies of origin and destination. The notion of contradictory class mobility encompasses the ways in which migrants often experience downward mobility in their countries of destination – although the economic and social resources generated by migration may enable migrants to maintain and improve their class position in their home country. This is particularly relevant for the large numbers of women who are deskilled through migration. It is prevalent amongst educated women moving to countries which require substantial resources for migration but have a demand for less-skilled work, and where they face barriers to entry to more skilled work. In many European states, high percentages of women from non-OECD countries are overqualified (Eurostat 2011). Here there has been an increasing demand for domestic and residential care work which has attracted migrant women from outside the European Union. However, the ability to shift to more skilled work may vary between countries depending on access to education and training, recognition of qualifications and professional closures. New distinctions emerge between those who are able to transfer and deploy their skills and educational qualifications and those who are not. As both Aguilar (1996) and Parreñas (2001) show us, these migrants may originate from the same country so that

the politics of the diaspora becomes marked by intersections of skilled and unskilled migrants of the same nationality. Their studies note the way in which Filipino professionals may feel their positions abroad compromised by the stigma attached to their compatriots working in low-skilled, low-paid jobs. Moreover, migration may also be a route to retaining class positions in the context of growing global inequalities (Mapril 2014).

These intersecting inequalities influence the ability to benefit from migration and improve the conditions of social reproduction and social mobility of migrants and non-migrants in the household. Apart from inequalities related to class, gender and race, nationality and immigration status are also important. Migrants operate within transnational spaces (Faist 2010; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) so that the strategies they pursue in relation to their social reproduction and future mobility are also based on their perception of conditions and experiences across social fields straddling countries of origin and destination, and in some cases, other countries to which they may aspire to move (Nowicka 2012).

1.2   Structure of the book

In this volume we aim to:

- question the limited scope of the dominant conceptual frameworks that are used to make sense of female migrations;
- interrogate the binaries that commonly shape our understanding of global migrations;
- probe more deeply the processes underpinning the globalisation of social reproduction and suggest that exploring the different sites, sectors and skills in which female migrant workers are involved will lead to a different conceptualisation and raise new questions;
- offer insights into how differences across race, class and gender are being reconfigured through migration.

These objectives are achieved through eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2, 'Gendered Migrations and Global Processes', reviews the growing interest in gendered migrations in the past three decades. In particular, we interrogate the key binaries through which global migration has been viewed, namely North and South, internal and international and labour and family migrations. These dichotomies are more complex, heterogeneous and articulated than had

previously been recognised. International migration studies tended to direct their attention to flows from the Global South to the North, marginalising the considerable flows within the South and the increasing differentiation within the South. The role of middle-income countries in the South acting as nodes of immigration whilst also sending migrants to the Global North has been acknowledged (Kofman and Raghuram 2012).

In terms of the international/internal binary, in the 1970s and even through much of the 1980s, a number of parallel debates such as that on domestic labour, internal migration in the Third World and the New International Division of Labour (Mies 1986) populated feminist debates but in very different ways than at present. Internal migrants found employment in the factories that produced goods for the First World, so that the First World came to be cast as a site of consumption and the Third World as that of production. Internally migrant women in the Third World were also seen as essential providers of reproductive work in urban areas. However, although the patriarchal division of unpaid household work exercised many First World feminists, it was now considered an obsolete occupation. Thus, it is through the narratives of production that women entered the globalisation literature. At the same time there was a parallel literature that discussed women's increasing presence in international migration to the First World. Authors such as Morokvasic (1984) argued that women who were mainly moving internationally as part of family migration also contributed to the productive sphere – through home-working, unpaid labour in household enterprises and in factory work. Most feminist interventions at the time then appeared to focus on making a space for the productive role of migrant women.

In the 1990s the pace of migration increased, alongside a rapid feminisation of labour migration, which led many mainstream authors to pay serious attention to the gendered nature of migration. Castles and Miller (1993) in the first edition of their book, for instance, recognised the increasing empirical significance of female labour migration, but they did not, however, conceptualise this movement as part of the globalisation narrative. The structural relationships, which shape these migrations, were not really explored. By the mid-1990s feminist migration scholars turned their attention to the significant and growing presence of female migrants in sustaining households in countries of destination through their reproductive labour, and in the sending countries through their remittances (Sorensen 2005). Southern Europe, the Middle East, East Asia and the USA were some of the sites where

these movements were most commonly analysed. Lack of attention to gendered migrations and the presence of men in social reproduction both as workers and as family members thus still need to be addressed. Moreover, as this volume argues, labour and family migrations both contribute to social reproduction and interact with each other and also deserve attention.

In Chapter 3, 'Conceptualising Reproductive Labour Globally', we turn to the dominant conceptualisations for theorising the shifts described in the previous chapter and in particular how reproductive labour figures in these debates. We trace the fluctuating fortunes of the concept of (social) reproduction since the 1970s, when it was closely associated with feminist Marxist approaches, and compare it with the notion of care which in the past 15 years or so has come to dominate the analysis of global gendered migrations. Both concepts have been deployed in understanding the global transfer of reproductive labour. In particular, global care chains (Hochschild 2000) highlighting the two ends – transnationalisation of the household and the redistribution of care within the household – have been widely used around the world to understand gendered migration. However we argue that care, though combining the material and the emotional aspects of reproductive labour, is only one element of the diverse resources required for the maintenance of individuals and their families. Most importantly, the desire to overcome unsatisfactory conditions of social reproduction in the current conditions of global capitalism through mobility is a key cause of migration, as is the failure of social reproduction due to strained gender relations within the family prior to migration. Hence, gender inequalities in people's ability to ensure social reproduction can be a driver of migration. Furthermore, social reproduction concerns not just those filling the deficits of care labour in less-skilled and skilled sectors but also those migrating for work in a range of other sectors, as well as other categories such as asylum seekers and refugees who must also ensure the reproduction of themselves and their families, hence the need for an expanded notion of reproduction.

In Chapter 4, 'Sites of Reproduction, Welfare Regimes and Migrants: unpacking the household', we seek to unpack the household as a central category around which much of the existing literature on global migrant women is based (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). The chapter argues for expanding current research on migrant labour within households to include the many forms that such work can take. There are enormous conceptual and statistical problems in identifying household services. Cancedda (2001) defines household services as

those services provided by public or private organisations, or by the third sector, which substitute paid work (in the form of a job or self-employment) for work which was formerly performed unwaged within the household. This covers all services inside and outside the home of the user, as long as they maintain and support members of a private household, including five functions – childcare, care of the elderly, domestic cleaning, catering and domestic maintenance and gardening.

This definition allows for the externalisation of functions as institutional arrangements have shifted between family, market, voluntary sector and the state, that is, the nodes through which reproductive labour occurs and welfare is provided. In contrast the restricted conceptualisation of household services as those services undertaken in the home, and with an emphasis on domestic live-in labour, does not allow one to pick up clearly the interaction between internal and external processes or the different households arrangements.

The expansive notion of household services, which we follow in our analysis, helps to trace changing institutional arrangements and interrogate how neo-liberalism and the reconfiguration of welfare plays out differently in different welfare regimes – social democratic, corporatist, liberal, familial (Daly 2001; Folbre 2001). Most of the conceptual and empirical work on migrant labour within households is drawn from the situation in liberal and familial welfare regimes such as Southern Europe, Asia and the USA. We examine the existing patterns and the new directions taken as marketisation and commodification of care services progress (commercialisation, remuneration of household work, direct payments) and the form and intensity of these developments as they vary between states and welfare systems. Much of the literature on migrants' contributions to this kind of labour has been analysed as occurring within the household. However, the reproduction of the family does not necessarily take place within the confines of the home. The commodification of services may result in familial reproduction occurring outside the home in nurseries and residential homes for the elderly, to name a few of the sites (Cancedda 2001), but this has not really been taken up in the literature (Kofman 2010). Migration has led to the transnationalisation of many families (Baldassar 2007; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). In particular, the concept of the global household (Douglass 2006) enables us to bring together the dynamic processes of social reproduction both through the incorporation of paid reproductive labour as well as outgoing

movements of its different members at different stages of their life course.

In Chapter 5, 'Skills and Social Reproductive Work', we outline some of the ways in which existing theorisations of feminist migrant labour need to be expanded if we are to get a better understanding of migrant women's roles in global processes. The literature on migrant contributions to social reproduction has been restricted to a limited number of sectors and sites. In this chapter we suggest that female migrants contribute to a much broader range of skills, primarily in the professionally and state-regulated skilled sectors, than is often acknowledged (Kofman and Raghuram 2005, 2006; Raghuram and Kofman 2004). Skilled migration has become increasingly significant in many societies of immigration (Australia and Canada) and in a number of European states. We focus on the case of nurses and of teachers whose mobility is crucial to social reproduction both in countries of origin and of destination. We also argue for an expansion of the notion of skills (Williams 2005) to include the linguistic and communication skills that are put to use by migrant women in order to provide social reproduction for their own families and communities. As feminised or non-calibrated skills, they are seen as essential aspects of femininity and are often undervalued, although receiving societies are increasingly dependent on such migrants for other parts of their social agenda, such as social cohesion and 'integration' programmes. Migrant women as mediators (Kofman et al. 2000) and in migrant organisations facilitate the formalised delivery of such programmes while simultaneously undertaking these functions in their familial roles as unpaid family members. In the broader consideration of social reproduction (Glenn 1992), these activities are taken into account as part of the maintenance of migrant populations.

Women and men are also differentially responsible for parenting and for the social reproduction of the next generation, not only through transnational efforts but also when they bring their children with them. Migrant parenting is therefore a key part of social reproduction. Yet, many of these forms of social reproduction are routinely ignored or are treated differently from that undertaken in the most researched areas such as domestic work and care. Thus, in this chapter we aim to expand the skills and sectors that are taken into account when theorising migrant women's contribution to social reproduction.

In Chapter 6, 'Immigration Regulations and Social Reproduction', we highlight the dominant and neo-liberal narratives of globalisation which tend to marginalise the state and state-enabled welfare provision. However, as is clear from previous chapters, the state plays a crucial role

in sending and receiving countries in producing supply and demand for social reproduction labour markets. Immigration regulations act as a filter, encouraging certain kinds of migrants and those from particular regions as states position themselves in narratives of globalisation (Morokvasic 2004). For instance, the United Kingdom as a regional player privileges certain migratory movements by offering migrants from the EEA privileged access to jobs. This supra-state (EU, NAFTA) organisation of socially reproductive labour is becoming increasingly common, especially for the lower paid lesser-skilled labour. In many countries, and especially in Europe, care work in the domestic sphere for purposes of immigration is either not recognised or only partially so. In other countries, such as Canada (Live-in Care-Givers Program) and in Asia, the conditions of residence and employment are severely constrained. Hence, regional arrangements and invisibilisation help to obscure or reduce immigrants' contributions to care work.

At the same time many states (established states of immigration, Europe) are offering rights of entry and residence for knowledge workers, in order to secure themselves a place within a globalising knowledge economy. States also accommodate domestic political agendas and reassert national identity through their immigration regulations. Regulating family migration also affects how social reproduction of the family will be played out across receiving and sending locales. However, the role of immigration regulations in shaping migration (Harzig 2003), and particularly migrant women's socially reproductive labour in receiving states, is yet to be fully explored. So too are recruitment practices by states, professional organisations and agencies or merchants of labour (Kuptsch 2006) of great significance in the shaping of gendered migrations (Mahler and Pessar 2006).

There is much more recognition of these issues within sending states where a large number of women are leaving. For instance, the gendered imaginaries and how they play out in female migration has been critically analysed in the case of the Philippines (Ogaya 2004). This chapter attempts to bring together insights from the literature pertaining to sending countries and receiving countries. Moreover, it recognises that countries may be both sending and receiving migrants simultaneously or may act as areas of transit for migrants. The chapter argues for the recognition of the state as a significant mediator between migrants, labour markets and immigration regulations as the state shapes the sectors, sites and skills through which social reproduction is played out.

Chapter 7, 'Migration, Social Reproduction and Inequality', suggests that the implications of widening the remit of social reproduction are that we begin to see the diversity and stratification of contemporary

global gendered migrations. There has been a renewed interest in class (Crompton et al. 2000; Skeggs 1997, 2004) but as yet little systematic analysis of how class plays itself out transnationally amongst migrants more generally (Weiss 2005) and female migrants specifically.

A wider analysis of female migration throws up a number of questions around the relationship between gender and class. To what extent and for whom is cultural capital transferable? What kinds of skills are more easily transferable and what institutional arrangements facilitate or prevent the transfer of cultural and social capital? It appears that it is largely in the less state-regulated male professions, such as IT, where knowledge is most easily transferred across borders. And these skills, as well as those in finance and management, are seen as the driving forces of the global knowledge economy (Castells 1996; Kofman 2004). Yet clearly reproduction is also central to globalising economies.

The chapter also raises questions such as how is it that some women come to occupy certain positions within the spectrum of social reproduction rather than others? How do issues of race and class come to configure the differential positionings within the landscape of gendered migrations? Stratification also plays out in the globalisation of household labour, resulting in a complex hierarchy of gendered and racialised identities (Andall 2003) and highlighting experiences of contradictory class mobility (Morokvasic 2004; Parreñas 2001). How does the movement of classed and gendered individuals reshape social formations in sending countries, for example through remittances (Kofman 2006a; Kunz 2008; Ramirez et al. 2005; Sorensen 2005)? In addressing these questions the chapter also links with previous chapters on valuation and devaluation of skills as they are translated into immigration and settlement policies and the immigration/integration nexus.

The final chapter, 'The Value of Reproduction', sets out some of the theoretical and policy implications of a wider perspective on social reproduction and recognition of gendered labour within socially reproductive labour markets. It argues for the need to theorise diversity amongst female migrants and to explore some of the implications of the different outcomes that different migrants face.

The book as a whole suggests that the issues surrounding gendered migrations are complex and provide fertile ground for rethinking global processes, especially those relating to social reproduction. The concepts of care and social reproduction have injected a number of new theoretical directions to research on gendered migration. A range of empirical and policy studies have also attempted to outline the contours of these processes and the policy issues they raise. Yet there has still been little

attempt to pull these together in order to fully interrogate what these studies imply for thinking through globalisation processes. This volume offers an important step towards this.

Before we end this chapter it is also necessary to situate this study and thus to outline areas which the volume is unable to cover adequately. For instance, refugees and asylum-seekers play an important role in social reproduction: their movement is often triggered by a crisis in social reproduction within the sending contexts; they may work in the labour market in socially reproductive sectors and are also facing issues around the social reproduction of their families post-migration. This poor coverage is in part due to the lack of information on these aspects. Students are also a growing part of overall mobility. Some occupy hybrid statuses as student-workers. In seeking to enhance their human capital they may be involved in improving the opportunities for social reproduction of their families; bringing spouses and children with them or forming families post-migration, as students are primarily of an age and at a life-stage of changing family forms (marriage, birth of children). However, the issues facing these two groups are at the same time distinctive and, as they could not be dealt with adequately within the space constraints of this volume, they have largely been excluded from the discussion.

Although the volume aims to cover gender issues more generally, the focus is significantly on female migrants. Theorisations and modelling of migration have often assumed a normative male migrant, so that there has been a wealth of literature exploring how women alter and complicate existing male-based theories. Unfortunately, this has meant that there is much less work on men and migration per se. Moreover, men's roles in the socially reproductive sectors of the labour market are somewhat more limited than those of women.

Due to restrictions of space our writing has emphasised the situation in receiving states in the Global North and on insights gleaned from English language publications. Our access to literature written within the Global South, and which has a smaller circulation, is limited. We have, however, aimed to include the relationships between the Global South and North as far as possible. A more multi-centred analysis of the intersection of gender and global social reproduction is, however, required in the future.

2
Gendered Migrations and Global Processes

The growing interest in gendered migrations within a global system tended to focus on movements from the Global South to the Global North (Castles and Miller 1993; Morokvasic 1984; Phizacklea 1983). As migration came to be incorporated into analyses of globalisation and a significant dimension of Northern societies, so it increasingly connoted the international, thus instituting a clear demarcation between internal and international migrations and a corresponding division amongst the researchers who studied them. So too did a divide crystallise between those studying receiving and sending countries. The corollary of these divisions has meant that the multiplicity of migrations in the South was not seen as being shaped by and shaping an evolving globalisation.

Recently, however, more attention has been paid to the different pathways connecting North and South, and especially the significance of South–South flows. The exact proportion of migrants varies in each pathway according to the definitions of North and South (IOM 2013). Although migration from South to North represents the largest flow, South–South movement too is substantial and is likely to be significantly underestimated (Hujo and Piper 2010). So while over the past few years, many of the 'classic states of immigration' have implemented increasingly restrictive measures against less-skilled migrants, new trading links and geopolitical realities within the South have spearheaded rising levels of migratory exchanges, as is the case between China and Africa (Bodomo 2009; Mohan and Tan-Mullins 2009; Politzer 2008). Regional blocs such as Mercosur in Latin America and ECOWAS in Africa have also emerged in the South. In addition, two other flows (North–North and North–South), though smaller, are nonetheless significant in regional and global migrations (Armbruster 2008; Laczko and Brian

2013; Lundström 2014). As crisis and austerity in a number of Northern countries have generated high levels of unemployment, especially amongst youth, flows from the North to the South, often to former colonies (IOM 2013), have become noticeable, as has return migration from the North to the South (Kveder et al. 2013 Ray 2013) and within the Global South. Most of these movements are not new (Bueno 1996; Pieke 2012; Zachariah and Rajan 2011) but have received renewed impetus as the global economy alters. There is also considerable intra-Northern migration, especially in the traditional states of immigration (Australia, Canada and the USA)[1] which have maintained high levels of permanent and growing temporary migration. In addition within the North, flows from poorer to wealthier countries (Southern and Eastern to Northern Europe) have occurred, especially where free movement exists, as in the European Union (EU, Glorius et al. 2013) while retirement migration to Southern Europe continues to flourish (Gustafson 2008; King et al. 2000).

Achieving a fuller understanding of the heterogeneity of both the Global North and the Global South and the prevailing binaries (Davids and van Driel 2009) that orient the study of migration is a necessary step in mapping the incorporation of migrant women and changing gender relations into a dynamic global system (Guild and Mantu 2011). In the first section of this chapter we therefore highlight the complexity of the global migratory system, including the significance of the South, and seek to unsettle and transcend some of the key binaries (North/South; internal/international; labour/family) prevalent in analyses of migration. We then outline the patterns of gendered migrations and examine the implications of the existing binaries for a fresh conceptualisation of gendered migrations.

2.1 Global migrations, heterogeneity and key binaries

Through the 1990s, the vast literature on globalisation (Beck 2006; Lechner and Bolli 2008) largely tended to adopt a view from a particular place and standpoint (i.e. from the North). While the discourse of globalisation has helped to weaken the emphasis on the state level (Castles 2010), it has not eroded either the overwhelming focus on the effects of migration and settlement in states in the Global North or adequately brought to the fore a perspective from the South. However, a decentring away from the epicentre of Western understandings of globalisation and the recognition that other perspectives may offer fresh and challenging questions (Mittelman 2005), have been pursued in critical and feminist

accounts (Davids and Driel 2009; Kofman and Youngs 2008; Marchand and Runyan 2010) that have incorporated gender.

As Munck comments (2008: 1228):

> what is a global issue is invariably studied from the perspective of the receiving countries, with little or no understanding of the political economy of development which caused the migratory flows in the first instance. The dominant paradigm thus studies migration in a somewhat decontextualised manner, with a sometimes heavy tinge of ethnocentrism as well as methodological nationalism.

Furthermore, neatly dividing the Global North and the Global South and treating the South[2] as a relatively homogeneous space have become increasingly problematic as the dynamic of globalisation has reordered hierarchical positions between states and the global system. Neo-liberalism, structural adjustment programmes, internal reforms and new geopolitical scenarios have stimulated and generated different kinds of migrations and have in turn led to a significant repositioning of some states within the global system.

In an analysis of migration and global systems, Castles (2003) outlined a five tier location of states where tiers one and two would qualify as the Global North with tiers three to five as the Global South. According to him the more highly placed states within the proposed tier system, such as the USA (tier 1) followed by Canada, Australia, and wealthier EU states and Japan (tier 2) are likely to attract the greatest number of migrants while its own citizens are more likely to benefit from global mobility unlike those from the South.

Tier three consists of the new accession countries in the EU and the so-called 'Newly Industrialising Countries' in Asia and Latin America. The latter include a number of new and older middle-income countries which have acted as poles of attraction for migrants and are playing a pivotal role in reshaping global patterns. Some, such as China and India, are deemed to be emerging superpowers, and supply the largest number of permanent and temporary migrants to the USA and Canada (Li and Lo 2012). They are also prominent in sending students to higher tier countries as well as increasingly attracting students (Hugo 2008). For Castles, tier four consists of the less developed countries, and at the bottom in tier five, are countries torn apart by long-term conflicts and facing declining economies.

Within these latter tiers, migratory patterns are highly diverse and although most research on this tier has focused on migratory states,

such as Mexico and the Philippines with long histories of migration, diasporic populations and a high percentage of the adult population working abroad. In some cases such as Nigeria, a country may send migrants to the North, to wealthier African countries in the South and at the same time serve as a destination country (de Haas 2008). Migrations may be directed towards the North and/or to neighbouring countries in the South, as is the case of many of the poorest countries in Africa, such as Burkina Faso and Mozambique (Adepoju et al. 2008).

While this systematisation of countries into tiers offers some explanation for the patterns of migration, the dynamicity of these countries and the internal variations within them demand that we also transcend some of the conceptual boundaries that underpin this tiering and consider the different scales and the changing hierarchy of states across the North–South divide, especially in the past two decades, when patterns of migration (countries of origin, types of migration, duration of residence) have become increasingly diversified. Flows have increased from the Global South (low- and middle-income countries) to the North (high-income countries) and from East to West as people moved to wealthier economies to improve their economic chances and social location in a globally dynamic and stratified geography (Mahler and Pessar 2001, 2006; Massey 1994). There has also been a growth in migration both amongst those with low skills and with high skills, family migrants and students. However, as we shall discuss more fully in the final section in this chapter, these categories are not fixed but fluid; states may allocate different categories over time and migrants shift between categories in the course of migration.

Most of the increase in the number of migrants (33 out of 36 million) from 1990 to 2005 has been in the North although this does not reflect the intensity of circulation and turnover of temporary migrants and informality which may well be higher in the South. And although most attention by academics and policymakers is paid to migratory flows from the South to the North,[3] flows within the South are in effect large and economically significant. Depending on the definition of North and South (Bakewell 2009), between 35–45 per cent of flows are from South to North (IOM 2013). Migrants from the South are as likely to migrate to other countries of the South as to the countries of the North. Only about two in five migrants from the South reside in the high-income countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Some 20 million (or 13 per cent) are estimated to reside in high-income countries outside the OECD – among them Hong Kong (China), Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates.

South–South migration is at least as great as South–North migration in three of the six regions of the South. It is estimated to account for half of all outward migration from South Asia and 69 per cent from Sub-Saharan Africa. South–South migration is also overwhelmingly intraregional. The share of migration to other regions in the South is likely to be negligible in all regions except in South Asia. Yet even here, intraregional migration is estimated to be at least three times more common than migration to other regions of the South. Regional wage differentials have led some countries to become both origin and destination countries (e.g. Mexico and Turkey), while others, such as Argentina and Venezuela in South America, Jordan in the Middle East, Malaysia and Thailand in Asia, the Russian Federation and parts of Eastern Europe, have become 'migration poles'.

It is further estimated that more than two-thirds of South–South migrants from low-income countries are in other low-income countries, as is the case in Africa. Migration between areas of similar income levels can help families diversify income sources and thus reduce risk (Ratha and Shaw 2007: 19). Historically migration has taken many forms encompassing the international, intra-regional, and the internal, which includes urban to urban, counter-urbanisation and rural to urban. All of these flows have contributed to creating a more connected and globalised world (see the following section). Some flows have been more significant in one era than another but all need to be taken into account for one form may act as a precursor to, and engender, another. These flows may occur simultaneously or partially overlap, implicating different strata of the population in the diverse scales and durations of migrations. Which form and duration (permanent, temporary, circular) will prevail, vary in different societies and depend on the regulations governing internal, intra-regional and international migrations. Although international migration tends to impose the greatest restrictions, especially on the less skilled, some states, such as China, have not yet dismantled residence permits (*hukou*) that effectively constrict movement, especially for rural populations and the less skilled (Fang 2010).

In many countries of the South, high levels of both internal and international migrations occur (King et al. 2008). In particular, in former colonial societies, such as Argentina and South Africa, large-scale migrations from Europe, regional systems of migration with neighbouring countries, and internal rural–urban migrations coexisted in the 20th century (Dodson 2008). In South Africa under the apartheid regime, male migration was severely regulated but many women found employment in domestic service or in other forms of informal activities

(Dodson 2007: 138–139). Political repression and transition, such as apartheid and post-apartheid in South Africa and the dictatorship and severe economic crisis in Argentina also led to emigration, especially of skilled migrants.

Globally, internal migration is far more significant than international migration, much of it accounted for by urbanisation. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America rural–urban migration comprises 40 per cent of urban growth (Deshingkar 2005; Skeldon 2006). Indeed China's internal movements constitute the largest movements in world history (Taha et al. 2013). Though the urban population has grown rapidly in the past 20 years in China, it still only constitutes about 44 per cent of the total; temporary migration to the city is far greater than permanent migration so that rural–urban links remain very strong. In some cases, migrants move internally before emigrating; in other cases they move to fill the vacuum left by international migrants.[4] For some, migration may involve a number of stages to locations offering better conditions, but which may require more resources, for example domestic workers or nurses moving initially within South-East Asia or to the Middle East before embarking on North America, Australia or Europe. Other migrants may combine movements in no specific order. And members of the same family may have participated in different kinds of migration either simultaneously or at different times, as King et al. (2008) highlight in relation to the multiple moves made by Albanian migrants within the country, to Greece and Italy, and, since 1990, further afield to the USA.

The propensity of different members of the family to migrate according to gender, age and household organisation may vary in relation to different types of migration. Though these variables are significant they are often neglected (de Wind and Holdaway 2008) or used descriptively (King et al. 2008). An exception is a study of internal and international migration in Oaxaca (Mexico) (Cohen et al. 2008) where internal migration displayed a more balanced gender ratio than the heavily male-dominated international migration.[5] Ethnographic research found profound gender differences in both types of migrations in terms of the ideologies held by communities and by migrants concerning the role of women and men in the migratory process, the assistance they receive in migrating and the opportunities available to them. Thus Oaxacan migrant households allocated family members between the province of Baja California in northern Mexico and California in response to different work and wage structures. Hence many families contained both internal and external migrants (Lozano-Ascencio et al. 1999).

Different forms of migration raise similar issues about outcomes in terms of inequalities, changing gender and generational relationships in different sites (home, work and community), children left behind, remittances and impact on the local community. Nevertheless processes and outcomes may differ in degree and intensity. Remittances for an individual may be substantially higher from international migration, especially from a low- to a higher-income country. Yet the total amount sent back can be greater from internal migration and may result in more regular exchanges between migrants and non-migrants where the rural dweller supplies products for the urban migrant. Since 2001 heightened security and restrictive immigration regulations have made it more difficult for migrants to return and they have often therefore extended their length of stay in the destination country (Cohen et al. 2008).

Yet we know little about how different kinds of migration interact with each other and the effect each has on the other in economic, social and cultural terms. Migration studies generally tend to compartmentalise the different scales (Skeldon 2006), thus maintaining the binary between internal and international migration (King and Skeldon 2010). In the past few years, attempts have been made to unpick what has increasingly been recognised as this unhelpful binary and to suggest ways in which we could reconceptualise the relationship between international and internal migration (de Wind and Holdaway 2008; King et al. 2008; Piper 2008b).

The emergence of regional blocs in the North and the South adds another dimension of mobility and governance to the complexity of contemporary patterns and processes of globalisation which need to be incorporated into our analysis of patterns and outcomes of migration. To varying degrees in the new regional blocs (EU, NAFTA, ECOWAS and MERCOSUR), migration has been facilitated and encouraged through rights of residence, employment and social protection (Margheritis 2012; Pécoud and de Guchteneire 2007).

Yet despite these complex patterns, global migrations have been constructed through a prism which views flows as primarily moving from South to North and current internal migrations as largely limited to the South. Furthermore, internal migration in the Global North is consigned to the past and disconnected from the development of global migrations in the post-war period. Such simplifications have also meant that there is no continuity in our understanding of evolving forms of globalisation, for example from the new international division of labour approach in the 1980s to the present forms of globalisation of complex interactions operating at different scales between and within the South and

the North. In the next section we outline broad patterns of gendered migrations before suggesting how we might inject greater heterogeneity and a complex understanding of gendered migrations.

2.2   Patterns of gendered migrations

As we have noted in Chapter 1, from the mid-1970s and especially the 1980s, feminist research began to examine international migrant women's growing visibility in the labour market and their use of services and public spaces (Morokvasic 1984; Phizacklea 1983; Taravella 1984). However, quantitative evidence on the changing percentage of female migrants only become available in 1998 when the United Nations Population Division made available information on the division by sex of migrants from 1965 to 1990 (Zlotnik 2003).

The proportion of female migrants had risen from 46.6 per cent in 1960 to 48.8 per cent in 2000 (see Table 2.1). Though the figures for stocks of migrants by sex are frequently cited to support the thesis of the feminisation of migration (Castles and Miller 1993), the overall percentage only demonstrates a small increase over the past few decades and needs to be treated with caution. Firstly, it is made up of different types of migrants (labour, family, refugees, students) so that the overall percentage does not indicate the changes in specific categories. For example, an initial growth in the number of independent

Table 2.1   Percentage of female migrants among total number of migrants by major area, 1960–2000

Major Area	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
World	46.5	47.2	47.4	47.9	48.8
More developed	47.9	48.2	49.2	50.8	50.9
Less developed	45.7	46.3	45.5	44.7	45.7
Europe	48.5	48.0	48.5	51.7	52.4
North America	49.8	51.1	52.6	51.0	51.0
Oceania	44.4	46.5	47.9	49.1	50.5
North Africa	49.5	47.7	45.8	44.9	42.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	40.6	42.1	43.8	46.0	47.2
South Asia	46.3	46.9	45.9	44.4	44.4
East and South-East Asia	46.1	47.6	47.0	48.5	50.1
West Asia	45.2	46.6	47.2	47.9	48.3
Caribbean	45.3	46.1	46.5	47.7	48.9
Latin America	44.7	46.9	48.4	50.2	50.5

Source: Zlotnik 2003.

labour migrants may during a second period, in countries and regions where family migration is possible, lead to a decrease in the proportion of female migrants who are themselves bringing in male dependants, as has been demonstrated in the case of maturing flows in Italy and Spain. Secondly, these figures are likely to leave out the undocumented since they are based on official records and thus seriously under-estimate overall numbers of female migrants.

The average figure also reveals substantial variations between types of regions (Ghosh 2009). In part this stems from differences in immigration and settlement policies. The majority of countries of the North permit family reunification and, at least for the skilled, the movement of accompanying close family members. Thus the higher percentages of female migrants in the North today are due to a combination of labour shortages in female sectors, the right to family reunification, asylum-seekers and refugees and female students in higher education. Europe now has the highest percentage of female migrants of any region; it increased from 48.5 per cent in 1980 to 52.3 per cent in 2010 (UNDESA 2013).

In countries such as Canada and the USA, the number of female migrants has been roughly the same as males since the Second World War (Boyd and Pikkov 2008; Donato et al. 2011). As we shall see subsequently, migrant domestic labour and nurses have a long history of moving to the USA (Colen 1995; Foner 2009), Canada (Stasiulis and Bakan 2003; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995) and Europe (Kofman et al. 2000). However, in the past the presence of female migrants in domestic labour had often been overshadowed by male migrants in the more publicly visible sectors such as mining or construction. Yet there were also mixed sectors. For example, women also found employment in agriculture in Canada under the bilateral Mexican Temporary Agricultural Job Program agreed in 1974 (Rojas Wiesner and Angles Cruz 2008: 206).

In contrast to Europe, the percentage of women migrants (45.5 per cent) in regions of the Global South on average did not rise between 1960 and 2000. However, the share of women in South–South migration and stocks by gender vary considerably by region and country. For instance, there has been a decline in the proportion of female migrants in Asia, in part because of their low proportions in Western Asia (Middle East and Gulf States) in the absence of family reunification and marriage migration (Ghosh 2009). The Gulf Cooperation countries have seen a steady decline since the 1960s and now have the lowest regional proportion of female migrants with 29 per cent in 2005 (IOM 2010) but this must be set in the context of the very high numbers of

overall migrants (male and female) in the region. Thus, West Asia hosted over 11 million female migrants in 2010 while the overall numbers (and proportion) of female migrants was relatively low in South Asia. However, South Asia, unlike West Asia is a major sender of female migrants (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012).

Latin America and Caribbean countries were, on the other hand, in the first region to have a majority of female migrants (Staab 2004). Here, historically, women's participation in agriculture was relatively low, but women had for a long time dominated rural–urban migration (Brydon and Chant 1989; Pessar 2005). In urban areas they found employment in services as domestic workers and essential providers of reproductive work and in factories in export-processing zones that produced goods for the First World (Sassen-Koob 1984). Through the 1980s, during a period of crisis and recession following Structural Adjustment Programmes, female rural–urban migration intensified and became more complex and heterogeneous (de los Reyes 2001). Compared to the earlier flows dominated by single women, the presence of married women became more common. Internal migration can be seen as complementary or a step to international migration (Martin 2004) and may involve similar issues of remittances and families left behind. In terms of intra-regional migration, female migrants had also been prominent (Cerruti 2009) to a greater extent than in crossings which involved high levels of risk as with the US border. Despite increasing emigration, especially to Europe, since the imposition of greater restrictions by the USA in 2001, intra-regional migration in South America remains dynamic (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Percentage of female migrants among total number of migrants by major area, 1990–2013 (UN revised figures)

Region	1990	2000	2010	2013
World	49.1	49.4	49	48
Developed	52	51.8	51.5	51.6
Less developed	45.9	46.1	45.3	43
Least developed	46.7	47.4	47.4	45.3
Africa	46.2	46.7	46.8	45.9
Asia	45.4	45.7	44.6	41.6
Europe	52.7	52.8	52.3	51.9
Latin America & Caribbean	49.7	50	50.1	51.6
North America	51.1	50.5	50.1	51.2
Oceania	49.1	50.2	51.2	50.2

Source: UNDESA 2013.

The driving force behind the overall increase in female labour migration in many parts of the world in the past two decades has been the significant growth of domestic workers from 33.2 million in 1995 to 52.6 million in 2010, much of it undertaken by migrants or historically disadvantaged minorities (ILO 2013). 83 per cent of international migrant domestic workers are women and 17 per cent are men. The regions with the largest number of domestic workers are Asia, Latin America and Africa. In Asia, the number of domestic workers rose from 13.8 million to 21.5 million in the same period. There was extensive intra-regional migration as well as migration to other regions, especially the Middle East. The Philippines, a major exporter of female domestic workers (Asis 2006a, 2006b; Parreñas 2001) saw its outflow increase from 63,000 in 1995 to 96,500. Genderisation of migration typifies Asian migration, with men primarily entering construction and women entering domestic work (ILO 2013: 28). In the Philippines itself, there is also a significant and increasing presence of domestic workers (1.2 million in 2001 to 1.9 million in 2010) which, in part, may be due to the emigration of Filipinas.[6] In the Middle East, the numbers doubled from 1.1 million in 1995 to 2.1 million in 2010 and, unlike in other regions, about a third are male. The proportion is even higher in Saudi Arabia where women are not allowed to drive and hence male drivers, who are categorised as domestic workers, are common (ILO 2013).

Latin America's sharp income inequality has also led to a high level of employment of domestic workers (11.9 per cent of all waged employment) with labour migration often stemming from neighbouring countries. Argentina is the main pole for migration in this sector. An exception to the use of international migrant labour for domestic work is Mexico where this work is mainly carried out by women of indigenous origin. In Africa, domestic work is most common in Southern Africa with the main country being South Africa where 91 per cent of domestic work is undertaken by black Africans.

In Europe, the contribution of migrant women varies substantially. In Southern Europe, care is shouldered by the family (see Chapter 4) and is heavily dependent on migrant women (around 80 per cent of this sector). In Italy, between 1995 and 2010 the number of domestic workers increased from 200,000 to 419,000 and in Spain from 555,000 to 747,000 (ILO 2013). In Spain almost 80 per cent are migrants. Elsewhere, the number of domestic workers is much lower and, though migrants may be over-represented in the sector, they are not the majority (see for instance Condon et al. 2013 for France). The USA presents an interesting case of a decrease in numbers of domestic workers during the crisis (667,000 in 2010) with a high share of employment being

undertaken by Hispanics/Latinos (39.3 per cent) and African Americans (8.7 per cent) (ILO 2013: 38).

Apart from the demand for domestic work, an explanation of changing patterns of gendered emigration also has to take into account whether societal and community norms prevent or facilitate the migration of women. For example, while some countries encourage emigration, such as the Philippines, Indonesia and, until 2009, Sri Lanka, a number of countries such as Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Libya, Pakistan, Sudan, Uganda, and Swaziland, have or had put in place policies to discourage or forbid women from emigrating (McKenzie 2005; Battistella 2003 and Chapter 6). Where a country impedes the migration of less-skilled female migration, this may lead to a large number of undocumented migrants, not accounted for in official statistics. The lack of a pathway from short-term temporary contracts to a more settled status may also result in migrant women becoming undocumented in order to continue their employment (see Chapter 6).

Sex work, like domestic work, has increasingly involved international migration on an expanded scale in addition to that of internal migration (Enloe 1989). This has been due to geopolitical changes, crises of reproduction arising from a rapid shift to a market economy since the 1990s, structural adjustment, and the expansion of tourism for the sexual consumption of the exotic. The very rapid dismantling of publicly funded social reproduction led to large-scale emigration from Eastern European countries and especially the former Soviet Union to Asia (Joon and Fu 2008), Southern and Western Europe (UK Network of Sex Work 2008) and Turkey (Gülçür and İlkkaracan 2002). Whilst a very high proportion of immigrants are undocumented even if sex work is legal (see Chapter 6), many enter with artist or tourist visas and overstay.

Of course sex work consists of diverse activities, such as erotic dance and stripping, phone sex, and pornography, as well as selling sexual services in different sites (streets, brothels, massage parlours, the home). Migrants do not necessarily enter with the aim of engaging in sex work. A New Zealand study (Tan 2013) found that 57 per cent of foreign sex-workers in Auckland were on student, work or visitor visas; 26 per cent had come 'to study'. They engage in sex work for a variety of reasons, such as an inability to obtain work in their own country and once in the country may end up working in the sex industry because it pays better than other employment, affords a better standard of living (for the United Kingdom see Mai 2009) or enables them to send more money home to support their families. Some may use sex work to supplement other income, for example from domestic work or petty trading.

In Turkey for example, many migrant sex-workers went back and forth with goods for sale and supplemented these earnings from sex work (Gülçür and İlkaracan 2002). For others unable to find work, as with migrant women from North China in France (Lévy and Lieber 2013)[7] or asylum-seekers (UK Network of Sex Work 2008), who are barred from working, engaging in sex work is the only way of not falling into destitution. As we shall see in Chapter 6 the simplistic equation of sex trafficking with sex work has had an impact on female mobility and forced some to work informally as undocumented workers (Parreñas 2011).

Others may work in sex tourism which largely involves men. Preferred locations include Cambodia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands (especially Amsterdam), Kenya, the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, especially Bali. Though much smaller in numbers, female sex tourists also exist with popular destinations being Brazil, Southern Europe, Turkey, the Caribbean (Jamaica, Barbados and the Dominican Republic). A small number of these relationships end up in marriage and the migration of the sex-worker to the country of the client (Brennan 2004).

Sexual services around military bases have also been a contentious issue, especially in the Global South. In the mid-1980s there were 3000 bases controlled by one country but situated in another. The USA alone had 1500 military installations across the globe, as the British had done in the days of the Empire (Enloe 1989: 66). For example, in 1985, the US had become the second largest employer in the Philippines, employing over 68,000 people. Deteriorating conditions in rural areas, for example declining sugar prices, drove more women to provide sexual services to US military so that there were an estimated 6000 to 9000 entertainers (higher when ships arrived) in the town near the Subic Naval Base, the largest military installation outside of the USA (Enloe 1989: 86–87). As in other countries in the South, tourism was used by the Marcos government (deposed in 1986) in the Philippines as an instrument of development.

In the next section we turn to the implications of the binaries outlined in section 2.1 and how we might transcend them in our conceptualisation of gendered migrations.

2.3   Transcending the binaries of gendered migrations

The idea that women principally tended to migrate short distances and men pioneered long distances can be traced back to Ravenstein's (1885)

analysis of 19th century migrations (Lutz 2010). However, at this time women had migrated long and short distances in search of work and better opportunities within nation-states and across state boundaries as in Europe and South America.[8] They had also crossed the oceans to settler societies (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995). Female migration, particularly of single domestic servants continued into the 20th century until after World War 1. From the 1930s, female migrants constituted the majority in the USA (Houston et al. 1984). Irish female migration, for example, had a singularly high proportion of single women, who often moved directly to urban societies (Delaney 2001).

During the post-war years, and at a time of economic expansion, settler societies sought to attract migrants for labour purposes and to increase their populations. Many women migrated as dependants but by the 1960s women were being recruited to fill less-skilled jobs in textiles and food processing, as in New Zealand (Larner and Spoonley 1995). Others subsequently entered the labour force in response to the costs of immigration and resettlement, bringing out relatives and sending back remittances (Pettman 1996).

Both in settler societies and in European states, changes in immigration policies and labour market needs constituted a major stage in contemporary post-war economic and cultural globalisation and altered the gendered composition of migrants. In the USA and in Canada, immigration policies were opened up to non-European migrants at a time when demand for domestic labour in cities was increasing, and thus made it easier for women to obtain labour certification (Foner 2009). For example, the 1965 Act in the US abolished the old country quotas, opening up skilled migration and encouraging the immigration of family members.[9] While Filipino migration diversified, but initially remained largely male and more skilled (Gardiner Barber 2008: 1270), migrant women from the Caribbean overwhelmingly filled the labour contingent after the changes in immigration legislation in 1965 in the USA. In Canada, too, from the 1950s onwards, Caribbean women filled government-run domestic labour schemes until numbers dropped off in the 1970s to be replaced by Filipinas (Stasiulis and Bakan 2003). In both countries working women brought in male family members.

In Europe, too, women contributed to the growing migrant labour force, though, especially in guest-worker regimes such as Germany, they did not necessarily arrive as official labour migrants. Nonetheless German employers in the 1960s sought to recruit women for work in female-dominated sectors, such as garment production and electronics (Erdem and Mattes 2003). González-Ferrer (2007) provides evidence that

a number of migrant women moved with their husbands to Germany or that family reunification occurred soon after the migration of the first member of the household (50 per cent came within the first year of migration of the spouse). For employers, recruiting a spouse meant that they could avoid the onerous procedures for applying for a new migrant. So even where women migrated as family members, quite often they also participated in the paid labour force. Migrant lives were often depicted as those of men on their own, cut off from their families left behind (Berger and Mohr 1975). The model of single pioneering men and female dependants, outlined by Bohning (1984) for post-war European migrations did not capture the reality for some populations, and especially amongst women from the Caribbean, Ireland and Southern Europe (Kofman et al. 2000) who filled labour shortages in domestic labour, manufacturing, textiles and nursing.[10] These reinterpretations of earlier migratory flows should challenge the idea that women simply entered as family dependants of male members who had preceded them.

Another element of such rethinking is the role of internal migration during the period of rapid post-war growth. In the First World too, and especially in Europe, internal rural–urban migration and international migration were both significant in Western European states. Far more common were historical studies of gender differentiated migration from rural areas undertaken by historians (Moch 2003; Schrover and Yeo 2010; Sharpe 2001). Yet, amongst female migrants, internal and international migrants often supplied labour to similar sectors of domestic labour and industrial production. Reviews of regional European migrations within states (Champion and Fielding 1992) also fail to take account of gender flows and issues (Rees and Kupiszewski 1999). In Spain, large-scale rural–urban and inter-regional migration to the richer and more industrialised regions occurred from the 1950s to the early 1970s at the same time as it was exporting labour to more prosperous Northern European countries (Oso Casas 2005). The shift away from internal migrants from poorer regions in favour of international migrants to undertake domestic and caring tasks can be traced through changing personnel, as Angeles Escrivá (2004) brilliantly described for a Barcelona household from the 1980s onwards in terms of the increasing care needs of an elderly person.

The study of gender and internal migration within states in the North has generally been neglected (Boyle and Halfacree 1998). The lack of interest from social scientists in the gendered dimensions of internal migration in the post-war decades, was probably due in part to the fact that in the peak years of internal migration feminist analyses had not

yet been incorporated into academic studies. Neither internal nor international migration was considered a significant phenomenon by many feminist social scientists (Women and Geography Study Group 1984), while feminist interest in mobility tended to focus on movement within the urban environment (Little et al. 1988; Werkele 1984). A decade later, a study of the resurgence of paid domestic labour in the 1980s in servicing the middle classes in Britain discussed the role of female migrants from poorer regions (Gregson and Lowe 1994) but omitted any reference to international migrants.[11]

The little research on the gender dimension of internal migration and the increasing entry of women into the labour markets was the focus of research within the New Household Economy (Mincer 1978).[12] Although Mincer's writing has been critiqued for the explicit and implicit gendered knowledge it revealed (Schwenken and Eberhardt 2008), it nonetheless posed questions about the implications of women's increasing participation in the labour market and the extent to which their options were dictated by the needs of the higher earner, generally the man, in the household. This concern gave rise in subsequent years to the literature on the trailing spouse both within the nation-state (Bruegel 1999) and internationally (Hardill and McDonald 1998). Nonetheless this research has remained relatively little developed (Cooke 2013; and for women as lead migrants see Raghuram 2004a) and largely separate from discussions about international family migration (Kraler et al. 2011).

So by the time that gender preoccupations came to find a place in academic studies, especially in anthropology, geography and sociology in the 1980s (Donato et al. 2006; Schwenken and Eberhardt 2008), the heyday of the rural exodus had ended, especially in Europe. Rural–urban migrations were seen as belonging to a previous era in which peasants had been transformed into national, and above all, modern citizens. Modernity had thus been accomplished in the Global North and internal migration no longer connoted social transformation. It was migrants from Third World countries who had yet to discover modern gender relations following their movement to the First World. Thus the issues debated in studies of internal migration in the Third World formed part of a totally different theoretical, socio-temporal and spatial domain.

In contrast, the gendered dimension of internal migration in Third World countries in the 1960s and 1970s did receive some attention (Jelin 1976; Khoo et al. 1984; Orlansky and Dubrovsky 1978; Singh 1978), although often there has not been much gender disaggregated data (Deshingkar and Grimm 2005). The scope of this research varied

globally, although common foci included agricultural migration and the movement of women to work in the informal sectors of the labour market (Bunster and Chaney 1985; Kasturi 1978). However, even then there was some interest in 'granny fostering' in Africa and in Latin America where either the children or the grandparents moved in order to enable the care of the children while the parents worked (Brydon and Chant 1989; Izzard 1985), a theme which has become far more predominant in migration research more recently. The connections between the Third and First World[13] following the economic crisis in the early to mid-1970s exemplified a new stage of economic globalisation largely arising from the outsourcing of production from the North, reconfigurations of the global economy through the rise of oil rich economies in the Middle East and complemented by geopolitical shifts.

In fact significant female flows typified processes associated with the New International Division of Labour implemented in the 1970s as a key strategy of economic restructuring that had encouraged the internal migration of women to work in export production zones (electronics, garments, textiles), small-scale production of handicrafts, food processing and garments (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Heyzer 1982; Mies 1986). For Mies, patriarchy combined with capitalist accumulation in new forms of the international division of labour. The First World became the place of consumption of luxury goods increasingly produced by the nimble fingers of Third World women (Elson and Pearson 1981). As Sassen-Koob (1984) pointed out, the export processing zones employed large numbers of young expendable women in stressful jobs, often leading to a high turnover of employees. Many young women only spent on average three years in this employment (Cravey 1998)[14] before migrating to cities. With this experience and taste of migration and the difficulties of returning to their original communities, some then took the path to the USA. In this case, internal migration transformed and complemented international migration; both are part of the same process of the restructuring of global economy (Sassen-Koob 1984: 1145). There is considerable evidence for this sequencing of migration in studies of Mexican–US migration (Lozano-Ascencio et al. 1999), in the Caribbean and in some Asian countries (Skeldon 2006: 21).

Discussions on the export processing zones are still with us but their locations in some instances have shifted as wage levels in countries such as Malaysia have risen, thus displacing this work to Indonesia and Vietnam. Indeed as production moved increasingly to export processing zones in the South, interest in the role of migrant women in manufacturing in Northern cities largely waned. However as Roxana Ng (1999)

notes, the restructuring of the garment industry pushed its workers into sweatshops and homeworking.

Another major source of internal migration from the 1960s was, as previously noted, the expansion of military bases and sex tourism throughout the Asia Pacific Region. The Vietnam War brought large numbers of US troops to Vietnam and bases in nearby countries such as South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand. These and other countries were also developed as 'rest and recreation' centres for US troops. Young women from rural areas supplied many of the sex-workers in Bangkok (Enloe 1989: 36) and around bases.

Yet today the study of gender dynamics of internal migration in the South also only receives variable attention. In Asia, women are migrating independently of their husbands because of a combination of factors including growing relative poverty, increased demand for female labour in some services and industries, and greater need for female income which has led to social acceptance of women's economic independence and mobility (Deshingkar 2005). In China, half of all internal migrants are women (Zhu and Liu 2013). In India, 80 per cent are women, of whom many are migrating for marriage purposes (Gender Youth Migration Web Portal 2013). Research (Shanthi 2006) indicates that most of them are involved in work prior to and, even more so, after migration. Seasonal labour migration for agricultural purposes also continues to be significant in India as in many other parts of the world (Schenk-Sandbergen 1995).

In terms of non-labour flows, family migration (marriage and family members) is particularly significant in many countries. Whilst it is recognised that circuits of labour migration contribute to productive and reproductive activities, family and marriage migration also contribute to reproductive labour, and are frequently directly and indirectly linked with labour migration (see Chapter 3). The separation of labour and family migration (Kofman 2012) adds to the other binaries previously discussed. Historically in settler societies, family migration was encouraged as a means of expanding the biological reproduction of the country. In the USA, familial relationships became a central factor in entry criteria after 1965 (Foner 2009; Moch 2005: 97). In Canada, New Zealand and the USA family migrants comprise over 60 per cent of long-term migrants and in these countries, discretionary family members can also be sponsored (Kofman and Meetoo 2008: 157). Hence many migrants enter through family entry routes and then find a pathway to employment. The relationship between labour and family migration is diverse and connected in different ways in different regions.

As such the economic determinants of associated family migration (of women accompanying men and vice versa) and marriage migration are as important as social ones (Mahapatro 2010) so that social factors articulate with economic ones.

There is also increasing interest in marriage migration in both Asia and Europe (Beck-Gersheim 2011), although major differences occur between regions. In Europe conditions relating to family, and especially marriage, migration have become much more restrictive (see Chapter 6), whilst in Asia marriage migration has been on the increase (Williams 2010). Marriage can fulfil different purposes, ranging from achieving social mobility, escaping from deskilled employment, attaining a more respectable status, gaining independence from an extended family and community pressures, escaping from the gender order at home, and supporting families in their home country. On the other hand, marriage may be the outcome of labour or student migration, and benefit from a wider spousal pool, either within diasporic communities or with entirely new populations and places. As with labour migration, both internal and international migrations may be at play (Fan and Li 2002; Palriwala and Uberoi 2008).

In Asia, women[15] are the main participants in what Nicole Constable (2005) calls global or spatial hypergamy by which she means marrying up into a higher social-economic group where the higher level in this case involves a more prosperous social location (see earlier typology of a stratified global system) and not necessarily marrying men who are wealthier or more educated than they are. A few decades ago, marriage migration was much rarer in East Asia.[16] It grew rapidly in Japan in the 1980s, and then spread to Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, and is likely to spread to China. While marriage migrants can meet their spouses through tourism, work or even chance encounters, a large proportion are organised through commercial brokers (West 2014). Marriage migration has accounted for one-quarter of permanent migration in recent years in Japan, and one half of that in Korea. Indeed, in the mid-2000s, more than 6 per cent of Japanese marriages were between Japanese men and women from China or the Philippines, the main origin countries for migrant brides. In recent years, one in 12 Korean grooms married a woman from a poorer country, notably the Philippines or Vietnam. In Taiwan, one in eight marriages involved a Taiwanese man and a woman from a poorer country, like Indonesia, Vietnam or China. In Singapore, international marriages accounted for 30–40 per cent of the total number of marriages between 1999 and 2009.

Kawaguchi and Lee (2012) estimate that in Japan, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan, a college-educated woman is 50–200 per cent more likely to remain single than her counterpart with no tertiary degree. In 2005, one in every six women between the ages of 35 and 39 years, in both Japan and Taiwan, was single, as was one in ten Korean women between the ages of 30 and 44 years. Men with a low socio-economic status (farmer or lower-skilled job) are more likely to have an immigrant wife, rather than a native one, even though many immigrant wives have college degrees. Marriage migration is not mainly a rural phenomenon, although it has been promoted by some local governments concerned by rural exodus and depopulation. In Japan, most foreign brides are concentrated in Tokyo and other industrial metropolitan areas. Older divorced or widowed men, who have difficulty finding wives, are another group that has been marrying immigrants.

It is not, however, only the less skilled who seek to use marriage strategically to achieve individual and familial goals. Sending highly educated girls to marry those studying and working in the USA, especially those that are most able to obtain permanent residence, reinforces social capital and serves as a means of bringing in additional family members. Reinforcing social and cultural capital may also result from educational migration whereby mothers, in particular, accompany their children as school children (Chee 2003 and Chapter 5).

In contrast to Asia, there has been very little exploration in European studies of the articulation of labour and family migrations, either generally, or more specifically through the lens of reproductive labour and social reproduction (Kofman 2012). Much of the existing marriage migration literature focuses on transnational and intra-ethnic marriages of the main minority ethnic groups (Charsley et al. 2012; Van Kerckem et al. 2013). As in Asia, marriage with either a fellow co-ethnic with residence rights or with a citizen may be used strategically as a way of gaining legal status and the right to residence for the migrant, usually a woman, for example, in the case of Northern Chinese women in France (Lévy and Lieber 2013). This strategy has become more difficult because many countries, such as Canada and in Europe (European Migration Network 2012), have tightened their regulations for permitting marriages and issuing permanent residence permits between citizens and migrants in order to combat 'marriages of convenience'.

One reason for the poor articulation between family and labour migration is that theoretically and in policy terms, the rationalities of each form of migration are treated as distinctive (Kofman 2014a). Family migration is located in the social world and is in effect disconnected

from the economic realm. It is therefore not deemed to be necessary to probe into the employment or training of such migrants. Yet as Escrivá and Skinner (2006) highlight in their Spanish study, family migrants are above all concerned with the economic and the support of transnational and reconstituted families, either through paid work or unpaid care, that is reproductive labour.

Migration flows of course extend beyond those specifically classified as labour migration and/or contribute to social reproduction. Other forms of migratory flows, such as asylum-seekers, refugees, students and family migrants, or what Pastore (2010) calls functional equivalents, also contribute to the labour force. In Europe, women now constitute about one-third of all asylum-seekers (Gensen 2012). Asylum-seekers, though they are not allowed to work in the initial stages of the asylum process or find it difficult to obtain employment, may find work in the informal sector (domestic and sex work). Those with a residence status may seek work experience in community and voluntary organisations (Erel and Tomlinson 2005). International students often combine study and work to pay their fees and maintain themselves. Cangiano et al. (2009: 67) estimated very roughly that about 9 per cent of care-workers in the United Kingdom in 2007/2008 were students.

Schrover and Moloney (2013) focus on the main categories used by politicians, policymakers, journalists and researchers to classify migrants (postcolonial refugees and asylum-seekers, labour migrants and family migrants). They argue that these categories are not mutually exclusive; they are like communicating vessels. Yet migrants change categories and bureaucrats allocate them to different categories (p. 8). To say that that these classifications are treated and analysed as separate entities does not signify that their content or boundaries are immutable. Researchers generally adopt the categories developed by the state and its institutions which tend to use formal definitions as an element of their governmentality, that is, practices through which subjects are governed and through which groups are allocated different rights of entry, residence, settlement and belonging to the nation-state (Schrover and Moloney 2013: 9). These categories provide the basis for the production of official statistics and in turn shape research.

The association of female migrants with the family and the reproductive sphere has served to reinforce views of migration as an economic process and restricted to men's strategies of improving their livelihoods. Thus mainstream migration models embody gender knowledge in relation to the study of different forms of migration:

the different types of collective knowledge which exist in society about the differences between the sexes; the reasoning about its 'self evidence' and evidence, the dominant narrative about the 'correct' relations and divisions of labour between men and women.

<div align="right">(Dolling and Andresen 2005 translated Schwenken and Eberhardt 2008: 3)</div>

Migration models have been gender blind – that is, usually making implicit assumptions about gender roles and failing to address gender differences, and embracing explicit gender knowledge that relegate women to subordinate positions in migratory and settlement processes. The explicit elaborations may also ascribe gender differences to innate characteristics and not question their social construction and the ideologies underpinning differences between women and men. And while the overwhelming focus of research is on men, their gendered lives and masculinities have been mainly excluded (Willis and Yeoh 2000).

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have outlined the complexities and fluid boundaries of contemporary gendered migration. In particular we have interrogated the multiple binaries that continue to orient our understanding of gendered migrations and have highlighted the ways in which they actually interact. Internal migration may be the first step to the international, families may have different members who have participated in both kinds of migration which may also have similar outcomes, such as the sending back of remittances. We have also argued that all forms of migration, and not just labour migrations, may contribute to social reproduction. Family migration, especially marriage migration, is significant in the global transfer of reproductive labour through its contribution to the labour force, including the biological reproduction and socialisation of the next generation and the care of older people. It may also offer an alternative to working in low-paid sectors without the right to long-term residence.

In Chapter 3 we turn to a discussion of how social reproduction, which has evolved since the feminist debates of the 1970s, has in recent times been overshadowed by the analysis of global chains of care, and offers an insightful lens for the analysis of the global transfer of different forms of reproductive labour.

3
Conceptualising Reproductive Labour Globally

One of the primary reasons for female migration has been to provide socially reproductive work in the countries to which the women migrate – both as waged workers and as family members. However, this work has been done alongside undertaking similar tasks for those they leave behind. Social reproduction is, therefore, a crucial aspect of gendered global migration, influencing who migrates as well as migration outcomes and experiences. In this chapter we trace some of the existing debates around social reproduction and the closely allied term 'care' in order to identify the key trends in these discussions and some of the issues that still need investigating in this burgeoning literature. We begin by providing some contexts to these debates before outlining some of the implications of globalisation of social reproductive work and the role of migrants in this work.

The term 'social reproduction' has both narrower and more expansive definitions with regard to the activities, subjects and sites encompassed by it. Laslett and Brenner (1989) in a historical review of gender and social reproduction in the Global North applied the term 'social reproduction' to the production of people through various kinds of work – mental, manual and emotional – aimed at providing what is necessary to maintain existing life and to reproduce the next generation. It includes:

> how food, clothing and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, the ways in which the care and socialization of children are provided, the care of the infirm and the elderly, and the social organization of sexuality ... And the organization of social reproduction refers to the varying institutions within which this work is performed, the varying strategies for accomplishing these tasks, and the varying ideologies that both shape and are shaped by them. (p. 383)

Similarly, for Spike Peterson (2003: 79), writing from a feminist international political economy perspective, reproduction includes the material and symbolic processes to reproduce human beings over time (daily and generationally) within the family and the private sphere. These definitions suggest that social reproduction encompasses a broad range of activities both within and outside the household although in practice much of the emphasis for some of these authors has been on the role of social reproduction within the household.

Originally social reproduction referred to 'the process by which all the main production relations in the society are constantly recreated and perpetuated' (Mackintosh 1981: 12). Reproduction was defined more narrowly covering the reproduction of people and involving biological reproduction, that is giving birth to children, their care and socialisation and the maintenance of adults at different stages of their lives to fit into the structure of society, and ensure the continuation of that society into the next generation (Mackintosh 1981: 12). Hence, social reproduction was also a way of reproducing classes and class relations and we might add gender relations. Similarly, based on anthropological approaches, Gunilla Bjeren (1997: 227) distinguishes two processes, that of the reproduction of people as physical beings and the reproduction of social identities within given social and cultural contexts. These two dimensions invoke the reshaping of familial and kin forms, such as marriage, over time and space, which had been called human reproduction, thus reconfiguring social relationships globally between localities and states. By the end of the 1980s, the expansive conceptualisation of reproduction had come to be termed 'social reproduction' (Laslett and Brenner 1989).

Although social reproduction has become a key category for feminist theorisation and politics, some of the tasks understood within its ambit are increasingly discussed through the lens of care and the onus for it placed on families and households (Bakker 2007). Care has come to dominate academic and policy agendas for diverse reasons. The vibrant literature on feminist care ethics which kindled debates in the 1980s (Gilligan 1982; Noddings 1984); the continuing dominance of care as a concern in the context of ageing populations (Twigg 2000); radically altering responsibilities of the state for ensuring care (Williams 2001); and the role of women in providing this care (Folbre 2006) have led to a rich literature on gender and care.

Care also has a range of definitions. In its narrower form, it refers to a range of activities and relationships which promote the physical and emotional well-being of people 'who cannot or who are not inclined to

perform these activities themselves' (Yeates 2004: 371). The scope of the more expansive ethics of care (Sevenhuijsen 1998; Tronto 2005), defined as 'everything we do to continue, repair and maintain ourselves so that we can live in the world as well as possible' (Fisher and Tronto 1990: 41), extends beyond individual relationships to encompass the activities and relationships that further the well-being of people and communities and the world they live in, and the interdependence of the local and the global. It is argued that the ethics of care should shape the development of social policy (Sevenhuijsen 2003; Williams 2001).

Care has become a central category in discussions of gendered migration. Much of this has centred on the concept of global chains of care, popularised by Arlie Hochschild (2000) and drawing on Rhacel Parreñas' fieldwork (2001) on Filipina migrations in the USA and Italy, which provided a mapping and analysis of transfers of physical and emotional labour from the households of the Global South to those of the Global North. Although studies of domestic work in Southern Europe took off in the 1990s (Andall 2003), contemporary research on reproductive work within the household was more and more categorised as care even though we do not necessarily have a clear idea of how much time is actually devoted to care compared to other activities (Condon et al. 2013; León 2010). The carer in the household has effectively become the emblematic figure of feminised migration (Kofman 2013).

In general there has been far less engagement with (social) reproduction as an object of inquiry in studies of gendered migration, possibly due to its association with Marxist feminism and the fact that it is less amenable to policy applications. Instead, analyses of reproductive labour have been formulated in the far more limited terms of paid and increasingly commodified care work in the household, although there is returning interest in social reproduction, in part arising from the effects of neo-liberalisation, welfare restructuring and crisis, and their impact on the sustainability and social reproduction of households. This chapter explores some of the ways in which the range of activities encompassed by social reproduction can make a useful addition to debates within gendered migration that have thus far largely focused on care. Engaging with the concept of social reproduction, we argue in this volume, enables us to connect supposedly disparate circuits of migration, in particular labour and family, which are usually analysed separately but which are in fact interconnected. It also helps us to determine the ways in which the subjects and objects of care giving and receiving traverse such migratory flows.

The first section focuses on how arguments about social reproduction have developed over the last 40 years or so amongst feminist scholars in particular. The following section outlines how the language of care has, in the past decade, come to dominate feminist work. Despite conceptualising care as a form of reproductive labour and occupying some of the same terrain, there has been little explicit relationship between the debates on care and reproduction – this section explores some of these relationships. The third and fourth sections look at how both care and reproduction have a global remit and how migrant women have been incorporated into their analysis, respectively. Thus, the third section notes the increasing popularity of the notion of global chains of care (Hochschild 2000) and the growing interest in the social organisation of care in academic and policy literatures, nationally and internationally. The fourth section explores how migrant and minority women have been incorporated into theorisations of social reproduction not just through labour flows but also in its articulation with other flows, especially family, which contribute to the social reproduction of individuals, households and communities in the present and of the next generation. In the final section we outline some developments in the literature on gendered migrations that are beginning to make connections between different types of migration and which could lead to a more complex understanding of care and social reproduction.

3.1   Analysing reproduction

The language of reproduction draws on Marx's conceptualisation of the relation between production and reproduction in *Capital*, where he writes '[W]hen viewed, therefore, as a connected whole, and as flowing on with incessant renewal, every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction' (1867, reprinted 2000: 281). This reproduction involved not only the maintenance and repair of the means of production but also that of labour power. Reproducing labour power required not only biological reproduction of the next cohort of waged labour and the maintenance of this labour but also the reproduction of the skills and attitudes of this group. Hence, Marx spoke not only of the reproduction of individual workers but of the reproduction of a social class. Furthermore, arguing that the reproduction of labour was inherent to and necessary for production he suggests that in this process of reproduction of labour it is not only capitalist production that is continued but also the capitalist relation 'on one side the capitalist,

on the other the wage labourer' (and see Fraser 2014 for a contemporary analysis).

In the late 1960s and 1970s, driven by the Marxist turn in the social sciences, feminists honed in on reproduction in the household as an important locale of women's subordination, and housework as the mode of this oppression. The debate during this period focused on the ways in which patriarchy articulated with capitalism in the subordination of women through the sexual division of labour within the household. The argument ran that women, through their reproductive work of cooking and cleaning, subsidised the cost to capital of reproduction, and hence of production. The role of patriarchy and the sexual division of labour in subsidising capital became central to feminist thought during the period. The major positions taken in this 'domestic labour debate' were summarised by Fee (1976) thus:

(1) Housework as productive labour producing surplus value (Dalla Costa 1973; Federici 1975; James 1972);
(2) Housework as unproductive labour since it cannot be abstracted from (Coulson et al. 1975; Maconachie 1980 as quoted by Cock 1981; Smith 1979);
(3) Housework as neither productive nor unproductive but separate from the capitalist mode of production (Delphy 1977; Vogel 1973).

Much of this literature focused on the relationship between production and reproduction highlighting the centrality of reproduction to capitalist society by positioning this labour primarily within the household and within Western households at what was arguably the zenith of welfare provision in these countries. However, they missed the varieties of work that are done globally within households by women. The historical and cultural variations in 'domestic' and the differences between working for oneself and for others for a wage, but still within the home, highlighted how the household was a site of both exchange and use value, especially when the spatial and temporal variations in the household were considered (Mackintosh 1981; Molyneux 1981). Moreover, considerations of social reproduction also need to recognise the importance of marriage as a ritual through which these relations are reproduced (Ittura 1985), the importance of history and culture in regulating what work is done where and by whom, and of culture as a set of signifying practices through which social reproduction is secured (Smith 1979).

Gender and patriarchy are not universal categories either. Deniz Kandiyoti, in an influential article in 1988, showed the ways in which

patriarchy operated differently in sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia and how women strategise within the contexts of these and other institutional constraints. She introduced the concept of bargaining, of women's agency and of the multiple factors influencing this bargaining. By showing patriarchy as locally contingent, contextual and up for negotiation, she made a significant step forward in debates around gender relations.

Nevertheless, the importance of reproduction entered mainstream economics through Gary Becker's (1981) New Household Economics. For Becker, men have an advantage in the market while women have comparative advantage within the household as their labour productivity in the market is marginal. These comparative advantages result both from biology and from socialisation. Every household then maximises its comparative advantages while deciding how to allocate labour time. As Agarwal (1997) points out, '[T]his model treats the household as a single entity in relation to both consumption and production. It assumes that all household resources and incomes are pooled, and that resources are allocated by an altruistic household head who represents the household's tastes' (3–4). Heidi Hartmann (1981) inverts Becker's propositions, suggesting instead that it is the social construction of women as less productive in the marketplace that leads to their facing disadvantages in the productive sphere. Hartmann argued that men exploited women just as capital exploited labour and that this exploitation of women was caused by the sexual division of labour, itself underpinned by the social construction of gender.

The centrality of the household as the site of reproduction and the family as its organisational vehicle has continued to limit discussions of social reproduction. However, many functions of the family have been taken out of the household yet are very central to social reproduction, including pre-school education, school education and health services as well as laundering and cooking. As Bakker and Gill (2003: 3) argue, in 'today's world social reproduction involves institutions that provide for socialization of risk, healthcare and other services and . . . where the state intervenes to offset or offload the high costs of social reproduction onto or away from the family at different moments in different locales'. There has been a spatial extension of social reproduction, with migrant women, usually from the Global South, but also from peripheral areas of free movement areas such as the European Union, providing reproductive labour for those in the wealthier countries. Furthermore, containing social reproduction within the family loses sight of the fact that processes of biological, labour and social reproductive activities occur and

extend well beyond the private sphere (Kofman 2010). It also encompasses a range of sites and sectors that are not usually considered if social reproduction is focused around the household.

At the same time the collapse of the family and the household, much critiqued in the 1980s (Mackintosh 1981), has mutated into an inadequate recognition of the ways in which households are the site of work from a range of non-family members, particularly those employed by the state and voluntary workers. Early recognition of the multiplicity of factors influencing what happens within the household and the flexibility and dynamicity of these arrangements based on how households intersect differently with markets, the state and the community came from Bina Agarwal (1987). Although the primary focus of her analysis remained gender relations between men and women in the household, Agarwal (1997) expanded the notion of the bargain beyond the constraints of New Household Economics and its successor models which were based on game-theory. Men and women were no longer seen as working to maximise utility by working together; instead, the incomes, priorities and preferences of men and women in the household were acknowledged to differ. Thus, instead of households acting in a unitary fashion, co-operation and conflict occurred simultaneously. Moreover, women may also have different spheres of responsibility (say children's expenditure) to men (e.g. replacing household goods). This 'reciprocal claims model' (Katz 1992) is an example of non-cooperation. However, Agarwal argued that recognising the institutional settings within which families operate,[1] and the links that individual members have with the community, market and the state, force us to see that bargaining is a more open-ended process. Each of these settings has its own endogenous but dynamic social norms. She also pointed out that households are sites of coalitions and not only co-operation and conflict and that they relate to the community, market and the state in varied ways. In doing so Agarwal sets up many of the vectors that make for an insightful analysis of gender and social reproduction but she does so with an eye to both temporal and global variations in how gender influences the relationship between production and reproduction. This analysis multiplies the actors involved in social reproduction and highlights the degree of flexibility (or not) that may be available.

The primacy of the role of patriarchy as definitive of the sexual division of labour has also to be interrogated in same-sex couple households. For instance, Giddings (1998) shows how same-sex couples, in her case lesbians, employ very different ways of doing housework. Some couples adopted very similar patterns to heterosexual couples while others

had a much more balanced division of labour. She interrogates the presumptions of both the New Household Economics and the outcomes of the domestic labour debate. A lesbian household, based on Becker's analysis will have very little advantage in the market, or in the productive sphere. Equally, notions such as the sexual division of labour also need rethinking within this context. Giddings finds that an individual's gendered behaviour alters depending on the 'masculinity' of the partner, thus taking gender away from the bipolar construct that has been central to most understandings of gender and social reproduction within the household.

Moreover, social reproduction involves not just physical labour but also psychological and ideological aspects. Nicky James (1989) identified this emotional labour undertaken both within the household and outside and showed how this plays a part in social reproduction. Social reproduction also leads to the reproduction of class relations as is evident in the extant literature on how schooling and education influence the reproduction of class. Recognising schooling as an element of social reproduction usefully takes the debate on social reproduction beyond the household, although the connections between this literature and that on social reproduction within the household have been limited. Perhaps, foremost in theorising this relationship is Bourdieu (1977; see Chapter 7) who shows how the reproduction of class is dependent on forms of cultural capital that are inherited but also reproduced through systems of education, notions of taste and so on (Adkins and Skeggs 2005; Reay 2005). Paul Willis (1977) usefully explains how similar processes operate among working class 'lads' but also that (like Agarwal 1997) these are not given but are open to contestation, conflict, accommodation and change. For Willis (1983), social reproduction includes a gambit of activities, behaviours and dispositions that help to reproduce not individual classes but the relationship between social classes. Importantly, this form of social reproduction also links with other forms of reproduction such as those of class and culture, an issue to which we turn later in the volume.

As much of the political imperative for understanding domestic labour came from Marxist feminists, it was the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy that remained the primary focus. Shifting such labour to other women within the context of the domestic sphere, either as waged or unwaged work was never part of the scheme. Throughout the domestic labour debate the employment of domestic workers was seen as a vestige of times past (Broom and Smith 1963) and this form of work as what more than half a century earlier had been described

as the last 'surviving remnant of the household system which preceded the factory system' (Addams 1896: 536), both in terms of the locale of production – the house (Chaplin 1978) – and in the familial work relationship between employer and employee (Addams 1896).[2] Paid domestic work done by those from outside the family was, therefore, seen as an anachronism in modern times and was not envisaged by those theorising the domestic labour debate as one of the central planks of the issue of gender redistribution of housework that it eventually became. As a result the large literature on paid domestic work (Jelin 1977; McBride 1974) that, for instance, emphasised the role of rural women as domestic workers in urban households, played little part in the 'domestic labour debate'. In fact, the lack of recognition that housework was waged in some instances, and therefore was part of the ambit of exchange relations whereby use value had been converted instantaneously into exchange value, was not considered.[3]

Instead, the demand was for housework done by women in their own households to be paid under what came to be an influential movement – the Wages for Housework Campaign set up in 1972 in Padua (Federici 1975)[4] – that is still active today. Although this movement had a prehistory in First Wave Feminism (Traikovski 2003) it was developed and aired in the 1970s. The central questions involved four aspects: the site of work – whether work done within the household could be seen as worthy of pay; the skills required – whether domestic work involved skills; the sector – how housework as a set of tasks articulated with production; and uniquely whether the quality of the work and the disposition of those who did this work would improve with payment. Many of these questions over the productivity of housework have set the tone for contemporary discussions around social reproduction as we will go on to see. What is clear is that the links and the contradictions between wages for 'housewives' and wages for paid domestic workers were rarely made.

Finally, although movements such as 'Wages for Housework' had a global remit, the organisation of domestic work was not seen as extending across national boundaries. The spatial effects of the reorganisation of domestic labour, whereby women move internationally in order to provide housework in other countries, and which has come to mark more recent work on issues of production and reproduction was never envisaged. It was only in the 1990s that the resurgence of paid domestic work (Gregson and Lowe 1994) as a way of organising housework came to be noted, but even then the links to international migration were infrequently discussed (Glenn 1992).

After a relative lull in the 1990s and early 2000s reproduction has once again become an important focus for feminist researchers, especially for those working within a political economy perspective (Bakker 2007; Bakker and Gill 2003; Bakker and Silvey 2008; Bedford and Rai 2010; Bergeron 2011; Ferguson 2010; Luxton and Bezanson 2006; Steans and Tepe 2010) but also in a range of social science disciplines, such as anthropology (Bjeren 1997; Constable 2009), geography (Mitchell et al. 2004; Strauss 2012) and international relations (Peterson 2003).[5] These debates have focused on reproduction as it touches on a range of sectors, sites and activities (Roberts 2012) particularly in the context of neo-liberalisation. Many of these discussions, often led by North American writers, have focused on what social protection should look like in the context of increasingly harsh welfare regimes in the Global North alongside a growth in unemployment. Similar processes are occurring in the Global South too, although often starting from a much lower base of state provided social provisioning. In Europe, the mitigation of the costs of social reproduction through state subsidies has tended to favour those who are in employment (see Chapter 4), or are engineered to increase employment, while the low base of social protection in the South has meant that it is the most needy and vulnerable who are being offered support. Either way, for large numbers of people globally, there is a critical gap between the outflows and inflows of what sustains their well-being in what Rai et al. (2013) term 'depletion'. This crisis of social reproduction has made life's work more difficult and stressful and reshaped how it is performed (Meehan and Strauss 2014; Mitchell et al. 2004).

For Fraser (2014) this crisis is an inherent part and not just an effect of the crisis of capitalism as production and reproduction are necessarily related. We see not only depletion but also a reconfiguration of the relations between production and social reproduction. For instance, on the one hand there is a withdrawal of the state from direct provision of services, the shift from public to private and market-driven provision, with new forms of social support such as personal budgets or tax subsidies, often as a replacement for the provision of services (see Chapter 4). At the same time the conditions of work are also changing, with increasingly flexible and temporary work contracts, and decreasing regulation of conditions which have together rendered work less secure and with fewer social benefits, and contributed to a redrawing of boundaries between formal and informal employment. Such changes signal a shift in the relationship between production and reproduction, one of the centrepieces of the domestic labour debate. The boundaries

between production and reproduction are being blurred as more and more reproductive work enters wage relations while other forms of productive work become relegated to reproductive work. These boundary reassignations are testimony to not only the dynamism but also the internal contradictions within capitalism (Fraser 2014).

However, in a rerun of criticisms of the Eurocentrism of the domestic labour debate, Kunz (2010) argues that concerns over reprivatisation are based on a Western centred model of welfare states and ignore the very different ways in which the state operates in the Global South. For instance, the withdrawal of the state from social reproduction has much less meaning where the state has been insignificant as a provider of such welfare (Acharya 2008; Ferguson 2010). Using Mexico as an example, Kunz also shows how these processes had long histories in the Global South due to the structural adjustment programmes and the poverty reduction programmes. Similarly, Ruckert (2010) argues that rather than withdrawal of the state, as during the era of structural adjustment, the Global South has seen a reinsertion of the state into welfare provision under Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. Here, what is seen is conditional inclusion, where inclusion is dependent on employment and education amongst others so that the aim is to enable people to partake of an increasingly marketised welfare provision. This is a pattern which has also been seen, albeit more recently, in the West (Van Kersbergen and Hemerijck 2012).

In both policies and in the literature the underpinning problem of the continuing and problematic analytical separation between production and reproduction 'where the everyday practices of disparate subjects manifest a growing obfuscation of the boundaries between "work" and "non work"...new understandings of life's work...such that the domains of work and the domains of home and leisure are indistinguishable from each other' (Mitchell et al. 2003: 417), remains. What is interesting, however, is that while gender inequality was the primary concern for those theorising the relationship between reproduction in the 1970s and 1980s, the state has become the primary target for more recent discussions. Gender inequality underpins these criticisms but has not been the primary target. Rather, in line with concerns about the role of paid work within the household, it is the divisions between women and the intersection between gender and class that have received attention (McDowell 2005). As we shall see in Chapter 4, current developments in labour market policies in the European Union seek to support the social reproduction tasks of skilled women in the

household using the labour of less-skilled women – migrant, minority and non-migrant.

Nonetheless, the relationship between production and reproduction has come back to the fore. Led by one of the important protagonists writing about labour power in the earlier domestic labour debate, Ruth Pearson (1997) returns to the notion of reproduction in interesting ways. She elaborates on the notion of the bargain which had been developed during the 1990s by a variety of feminist economists including Agarwal (1997) and retains many of the elements of this: a recognition of the importance of both productive and reproductive spheres acting together, the significance of structures (norms and institutions) but also of agency, and the interplay between the household, the state, market and community. The nature of reproductive bargains depends on how the rights, responsibilities and risks of social reproduction are divided across the private and public sphere, how

> reproduction and care are organized (their locus in the household, state, market), who bears the cost of the reproduction of labour, who performs reproductive labour and under what conditions (rights, risks and responsibilities), and whether labour power for reproductive work is commodified, marketised (formal or informal employment relationships) or socialised.
>
> (Clement and Prus 2004: 5)

These influence the division of responsibility for social reproduction, with repercussions for social divisions within transnational societies (Gottfried 2009). Drawing on a case study of Cuba, Pearson outlined the ways in which the state's responsibility for reproduction diminished through the 1970s so that more and more of the work of reproduction was picked up by households, and particularly by women.

3.2   Analysing care

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, care has become a preferred optic for discussing some of the concerns that were analysed as reproduction in the 1980s with some feminist writers (Molyneux 1979) critiquing the lack of attention paid to care in the domestic labour debate. This has been particularly true in the literature on gender and migration, as the number of women who migrate to provide care across the globe has increased. These debates have drawn on some of the

strengths of research on care more generally. This section outlines some key aspects of debates around care to see what it can contribute to those on reproduction. This is important because the two bodies of work have largely worked in parallel and there has been little recognition of how the two intersect, overlap and what they leave out.

In particular it was the large body of work undertaken by feminists theorising care as an ethic, philosophy and in social policy that shifted care centre stage as a way of talking about the labour that had been envisaged as social reproduction. Care as an independent concept also emerged from the domestic labour debate in which some feminists (Rose 1983) recognised the emotional as well as economic aspects of unpaid caring work as the basis of feminist political subjectivity and to conceptualise it as a 'labour of love'. Moreover care became increasingly linked to social policy concerns and unpaid work by informal carers, especially amongst UK scholars (Anttonen and Zechner 2011; Ungerson 1990). Here, the demand for state intervention was much clearer than in the case of domestic work – especially with regard to paid childcare, on which much of the debate rested through the 1970s and 1980s. Concerned that care, almost universally, was the responsibility of women, feminists argued for the redistribution of care, but also of recognition and rights for carers. More recently, care has come to be widely discussed because of its links to a range of other concerns in the social sciences such as emotion and affect (Little 1995; Lynch et al. 2009), and embodiment among others (Lanoix 2013), leading to a shift to the terminology of care as the main way of theorising the activities that came under the rubric of social reproduction in previous analyses. But in shifting the terms of the debate to care, much was gained, and some losses were incurred too.

Care is both narrower and broader than reproduction. On the one hand, care can be seen primarily as the work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of one or more people (Sevenhuijsen 2003; Standing 2001: 17; Williams 2001). However, the more expansive definition of care draws on care ethics and embraces the range of human experiences and relationships of obligation, trust, loyalty and commitment concerned with the well-being of others (Graham 1983). It eschews the narrowness of social policy perspectives which limit care to those who are dependants, such as children, the elderly, disabled and those with learning difficulties (Daly and Lewis 2000; Daly and Rake 2003); instead it embraces the able-bodied such as spouses and the self and a wide range of activities (Folbre 2006; Yeates 2004). It also defines care as occurring on different temporal

registers – ranging from long-term to intermittent in response to emergencies or on specific occasions. Thus, in practice, care can be qualified in terms of quality/quantity/type of care-giver/care-receiver and so on, but underlying these is an ethic of care that represents a set of values and norms guiding human action and the interdependent relationships established with others (Fisher and Tronto 1990; Sevenhuijsen 1998, 2003).

There are three aspects of care that have the potential, often unrealised, of expanding existing debates on reproduction. First, by differentiating between the care-giver and the care-receiver these debates provide an opportunity to bring to the fore the question of who receives care and how they too may have compromised lives. Since so much of the language of reproduction has focused on gendered hierarchies, and of women's role in reproduction, the needs of children, older people and the disabled – who have traditionally received care and whose care is part of social reproduction – can be obscured in discussions of reproduction.

Secondly, by clearly laying out the receivers of care, the language of care also offers scope for discussions of care of the self (Foucault 1984). This can become an important counterpoint to caring for others. Keeping fit, producing oneself aesthetically, improving one's skills, having time for leisure and ensuring one's own future, have all become part of the care of the self which can be constrained and in fact disappear, as care for others increases. Many of these activities comprise what has been categorised as body work (McDowell 2009; Wolkowitz 2006).

Finally, the vast empirical literature on care has the potential to emphasise the differences between institutional provision of care in different contexts. Reproduction, drawing as it did on more abstract concepts, has, on the whole, contributed much more to the analytical arguments about the relationship between production and reproduction, particularly as it relates to notions of the state. Although there is some excellent work that precisely focuses on the variegated nature of the state and its relations with both citizens and denizens (Pearson and Kusakabe 2012; Truong et al. 2014), there is on the whole much less sensitivity to the local variations in reproduction as it is played out across the globe.

While care offers several analytical possibilities these often remain unrealised. Thus, for instance, although the analytical division between the carer and the cared-for has been useful, in practice these two debates often appear to run parallel to each other and their contradictions are rarely scrutinised. Debates around the care of older people and of young

people do not often draw on insights about their carers, especially when the carers are also migrants. Each focuses on points of vulnerability but rarely compares their simultaneity (but see Raghuram et al. 2010). These processes go on simultaneously and challenge social policy debates in care which usually identifies with only one group at any one time. Thus, children and older people may, at the same time, both receive and provide care. Two examples of this are older children looking after younger children or ill parents or grandparents receiving care from their children whilst looking after grandchildren.

Moreover, in identifying objects of social policy concern the literature on care-givers often ignores the issues faced by care-receivers and vice versa. For instance, while care-receivers who employ carers may have access to resources as well as statutory protection that carers may not have because of some combination of their gender, race, age, relative poverty or migrant status (Ilcan et al. 2007), care-givers may be dependent on their jobs and therefore vulnerable to the demands and desires of those whom they are caring for. Besides, despite Foucault's arguments about care of the self, there has been little focus on this topic even though it provides an opportunity to bridge the analytical distinctions between the carer and the cared-for. Instead, as has been shown, feminist arguments about caring for the self have been co-opted within neo-liberal governmentalities. For example, Clarke (2005) shows us how in the UK citizens are increasingly being scripted as active, are being responsibilised and being asked to ensure and take responsibility for the care of the self in ways that deny the interdependencies that shape care. However, modifying our analysis of self-care provides the opportunity to recognise the limits of thinking that to be cared about and to be cared for 'is to be in deficit' (Brown 2003; Johnsen et al. 2005; and see Shakespeare 2002 for an interesting discussion on this issue).

Lastly, although there is a vast literature on care which has been generated from across many parts of the world, the deeply localised definitions of care that might emerge from this interrogation has rarely been addressed. Instead, it appears that the empirical diversity in care arrangements are often eschewed in order to fit dominant ways of theorising care; they rarely challenge or extend those theorisations (but see Ochiai 2009 for a discussion of care arrangements in East and South East Asian countries). Importantly, the different local values attached to care have rarely been addressed (Raghuram 2012). Although care as ethic has a universal remit, and care as social policy draws on the intersubjectivity of caring relations, it is weaker at analysing the production of collectivities at in-between scales.

Although the transfer of care from the working classes to the middle class through the waged employment of the former to care for the latter has been a strong concern for feminists working on care (but see Arat-Koc 2006), the reproduction of those relations has largely been analysed on a personal scale. The implications for reproducing class relations are less well studied. This is because social reproduction covers a range of tasks not usually considered by care as it moves beyond the interpersonal to the tasks necessary for reproducing society, such as socialisation within the home and beyond through educational establishments. It also therefore offers a stronger analysis of structure than care. Yet, this rich globally diverse research on care, in particular, has something to offer debates on reproduction as we will go on to show. In the next section we therefore highlight some aspects and arguments from the global care literature.

3.3 Globalising care

While discussions of reproduction were accused of ethnocentrism, feminist research on care has for some time had a more global scope (see Raghuram 2012 for a full discussion). There are of courses different meanings of global. For instance, feminists critiquing the individualistic conception of the self (Gilligan 1982) and of caring relations highlighted interdependency as the basis for an ethics of care, but in doing so also laid the foundation for a *global* ethics of care (Sander-Staudt 2006). The spatial ambit of the feminist ethics of care and its emphasis on interconnectedness globalise care (i.e. it makes the language of care available for analysing care globally). Theorists of space have also been concerned to 'stretch' care globally, highlighting how care relationships are central to living responsibly in an increasingly interconnected world (Lawson 2007). Desirous to show how the 'moral motivations that emerge from an emotive and proximate connection to a particular people' (Gerhardt 2008: 914) are not dissipated with distance, theorists suggest that the 'global' should be, and is being, productively reshaped through place-based attachments and the proximate care relations that underlie this.

However, most pressing are the empirical reasons for extending discussions of care globally – most notably because of the ways in which mobility has increased distances amongst those who may be involved in affective relations (Parreñas 2005). For example, many older people find that they are far away from children who might have cared for them (Baldassar 2007). It is the migration of women that has, above all, led

to the adoption of the 'global' as the scale at which care is discussed. Concerned over the global redistribution of care resulting from female migration – migrant women from the Global South care for families in distant countries of destination, typically in the North, while leaving behind a care deficit in the source countries – feminists have scrutinised what this means for care globally (Isaksen et al. 2008; Yeates 2009).

Analysts have drawn on global theories in different ways. One move has involved theorising care redistribution as a global care chain which identifies a hierarchy of places based on the movement from the periphery to providing care and making good a care deficit in a Northern context. The growth of the two-wage family, underpinned by a shift in welfare policies from the family wage to adult worker model, has catapulted more and more women into the workplace and has led to a care deficit in some households. Drawing on Rhacel Parreñas's work (2001) on migration of nannies from the Philippines to the USA, Arlie Hochschild (2000) argues that such migration simply transfers the care deficit from households in the USA to households in the Philippines, as women from poorer countries migrate to perform paid care work in richer countries. The next link in the chain is generated when women move from poorer parts of the Philippines to look after the families of these international migrants although each cascading chain of care results in its performance being less well remunerated, and indeed often unpaid, except possibly through occasional gifts. Yeates (2004, 2008) usefully compares these chains to the links that make up the commodity chain where both caring work and the affect involved in care are extracted and redistributed upwards along the care chain. However, it was realised that women were increasingly using global communication technologies to continue to care for distant families, especially children.

Thus as a framework for empirical studies, the global chain of care has become the favoured theoretical lens to capture the global transfer of physical and emotional labour from less wealthy regions, whether in the South (Hochschild 2000; Parreñas 2001) or the poorer regions of the North (Lutz and Palenga-Mollenbeck 2010), to wealthy regions. However, the global chain of care literature has tended to channel research into a narrow set of sectors, sites and skills. In particular its analysis is framed in terms of flows between households, thus rendering invisible the other sites, external agents and institutions of care interacting with the household as well as the diversity of familial arrangements within the household (Kofman 2010; Yeates 2009). Moreover, there has been a differential emphasis in these debates across the chain with patriarchy and the household being the focus of the literature

on Southern women, while Northern women seem to be much more influenced by state and market structures (Raghuram 2012). The focus of much of this literature has been on the migrant as the provider of care for the other, whether it be in wealthier countries or for those left behind – thus neglecting the care needs and social reproduction of migrants themselves and their daily or emergency requirements, particularly as they grow older – or of the reunited or accompanying family in the receiving country (see Kofman and Raghuram 2010: 59–60).

However, Williams (2011) has developed a framework for the analysis of a transnational political economy of care in terms of three levels (micro, meso and macro) and five dimensions: movement of care labour; dynamics of care commitments as people move to different countries and leave behind those who have to be cared for at a distance; movement of capital and the intervention of the private market in health and social care as it becomes commodified; influence of care discourses and policies; and the development of social movements and NGOs which have organised themselves around the promotion of social justice. The global has thus become an increasingly salient scale at which care is discussed.

Social policy to address these issues is also increasingly being played out at a global level. Policy initiatives on how best to stretch social policy around care to take account of the globality of care are led by organisations such as the European Union, UNRISD, ILO and OECD (Razavi 2007). Thus, UNRISD has undertaken a study into the multiple institutions of care (households and families; states; markets; and the not-for-profit sector), its gender composition and dynamics, and the implications for poverty and social rights of citizenship (Razavi 2007) in different countries (Budlender 2008; Palriwala and Pillai 2007). The ILO has also considered the significance of care for income security and the changing mix of care provision in several countries around the world (Daly 2001). These transfers of policy are facilitated by the epistemic community. For instance, the attempt to harmonise global social policy on care was taken forward at the Commission for the Status of Women meeting in 2009 where 'the value of care as a "coin" in terms of policy Entrepreneurship' was confirmed (Bedford 2010: 15). Hence, social policy initiatives on care are increasingly being led by global institutions like the OECD whose agendas on care are being pushed through (Mahon and Robinson 2011). Although attempts are being made to build up knowledge of diverse care arrangements in different countries, policy making often involves either a transfer of policies from the North to the South or the identification and promotion of 'successful Southern

models' by global players. For instance, the system of 'conditional cash transfers' developed in Mexico has been promoted as a model worthy of adoption in other countries by organisations like the World Bank (Fiszbein et al. 2009). Transfers, however, are rarely straightforward.

3.4   Global gendered reproduction

As we saw earlier while reproduction was theorised originally in the abstract, therefore suggesting a universality, its crystallisation in the domestic labour debate was based on the empirical concerns and definitions of those in the Global North (but see Young et al. 1981 for a critique and a shift to non-Northern and socialist societies). Moreover, it did not really include the concerns of migrant or minoritised women. In part, this was because, although in the 1970s and 1980s there was a growing visibility of migrant women in the economy, in Northern European countries academic studies focused more on their presence in manufacturing, sweatshops, less-skilled work in public services (Condon and Ogden 1991; Phizacklea 1983; Knocke and de los Reyes cited in Cederberg 2010) and, with some exceptions in France, on domestic work (Taboada-Leonetti and Levi 1979). In the United Kingdom Gregson and Lowe (1994: 123) concluded that 'no close association existed between ethnicity, female migration and waged domestic labour' in relation to the resurgence in the 1980s in demand for waged domestic labour, especially nannies and cleaners, in servicing the middle classes.[6] Instead, they argued, the demand from dual-career middle-class households led to a reworking of labour along class lines with a different strata of women (lower middle class as nannies and older working class as cleaners) once again taking up employment in the domestic sphere. And what concerned them was not so much the issue of care but how waged domestic labour had become in the past decade 'a necessary aspect of social reproduction' (p. 75). When migrant and minority ethnic women began to be incorporated into discussions about domestic labour in Europe in the 1990s, it was often in terms of reproductive labour rather than care (Anderson 2001).

In terms of sociological analyses, domestic reproductive labour and its ethnicised composition was the object of analysis in South Africa (Cock 1980), the USA (Colen 1995; Glenn 1992) Latin America (Radcliffe 1990) and India (Raghuram 2001). The interlocking nature of sexual and racial divisions in reproductive labour in capitalist societies was highlighted in US writing on domestic labour (Duffy 2007). Glenn has been one of the most influential in the use of reproduction to

analyse historically the labour contribution of migrant and minoritised women in the USA. She defined (p. 1) reproduction as 'the creation and recreation of people as cultural and social as well as physical human beings who engage in an array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally'. Her work examined the interlocking and interactive gendered and racialised dimensions of reproduction through the study of three groups of racialised and ethnicised women – African American, Mexican American and Japanese American – in different regions of the USA in the course of the 20th century when these women went from working in households to low-level institutional service work (e.g. nursing aides). Subsequently in the post-war years, and especially after the opening up of immigration in 1965, migrant women, often undocumented, began to occupy the lowest levels of domestic work as some of the older minority groups entered the caring professions, thus creating a racialised hierarchy within reproductive labour.

Based on the experiences of West Indian women, who had migrated to New York after 1965, Shellee Colen (1995) developed the concept of stratified reproduction to analyse their economic and familial positions. This concept described the power relations through which some categories of people gain greater sustenance and support (material and normative), while others face greater obstacles and hardships in sustaining their own reproduction and care. She demonstrated how physical and social reproductive tasks of bearing, raising and socialising children, and of creating and maintaining households from infancy to old age are achieved, experienced, valued and rewarded differently according to inequalities of access to material and social resources in particular historical and cultural contexts (Colen 1995: 78).

Care, which Colen distinguished from other activities in the household, is only one of the activities contributing to social reproduction. Undertaking care as a separate activity also places employment on a higher level in the job market than those positions where care is combined with other domestic tasks, such as cleaning. Her sample of interviewees had often occupied all the different positions within this labour niche, with many remaining in it even after obtaining the Green Card because they could not find better qualified work.[7]

Such physical and social reproduction of bearing, raising and socialising children and of creating and maintaining households from infancy to old age is achieved, experienced, valued and rewarded differently according to inequities of access to material and social resources in particular historical and cultural contexts (Colen 1995: 78). The patterns

of these inequalities of reproduction in turn reproduce stratification by reflecting, reinforcing and intensifying the differences on which this stratification is based. The resultant transnational system of inequality plays itself out in intimate, daily and local events in sending and receiving states in which a number of different institutions (state, labour market, families, local communities, media) contribute to particular living and familial arrangements and their representations as being legitimate or marginalised. Thus the provision of reproductive labour for wealthier professional women in turn shapes the ability and modalities of different categories of migrants to reproduce their own families. The latter's reproduction is facilitated by the work of the former but for migrant families it often means disembedding the family and accepting forced transnational separations for varying periods of time. This isn't just a matter of families living apart but also of interrupting a sense of solidarity and community of shared events in a particular locality.[8] The rapidity with which migrant women can reunite their families depends to a great extent on their position within the domestic labour market (live-in work was often occupied by undocumented migrants seeking to get their employer to sponsor them) and their immigration status. A close relationship with a citizen can also be a means of facilitating the entry of other members of the migrant's family.[9]

Colen (1995) furthermore highlighted how practices and ideologies of care are shaped by institutional forces external to the household, especially immigration officials who directed Caribbean women to domestic service as a way of obtaining a Green Card. The media was also important in presenting acceptable forms of motherhood for middle-class women and in shaping prevailing discourses about whether young children should be separated from their mothers. Where positive images were created, it made it more acceptable for such women to employ carers for their young children.

Colen and Glenn explored the experiences of specific groups of racialised minority women but it was Truong (1996) who subsequently extended the analysis to a more general thesis of the relationship of production and reproduction through the globalised transfer of labour. She argued '[n]o production system operates without a reproduction system[10] and it should not be surprising that the globalisation of production is accompanied by its intimate "Other" i.e. reproduction' (p. 47). A global perspective would need to explain a number of aspects, such as the structural gaps of labour in reproduction (withdrawal of state from services for children and the elderly, the increased participation of women in waged worked without a concomitant change in the sexual

division of labour in the household, demand for sexual services from the spatial mobility of the male workforce) which affected different classes and economies; the processes by which the transfer occurred, and the implications this has for states, capital, communities and the reproductive workers themselves. She also noted, though did not develop, the role of multicultural marriages in supplying care work for the family members of their partners (p. 29).

However, in the mid-1990s the implications of the shifts in the organisation of different forms of reproduction and the impact of the transfer of labour from the South to the North were not fully discussed. Federici (1999), who had continued working with the concept of reproduction since the 1970s (Federici 2012), saw the transfer of capital and labour from the Third to the First World as superseding the earlier transfer of capital from the First to the Third World as part of the New International Division of Labour (NIDL) in the 1970s and 1980s. In its wake, she argued, NIDL had transformed the Third World into an immense pool of cheap labour operating in a similar way to the homelands in South Africa. Women acted as workers for the First World as well as migrating themselves and sending back remittances upon which many villages come to depend almost entirely. Another perceptive insight into the segmentation and stratification of services was offered by Wolkowitz's (2002) analysis of occupations related to body services underpinning the simultaneous incorporation of migrant labour and the globalisation of social reproduction. She argued that body services had become 'a vital replacement for the production of objects as a source of profit and employment in affluent societies' while the items of food and clothing required for human reproduction have been exported to the countries of the Global South. She lists a wide range of occupations falling within the remit of paid body work – beauticians, hairdressers, care assistants, fitness instructors, doctors, nurses and maids. Higher status groups are much more likely to be drawn into occupations which are seen as control, supervision and management, rather than those constructed in terms of caring for, or servicing, other's bodies. Lower-valued occupations deal with what is rejected, spills out or pollutes. These distinctions also operate in skilled sectors, for example, between staff nurses and nursing aides.

Such labour markets are segmented by class, sex and race where the lower ranks of occupations such as nursing, cleaning and caring in public institutions and private homes are racialised and occupied by 'subordinate-race' women. However, the boundaries between occupations are not necessarily fixed, for example, the emergence of core highly

paid knowledge nurses may push lower paid care-workers further down the occupational ladder and into what is seen as dirty and symbolically polluting work (see the previous discussion of Glenn's historical analysis of US labour markets).

Despite the more recent revival of interest in social reproduction there has been relatively little application of it amongst scholars of gendered migration (but see Bakker and Silvey 2008; Benería 2007; Bjeren 1997; Constable 2009; Kofman 2012; Lan 2008). For Bakker and Silvey (2008), a key issue was the spatiality of social reproduction, and its multiple scales, and the need to problematise the dualism between North and South through transnational migration. The crisis of social reproduction in sending countries has led to substantial outflows of labour to sustain social reproduction through domestic work and care in receiving countries, for example from Ecuador to Spain (Herrera 2008). In other instances, the sharp decline of support for social reproduction in a new marketised system has led to a growth in sex work and the trafficking of women in countries such as the Ukraine (Pyshchulina 2008). Institutions regulating the emigration and return of women providing reproductive services have also proliferated, and instead of offering protection to migrant women have heightened insecurity (Silvey 2008).

The articulation of labour and marriage migrations can also be viewed through the framework of the global transfer of reproductive labour (Constable 2009; Kofman 2012; Lan 2008). In this way a theoretical framework constructed around social reproduction allows us to connect different forms of reproductive labour with the reproduction of individuals, families, generations and communities and to link a diversity of intersecting migratory circuits (Lan 2008). We need therefore to reconstruct social reproduction for migrants across different contexts through a plurality of family arrangements (Locke et al. 2013), which may include non-migrants, increasingly the situation arising through the expansion of marriage migration as in Asia. Based largely on East Asian case studies, Lan (2008) distinguishes two connected circuits of social reproduction. The first moves from paid reproductive labour to the reproduction of families. Many foreign wives of Japanese men entered as entertainers (Piper 1997). In other instances, it may be a domestic worker who subsequently marries in an attempt to gain residence, avoid deskilling or to claim a respectable status as a wife. Some continue to work, others cease to do so. The second moves from unpaid reproductive to the paid reproductive where the person enters as a marriage migrant either through family reunification or marriage with a non-migrant and then enters waged work. Moreover, the resolution to care deficits

depends on class position so that while those who are further up the class hierarchy and reside in upper-class and middle-class households hire migrant domestic workers in order to reduce their reproductive responsibilities, working-class households seek foreign wives to meet care requirements and to provide unpaid domestic labour (Wang 2007). The concept of social reproduction allows analytical space for a range of economic agents from the macro of the corporation to the micro of the household which is being extended globally across space and time (Douglass 2006).

Moreover, Pearson and Kusakabe (2012) have shown how using an expanded notion of reproduction (see 3.1) is essential in discussing migrant workers, as in many parts of the world migrant workers may be employed in the productive sphere, in manufacturing and agriculture for instance, but that they too face issues around the reproduction of their families. Through their empirical focus on women from Myanmar employed in factory work in Thailand they remind us of the extent to which the image of the female migrant worker has been dominated in recent years by those who are employed in the reproductive sector, even though they only form a part of the global female migrant workforce. Importantly these women are also responsible for arranging their own reproductive labour, cleaning cooking and childcare but also educating their children and teaching them the skills and behaviours that make them employable in a dynamic world. These issues become particularly problematic where access to education is filtered through complex regulations or discrimination, through costs (either directly of fees or of incidental costs such as uniforms and books) and through not knowing the local language so that the responsibility for teaching also falls on parents, particularly mothers. These reproductive issues become much more complex when migrants face restricted access to welfare provided by the state. Migrants find that they are unable to access this welfare in both source countries and destination ones. Due to lack of resources, migrant workers are also restricted in their ability to pay for welfare while the lack of citizenship and access to rights can result in children born to migrant mothers becoming stateless and thus reproducing the disadvantage that their mothers faced. The state and the market thus become incapable of supporting the social reproduction of migrants.

Families also fail in this task: family formation is stymied because migrants don't have money to go home to get married. Family continuation also becomes hard as migrant males move around because of their own insecure statuses, thus weakening family bonds; women who have children through these relationships have little support from

men. Instead, women are the primary providers of social reproduction – both in sending and destination countries. The reproductive bargain then implies the bargain between 'private and public responsibilities for reproductive work' but in Kusakabe and Pearson's analysis migrant women had little bargaining power. Thus, it appears that the flexibility and dynamicity of gender relations over time that was captured by Agarwal (1997) in her use of the term 'bargaining' seems to be missing from these women's lives.

Migrants may also act as transnational agents of change. Kunz (2010) points out that migrant remittances form a part of welfare funding in parts of the Global South in ways that are distinctive from that in the North. Thus, the meaning of social protection and welfare (Locke et al. 2013) and the relative roles of production and social reproduction in this are being affected at a distance by migrants and through the spatial extension of their households. These needs may vary over the life course. Remittances have, however, replaced the role of the state in providing reproductive services such as education and health (Herrera 2008) (see Chapter 4). Migrants are not the recipients or providers of social reproduction but may alter its terms through the influence they may wield over governments. Hence, globalisation and social reproduction has a range of actors, takes many forms and is spread across a range of sectors.

Importantly, social reproduction is not only a problematic that arises due to migration; the crisis of social reproduction is also the cause for migration. In including in its ambit not only work (physical and emotional) but also the means and capacities to do this work such as earnings and non-commoditised sourcing of goods (getting water or firewood) and transfers of resources (from family and friends, community organisations and the state), a deficit in the ability to socially reproduce one's household is a leading reason for migration. These issues are particularly important in countries where the penetration of wage relations in organising the economy is not as profound as in the Global North and where resources are still sourced from the 'commons'. Care then is only one element of the 'commons' that is being exploited through its articulation with capitalist relations (Fraser 2014). Commoditising care as well as natural resources are both ways of extending and deepening these relations.

While migration and the impact on families remains the core concern within the global literature on social reproduction, there is also increasing recognition of other drivers for the globalisation of processes relating to social reproduction. Thus, the growing significance

of transnational governance institutions in setting the terms for welfare has led to similarities in social reproduction globally (Bakker 2007; Bakker and Gill 2003). For instance, the World Bank has, through its role in post-Washington consensus policies, set out a framework for global shifts in production which has implications for social reproduction, but also for social reproduction per se in different parts of the world (Ruckert 2010). These global shifts are, on occasion, due to larger structural changes in the global economy – most recently the economic crisis which hit many parts of the Global North. Although the extent and nature of the crisis (and even whether it occurred at all) varied in intensity and form as did the responses to it, it often led to cutbacks in social welfare spending with effects on social reproduction. What is clear is that the effects of such a crisis on women can be devastating (Elson 2010). The effects on reproduction globally may manifest as return migration and cuts in remittances but also as dropping school attendance, fall in nutrition and cuts in social provision, all of which affect women unequally.

Besides, this crisis of reproduction not only affects those who have caring responsibilities. In many parts of the world youth mobility has increased as people are no longer able to get jobs and have a family life in their countries of origin (see Chapter 4). These processes are not restricted to the Global South – intra-European youth mobility has been one of the most significant outcomes of the recession in Europe.

3.5   Conclusion

What is clear is that through the decades there have been a variety of ways in which the tasks associated with reproduction have been understood and analysed. While drawing on Marx there was a long and robust set of debates around social reproduction, more recently the term 'care' has come to be used. Yet, these debates have all circled around some problematic divides: between production and reproduction, as to whether the work is waged or not, whether it is performed within the household or sites beyond the household, is performed largely or only by women, and to a lesser extent the skills associated with it. While some writers use the term 'reproduction' firmly on one side of the divide, others have implicitly held on to certain definitions, preferred optics and have therefore skewed the analysis of social reproduction. The dynamicity of social reproduction may therefore be missed. For instance, although the domestic labour debate problematically located most of the struggles over the division of reproductive labour within the

household, that too at a time, when the welfare state was at its zenith in many parts of Europe, interestingly the reverse is now true.

Although most analyses of transnational and global reproduction focuses on labour flows and, to a lesser extent, their stratifying implications on migrant family life, we can also examine more directly the reproduction through marriage and family reunification of migrant families, whose own reproduction has been hidden and privatised (Sedef Arat-Koç 2006: 88). We also need to connect social reproduction with informal and formal social protection within transnational fields. Those providing the reproductive labour may be doing so in states with low levels of social protection (Herrera 2008). Crucially, the global has become the site for much of the redistribution of socially reproductive labour. It has also become a strategic scale for sustaining reproduction at different points in the life course, whether it be for education of the young or the elderly seeking solutions for their daily needs in countries with available and cheaper care provision, for example, the migration of older Japanese men and women to Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand (Douglass 2012) (see Chapter 4). Social reproduction goes beyond labour – it also has affective and emotional qualities. And how reproductive work is assigned to particular groups of people across the sites is, as Bakker and Silvey (2008) point out, very much a question to be addressed in contemporary processes of global restructuring. We therefore need to engender greater clarity into who performs what tasks, with which skills and in which sectors and sites, issues to which we turn in the two subsequent chapters.

4
Sites of Reproduction, Welfare Regimes and Migrants: Unpacking the Household

As Cindi Katz (2001) indicated, reproduction always involves a complex interplay of a variety of actors in different sites so that it 'is secured through a shifting constellation of sources encompassed within the broad categories of the state, the household, capital and civil society' (p. 131). However the configurations between the different sites of social reproduction vary globally, in part according to welfare mixes. Increasingly welfare regimes have been influenced by international actors, discourses and processes and reconstructed through changing labour contracts and regulations that impact on the sites and institutions involved in the production and consumption of welfare provision.

In this chapter, initially we outline a typology of welfare regimes applicable globally. Wood and Gough (2006) define a welfare regime as the repeated systemic arrangements through which people seek livelihood security both for their own lives and for those of their children, descendants and elders. They extend the typology of welfare regimes elaborated by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) for states in the Global North, primarily in Europe and North America, so as to capture different modalities of providing security in everyday life beyond formal institutions. In the second section we explore the main sites and institutions through which welfare regimes operate, and draw out some implications of changes for the use of migrant labour in different sites of reproductive labour. The various nodes which we connect through a welfare diamond include the household and family, the state at different levels, the market from the small firm to the multinational, and the third sector (NGOs, charities, community organisations).

4.1   Welfare regimes

Although critiqued, Esping-Andersen's (1990) comparative typology of welfare states has often been seen as the basis for understanding different types of welfare regimes. There are a number of reasons for this: the ability of the typology to identify the mix of different providers of welfare in any regime, the outcomes of such welfare and the extent to which this embedding of welfare in the political and economic structures of welfare helps to explain the power structures involved in social reproduction (Sharkh and Gough 2010).

Esping-Andersen's earliest work emphasised the relationship between state and market and the concept of de-commodification, that is the degree to which individuals and families can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of the market through social security and benefits. A lively critique ensued on the absence of gender relations and the provision of welfare by families and women's unpaid labour (Lewis 1992) in addition to the transfer payments which were the focus of Esping-Andersen's analysis (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996). Subsequently he (1999: 35) recognised the narrowness of his analysis, broadening it from the state–market nexus to the 'intercausal triad of state, market and family' and adding a section on the household and welfare production. He now adopted the concept of de-familialisation, proposed earlier by Orloff (1993), and defined as the degree to which the household's welfare and caring responsibilities are reduced either through the welfare state or the market. Variations in de-familialisation are as great as for de-commodification (Esping-Andersen: 45). Other scholars (Hill 2007; Jenson 1997; Lyon and Glucksmann 2008; Razavi 2007; Wood and Gough 2006) have added a fourth domain or site, that of the community and voluntary sector which has become more significant in many countries across a range of welfare regimes since the 1990s.[1] This sector encompasses the formally organised, such as religious bodies, charities, NGOs, local community networks and organisations, as well as more personalised and ascriptive social relationships and arrangements, such as kin groups.

Esping-Anderson's typology of welfare regimes has become classic and is widely used even today. It differentiates between different forms of welfare as we outline here. The first, the liberal model (Australia, Canada, the USA and the United Kingdom) is based on means testing and welfare payments only adequate to maintain very modest living standards. The conservative corporatist (Austria, Germany) displays high levels of benefits, protected public employment and stratified

earnings-related systems, while the Southern European conservative variant is characterised by strong familial welfare and stratified benefits. Lastly the social democratic (Nordic countries) has a benefit system based on universalism and a high degree of decommodification and socialisation of familial responsibilities and publicly funded facilities. Despite critiques, this classification remains widely used (Lethbridge 2011; Sainsbury 2012; van Hooren 2012). However, we should note that a specific welfare regime may in fact incorporate some heterogeneity and change over time. Liberal regimes such as in Canada (England 2010) and the United Kingdom, though losing some of their more universal and social democratic elements, and becoming more emphatically liberal, nonetheless, still offer a universal health service to the user, albeit with increasing numbers of services supplied by the private sector. This contrasts with the USA without a taxation-based system and a relatively low health coverage of the population. A number of countries, such as France and the Netherlands, actually combine elements of different welfare regimes (van Hooren 2012) and could therefore be considered as hybrids.

Mapping welfare regimes globally means that we have to go beyond Esping-Andersen's typology. Thus, Wood and Gough (2006) extend the typology beyond OECD countries to Africa, Asia and Latin America to take account of the existence of informal provision in the constellation of practices for the reallocation of resources.[2] Gough and Wood (2004) also argue that the wide participation of non-state actors requires thinking not of welfare-state regimes but of welfare regimes, many of which extend well beyond individual states and encompass global actors such as migrants and NGOs but also institutions like the World Bank. Furthermore, to assume that there is a safety net provided by welfare regimes is itself simplistic (Gough and Wood 2004). Instead, globally there are two other meta-regimes – an informal security regime which is dependent on inputs from family and friends as the primary mode for assuring welfare, and a global insecurity regime, where despite all provision the requirements for social reproduction are simply unmet by existing modes of welfare.

Developing these forms into a classification of states, Sharkh and Gough (2010) suggest that instead of three or even four, there are at least seven clusters of welfare outcome-welfare provision systems across the non-OECD countries they studied. One such cluster is the proto welfare states, which combine fairly high state spending commitments and welfare outcomes with conservative stratification, informal liberalism and family provision. The countries in this cluster include Latin

American ones, such as Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica and Uruguay, along with many countries in Eastern Europe. However, in some countries like Argentina there has been a sharp turn to more liberal policies in recent years. However, the level and type of welfare offered to different constituencies will vary even within one regime (Lloyd-Sherlock 2002). A second cluster is the 'successful informal security regime' and includes productivist welfare states of East Asia such as Korea and Taiwan combining informal and formal welfare with marketised social welfare subordinated to the dominant economic goal of maintaining high growth rates (Mahon and Robinson 2011). They also identify a set of regimes with high informal security systems but with poor outcomes on a combination of these characteristics such as high inequality, large gender differences in welfare outcomes (South Asia), high morbidity (Southern African countries with HIV) and insecurity systems with not only low but falling indicators of welfare. Many of these are countries in sub-Saharan Africa, where social reproduction is precarious and heavily dependent on external funding, such as aid and remittances. However, there may be variations within a country, as is observed in South Africa where social welfare was delegated to the Bantu states and therefore depended on the size and wealth of each region (Lloyd-Sherlock 2002). This failure in the provision of social reproduction is crucial as it ultimately leads to migration – both internal and international.

The dynamic nature of these regimes is worth noting. For instance, Latin American Southern cone countries, such as Argentina and Chile, could look back to a welfare state similar to Southern Europe in the middle of the twentieth century, which was characterised by a dual system of protection for workers in the formal sector and a large number of informal sector workers with unprotected, residual assistance programmes and unregulated labour markets. The advent of authoritarian political regimes in these countries in the 1970s, and the imposition of structural adjustment in the 1980s, got rid of employment protection. With the return of democratic regimes, there have been some moves towards social programmes (Barrientos et al. 2008; Jenson 2010). Similarly, the East Asian developmental model, characterised by social insurance policies that are used to support strong state-led economic policies and high dependence on the family, is increasingly seen as a transient phenomenon – which breaks free of these characteristics as the economy develops (Ringen et al. 2011).

Political changes such as democratisation and institutional reforms in response to the East Asian financial crises of the late 1990s and the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

brought about radical shifts in the nature and sites of welfare and social reproduction. In some instances it has led to greater public financing, if not provision, of social reproduction, as in Korea and Taiwan. Korea has also been influenced since the economic crisis of the late 1990s by social policy discourses based on social investment promulgated by the OECD (Peng 2011). In other countries policy changes have been marked by the withdrawal of public services and a resultant reliance on the market and the family as in Eastern Europe. In both instances these changes have had an impact on the use of migrant labour; the former attracting migrant women (Piper and Yamanaka 2008), the latter sending migrant women to undertake reproductive tasks in wealthier states in Western Europe (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2011).

Changes in welfare regimes are reflected in social policies. Mostly these have been increasingly shaped by liberal principles. Since the 1990s, liberal measures, such as the introduction of market principles and a contract culture into public service delivery, have been implemented in all types of welfare states (Brennan et al. 2012; Schierup et al. 2006). Social investment discourses and practices have circulated widely across East Asia, especially Korea (Peng 2011), Latin America and Europe (Jenson 2010; Morel et al. 2011). The implementation of this approach, which emphasises preparation for the future rather than repair of the present, has privileged some groups, such as children. This has meant that for the age group three to six years, provision has expanded and is treated as education (i.e. early childhood education) rather than care and has been shifted towards the public education system (Mahon 2011). In contrast, older people have often been increasingly edged out of public provision towards the private and voluntary sectors, although in some countries, such as Germany and Japan (Mitchell et al. 2007), long-term care insurance schemes have extended protection to this group and made them less dependent on the family. Nonetheless, families which have traditionally undertaken the bulk of the care and continue to do so in most welfare regimes, have attracted more financial support through cash transfers, tax reductions and exemptions from social security payments for recruitment of labour, and long-term care insurance. The way that these developments are regulated will have implications for the composition and working conditions of the labour force recruited in the sites of social reproduction.

Another distinct set of changes is due to the introduction of welfare measures across much of the Global South in the post-Washington Consensus period (Mkandawire 2001). While the terminology of the Washington Consensus was assigned to what seemed to be a broad

agreement between various international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, along with other international institutions, on the need to shift production and social reproduction into the market, the post-Washington Consensus suggested that this should be accompanied by measures that would provide a safety net for the most vulnerable populations. It specifically arose in the context of the crisis of social reproduction arising from the measures introduced through structural adjustment programmes and as such focused on the shock of change and its varied responses – mitigation, coping and revival, and increasingly prevention of the initial shock itself. These welfare measures have shifted from safety nets to social risk management and now to social protection. Hence, targeted welfare provision for specific groups (rather than universal provision) has become a part of the welfare mix in a range of countries (Chitonge 2012). Conditional cash transfers originated in Brazil and Mexico and have become commonly used in Latin American and other countries (Fiszbein and Schady 2009; Lavinas 2013). This trend towards a 'social turn' in some countries of the Global South is in contrast to retrenchment in social provision in many countries of the Global North but globally, the nature of these two processes are also variegated with different directions of change for different groups.

The welfare regime typology, outlined above, indicates the extent and security of social protection but the mix of welfare provision across the different institutional locations also has to be considered.[3] The institutional sites have been captured by the metaphor of the diamond (Evers 1996; Jenson 2003; Razavi 2007), enabling one to examine the articulation of different processes across institutional arrangements and sites and depicting what Glucksmann (2005) terms a 'total social organisation of labour'. This is a relational conception focusing on modes of linkages and connections, articulations, intersections, configurations, patterns, networks and hence on different socio-economic spaces and time, work and non-work, and formal and informal sectors. The empirical realities and dynamic situations can be taken into account through the configuration of the welfare diamond and the connections between its nodes. Such an analysis can also be applied to different aspects of social reproduction, such as domestic work, child and eldercare (Kofman and Raghuram 2010; Razavi 2007), and healthcare (England 2010).

Moreover, each node contains spatial as well as institutional arrangements (which are not necessarily coterminous), adding a further, necessary layer of complexity. In particular, the interplay between institutional and spatial aspects has important ramifications for the conceptualisation of the family and household node where the latter

increasingly acts as the nexus of diverse and hybrid forms of paid and unpaid care labour and contracts (Esping-Andersen 1999; Ungerson 2005). The diamond also enables us to interrogate common assumptions about social reproduction provision both in the North and the South. Lyon and Glucksmann (2008) analyse the relationships between the four nodes of their configurations in four European states with different care and welfare regimes (Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom). The comparative analysis by Ochiai (2009) of care diamonds based on urban middle-class families in six East and South-East Asian countries also spans very different levels of development, wealth, political systems, the role of the state, employment of women during child bearing years, immigration policies, and use of migrant labour. These countries range from Japan, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan – amongst high-income countries – to Thailand, a middle-income country, and China, a low-income country that has in recent years become a major economic player. Although in each country the system is based on familial responsibility, the nature of the family structure is important for care provision. Apart from in Japan it is common for grandparents and a wide range of relatives to take care of children for long periods. There are also a range of other effective agents, formal and informal, which provide care for children and older people.

The relationship between these nodes differs between welfare regimes and over time. As we shall see, one of the main changes in relationships is the increasing salience of the household as a location for paid reproductive labour provided by a variety of different agents and institutions, and the withdrawal of the state as a direct provider in favour of third sector and market providers, though still often supported, financed or subsidised by the state (England 2010; Simonazzi 2009). This has resulted in a changing interaction between these nodes of provision and the use of migrant labour in many instances in lower paid and less professionalised labour markets. The same activity can be undertaken with different employment relationships and in different sites (Glucksmann 2005). For example, cleaning can be done either by family members, or paid domestic workers employed directly by the household, through an agency or the public sector.

In the next section, we outline the role of each sector as well as the changing relationships in different welfare regimes, although the extent of coverage of each will differ considerably. We are primarily interested in the role of each node in reproductive activities, in particular the provision of services and employment. Households have received quite extensive coverage in relation to domestic and care labour and

processes of externalisation and outsourcing (Bittman et al. 1999). It is an extremely complex site in which the other nodes external to it nevertheless supply diverse services of social reproduction, ranging from basic care to health services. However, we argue that the household is not a closed system – it is a site of not only unpaid work, which subsidises the market, but also where market relations are played out through the employment of paid labour. The state also operates both outside and inside the household. Moreover, its intervention is also reshaping how and what activities are undertaken in particular sites and institutions such as the household. The third sector or community also increasingly provides a social reproductive function, although how it supports the reproductive sectors, such as personal services and health, is less well specified. Finally, the marketisation of social reproduction has increased and become big business (Holden 2002; Lethbridge 2011; Williams 2011).

4.2   Families and households

The household is increasingly being incorporated into comparative welfare regime studies (Korpi 2000). For Esping-Andersen (1999: 6), the household economy is 'perhaps the single most important social foundation of postindustrial economies' or new political economies. The family too has made a comeback in recent years due in part to feminist critiques of mainstream male-centred welfare-state theory (Esping-Andersen: 48) and because it can no longer be assumed to be stable and simple, if it ever was. In this section we explore some of the definitions of the family and household, how they have been changing and why this matters.

Families are based on kinship links while the household can be viewed as units for resource-pooling (both income and outgoings), co-residentiality or kinship, although in this volume we use co-residentiality as the primary criteria for defining households. Both families and households are dynamic and changing. Though households often consist only of family members, their composition is highly varied (Bergeron 2011). On the whole, families and households have shrunk in size and different generations have tended to live separately, although in recent years in a number of countries it has become more difficult for younger people to set up their own households (see global households) (OECD 2012). Some types of households such as single occupancy homes have increased substantially. Of the developed countries, Sweden – a social democratic welfare regime where the state

provides a high level of social protection and support – has the highest percentage (47 per cent) of people living on their own (Klineberg 2012). In France and the United Kingdom it is 34 per cent. In familial welfare regimes there tends to be a higher percentage of households with more adults relying on intergenerational support within a single household, for example in Spain 26 per cent of households consist of three or more adults (Jensen and Juul Møberg 2011: 105), with larger families more common among low-income families. In many countries there has been a rapid fertility decline which in the future will leave an increasing number of older people being looked after by a shrinking number of children, as has happened in Japan (Ochiai 2009). The presence of extended families within the household (almost a fifth of families in India) also means that there may be may be more than two married adults in each household, making the sharing of reproductive tasks between these women commonplace (Palriwala and Neetha 2011).

Moreover, the nature of what goes on in households is altering in a period of economic, social and political change in which inequalities have increased massively. A complex range of reproductive activities takes place in the household including cleaning, cooking, gardening and household maintenance for dependant and non-dependant individuals, and care of dependant individuals – such as young children, frail older people and those with disabilities. Other activities such as the socialisation of family members and their understanding of themselves as classed, gendered and racialised members of society also occur within the household. The differences in what goes on in the household are not only temporal but also spatial with variations across countries and regions, as pointed out by feminist analysts (Harriss 1981; Hartmann 1981; Molyneux 1979). Feminist writers have for some time insisted that household members and relationships will vary depending on how households are defined (income-pooling, residential or kinship based) (Mackintosh 1981). These differences can be critical in care provision because lines of reciprocity often draw on some mixture of the three. For instance, kinship ties may be used to invoke caring responsibilities among those who are physically proximate on a regular basis so long as no costs are incurred. However, where acute care is required (such as hospital care) and care has to be purchased, payments may be made by the resource-pooling household, including (sometimes especially) those who are living abroad but are seen as part of the resource-pooling unit.

What also interests us in relation to the gendered aspects of global social reproduction are the shifts in these activities and who does them. The household in feminist analysis moved away from being a site of

unpaid work to a site of unpaid care (Safri and Graham 2010) which in terms of women's ability to participate in activities outside the household has been seen as the most difficult to change (Himmelweit 2000; Razavi 2007: 7).[4] Increasingly some of this care is being done by paid workers. Paid care work in the household has experienced one of the highest rates of growth in employment, and, in the past decade, has become the site for such reproductive work. The household is thus both a place of reproductive work (paid and unpaid) and consumption for the able bodied as well as those more dependent on others to look after them. The paid labour within it operates with different employment contracts, some informal, others more regulated.

Traditionally, households constituted major sites of paid labour for the working classes and internal migrants from rural areas. Often this would represent a stage in their life course when young women would either find alternative opportunities or cease to work upon having children. By the end of the 19th century it became an occupation for those without other alternatives, such as migrants without social contacts. In Europe, domestic servants accounted for 12–13 per cent of the labour force in very different societies such as Britain and Denmark and 30 and 38 per cent (respectively) of female employment (Esping-Andersen 1999: 55).

Unlike the thesis in the 1970s, that domestic workers represented what was considered a pre-modern or archaic form of labour (Coser 1973), households have, in the past two decades, increasingly become the site for paid work both in the North and amongst the expanding middle classes in the South. Yet already by the end of the 1980s Gorz (1988) offered an analysis of the growing recourse to domestic labour analysing this in terms of the concept of economic rationality which is characterised by the desire to economise, that is, to use factors of production as efficiently as possible, including within economic spheres of what were previously excluded (i.e. new growth through technological interventions into household tasks – telephone shopping, computer-programmed cooking) and, on the other hand, partial industrialisation and computerisation of services providing catering, cleaning, bodily care, education, childcare etc. He saw economic rationalisation as destined to penetrate the sphere of 'reproduction' in which domestic labour, which is neither remunerated, accounted for, or even measured, is still dominant. The explicit goals of the innovations are to save time, especially to liberate women or households from household chores. However, he went on to argue that the quantity of paid labour provided is much lower than the quantity of domestic labour saved.

What was significant was that this growth in paid domestic work was happening at a time when growing numbers were being pushed out of, or at least marginalised from, the sphere of (formal) economic activities. Avril and Cartier (2014) show that in the present period many care-workers in France have previously worked in insecure jobs in sectors in decline, such as textiles or small businesses in retail and office sectors which had shed staff. At the same time the professional elite continued to work as much or even more than it had, whilst commanding ever-increasing incomes and economic powers. The only way the latter could increase their leisure time was by getting third parties to procure free time for them by doing work which would be performed by 'servants', whatever the status of the people who do them or method of payment used. Hence

> the development of personal services is therefore only possible in a context of growing social inequality in which one part of the population monopolises the well-paid activities and forces the other part into the role of servants (Gorz 1988: 154).[5] Thus the new class of underpaid servants, are forced to take on other peoples' domestic tasks alongside their own (p. 171).

For Sassen (2010) the expansion of the demand for domestic work forms an integral part of the social reproduction of the high-level professional in global cities, many of whom are increasingly female. Work is demanding and requires long hours be put in. This results in the proliferation of what Sassen calls 'the professional household without a wife' in a situation where the household has to function smoothly, and hence signals the return of the 'serving classes'. It should be noted that Sassen is not necessarily referring to caring labour in terms of looking after those who are dependants. As we shall see, reproductive work performed by migrants extends well beyond the households of well-paid dual-career couples (May et al. 2007).

According to time-use studies, whilst technology came to replace labour in the household and the time spent on cleaning and cooking decreased compared to the 1920s (Himmelweit 2005), the time devoted to care did not decrease (Gershuny 2000). To gain an idea of the distribution of reproductive activities, one needs to examine changes in time allocation to different tasks as well as the degree to which and how the state supports such reproductive activities. Since the 1990s there have been a number of studies of time use data by feminist economists (Budlender 2009) and sociologists (Bittman et al. 1999; Gershuny 2000;

Gershuny 2011; Gershuny and Yee Kan 2009) seeking to investigate the interaction between unpaid labour in the household and paid labour and participation outside the household, the trend in different types of household work, and the extent to which different types of activities are outsourced.

A word of caution is required here for it may not be easy to distinguish caring from catering and cleaning since the latter tasks for a child or frail older person constitute care but not so for an able-bodied person (Waerness 1984). Routine activities cover all members of a household, including able-bodied adults and the carer her/himself. In a comparison of 12 EU states across the welfare regimes, Gershuny and Yee Kan (2009) found there has been a 20 per cent fall in unpaid labour over four decades from the 1960s but that the time devoted to household tasks remained the highest in conservative corporatist states such as Italy. More recently, the OECD (Miranda 2011) has taken seriously the contribution of unpaid household labour to social well-being (current consumption and future well-being or social investment) and published comparative data on time use with activities allocated between routine tasks (cooking, cleaning, pet care, gardening and maintenance), shopping, care of children and adults, and voluntary activities.[6] The results demonstrated that most unpaid work consists of routine housework, which on average across OECD states occupies two hours eight minutes per day compared to 26 minutes on caring for household members and 23 minutes for shopping.

Overall, the three main reasons for particular forms of division of domestic work are availability of resources, gender ideologies and availability of time. The availability of relative resources for doing domestic work varies both across countries and within them. For instance, the use of domestic appliances is lower in low-income countries leading to increased time spent on housework. Poorer infrastructures such as running water, cooking gas and electricity and access to motorised transport for fetching fuel and water further lengthen the time taken to undertake housework in these countries. These differences exist not only across countries but also across households with different incomes with the variation between the richest and the poorest households as high as seven hours per week in some countries (Heisig 2011). Moreover, faced with economic crises it may be surmised that very often the amount of time spent on housework increases as people substitute purchased goods for home-produced ones, shifting social reproduction into the household (in the case of Spain see Gimenez and Molina 2014). These variations between the richest and poorest households are reduced in

richer countries. Income inequalities within a country also increase the likelihood of the use of paid domestic workers within the household (Heisig 2011).

A second factor influencing time spent on domestic work is gendered ideologies, which have generally remained strong, and unpaid work differs considerably with women still spending far more time on routine domestic and care activities than men across the world. Men, on the other hand, are prominent in the time they spent on non-routine activities. So whilst the amount of time spent on routine activities decreased for women, it did not increase a great deal for men. In the OECD (Miranda 2011) study, tasks that have traditionally been thought of as 'women's work', such as routine activities of cooking and cleaning, continue to be primarily performed by women. In the countries surveyed, 82 per cent of women prepare meals on an average day, while only 44 per cent of men do with four times more time spent by women on cooking than by men. In contrast, typical male tasks are construction and repair work; men also devote slightly more time to gardening, pet care and volunteering, but their participation rates in these activities are similar to those of women. However, male involvement in certain kinds of care seems to be increasing. A US study (National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP 2009) shows that 49 per cent of those between the ages of 18 and 49 involved in care-giving are men but this proportion drops to 32 per cent for those aged above 49 years. Moreover, the overall numbers of men providing care has also increased.

In relation to care, especially for childcare for which there is more comprehensive information in time-use studies than for adult care, it takes up on average 42 minutes per day of a father's time compared to one hour and 40 minutes of a mother's time (22 OECD countries). There is also a clear difference in the type of activity. Mothers tend to dominate physical care, such as meeting the basic needs of children, including dressing and feeding children, changing diapers, providing medical care for children, and supervising children which accounts for 60 per cent of the time spent on childcare. On the other hand, men spend proportionally more time in educational and recreational activities, such as helping children with their homework, reading to children, and playing games with children than mothers, that is, 41 per cent of their total childcare time compared with 27 per cent of mothers' total childcare time. Care of adults in time-use studies is generally very low, ranging from 0.2 minutes for women and men in the Netherlands to three minutes for women in Portugal.[7] The average time is higher for women but not as much as for childcare. On the whole, there is little

data on the care of the elderly but an exception is the US Time Use Survey (US Dept. of Labor 2013). Women were more likely to provide eldercare (56 per cent) and the average time they spent on it was also higher than for men (3.5 versus 2.9 hours respectively).

A third set of factors influencing the amount of time spent on domestic work are socio-economic characteristics, such as employment status, being married, having children in the household and age (Budlender 2008: 57). Social differences of income, caste, race and educational level, also contribute to time spent on unpaid care. There are variations to the nature of tasks performed and their divisions based on ethnicity and culturally specific ideologies. For instance, Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2014) show that in the United Kingdom non-white women spend 35 per cent more time on cooking and religious activities than white women. Similarly in the USA, Hispanic women spend more time on domestic work than women in other groups suggesting that these differences are fairly fine-grained and complex (Wight et al. 2013). The time taken for tasks also changes over the lifecourse with sometimes quite sharp increases when children are small and when older people require care. They also peak at times of illness and other stresses.

Another way of examining household activities has been through the concept of domestic outsourcing which refers to the process of replacing unpaid household production with market substitutes. This literature has highlighted the fact that both female and male services are outsourced. In their study of Australian data from 1984 to 1994, Bittman et al. (1999) point out that the most commonly outsourced item was restaurant meals (90 per cent of households), 30 per cent of households with children under 12 years old used childcare, 9 per cent outsourced gardening and 4 per cent cleaning. According to the UK Time Use Study 2000, childcare accounted for 4 per cent and eldercare 1 per cent of outsourcing compared to 6 per cent on household repairs and 6 per cent on gardening.

Although outsourcing of domestic labour seems to be more common amongst stereotypically male tasks, it has received hardly any attention compared to the large amount of literature on female tasks mainly focusing on care (Kilkey et al. 2013; Perrons et al. 2010). The conceptualisation of caring labour, as a face-to-face service and based on emotional and relational dimensions, means that those areas of reproduction based on non-relational tasks, such as cleaning and cooking and which may be done in restaurants, canteens or in the home, are not included (Duffy 2005)[8] in the care literature.

4.2.1   Paid labour in the household

As previously noted, paid domestic labour has been growing in recent years in many countries though most households that use paid labour will also combine this with unpaid. Regional organisations, such as the European Union (European Commission 2012; Farvaque 2013; Morel 2012), have become interested in the sector of personal and household services and the development of appropriate policies to improve work-life balance and the creation of employment opportunities, especially for the relatively low skilled. Different types of outsourcing have different implications for the sites of employment of replacement labour. The replacement of meals consumed in the household, both restaurant and take-away, means that the labour of cooking is located outside the household. The proliferation of ready made food and prepared ingredients has also led to a reconfiguration between the market and the household (Glucksmann 2005), whereby more tasks are undertaken in food processing factories, which represents another highly feminised and frequently ethnicised form of paid work previously performed unpaid in the home (Duffy 2005). This is unlike the paid labour replacing routine domestic work and care of members of the household which still occurs within the household.

As we have noted, the different areas of work are also highly gendered. In particular, household maintenance is a largely male-dominated sector (Cox 2010; Kilkey 2010; Kilkey et al. 2013) in the United Kingdom as are gardeners, a niche filled by Mexicans in the USA (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). For Perrons et al. (2010: 204), it is not just feminised domestic work which has been commoditised but also male labour which 'represents another dimension in the global chain of social reproduction and transnational social divisions based on increasing inequalities between and the polarization of incomes within countries' (OECD 2011; Standing 2011). In their study, of an admittedly narrow and wealthy group of high-earning professionals in London, households employed male handymen in order to enable the male partner to be both committed to work and a hands-on nurturing father (Kilkey et al. 2013).[9] Nevertheless women still managed household maintenance tasks performed by the migrant worker, often Polish in this case.

Thus the various forms of outsourcing may be seen as a strategy for professional households with dependant children to make more time for parents to spend with their children which has become a norm of modern parenting. Parents are expected to read with their children, help them to do homework and generally stimulate them. Ochiai (2009)

in her study of urban middle classes in six Asian countries notes that there has been a common trend for a reduction in direct childcare about which there is unease about leaving it to maids and instead preferring that the mother or grandmother assumes the major role of childrearing (and socialisation), while the domestic worker cleans, cooks and shops. As Reay (2005: 105) suggests, family time in relation to children's schooling is being transformed into work time in which parents are expected to engage in home school work, thus making the boundaries between home and school increasingly porous and where a child's schooling is seen primarily as the mother's responsibility.

The analysis of replacement labour in the household in the time-use and outsourcing (Bittman et al. 1999) literature is primarily based on the greater participation of women in the labour market, an emphasis on households with young children and hence childcare, and the use of technology. There is generally little consideration given to single-person households and the needs of older people or the role of the state in supporting social reproduction in the household.

Yet the relationship between state policies and the household varies between childcare, on the one hand, and eldercare, on the other. In Europe, the inclusion of childcare as part of the European Employment Strategy has led to greater investment in childcare services, although there remain large differences in the extent and forms of provision. In the age category zero to two years, the use of formal childcare arrangements in 2006 varied from 73 per cent in Denmark to only 2 per cent in the Czech Republic and Poland (Plantenga and Remery 2009). Differences arise through policy measures and social and cultural norms about what is acceptable in using different forms of childcare. In social democratic Nordic states, childcare (parental leave and formal provision) is a social entitlement. Yet even here the au pair system has expanded substantially in the past decade (Burikova and Miller 2010). Officially treated as cultural exchange rather than labour migration, it is in effect a means of importing cheap labour primarily by dual-career families (Stenum 2010). Its deployment may be stretched to providing care for the elderly rather than the original intention of childcare where the young person supposedly learnt the language and culture of the country through social contact with its inhabitants in the intimacy of their homes. In countries with high levels of overall childcare provision, such as France, tax exemptions have been part of an employment-generation strategy pushing care into the home though using registered child minders (Scrinzi 2009). The vast majority (86 per cent) of child carers in France undertook the task in their own homes rather than that of an

employer (Avril and Cartier 2014: 611). In familial welfare states such as Italy there is still very poor provision of formal services for very young children, although in Spain this had been increasing more rapidly. In East Asian countries too there has been a notable increase in provision for children over two years as well as for those under two years (Michel and Peng 2012). In China and Singapore there is also a well-developed system of public facilities for small children (Ochiai 2009: 64). In contrast, in North America childcare is seen as the responsibility of families and is only supported through vouchers for low-income and tax credits for middle- and upper-income families. High-quality care for under 5s is therefore a middle-class privilege (Michel and Peng 2012: 410). However, the provision of care or subsidies for care for those who fall below an income threshold continues to prevail in many countries, often in recognition of the inadequacy of even the combined wage (Palriwala and Pillai 2011). The linking of access to childcare with participation by all adults in the household in waged labour is also commonplace.

In terms of eldercare, there are also large variations between countries (Lethbridge 2011) but general trends of home care, private-sector provision, targeted access to services, use of cash transfers, and private financing can be discerned (Simonazzi 2009; Williams and Brennan 2012). Expectations of who should perform caring tasks and whether older people should be placed in institutional sites are also important in determining the sites of their social reproduction. In many countries families are still expected to provide the care but this may vary between a specific child, for example, such as the eldest son as in Korea and Japan, or the responsibility of children in general, as in China (Ochiai 2009: 66). Other countries like India are adopting a regulatory form of state welfare for older people, legislating on how care should be provided, but are not taking responsibility for the provision of eldercare (Brijnath 2008; Raghuram 2012). However, these care arrangements become stretched as more and more older people are living alone and the availability of informal care is declining (Coyte et al. 2008). Hence, paid work within the household is becoming an important means of providing care. It must be noted, however, that even within a single household a mix of provision is often resorted to with paid care work being supplemented by informal care often provided by more than one carer (for a US example, National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP 2009).

Direct financing of care, where it occurs, may take varied forms. Many European states have introduced personal budgets and payments for care (Pfau-Effinger and Geissler 2005; Ungerson 2007). Workers are

employed by the individual, private agencies, NGOs and social cooperatives. The intensity of commercialisation will, however, vary according to a range of factors such as the cost of labour, relative wage differentials and cultural practices. Thus the mix between the state (financial subsidy with or without strings attached) and the purchase of labour on the market (live in or out) is achieved through the household.

Some countries have maintained public provision, though often incorporating public management techniques, as well as home care services (state, private and community), as in Denmark and Sweden. Others have medium levels of home care services, increasingly outsourced to the private sector by local authorities, for example, as in the liberal welfare regime in the United Kingdom or undertaken by the voluntary sector, as in Germany. In the last few years, the introduction of personalised services and personal budgets, which allow an individual older person to receive a cash payment rather than a service have led to the growth of 'personal assistants' whose conditions of work may be unregulated, as in the United Kingdom, or regulated, as in France, through a degree of supervision by social services and an administrative professional (Da Roit and Le Bihan 2011). Others have low levels of institutional as well as home care provision, where cash transfers have led to the transformation from a family to a migrant in the family welfare model (Bettio et al. 2006). In the USA, Medicaid programmes have allowed people to hire their own care-workers directly, particularly through schemes such as the Cash and Counselling schemes where disabled and older people directly employ workers with whom they have an on-going relationship (through kinship or long-term care relationships). These schemes have proved popular (Rummery 2009: 643).

In all countries care work is of low status. Specific care regimes, which encompass cultural and social attitudes and policies, employment models and migration policies determine the use of migrant labour in home care (da Roit and Weicht 2013; Shutes and Chiatti 2012; Theobald 2011; Williams 2010). Immigration policies (see Chapter 6) have a major role in determining the extent to which migrant labour is used in paid household labour and its legal status (regular/irregular). Women tend to do more of the paid caring although there are higher proportions of migrant men in caring, whether it be in Denmark, Italy or the United Kingdom (Rostgaard et al. 2011), than among men in the labour force more generally. For example, in the United Kingdom 31 per cent of migrant men were in the care sector (home and institutional) compared to 13 per cent of UK-born workers (Cangiano et al. 2009). As carers, men may emphasise their 'masculine qualities' such as physical strength in

handling older people or the ability to do repair jobs around the home and thus often obtain higher remuneration. Care work is better paid than other low paid occupations such as sales and retail work, check out operators, kitchen work and catering and cleaning (Cangiano et al. 2009; May et al. 2007).

Long-term care has also been seen as a way of providing employment in home care for migrants and minorities deemed as having low employability, for example in Denmark, France and Germany (Rostgaard et al. 2011; Theobald 2011). In Denmark, most care-workers are second generation whom the state demarcates as suitable workers due to their upbringing in a tradition of family solidarity (Rostgaard 2011: 151). In the United Kingdom (institutional and home care), 9 per cent of care is undertaken by students, 28 per cent by UK nationals, 20 per cent by EU nationals, 14 per cent by permanent residents and 19 per cent by work permit holders (Cangiano et al. 2009). In Italy 90 per cent of domestic workers (840,000) are foreign-born (Rostgaard et al. 2011) with over half of the migrant care-workers working without a regular employment contract. Overall migrants constituted 22 per cent of eldercare workers in Canada and 16 per cent in the USA (Spencer et al. 2010). In the USA, 46 per cent of domestic workers were foreign-born, this proportion is partly reduced because of a strong racial component to the US-born population itself[10] (American Community Survey 2005–2009, cited in Burnham and Theodore 2012). Whilst there are initiatives to increase the number of migrants and co-ethnics for eldercare, as in Japan and Korea which have recently implemented schemes for long-term care, childcare is seen as unsuitable for foreign workers (Michel and Peng 2012).

Within paid household employment, there is a hierarchy. French data exemplifies this point. The foreign-born constitute 40 per cent of cleaners but only 15 per cent of child and elder carers (Avril and Cartier 2014: 616). Child carers are the most highly educated and likely to have a middle or upper-income spouse. Amongst migrants and the foreign-born, there are also inequalities and hierarchies in terms of ethnicities and nationalities (Andall 2003). For example, Filipinas have often been able to command higher salaries because of their knowledge of English and in some countries for having the same religion. Immigration status also differentiates migrants. Some migrants may be semi-compliant in that they have the right of residence but not of work, others have neither. Irregularities of different kinds are common in this sector (for Europe Triandafyllidou 2013). As a sector, employers often do not ask for documents and authorities can only enter the private dwelling with judicial

permission, it is an easy one for migrants to enter into. In some countries, the employment may be regular but rigidly tied to the employer (see Chapter 6).

The extent to which migrants are used in household work also varies significantly between localities within countries. Many studies of migrant care work are small-scale (Williams 2011) and based on large and global cities with their distinctive labour markets, social structures and extensive use of migrant labour (Kofman 2013). In other words the place of the research and how it shapes our theoretical framework has not been adequately addressed such that in this instance the local stands for the national (Glick Schiller and Çaglar 2009). A French study (Avril and Cartier 2014) based on national quantitative data, showed that over two-thirds of domestic workers (cleaners, child carers and elder carers) lived in cities with a population of less than 200,000, but the proportion of migrants in these smaller cities may well be lower than that in bigger ones.

Though much household care work is classified as low skilled, the trend towards reduction in time spent in hospital and care in the community postoperatively has also resulted in nursing intervention and healthcare in the home. Furthermore, more interventions, such as dialysis which had previously been undertaken in hospitals, can now be performed at home and are carried out by public bodies, the third sector or the private sector. Nurses and other skilled health personnel may be based in a variety of public or private institutions from where they organise their home visits. These range from community healthcare centres as in Ontario (England 2010) or Quebec (Meintel 2006) or in medical centres or hospitals, as in the United Kingdom. In the next section we turn to the other nodes and institutions of the welfare diamond and highlight in particular how they shape and contribute to the supply of paid labour in the household.

4.3   Beyond household institutions of reproduction

4.3.1   Communities and the voluntary sector

This is a complex category comprising social networks beyond relatives and self-help groups based around neighbourhoods, on the one hand, to small and large NGOs, cooperatives and charities. Historically, whilst some societies, such as Germany and the Netherlands, have a long history of such involvement in the provision of health and social care, in others the emergence of what has been called a third sector or social economy constitutes a more recent development (Defourny and Pestoff 2008).

The not for profit/voluntary sector plays an important role in the provision of care services for older people. Originally developing services because of an inadequate provision by public or private sectors, the not-for-profit sector has often been influenced by user groups, who not only provide services but also campaign and advocate for services for older people including their rights as users. Not-for-profit companies are increasingly contracted by the public sector to deliver services. In some European countries, charitable organisations, such as the Red Cross and Caritas, are the major providers of care services for older people.

In Germany, this sector accounts for 50 per cent of provision and relies on 80 per cent of its funding from the state. There is a growing tendency of third sector providers of social services to be dependent on government funds which are allocated under strict contractual arrangements and in competitive contexts. Yet in Austria, also a country with an insurance scheme, public and non-profit operators dominate with a total 90 per cent share of care services provided in patients' homes and a 51 per cent and 27 per cent respectively in the area of institutional care. In the Netherlands, the care services financed by the Long Term Insurance Scheme (publicly financed), which entitles every citizen in need to either home or residential care, are provided by non-profit organisations (van Hooren 2012: 138).

In Italy, within the third sector, not for profit (social cooperatives) or former public charities provide the bulk of home care for older people (Simonazzi 2009). Government-run residential homes were privatised in 2000 and now operate as not- for-profit providers with independent managers but allocated funding by local authorities within a contractual framework. A minority have become public companies for personal services, especially residential care homes. Since 1991, over 7300 social cooperatives have been founded, 59 per cent of which provide social services (Lethbridge 2011: 25).

Not-for-profit organisations do not necessarily have a tradition of unionised staff, not least because they have often depended on volunteers to undertake some of their activities. With increased specialisation of services requiring qualified staff, the role of volunteers is decreasing and being replaced by a growing professionalisation of the sector. Attitudes to unpaid public labour can differ substantially. It is looked down upon in Scandinavian countries but undertaken by those on pensions in the Netherlands (Lyon and Glucksmann 2008). In Asia, community provision is significant in China (older urban districts) and in Thailand, where community organisations have been formed in the new residential districts of the urban middle class. In China, Shequ organisations, meaning community, were adopted after the dismantling

of work-based social units in the socialist period. They combine government directorship and residential community groups and with the help of volunteers provide a range of welfare services, such as residential homes and day-care centres (Ochiai 2009: 66–67). In Korea and Japan mothers have created childcare networks, some of which have established themselves as non-profit organisations (Ochiai 2009: 64). Similarly, a study (Moshabela et al. 2013) of non-profit organisations providing care in rural South Africa shows a rapid increase in their numbers between 1991 and 2010. 62 per cent of the organisations studied had been established by women, either due to religious reasons or in order to maximise the benefits of their nursing background.

4.3.2   Market and the private sector

As previously noted, social reproduction has become increasingly marketised. This sector includes a variety of providers although the exact involvement of the private sector, ranging from small and medium firms to national and internationalised corporations, in the provision of each form of social reproduction and its use of different categories of labour is difficult to obtain from existing studies and incomplete data sources. The private sector is more likely to utilise migrant labour who are over represented in the more demanding and less formal segments (Shutes and Chiatti 2012).

This sector, comprising both home and residential care, is growing in size and importance in a number of countries as the state has divested itself of providing direct care services for older people or expanding service provision for children (Brennan et al. 2012). As we have seen (section 4.2.1), diverse policies have encouraged the use of home-based services and fostered the growth of market provision for older people across a range of welfare regimes. In Sweden, a country that previously had universal and publicly provided care service, the private sector still constitutes only a minority share (17 per cent) of home and residential care, but those with lesser needs are increasingly forced to turn to the market or their families. Only two private equity companies own half of Sweden's eldercare market but this varies enormously between municipalities with 60 per cent of home care hours in Stockholm being privately provided compared to none in Gothenburg, the second city (Szebehely and Trydegard 2012). In Denmark companies supply 50 per cent of services demanded by households. Their clientele are both dual-career households as well as older people. The private sector has a small share in some countries such as Austria where commercial providers only account for 10 per cent of residential and 22 per cent of

home care. In some countries the type of provider is stipulated in legislation. For example, in Japan, long-term care services in nursing homes and hospitals can only be provided by non-profit organisations, whereas home care services may also be provided by private, for-profit firms (Mitchell et al. 2007). Access to private care facilities is often dependent on class and may be restricted to those from the middle and upper classes, although Indian research suggests that the nature and type of care available will vary based on how much you pay to use these 'pay and stay' homes (Kalavar and Jamuna 2011). It is also worth noting that as there is a feminisation of ageing the class differences in access to care will also have gendered effects.

Residential care homes are sites of investment from companies. In 2002 in France, a new category of residential care for dependent older people (EHPAD) was introduced to provide accommodation and healthcare (Le Bihan and Martin 2010), resulting in an increasing number of companies becoming involved in setting up EHPAD beds. In the United Kingdom two-thirds of care homes are owned by companies, some of which may have started off small but have then been bought by larger companies (Cangiano et al. 2009). In Australia, home care is dominated by non-profit organisations, for-profit-providers are significant in residential care, especially in high-care nursing homes (Brennan et al. 2012). In Sweden, whilst concentration has occurred in the ownership of residential homes, for example, 20 per cent of private residential homes are run by five companies, some private firms are being driven out because of the more intensive health tasks in the remaining residential homes (Simonazzi 2009: 215).

The extent of market provision varies considerably in childcare. For example in Sweden, although there are no longer restrictions on private companies setting up publicly subsidised childcare centres, the role of this sector is still limited (8 per cent) but is being utilised by better off families (Brennan et al. 2012: 383). In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, childcare provision until 1997 was limited to public provision for vulnerable children or else the responsibility of families. From 1997 until 2010 under the social investment strategy (Morel et al. 2011) pursued by the New Labour government, a large-scale expansion occurred with priority given to the private sector (72 per cent of provision in 2010) (Brennan et al. 2012: 383).

The new push towards marketisation has encouraged the use of migrant labour in an attempt to recruit a labour force that will accept unsocial shifts and long hours and contain labour costs. Migrants are more likely to be over represented in the private sector and work in

lower waged jobs. Agencies for the recruitment of temporary labour have become very prominent in less-skilled sectors, such as care, cleaning and construction. They have existed for some time in countries such as the USA and the United Kingdom, but were prohibited in a number of others (such as Italy, Spain and Sweden) until relatively recently, as well as being opposed in international regulatory conventions such as those of the ILO (Peck et al. 2005). Even where the agency may seem to be local, it may in fact be part of a much larger company and/or have links with agents in other countries as McDowell et al. (2008) uncover in their study of a major hotel and hospital in London.

4.3.3   State

To understand how the role and intervention of the state plays out in different welfare regimes, we need to examine the influence of neo-liberalisation on labour market and social policies, such as the shift to flexible working conditions and marketisation of service provision. Yet equating these processes with the withdrawal of the state, as we have previously commented, is too simple. In many countries the state has withdrawn from direct provision, outsourced provision to the private sector (from small firms to multinationals) and facilitated cash for care to individuals in households. In others, the state never provided formal services, either through institutions or home care. In both instances the transfer of public funds remains high and has led to what one might call the capitalisation of the household, that is, financial resources transferred to the household through tax credits[11] and subsidies as well as allowances for those requiring care. Some have also argued that transfers of funds and responsibilities have led to the greater involvement of the state in the household and the growth of personnel in local government to determine entitlements and manage and monitor the transfer of funds (England 2010).

   Following its increasing withdrawal from direct provision, the state has also developed more fully its regulatory role which has grown as it contracts out services. Though they may be financed by the national state, social reproductive sectors are often the responsibility of regions, provinces and, especially in relation to delivery of services, local authorities. The state frequently sets prices and decides on entitlements for supported care. For example, in Japan, prices of services and units of care are set by the central government and each municipality – of which there are 3200 – then decides which people are eligible for what kinds of care (Mitchell et al. 2007). One way of rationing care has been to raise the level and kinds of needs to be supported through public funding (taxation) and insurance.

Thus although there is a tendency to think of the state as withdrawing from provision, this often varies according to the form of social reproduction. In many countries it has become much more involved in early childhood education as part of a social investment strategy, including in familial welfare regimes in Southern Europe, East Asia, and the southern cone of Latin America (Faur 2008; Mahon 2011). Such provision is then attached to the public education sector. In addition to Southern European countries, middle-income countries such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico, South Africa and Uruguay have also been developing such policies and seeking to reduce class and regional differences (Razavi et al. 2012). For example, differences in access to preschool education for five-year-olds have been substantially reduced in Argentina by making enrolment mandatory for this age group and by expanding public preschools (Faur 2008). On the other hand, access to care for older people is much more limited and is, in many instances, declining. One exception was Argentina, where for a long time, strong political mobilisation prevented this decline (Lloyd-Sherlock 2002).

In social democratic regimes, although the role of the private sector has grown and market principles have been introduced into state provision through performance indicators, the state still finances and directly employs. In the skilled sectors of social reproduction, the state retains a greater degree of direct employment of teachers, health workers and social workers. In liberal states, such as Canada and the United Kingdom, however, the private and non-profit sectors have assumed a growing role in an increasingly fragmented landscape of provision of education and health services.

At the same time, the redrawing of boundaries between professions, for example doctors and nurses, and between nurses and healthcare assistants, may result in diverse mixes between the public and private sectors and of course different and revised working and employment conditions (Bach et al. 2012). Responding to shortages has also resulted in recourse to private agency staff amongst nurses, teachers and social workers in state sectors, an issue we shall examine in relation to these occupations in more detail in the following chapter.

4.4 Transnational and globalising social reproduction

Esping-Andersen's analysis aimed to provide a typology of states where each was seen as inherently bounded. Wood and Gough (2006) add to their institutional responsibility matrix, an international dimension which includes the role of international NGOs and international household strategies upon which many informal security states rely heavily.

Migration is of course a strategy to overcome risks, poor or inadequate conditions of employment and social reproduction. Particularly where formal protection is weak, the informal modes, in particular remittances, may be the main means of countering its inadequacies through investment in individual and familial education, health and social protection.

More generally, the institutions of reproductive work are increasingly transnational and globalised. Formal and informal social protection transcends nation-states both through the activities of transnational families and global households and of states covering their own citizens beyond state boundaries as well as non-citizens residing in their own territories. The extent of social protection (pensions, social insurance against unemployment, disability and health, maternity benefits, family allowances) varies by type of flows, that is from North to North, South to North and South to South (see Chapter 2) and by immigration status (citizen, permanent resident, temporary or undocumented). The differential access to entitlements and services results in stratified social reproduction (Boyd and Pikkov 2008; Morris 2002; Sainsbury 2012 and see Chapter 3). In particular, many of the sectors in which women are employed, entail few benefits because the work is located in the household, it is irregular, it is poorly paid or all three (see Chapter 6 on rights for domestic workers).

Sabates-Wheeler and Feldman (2011) show that Europe affords social protection for 80 per cent of its legal migrants because of the presence of international agreements and the number of migrants from high-income countries. The European Union (EU) has the most comprehensive, but complex, system of portable social benefits within its territory. EU citizens enjoy full non-discriminatory access to all benefits[12] and portability of most social benefits, but third-country nationals from outside the EU are treated equally only after a certain period of residence. The USA has signed a large number of bilateral agreements (24) mainly with other developed countries in the EU. Though Mexico is a member of NAFTA, no agreement has been ratified (Taha et al. 2013: 12). Thus most bilateral agreements are signed between high-income countries or between those which have experienced large-scale organised migration, such as the Philippines, which has agreements with several EU countries and Canada. The Philippines Overseas Workers Welfare Administration also provides migrant protection and a type of spatial portability from origin to host country, financed by membership fees paid before deployment. The Ibero-American Multilateral Convention on Social Security involved Spain, Portugal and 12 Latin American countries

(Hirose et al. 2011). Yet some of the largest labour-exporting countries, such as Russia, Mexico, India, Bangladesh, Ukraine and China, have not signed agreements (Holzmann and Koettl 2011). In particular, access to formal social protection and portability is highly variable for South–South migrants. In the Latin American and Caribbean region (LAC), migrants can take advantage of social security provisions that have been established in the multilateral framework of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Agreement on Social Security (CASS) since 1996 but in general, low-income countries lack such agreements (Taha et al. 2013). In South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa the corresponding rates of coverage are 0 and 4 per cent respectively.

One of the reasons the state is increasingly adopting transnational strategies – including in the provision of welfare for its migrant population – has, in part, been necessitated by the demands that governments want to place on migrants to foster development at home. For instance, the Mexican government introduced a 3×1 scheme in 2002 whereby the central, regional and local governments matched the money provided by Mexican home town associations on a peso-by-peso basis. These funds are used for establishing infrastructure projects and helping to underpin the social reproduction of households in Mexico (Duquette-Rury 2011). Similarly the Filipino government is not only acting as a transnational actor with regard to social reproduction but also depends upon and fosters other transnational actors to contribute towards its own state provision. For example, the government sponsored Adopt a School policy encourages migrants to give money to public schools in the Philippines. The money donated is tax deductible to 150 per cent of their value in the Philippines (Newland et al. 2010). These examples of private–public partnership question the supposedly neat boundaries between the family (and its individual and collective remittances), the private sector (which often helps to build the infrastructure), NGOs through whom the money is channelled, and the state which fosters and matches private and collective fund-raising and whose role in providing social reproduction is subsidised by these migrant remittances.

Transnational actors such as NGOs are also increasingly involved in social reproduction with diaspora philanthropy precisely focusing on areas such as education and health. In fact, remittances have led to a sharp growth in NGOs – in India between 1984 and 2004–2005 the number of voluntary associations receiving foreign funds increased from 3612 to 18,540 (over half of all such organisations in India) and the amount they received increased from 2.54 billion Rupees to 62.57

billion Rupees (Jalali 2008: 169). However, NGOs do not remain outside of government control – they are increasingly monitored and regulated by the state, often in order to reassure migrants of the veracity of the NGOs. In India, they are also sometimes seen as a threat to national security, not just as contributors to development or welfare. They are, as a result, regulated by the state through the home ministry and the Foreign Contributions Regulation Division (established in 1976). The right to operate, the nature of activities, and the transfer of funds etc., are all influenced by the government. Thus, the state alters the transnationalisation of care provided by NGOs.

The market is the other important node in care provision which has also globalised. Thus, global companies are increasingly important actors in the provision of social reproduction. Multinationals are becoming involved in this sector, for example the ISS and Sodexho, which also invest in retirement property with care services. Sodexho, for example, is a listed company originally set up in France in 1966 but is now an international firm operating in 80 countries with 391,000 employees. Apart from France (16 per cent revenue), it has a strong presence in the United Kingdom (8 per cent of revenue) and in North America (37 per cent). Sodexho is also seeking to grow its Personal and Household Services (childcare, tutoring, home care for dependent persons), some of which is an extension of corporate services such as catering, cleaning and childcare vouchers (Sodexho Annual Report 2011). The ISS, originally set up in Denmark and now owned by a private equity firms, also has a worldwide reach that provides cleaning and catering services and has 500,000 employees (ISS website).

The sections above have highlighted the transnationalism and globalisation of three of these nodes and the resulting overlap between nodes. It suggests that there are important specificities in how the globalisation of these elements of the welfare diamond is proceeding. However, the household is also transnationalising as shown by the global care chain analysis discussed in Chapter 3 and the formation of transnational families. The mix of relations and the dynamicity of these transnational processes across the life course are best captured by the concept of global householding.

4.4.1 Transnational families and global householding

The growing interest in transnational families in the USA (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997) and Europe (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 3) highlighted the spatial extension of familial activities across national borders whilst maintaining a sense of 'familyhood'. More recent studies have

encompassed a wider range of actors – such as mothers (Parreñas 2005), fathers (Pribilsky 2012), children (Mazzucato and Schans 2011) and processes – than the earlier analyses of transnationalism (Herrera 2013), but have tended nevertheless to focus on the emotional and material practices of parenting. Care is one of the most important practical, emotional and symbolic resources circulating through different forms of migration (labour, family, educational and retirement), and stages in the life cycle (childhood, parenthood, middle age, young old and old old), and within diverse configurations of transnational families (Baldassar and Merla 2013). How households seek to ensure economic well-being or maximise social mobility through transnationalising strategies (Yeoh et al. 2005), and how they have responded to life events and global processes, has also led to the concept of global householding. This entity, broader than the family and allowing for the formation of units not necessarily composed of relations through marriage or direct lineage (Douglass 2006; Safri and Graham 2010; Spike Peterson 2010), provides a useful framework. Studies drawing upon this framework, unlike many of those based on the familial domestic sphere, have, in the words of Spike Peterson (2010), connected the diverse activities in the household to highlight how the politics of gender is not simply confined to the household but extends beyond it to perpetuate a variety of inequalities such as those across class and gender, inequalities that are both materially produced but also socially and culturally normalised.

For Douglass (2006: 424), global householding builds on the different stages of the life cycle enabling the continuity of social reproduction as it spatially extends itself. Such stages are exemplified by marriage, the adoption of children, sending children abroad for education and settling them in other countries, the demand for domestic helpers, the retirement of couples from higher to lower-income countries to save resources, and the sending of remittances. It enables us to trace movements into and out of a particular household. A key defining feature of households is co-residence but in the case of global households, they transcend national boundaries and members no longer live in the same dwelling. The extent of shared resources and structures of decision making are likely to be variable depending on the context. Combining a commitment to education and to familial ties, mothers move with their children and thus continue to play their role as educational managers (Chee 2003; Park 2006, cited in Finch and Kim 2012). In some situations, such as children being sent abroad for education and accompanied by a parent, the household may retain a high degree of pooling of resources

(Chee 2003). In other instances, the household no longer operates as a unit but one member may contribute some resources but overall the dispersed units operate fairly separately.

Households may disperse and reconstitute themselves globally over time with changes in the relationship between members. Inputs and outputs of resources and people also shape the changing parameters of the household. It may be through family migration that modalities of social reproduction alter. A US study showed that older adults helped their grown children with housekeeping, childcare, and domestic economising (Treas 2008). For example, in Canada, Chinese couples have mobilised transnational resources and brought over their parents to provide childcare while they work but also to reinforce the socialisation of their children into Chinese culture (Zhou 2012). Latin American grandparents, especially grandmothers, in Spain also sustain the household and its social reproduction (Escrivà 2005).

The extent to which it is possible to rely on family members to sustain reproduction in a reconstituted household depends a great deal on family migration policies. In most EU countries, and especially in those with more formalised systems of family migration, it is very difficult to bring in older family members to support the social reproduction (JCWI 2014; Kraler 2010; Strik et al. 2013) of their children and grandchildren in the country of immigration. In countries such as Australia and Canada this was a possibility but it has become less feasible. In Canada, for example, unlike previously, the quota for new applications for parents in 2014 has been set at a low level of 5000 persons per annum and replaced by super visas which allow entry for up to two years at a time over a ten year period but do not allow any access to welfare or permanent settlement (Jabir 2014). Yet research in Vancouver had shown that extended families facilitated integration (Creese et al. 2011), allowing both parents to work and train whilst providing childcare in a liberal welfare system where the cost of private care was expensive. Ageing migrants and carers, especially those forced to move between societies may be trapped between welfare systems, thus diminishing their social citizenship (Deneva 2012).

In Japan, where immigration policy does not permit domestic workers, older people who cannot afford care may migrate to cheaper countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines or Thailand, where they are able to hire a domestic worker and their pension goes further (Toyota 2006). The relative cheapness of social care and healthcare in India is also encouraging some migration to India by older people from other parts of the world (Goering 2007). Retirement migration to

lower-income and often sunnier locations commonly occurs in Europe (King et al. 2006) and North America.

At the other end of the age spectrum, the prolonged and severe economic crisis, and increasingly precarious conditions of employment, especially in the European peripheries, has resulted in growing levels of migration by tertiary-educated young people to core regions with lower levels of unemployment.[13] Being without an income, due either to high levels of youth unemployment (Eurofound 2014) or without access to social security, many young people have been forced to remain living at home with their parents. The share of young adults aged 18–34 years still living with their parents was particularly high in South and Central-Eastern Europe even before the crisis (Choroszewicz and Wolff 2010; Eurostat 2014). Thus, those who move away are pursuing a strategy of spatial mobility in order to counteract the lack of independence and intervene in the conditions of their social reproduction. How these strategies and their ensuing outcomes differ by gender and ethnicity awaits further research.

The two preceding situations exemplify outward movements of people, but households also receive significant additional income through the remittances sent back by those who have migrated. In 2012, $401 billion (World Bank Report 2012) went to developing countries (a new record) with overall global remittances at $514 billion. The biggest recipients in 2012 were India ($68.92bn), China ($57.99bn), the Philippines ($24.64bn) and Mexico ($23.37bn). Personal remittances are largely used to make good deficiencies and maintain social reproduction or to advance social mobility. They may be used for general household expenses, such as food, clothing and household maintenance, to provide or improve children's education, access health services, support the carers looking after the children and other family members of those who have migrated, and construct new or improve existing housing. In some instances, remittances, together with poverty-reduction measures such as conditional cash transfer payments, have maintained households following declining agricultural returns (Arias 2013). In poorer households, remittances may be the principal source of income. The use and impact of remittances varies according to the local economy and the structure, wealth and power relations within the household.

Although remittances are commonly used by a large number of households towards food expenditure, for example, as in Southern African countries (Dodson et al. 2008) and in the Philippines (BSP 2104a), allocation to other expenditures, such as education to improve the social reproduction of the next generation, varies considerably. In the

Philippines, with a relatively well-educated population, over two-thirds of households utilised remittances for educational purposes (BSP 2014a). In Mexico, however, with a less educated and migratory rural population, it is not clear what effect remittances have had on educational levels (Arias 2013). Boys may also be eager to leave school to migrate and earn money.

The amount sent back may be affected by the prolonged economic crisis in the Global North and geopolitical conflicts. For example, remittances in Mexico which mainly emanate from the USA, have been falling due to the contraction of the construction industry, stricter border controls, higher costs for being smuggled across them, and high levels of deportation, especially of men (Arias 2013). On the other hand, with a much more diversified and steadily increasing level of emigration, especially to the Middle East and Gulf countries, the Philippines are receiving higher levels of remittances (BSP 2014b). Cash remittances rose from $17,348 billion in 2009 to $22,968 billion in 2013 (BSP 2014a).

In the past decade interest has begun to focus on women and their higher potential to send back remittances (IOM-INSTRAW and UNDP 2010; Orozco et al. 2006; Ramirez et al. 2005). However others (Kunz 2011) have cautioned against the idea of equating the sending of remittances with women's essential altruism. Rather the amount sent back will depend on the educational level of the migrant, the country of destination, the kind of employment they are able to obtain, their legal and migrant status and the relationship between the sender and receiver (Wong 2006). Bollard et al. (2010) found in a large-scale survey of African migrants that male migrants remit more than female migrants, particularly among those with a spouse remaining in the home country, Male migrants are more likely than females to have a spouse outside the country. Men with a spouse outside the country remit an average of $3879, while women with a spouse outside the country remit $771. Some of this difference will be accounted for by lower wages earned by women and lesser economic security. In Zimbabwe, there is no difference in the amount remitted by women and men, leading Dodson et al. (2008) to surmise that the types of socio-economic households were probably similar. And while it is estimated that overall about 70 per cent of remittances are sent back to women (Orozco 2012), this too will differ according to the power relationships and structures within households and gender ideologies in the sending society. Thus the gendered sending back of remittances needs a contextual analysis.

4.5   Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the changing relationships and interactions between sites and providers of social reproduction across different welfare regimes primarily in receiving countries. Privatisation, liberalisation and outsourcing of work have led to the blurring of distinctions between the providers of social reproductive activities and thus a greater interaction between the nodes. In this process the household, in particular, has been transformed into a very complex site. The state, national, regional and local, the third sector and the private sector, all provide paid labour in the household. However migrants contribute to different degrees to the diverse household tasks with greater presence amongst those doing domestic tasks and eldercare. The growth of paid household labour, even during a period of economic crisis, has ensured the continuing employment of migrant labour, largely female but also men who undertake tasks associated with both men and women.

Labour migrations and the attendant movement of family members have been one of the elements of the development of transnational families, the circulation of care and global households as part of the spatial extension of social reproduction. As we have seen, the globalisation of the household is dynamic, involving different processes and inward and outward resources at different stages of the life course, from the young leaving in pursuit of education (sometimes accompanied by a parent), cohabitation and marriage, to older people migrating in search of affordable care or better living conditions.

In the next chapter we look at the different types of skills that migrant women contribute to sectors of social reproduction with different skill demands, and especially in sectors such as nursing and teaching. We also extend our analysis to consider how their skills are used more generally in the social reproduction of their families and communities.

5
Skills and Social Reproductive Work

As we argued in the previous chapter, the literature on gendered migration has largely focused on the household as the site for migrant labour with cleaning and caring being the primary occupations that female migrants seem to be employed in. However, recognising the other sectors and sites where female migrants work in order to provide similar services – often in more marketised versions such as in residential care homes, the hospitality sector, tourism or in sex work – suggests that the same skills may be regulated and valued differently in different sites. Migrant women are also engaged in skilled reproductive sectors, such as nursing, social work and teaching. Moreover, they bring with them and develop a range of skills that are crucial to the family and the community. They help to ensure the social reproduction of their children through inculcating in them a range of values and skills.

In this chapter we focus on how migrant women contribute to other sectors of the labour market, to communities and publicly provided services in multiple ways and how skills are deployed in these sectors. The first section expands the notion of skills (Williams 2005) to include the linguistic and communication skills that are put to use by migrant women in order to provide for the social reproduction of their own families and communities. As feminised or non-calibrated skills, they are seen as essential aspects of femininity and often undervalued although receiving societies are increasingly dependent on such migrants for other parts of their social agenda, such as social cohesion and 'integration' programmes. Migrant women as mediators (Delacroix 1997; Halba 2009; Kofman et al. 2000) and involved in migrant organisations as volunteers and paid workers facilitate the formalised delivery of such programmes, while simultaneously undertaking these functions in their familial roles as unpaid family members. In the broader consideration of

social reproduction (Glenn 1992), these activities are taken into account as part of the maintenance of migrant populations.

The second section focuses on two feminised skilled reproductive sectors – nursing and teaching. Female migrants contribute to a much broader range of skills, primarily in the professionally and state-regulated skilled sectors, than is often acknowledged (Kofman and Raghuram 2005, 2006; Raghuram and Kofman 2004). Skilled migration has become increasingly significant in societies of immigration (Australia, Canada) (Boucher 2007, 2009); and in several European states (Kofman 2012). In the 1990s, information technology – a largely male-dominated sector – had been seen as the driving force of economic globalisation and opened up to temporary and permanent immigration whilst the welfare sectors remained severely restricted. However, in the following decade the regulated welfare sectors (education, health) experienced severe shortages, leading to extensive competition for migrants in these fields (see Chapter 6 for their place in immigration regimes). Nursing has become truly globalised (Ball 2004; Buchan et al. 2013; Gabriel 2011; Kingma 2006) yet the human resources and industrial relations perspectives offered by much of the literature in this field meant that the presence of nurses has only been folded into the theoretical apparatuses used to understand gendered global migration in limited ways (Bach 2010 on nursing, Hussein et al. 2008, 2011 on social work). Thus, it is important to insert women into the landscape of skilled migration, and one step towards this would involve a recognition of skilled migrant women's contribution to the often feminised, state-regulated socially reproductive sectors.

In the third section, we examine how migrant mothers in particular contribute to the social reproduction of families and communities in sending and receiving societies through their own mobility. For many, the education and the social stability, if not mobility, it offers is one of the main reasons for migration. However, the extent to which children benefit from this is variable as we shall go on to see. The role of fathering in social reproduction is also important in this context. Migrant women and men are not only involved in socially reproductive work within the household but also within the community. Women may use their linguistic and communication skills to offer services to co-ethnics but also to other migrant and non-migrant groups as we will explore in the fourth section.

Thus, in this chapter we aim to expand the skills that are taken into account when theorising migrant women's contribution to social reproduction. We will go on to argue that the social reproduction of a society

draws upon a range of skills, that are validated differentially, but many of these skills go unrecognised when provided by migrant women.

5.1   Skills at the intersection of gender and migration

We begin by exploring skills as an important analytical focus at the intersection of gender and migration. Skills have gained increasing significance as a factor influencing an individual's mobility. Knowledge subjects are wooed by states as investment in rational knowledge, evaluative judgements and informed engagement are seen as productive both of the state and the modern subject. As 'modernity has given science the status of the only truly public knowledge' (Pellizzoni 2003: 331), scientists are the ultimate modern subjects. Thus, modern states may well encourage some forms of mobility as they are deemed to be part of modern subjecthood. Underpinned by notions of Enlightenment, the forms of mobility come to be seen as an exercise in rational discrimination by bounded, autonomous selves, moving freely and rationally within the world. These forms of knowledge also find value in migration and international migrations are increasingly shaped by the prioritisation and regulation of knowledge within specific migration regimes.

However, the qualities of the knowledge that travel also vary. Discussions of different kinds of skills and their propensity and ability to be transferred, transmitted and translated with corporeal mobility are indebted to Michael Polanyi's (1958; 1966) distinction between the codified and the tacit. He explored the personal and emotional dimension of knowledge creation, distinguishing between 'codified knowledge', defined as rule-based knowledge that can be written down and stored, and 'tacit knowledge' which is acquired on the job and resides with the individual as know-how and experience. Since then the classifications of types of knowledge have become more complex and differentiated between those indivisible from the individual, and in principle amenable to transfer, and those that are socially situated. Our typology of types of skills draws upon Williams' (2006) development of a classificatory system.

According to Williams, *embrained* knowledge is dependent on conceptual skills and cognitive abilities, which allow recognition of and reflection upon underlying patterns. Such knowledge is marked up as creative and imaginative but also as already harnessed into existing systems of production so that this knowledge is economically productive. Thus, it is often assumed that these conceptual skills are derived from scientific formulations. Such knowledge has become more valorised and

prominent due to its generic nature and hence supposedly unfettered mobility. It underpins the productivity that is ascribed to a knowledge society and also provides it with its competitive edge. Both actual economic growth and relative growth are seen to be spearheaded by this form of knowledge.

Embodied knowledge results from the experience of physical presence, practical thinking, material objects, sensory information and learning in doing. The 'material turn' in social theory has led to a revalidation of such corporeal knowledge. The embodied nature of many kinds of work and the tacit knowledge that accompany even the more embrained forms of work have come to be recognised, spurring new methodological insights and methods (Büscher and Urry 2009). However embodied knowledge has been traditionally associated with women's knowledge and often discounted in its contribution to production and social well-being. Furthermore, the work done by some people, especially certain groups of migrants, is necessarily posited as embodied as we shall go on to see.

In *encultured* knowledge, meanings are shared due to some form of common culture. Understandings arise from socialisation and acculturation so that language, shared experiences and sociality are the key elements of this form of knowledge. This form of knowledge is often ascribed to soft skills, with shared understandings and responses and ways of behaving. It is often tacit although it may be counted up and classified through broad categories such as nation or religion. Knowledge which is *embedded* in contextual factors and is not objectively pre-given forms another category of knowledge. Here knowledge is shared even though it is generated in different language systems, cultures and groups, because it is embedded in institutional and political contexts.

Finally, *encoded* knowledge is embedded in signs and symbols which are to be found in traditional forms such as books, manuals, codes of practice and on websites. This is the kind of knowledge associated with traditional professions relating to law, medicine and education, although these have embraced other forms of knowledge creation as well. For Williams these forms of knowledge are relatively less mobile (Williams 2006). However, as many postcolonial theorists have argued, the transfer of encoded knowledge has been central to the development of spatialised power (Cooper 2005). For instance, the mobility of doctors has enabled the formation of shared codes across a profession which then shapes further mobility (Raghuram 2009) for some (see Chapter 6).

Although it is useful to separate these forms of knowledge in order to understand what is contained and sought within each, empirically they are often found in combination. For instance, certain kinds of embodied and embedded skills may come to be valued in combination with brains. Thus, Grugulis and Vincent (2009) found that when women had technical skills their soft skills came to be acknowledged too. These diverse and intricate configurations are valorised differentially and depend on the context in which the bearers of such knowledge are incorporated.

Another important factor affecting the valorisation of skills is the site where these tasks are performed. Tasks such as cleaning and caring when done within the household by paid domestic workers and carers have much less value than when they are done outside in occupations such as catering and care work in institutional settings. Moreover, knowledge that draws upon tasks that were usually performed within the household but then moves out of the household, as is true of much embodied knowledge, may be credited with little value. Thus, caring, even when done in formal settings such as in care homes or hospitals, may be devalued precisely because it is seen as a marketisation of skills developed within the household.

Of course, there are exceptions to this, including those based on the gender of the person performing the labour. The involvement of men in certain sectors may change the status and valuation of these skills. Thus, the work done by male carers may be seen as more valuable because of being more physically arduous than the tasks done by women. These differences are further amplified when tasks such as caring and cooking remain unpaid as in mothering. Such skills are normalised as part of gendered and familial relationships and are rarely valorised as skills.

Though embodied knowledge is generally devalorised when it is combined with encultured and embedded knowledge, it may lead to a higher position within an occupation. For example, Filipino domestic workers and carers often earn higher wages in many countries because of their competence with the English language and because of sharing a history of Christianity with employers from some countries (Anderson 2002). However, the valorisation of these types of knowledge is also dynamic and contextual. For instance, Filipino childcare workers were seen as too independent compared to obedient Indonesian workers in Taiwan (Lan 2006) or too lenient compared to Jamaican nannies in Canada (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997). The skills of workers were recognised in comparison to that of other workers. The differential linguistic and personal skills of different individuals may also be ignored in favour of association of their ethnic groups with certain types of skills.

Underpinning these valuations of skills are also complex geopolitical histories which operate to complicate simplistic understandings of value. For instance, Riemsdijk (2013) found that Polish migrant nurses in Norway have their knowledge devalued because of the history of how Poland has been viewed in Norway as part of a 'less advanced' Eastern Europe. The embodied value of whiteness could not be mitigated because of this history. However, whiteness operated along with colonial history to differentiate white Europeans and Filipinas providing childcare in Canada (Pratt 2005). Filipinas were deemed to be servants while white Europeans undertaking the same tasks were portrayed, and remunerated, as nannies. Pratt points to the importance of colonialism in the devaluation of the skills of Filipina migrant workers. She argues that colonial discourses contribute to 'the production of borders that define workers as worthy or unworthy, competent or incompetent, skilled or unskilled' (Pratt 1999: 234). This importance of geopolitical formations in the valuing of skills takes skills outside the individual and places them as part of the politics of the reproduction of society.

Thus, how skills are combined, the sites where they are performed, the history of these skills, the gender of who uses these skills, the relations through which the skills are regulated and the geopolitical history of skill formation all influence how skills are recognised, valued and remunerated. *Em*brained knowledge suggests that these skills make up knowledge that is marked up as being about brains, often almost exclusively. It recognises that even embrained knowledge may be specialised and thus enacted in local environments that are not easily duplicable or replicable (Meyer and Brown 1999). Similarly *en*coded knowledge suggests that the coding is the primary process through which such knowledge comes to be recognised. It highlights the fact that these differentiations are at least, in part, a set of representational practices whereby certain elements of knowledge get privileged while others are stripped off or removed from vision. The syllables '*em*' and '*en*' suggest that these forms of knowledge do not have an ontological status that is wholly outside of their practices. They come to gain status through being marked up through particularly privileged signatures. Embrained knowledge is a case in point. The creativity of certain forms of art practices must be tethered to the economy through the framework of the creative cultural industries to become embrained. They are entangled in power relations about what counts and what does not. Certain elements of knowledge may come to be recognised as codified but other codes may be implicit and not marked up as such.

These are not definitional problems alone – the reason they matter is that along with the marking are issues of value including remuneration. Within a particular configuration, embrained knowledge is probably the most highly valued. Its value is reinforced with the addition of encultured and embedded knowledge which enable people who have those forms of knowledge to transcend their bodily status. Thus it enables a migrant to approximate as closely as possible the non-migrant because it helps them to get recognition that comes much more easily to non-migrants. Of course, the migrant may not be able to access the relevant experience with which to obtain these forms of knowledge. And soft skills, a broad term which covers a range of skills under the umbrella of the embedded and the encultured, should also be seen as employer-driven, locally relevant and political rather than universal and generic (Grugulis and Vincent 2009: 599); they are frequently equated with gendered and racialised attributes, for example aggressive men and empathetic women. These qualities are ascribed to and desired in gendered migrants (and non-migrants).

Migrants may also contest these constructions of themselves and help to mould how their skills are viewed and valued. For instance, Filipino migrant domestic workers in Singapore and Hong Kong have constructed their own identity through racially distancing themselves from Chinese employers and aligning with Western employers (Paul 2011). In this process they selectively incorporate dominant racial stereotypes about the Chinese and white Western race in order to better negotiate their position within the global hierarchy of domestic workers. However, these alignments may also be place-specific because Filipina migrant domestic workers do not and often cannot align themselves with their US employees when they are in the USA (Espiritu 2003). Hence, although there are dominant ways in which skills are valued, those whose skills are valued may employ a range of tactics in order to seek to have their skills revalued.

5.2   Skilled reproductive sectors

In this section we turn to two feminised skilled reproductive sectors, that of nursing and teaching, which have witnessed significant migratory movements. As we shall see, the extent to which individuals have been able to capitalise on their qualifications and skills depends on a number of factors, the place of acquisition of qualifications and professional experience and how these are differentially valorised, that is their global positionality (see Chapter 2). Qualifications and experience obtained in

key Northern countries are privileged as they are seen to give rise to a smooth passage into the labour markets of receiving countries. Hence, migrants may engage in several moves to attain a particular end point, such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the USA, countries whose qualifications are globally recognised, but acquiring these qualifications inevitably requires resources. They depend on and reproduce class differences. Moreover, the sectors which seem to dominate global migration schemes are also often male dominated (Raghuram 2008; see Chapter 6).

It is within this context that skilled migration seems to be the purview of men while the reality and research on gendered migration centres instead on the emblematic figure of the domestic and care-worker (Kofman 2013). As a result, there has been much less attention paid to women who work in skilled sectors of the labour market. However, women predominate in several sectors of the skilled labour market, especially in reproductive sectors such as nursing, social work and teaching. Insights from these two sectors not only mark out the presence of women in skilled migration but also expand the importance and meaning of social reproduction.

Nursing and teaching are among the top three female-dominated occupations in the world (along with secretarial work) with women forming over three-quarters of teachers in many countries (Feistritzer 2011). These patterns are also seen among migrants (see for instance, Collins and Reid 2012). Near universal ascription of the attributes associated with caring and the responsibilities of social reproduction to women means that irrespective of country of origin/destination, migrants face similar gendered workplaces. Much of the literature on migrants in these sectors has also, therefore, focused on women; there is much less research on men.

5.2.1   Skills in the nursing sector

Nursing, a highly feminised sector, employs a large number of skilled migrants in countries like the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and some European countries (Buchan 2012; Buchan et al. 2013, 2014; Dumont et al. 2008). There are also regional hubs for nurse in-migration such as Japan, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia in Asia and South Africa in Africa. Currently, one of the most significant factors influencing emigration of nurses is the shortage of nurses in some countries concomitant with strategic training of nurses to fill this shortfall by others (Connell and Stilwell 2006). Although this is underpinned by wider global inequalities between and within countries, immigration

regulations have allowed selective filtering of nurses to meet labour market demands. A few sending countries such as the Philippines, India and Nigeria have emerged as the primary senders of migrants across many parts of the globe. These patterns often draw on historical trajectories (McNeil-Walsh 2004) such as long-standing migration from the Caribbean, Ireland and Australia to the United Kingdom but these patterns have now altered. The development of mobility within the European Union has changed the historic patterns of movement of Europeans which were based around colonial affinities, and are now largely replaced with movement from poorer to wealthier regions within the continent. This is especially so since 2010 when the effects of the economic crisis have been acutely felt (Buchan et al. 2014). In other instances, historical ties might dominate as in the case of Filipinas travelling to the USA (Choy 2003). Despite the geographical proximity of Central America to the USA there are very few nurses from these countries in the USA.

The effects of nurse migration on health in the sending country depend on a range of factors such as the level of health equity in the country and most significantly the global inequalities between countries (Bradby 2013). For Bradby, as for many others, it is the difficulties of reproducing oneself in one's own country that gives rise to migration. Moreover, the migration of nurses also leads to a further crisis of social reproduction in the sending contexts as the health sector struggles to meet its staffing needs. Thus, a World Bank study (2009) suggests that there were 21,500 nurses from the English speaking Caribbean in the USA, Canada and the United Kingdom, which is three times the number in the source countries. However, migration can only occur where there are labour market shortages, favourable immigration policies and growing economies in the destination countries. For instance, although nurse migration increased significantly between the late 1990s and 2008, in many countries it dropped after the economic crisis of 2008 due to the retrenchment in the public sector that followed and the ensuing cutting back of state-provided services (Buchan et al. 2013). Nurse migration is also influenced by human resources management policies in the destination countries. Thus, the growth in domestic training programmes has reduced dependence on internationally educated nurses (Squires and Beltrán-Sánchez 2013). Another factor influencing the skilled migration of nurses may be the adoption of the WHO Code of Practice in 2011 which aims to ensure that countries with huge shortfalls of healthcare professionals are restricted from sending migrants. Fifty-seven countries fall into this most restricted list. Changes in mobility regimes such as

free entry for EU nationals to the United Kingdom have led to a virtual stop in non-EU nurse migration into the United Kingdom and an increase in intra-European migration. However, selected occupations within nursing continue to be open to migration, particularly where they are highly specialised and are demanding, such as intensive care and neonatal nursing (see Chapter 6).

Yet, the opportunities that nursing appears to offer for a transnational life have become attractive to many men and women globally. The constitution of the global nursing labour force is altering as a result. In countries like the Philippines and India the proportion of men taking up nursing has increased (Panopio 2010). Moreover, doctors have also retrained as nurses in order to take up the opportunities that the profession provides (Manalansan 2006). St. Kitts has become an educational hub for nurses seeking to obtain US qualifications so as to obtain easier entry into the US labour market while Filipinos who were brought up in the USA are returning to the Philippines to train as nurses in one of their numerous nursing colleges (Nichols et al. 2011).

Not all nursing training is easily transportable across borders because nursing education can vary considerably. In most countries the skills and training required to become a nurse can vary between the registered fully qualified nurse to those who are deemed less skilled and are employed in auxiliary positions. In Latin American countries in the Southern Cone the proportion of auxiliaries ranges from 62.3 per cent in Argentina to 87.8 per cent in Uruguay (Malvarez et al. 2006). Similarly in Central America, it is only Mexico which has a significant number of registered nurses; in most other countries in the region auxiliaries form the majority of the nursing workforce. The nature of training across these groups differs based on the former receiving professional training while the latter have more vocational skills. In most health systems there is also a third intermediary group who have vocational and technical skills but do not have professional accreditation (Nichols et al. 2011).

Given the very different systems of nursing qualifications that exist around the world, it is difficult for migrant nurses to establish that they have equivalent qualification. Usually, it is the professionally qualified registered nurses who migrate leaving behind a gap in skills. However, not all of it is due to the transferability of qualifications; push factors may operate too. In countries like Mexico this is, in part, due to the preference given by the Mexican healthcare system to the lesser skilled nurses who have not obtained a degree in nursing so as to keep costs down.

However, even where the skills acquired are officially recognised as equivalent, nurses may find it difficult to have their qualifications validated in the destination country. The range of skills encompassed within nursing means that the transferability of each will affect the extent and the manner in which migrant nurses are able to work abroad. The testing of these skills and their variable transferability is exemplified in the case of Japan. Because of pressure from the Japanese Nursing Association, overseas trained nurses have to pass Japanese nursing and language examinations if they want to practise in the country (Inoue 2010). Success rates for these examinations are poor, with only 7 per cent of students from the Philippines having passed them in the first four years after the institution of the Economic Partnership Agreement (Yagi et al. 2013). These licensure examinations test a range of skills. Most easily learned are the embrained skills around nursing, many of which may be transferred from the source country. Encultured language skills require attendance of classes (Itami et al. 2010). However, encoded knowledge such as social care systems and pensions and the specificities of health requirements in Japan too are tested which, for foreign migrants, can be seen as culturally embedded rather than simply encoded. Hence, the way in which skills are combined at threshold points such as during examinations can have a strong influence on the transferability of these skills globally.

As a result of this non-transferability of the package of skills that nursing involves, globally there is considerable evidence of deskilling (Mensah et al. 2005; Siar 2013). Experience in a different healthcare systems, knowledge of English and medication and proficiency with technology are the most widely cited bases for this lack of valorisation (Nichols et al. 2011). However, the lack of encoded and embrained knowledge is much more starkly problematised in racialised nurse migrants so that white migrants experience far fewer barriers to skill recognition and validation than black migrants (McGregor 2007; Smith et al. 2007) (see Chapter 6).

As a profession, nursing and care work also face the devaluation of skills related to the embodied nature of the work done (Wolkowitz 2006). The skills which require touch and smell, when performed by bodies in feminised professions, become devalorised, especially when applied to older bodies (Twigg 2006). This devalorisation of skills, which affects both migrant and non-migrant nurses, extends beyond the workplace and is incompletely mitigated by the higher income that nurses earn after migration (George 2005). For Walton-Roberts (2012) it is nurses' institutional position within a global commodity chain which

helps them to secure this status but she argues that this conversion is incomplete given that the symbolic value of nursing is itself compromised because of its colonial history, its feminisation and the sexual implications of single female migration. However, Nair and Percot's research (2007) seems to suggest that migrant nurses from Kerala in the Gulf countries were able to convert their economic wealth into status in their home country reducing the dowry they had to pay in order to get married.

Deskilling is an important reason for return migration (Haour-Knipe and Davies 2008). However, nurses who return may find that the additional qualifications or training they obtained abroad are not recognised. In one study, Ghanaian nurses who obtained additional midwifery qualifications abroad found that they had to retrain as a midwife in Ghana if they wanted to pursue this specialty as their training and experience abroad was not transferable (Asare 2012). Thus, the valorisation of skills can influence migrant nurses negatively both while leaving and returning. In order to address this, some regions have created measures to improve the cross-accreditation of nurses. In 2006 the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries established a Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Nursing Services which enables nursing qualifications to be recognised freely across the ASEAN countries. This is overseen by the ASEAN Joint Co-ordinating Committee on Nursing.

Moreover, the nature of skills demanded in the destination country also alters over time affecting the careers of both migrant and non-migrant nurses. For instance, in the USA, evidence that the risks faced by patients who are treated by a nurse who had done an undergraduate degree before going into nursing are lower than those who entered nursing through other routes has meant that there has been a shift towards validating the entry of degree holders into the profession as part of risk management by healthcare providers (Squires and Beltrán-Sánchez 2013). Even locally trained nurses, who had not done a degree prior to entering nursing, face increasing barriers in the profession. They find that their career opportunities are restricted to care. Hence, skills transfer must be considered within the context of dynamic and changing scenarios of healthcare provision and skill recognition in both sending and receiving countries.

Other ways in which the skills associated with nursing are being recalibrated is through processes of site-shifting and task-shifting in health provision (Nancarrow and Borthwick 2005) which in some countries would have implications for the immigration of professionals (see

Chapter 6). Site-shifting involves moving nursing work outside hospital settings both into private homes and community centres and into primary care while task shifting has meant that many of the tasks done by doctors, nurses and carers have been recalibrated with more and more tasks being handed over to lower paid ranks of staff who are trained to 'act up'. Many countries within the OECD including Korea, Estonia, Finland, Canada, the USA, Norway and Sweden (OECD 2011) are increasing the proportion of care which is delivered in the community with a significant part of their health budgets being spent on outpatient care (Royal College of Nursing 2013). In the United Kingdom and Australia, 21 per cent of nurses are employed in the community or in long-term care settings and even higher in Canada (29 per cent) and Norway (32 per cent). The United Kingdom is also distinctive in that it has a very large proportion of nurses employed in other settings, currently estimated at almost a quarter of all nurses (RCN 2013: 9). However, certain categories of community nurses such as district nurses have seen a sharp drop in numbers of NHS staff in the past few years from 20 per cent in 2005 to 12 per cent in 2012. Health visitors have, on the other hand, maintained their numbers. Unfortunately the data does not make clear what proportion of staff in these settings are migrants but a range of qualitative studies has shown that migrants are proportionately more likely to be in the less prestigious non-acute healthcare settings than in acute care hospitals (Spencer et al. 2010). In particular, long-term care tasks are moving away from hospitals as the site of care provision to community provision and houses, altering the nature and mix of migrant women's presence across the welfare diamond (Meintel et al. 2006).

This site-shifting is frequently accompanied by task-shifting. Healthcare services in many countries are depending on nurses to up skill and take over jobs previously done by doctors. In the United Kingdom the use of nurse consultants who are independent practitioners has increased. Similarly, in Denmark as part of the growth of home care services where patients are asked to be independent and to self care, the role of nurses has been amplified to take on many of the tasks previously done by doctors. At the same time the roles undertaken previously by nurses have been relegated to unregulated support staff (RCN 2013). These changes in nursing practices have implications for the skills being sought and the skills that are required from migrant and non-migrant women and men.

Another shift in nursing arises from the growth in private provision, either directly or indirectly in care (see Chapter 4). Private provision has implications for the rights that migrants are able to access,

rights that England and Henry (2013) characterise as ordinary citizenship. In the United Kingdom, as in several other countries, private sector workers tend to have fewer rights, and migrant workers are disproportionately found within this sector. The better remunerated end of the private sector is likely to be dominated by non-migrant nurses.

Site-shifting, task-shifting and the changing regulation of work together have led a large number of nurses whose skills have not been recognised to enter the care services (Spencer et al. 2010). According to an employer survey in the United Kingdom, 19 per cent of the care-workers and 35 per cent of nurses employed in long-term care are migrants and these proportions have risen significantly in the last decade. Similar percentages are estimated for Ireland and the USA, though in the former these proportions are much higher in eldercare than in the general health and care sector because it is seen as a speciality which is usually involved in long-term rather than acute care and is also considered to have low status. In Australia too geriatric care has much higher proportions of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds than other sectors (Hawthorne 2011: 122) while in the United Kingdom the proportion of migrants in eldercare is 35 per cent as compared to 23 per cent in the overall migrant labour force (Spencer et al. 2010). What is clear is that there are significant numbers of migrants, including migrant nurses employed in the care sector. The skills required in this sector are often embodied although encultured skills like language and cultural knowledge may also become important in some settings. Spencer et al. (2010), found that poor knowledge of English was one of the most significant complaints made about migrant care-workers; in other respects the care given by migrants was seen as equal to or better than that provided by non-migrants. Even within the sector there are differences between the lesser skilled jobs and the more highly skilled employment. In the United Kingdom and Ireland, there is a higher proportion of migrants in the more highly skilled end, perhaps because nurses who have entered care work are assigned these roles. In the USA and Canada, on the other hand, migrant care-workers are often employed in lesser skilled jobs (Spencer et al. 2010).

In some countries, the percentage of migrant men in these sectors is higher than of non-migrant men (Cangiano et al. 2009 on the United Kingdom), yet there has, thus far, been little research comparing the experiences of male and female migrant nurses. However, the little there is (see for example, Winkelmann-Gleed and Seeley 2005) suggests that being a migrant was of far greater significance than their gender. Thus, male migrant nurses found it difficult to access managerial

roles, the route towards career progression often taken by non-migrant male nurses. However, gender intersected with other factors such as nationality in influencing their experiences as nurses. For instance, male migrants from the Middle East were sometimes treated with suspicion by patients in line with the more widespread discourses around Islamophobia which surrounds Muslim men. Hence, their gendered experiences were foremost a part of wider structural disadvantages faced by migrants but were additionally influenced by discursive formations around gender.

5.2.2   Skilled migrant teachers

Another skilled sector that is crucial to social reproduction is teaching. According to the OECD 10,000 overseas teachers were recruited in the year 2000 and US data sources estimate that in 2007 there were nearly 19,000 foreign teachers working in the USA (American Federation of Teachers 2009). The migration of teachers involves a loss of both educational input and output for the source country because as teachers they are products of educational systems but they also play a key role in the social reproduction and education of the next generation (Sharma 2013). The cost of reproducing the next generation and of finding teachers to educate young people is borne by the sending state while the benefits are reaped by receiving countries. The resultant loss of human capital is seen to have effects throughout the country so in order to address the negative effects of the migration of teachers[1] the Commonwealth (2004) introduced a teacher recruitment protocol. Its efficacy is, however, still unclear.

As in the case of health workers rural areas often subsidise and pay the price of the international migration of teachers from urban areas as rural migrants move to urban areas to replace those who move from the cities to other countries (see Voigt-Graf 2003 on Fiji). Sometimes internal migration also precedes international migration as teachers use their city experience to qualify for and develop the networks to migrate internationally. The loss of teachers thus cuts along the rural–urban divide but it also builds upon and exposes other social cleavages in society. For instance, one study in South Africa shows that although the proportion of emigrants is highest from schools which were once white only, the shortage of staff was greatest in Asian, coloured and black, schools suggesting that teachers were moving from the latter group of schools to the former. Hence, the effect of migration of teachers from largely white schools was being felt in the black schools which were losing their staff to the white schools (Appleton et al. 2006). Migration, thus, has

differential effects in the source country, articulating with distinctions based on location and race.

Knowledge of English language is another important factor, which, in a globalising world, has achieved hegemonic status in brokering global mobility. It is seen as central to the social reproduction of children in a range of societies. Thus, South African research shows that those who taught in (black) 'African' schools – where under the segregated school system of the Apartheid regime English was not taught – were seen as less desirable recruits for teaching abroad (Manik et al. 2006). Similarly, Mexican return migrants from the USA are employed as teachers in Mexico because of their ability to speak English (Petrón 2009). The Mexican government recognises the need for students to equip themselves with English in the context of a globalising world but also particularly in the context of high emigration rates from Mexico to the USA. This use of language by return migrants in order to increase the opportunities of people in the society from which they (or sometimes their parents) migrated is also evident in the case of South Korea (Cho 2012). US-Korean men migrated to Korea to teach English and found employment as 'native English' speakers. In doing so, Cho argues, the US-Koreans were also able to exert their patriarchal privilege in what is a highly racialised and gendered employment market.

Thus, the repositioning of many nations including South Korea in global systems draws on the transference of linguistic skills that were being taught by migrant returnees. In both the Mexican and South Korean cases, migrants may achieve a social status in their countries of origin because of their linguistic skills which they will lose if they return to the USA. While linguistic skills are combined with masculinity amongst the South Koreans investigated by Cho (2012), Lan (2012) shows how it is combined with whiteness amongst Western migrants moving to Taipei. Thus, migrants are able to combine their linguistic capital with other racialised and gendered aspects of their identity in order to convert this into economic capital and to forms of privilege. However, unlike in the South Korean example, Western migrants to Taiwan are able to enhance the value of their linguistic skills by combining it with the symbolic status and authenticity that whiteness provides.

However, the transferability of skills was not always accompanied by an increase in status. In Taipei the status of migrant men teaching English was compromised by having to enter the largely feminised teaching profession. They therefore sought opportunities to teach in college where the status loss could be partially mitigated. Moreover, the

over valorisation of English knowledge also led to the devaluing and, eventually, the loss of other subject-specific skills that migrants possessed. Australians teaching in Asia found that they were largely valued for their English-language abilities even though this may not have been their area of expertise (Reid and Collins 2013; also see Cho 2012 for similar processes in Korea). While knowledge of English is recognised, competency in other languages travels less well across nations. Thus, German-speaking migrant teachers to Australia found that the value placed on foreign languages and multilingualism was lower in Australia than they had expected (Bense 2014). Other reasons for the devaluation of skills are professional regulations about equivalence of teaching in different countries, immigration rules and racism as Asian migrants to Australia have found (Reid and Collins 2013). These examples highlight how the status and economic capital accrued abroad cannot easily be taken back to their countries of origin as it is not seen as valuable in the labour markets there; English language knowledge can become the primary human and cultural capital that is transferable.

Nursing and teaching provide examples of two specific arguments about female migrants employed in these female-dominated sectors (nursing and teaching) and their crucial, but contradictory, role in social reproduction. First, it is clear that migrant women and men have a range of skills which they deploy in sectors of the socially reproductive labour market. These skills and sectors are much broader than those usually assumed. However, the skills are selectively validated in different countries based on an array of factors, many of which have been explored above. They also combine with different aspects of one's identity like gender and race to alter the opportunities that migrants have in the labour market in destination countries. It appears that the ways in which skills (embodied, encultured, encoded etc.) are validated and can be transferred varies across destination countries and source countries.

Secondly, a key concern which stretches across both sectors is the effect of migration on the ability of sending countries to reproduce their own societies. The notion of care does not adequately capture the societal implications of such migration for the next generation in sending societies, or indeed the older people in ageing sending societies. In order to address this, England and Henry (2013) suggest that the framework of ethics of care should be applied to encompass the issues of redistribution of health provision that occurs when nurses move – an issue that could also apply to doctors (Raghuram 2009). Care ethics help to highlight the degree to which there is interdependency between different health systems globally and how the loss of personnel in one country becomes a

gain in another. However, individuals may not necessarily benefit from these national gains. Many of them are subject to deskilling. Moreover, even if individuals gain or lose through migration, the societal effects of mobility are very high in these sectors. They extend beyond the individuals providing or receiving care and socialisation to encompass the wider reproduction of society. The importance of skilled sectors such as nursing and teaching in reproducing society means that they are often treated under the framework of brain-gain and brain drain.

These are not the only skilled sectors in which women are employed: female migrants are also engaged in male-dominated sectors of the socially reproductive labour market, such as medicine (Raghuram 2006, 2008), and where their role remains crucial. Mobility is eased in some of these sectors either because of the cultural capital that migrants bring or because of the particular form of human capital which require 'hard skills' so that the path to entry into the profession is made easier (Liversage 2009; see Chapter 7). The mobility associated with medicine differs from that of nurses – the former is more aligned to highly skilled sectors while nurses are usually considered as skilled so that the devaluation of their skills sometimes aligns them to less-skilled care-workers. For Schultz and Rijks (2014) these differences relate both to the causes of migration and its effects. They argue that whereas doctors

> move primarily for professional and economic reasons; nurses move especially to sustain their families at home. This difference in motivations could explain why nurses may be more likely than doctors to seek 'cheap' mobility patterns. Their earning capacity is limited by their profession, whereas the earnings of doctors can increase as they add skills by gaining further qualifications (p. 14).

This section has explored the range of skills required for social reproduction and how migrants, by withdrawing their reproductive work from source countries and contributing to destination countries, are taking part in the international redistribution of skilled reproductive labour. This focus on skilled sectors of reproductive labour reminds us that, globally, most states invest in health and education albeit incompletely and inadequately. Hence, the state remains an important player and beneficiary/loser in this international redistribution. The skills required in such reproductive work are also produced through state provision – through teacher training and nursing schools – so that migration can also become a loss of state investment in social reproduction. The distinctions between skilled reproductive labour and lesser skilled ones are

thus significant and, as we shall see in Chapter 6, treated very differently in immigration policies. The extent and nature of the skills acquired by migrants varies across and within professions: both teaching and nursing are internally variegated professions which combine a range of skills and have hierarchies within them influencing the portability of skills. Moreover, this portability also articulates with other factors such as race and gender.

5.3   Migrant parenting, skills and the reproduction of migrant families: Expanding the notion of competences

While the skills that migrant teachers and nurses bring are inculcated through years of training, less visible but also important are the competences that migrants have but are less recognised. They are not validated through forms of accreditation but they too are crucial for social reproduction. In this section we focus on migrants as parents who play a part in the social reproduction of their families and communities.

Migrants, both those who have entered as family migrants and as labour migrants, deploy a wide range of skills not just in the workplace but also in reproducing their families. Some labour migrants bring their children with them so that they combine paid reproductive work undertaken in the labour market women with unpaid social reproduction within the household.

The forms that these families take can vary. One of the most significant critiques of the domestic labour debate in the late 1970s and 1980s was the ethnocentrism of the model of family adopted in these debates (Mackintosh 1981). Thirty years later, discussions of the care chain have also been slow to recognise the varieties of relationships that are encompassed in mothering. It is only very slowly that the dynamicity, the variability and the specificity of the impact of migration on different kinds of parent–child relationships has come to be recognised. Does it make a difference if mothers move alone or along with their partners? The limited evidence available seems to suggest that it does. Children who have been left behind by single mothers appear to invest more in their education as they see it as part of the success of the mother's migration strategy while children in migrant families where both parents have migrated had lower education achievement (Dreby and Stutz 2012).

It is not only the nature of the family unit which migrates that matters but also expectations around family formation. Selected studies in Africa suggest that the primacy of intimacy and of co-residence which are assumed to be the centrepieces of mothering need to be seen as

culturally specific. In both Cape Verde (Åkesson et al. 2012) and in Ghana (Abiotsi 2013) separation of parent and child is much more culturally acceptable than is portrayed in dominant studies of migrant mothers and the care chain, which are often based on the Philippines. Moreover, fostering is seen as a modality of parenting even where the mother has not migrated internationally (Goody 1982). Ghanaian migrants moving to undertake nursing work in the Global North may have forms of social support to help in looking after children in Ghana which women from other countries may not. Children may be sent away to other households in order to cement links with richer households, to learn values that a parent may not be able to transmit and to increase the child's resilience. Fostering also creates reciprocity between the child and the foster mother from which the latter may benefit in their old age, while the links between the biological parent and the foster parent can also be beneficial to both. Thus, there is agency to all three members in this triad. Åkesson et al. suggest the use of the term 'transnational fostering triangle' to replace the language of care chains, as the former is a more contextually appropriate term for issues relating to transnational mothering in Africa.

It is not only mothering that is culturally varied, there are also very differing notions of childhood that might be at play in migrant parenting.[2] For instance, the mobility of children may be an expected part of growing up in many parts of the world. Moreover, as Boyden (2013) points out, education is replacing employment as a primary reason for migration, as study is seen to provide an opportunity for children to assist not only in the social but also the economic reproduction of the household. Here mobility helps to cement rather than sever ties (see Chapter 4).

One way in which to address the complexity of parenting is to identify and separate out the different roles that mothers and fathers might perform. Privileging the language of care has emphasised intimacy as perhaps the most important characteristic of parenting, and particularly mothering. However, as Tan (2012) argues, parenting involves a range of tasks and activities many of which are parcelled out through a series of flexible and dynamic arrangements with others, particularly grandmothers, aunts and sisters. She uses the language of surrogate mothering in order to move away from essentialist notions of mothering, suggesting that all these people may at some time or another take up the role of surrogate mothering. Thus, intimacy and care form only one part of what mothers provide – their role extends to other tasks too. Importantly mothers appear to retain responsibility for the child in most

contexts and cultures, which is less easily distributed to foster parents or surrogate mothers. Tan cites the work of Aguilar et al. (2009) to argue that, in the Philippines, those who care for the children never feel the full weight of the responsibility that the mother does (p. 264). For Tan, therefore, neither are a child's needs directly and exclusively tied to the mother, nor are they reducible to requirements for care (p. 116). Finally, she points out that the relationship between mother and child evolves over time to become more equitable and reciprocal. This expectation of reciprocity also drives mothering.

A key role of mothering appears to be to ensure not only access to money through which the physical needs of children are met but also to safeguard the child's future, particularly through education (see Chapter 4 on remittances). Thus, Ilanes (2010) in her study of Peruvian migrant women in Chile shows that an important reason for the long period of stay in Chile was to guarantee that children had the financial resources required to study, to go to college and thus to improve their lives. The principal reason for migration – that of fulfilling immediate family needs – was usually met relatively quickly, but a long period of stay was undertaken in order to ensure that the second goal – that of ensuring that social reproduction of the next generation – is successful. This suggests that direct care can be replaced but the responsibility of migrant mothers for ensuring social reproduction is compelling and an important reason for remaining a migrant. Women who bring their children with them also emphasise education as a way of ensuring that the next generation achieves a status and acceptance that they themselves have struggled to achieve. Rodriguez's (2010) research on Polish migrant women employed in working-class jobs in London provides one example. She outlines how women who were born in communist Poland, or during the transition years, and who had faced few barriers to education there, spend time and effort ensuring that their children also access the 'best' educational opportunities available after migration to the United Kingdom. As migrants working in poorly remunerated sectors of the labour market, they use education as a way of reaching 'normalcy', of becoming what they assume to be, or perhaps desire to see, as a majority English culture. The emphasis on education among migrant mothers is, thus, not restricted to the middle classes.

The effects of transnational parenting on education can vary by gender. By studying sibling educational attainments, Antman (2012) suggests that male migration to the USA is likely to increase the educational achievement of girls but that domestic migration did not have a similar effect. She points out that these findings are consistent with

other studies which imply that when women become heads of household and have greater authority, the proportion of money spent on girls increases. Hence, male migration can lead to better outcomes for daughters when mothers are left in charge of the household.

Even where education is considered important, women may not always be successful in helping their children to educational success. Lengthy separation from children, the difficulties children face in establishing themselves at a later age when they move to join their parents, the deskilling of their mothers and the need for mothers to work long hours to support their children in the receiving country so that they are rarely available to assist in their children's education, particularly affects older children who are unable to benefit from the educational opportunities offered by migration. They may end up doing low skilled work, as Phil Kelly (2014) and Geraldine Pratt (2012) found for the children of Filipina women who had entered Canada through the live-in caregiving programme, a programme which now forms the largest source of Filipina immigration to the country. Indeed, a much lower percentage of children of Filipina immigrants hold university degrees, in stark contrast to other groups such as the Chinese.[3]

Mothers not only spend time reproducing the family after migration but may also move specifically in order to enable the reproduction of the next generation by enabling access to appropriate education. This phenomenon received global attention in the 1990s, just prior to the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule. It was noted that men from a number of families in Hong Kong, but also in other East Asian countries, were staying back in their country of origin, taking advantage of the economic opportunities there but securing the future of the next generation by sending the rest of the family abroad, usually to North America or Australia (Pe-Pua 1996). The migration of women and children enabled children to access the North American education system. At a time when the future of Hong Kong seemed uncertain they wanted to become competent in English in order to improve their opportunities in the global labour market thus securing immigration to countries like Canada (Skeldon 1994). These families came to be known as astronaut families. Children from astronaut families often took up responsibilities for the absent parent, paying bills and undertaking translation work so that they played a different but nevertheless significant role in the reproduction of migrant families (Alaggia et al. 2001; Piper and Roces eds. 2003).

The households of astronaut families tend to be middle or upper class, compared to the much less well off households covered by most

of the global care chain literature. In ensuring that children meet the new sought-after educational requirements of a globalising world by acquiring knowledge of English, thus obtaining entry into prestigious US universities or just obtaining cosmopolitan credentials and behaviours, these mothers are also responsible for the intergenerational transfer of class privileges (see Chapter 4 on global householding).[4] Drawing on research in South Korea, Finch and Kim (2012) suggest that fathers who do not send their wives and children abroad may, as a result, be seen as selfish. Selflessness and performance of familial support implies enabling the children to become flexible citizens (Ong 1999).

Although most literature has focused on migrant mother's roles in formal education and thus, to improving the economic capital of the next generation, other forms of capital are also enhanced by migrant mothers. Acquiring cultural competency and hence, cultural capital, is particularly important for middle-class migrant mothers as Umut Erel's (2013) study in London shows. Migrant mothers provide children with the resources to negotiate their relationship with ethnicity, identity and sense of belonging in the destination countries (Erel 2009; Gedalof 2009). These involve a form of citizenship but, as Longman et al. (2013) show, this not only involves reproduction but also a degree of creativity. Drawing on examples of undocumented migrant women and their care of children they argue that care work requires 'culture work', dropping some aspects of their traditions, retaining others and transforming them to new contexts in order to foster children's ability to grow up in destination societies. This may involve participating in school education, while at the same time supplementing it at home, as Babu's study (2006) of middle-class Asian migrants to the USA shows. Migrant women also use this as an opportunity to develop skills and competencies that are often seen as cosmopolitan. They produce themselves in new ways, by learning languages and partaking of more cosmopolitan lifestyles that they will then pass on to their children (Gruner-Domic 2011). Similarly, Nakuga (2003) shows how mothers in Los Angeles, who accompanied their husbands employed in transnational companies or in government, inculcated a range of skills in their children by: '(1) maintaining Japanese language and academic standards, (2) mastering English, (3) broadening worldviews and acquiring sociability, (4) flexible identity management, and (5) cultivating various cultural skills (i.e. music, art, sports)' (p. 72). These mothers aimed to equip their children for re-entry into the highly competitive Japanese education system, to stay in the USA and take part in global labour market and to acquire what was considered in Japan as necessary international assets around

self-presentation and cultural competencies. Importantly these Japanese women also tried to acquire skills (such as knowledge of English) and competencies and to manage their ethnic identity in order to enable them to undertake the task of passing on skills better to their children.

In summary, producing stability in the context of mobility requires negotiating differences, selectively appropriating and enculturing. Reproduction is therefore not a repetition of production or re-production, it always involves dynamicity and creativity. Migrant women draw on the embodied and encultured skills they acquired both in the source country and in destination countries in order to ease their own lives as well as those of the next generation. However, the extent to which they are successful will depend on a range of factors, particularly their class status post-migration.

Children are not only left behind but may also be born in transit (Stock 2012). On occasion they may be seen as a route to further mobility – as a way of obtaining a passport in the desired country of destination. At other times they are born through relationships made prior to moving or during transit. Mothering can, in that instance, immobilise women who find they are unable to travel once they have children. Hence, biological reproduction can play a part in social reproduction strategies, both intentionally and unintentionally.

Much of the existing literature focuses on the role of mothering; there is much less on the role of migrant fathers in social reproduction. The little work that exists seems to focus on men's role as the breadwinner (Parrenas 2008), a role which is emphasised in both interviews with children and migrant fathers. This has led to a reinforcement of the male labour migrant model with men's migration largely being analysed through the lens of economic migration. Migrant fathering is, however, now receiving some attention (Kilkey and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013; Pribilsky 2012). Thus the migrant Polish handymen also in Kilkey et al.'s study (2013) sought to spend more time with their children but unlike the well off male householders (whose time they freed up for being with their children), the Polish men were not always able to do so because of the need to work long hours and be flexible. Migrant men may affirm their transnational fatherhood and parenting through their decisions about commodity consumption and money management, as Pribilsky (2012) shows for undocumented Ecuadorian men in New York City. These ideals of gendered parenting are context specific. For instance, Wolof men who were close to the Islamic brotherhood felt that their absence severely constrained their ability to impart Islamic teaching to their sons (Sinatti 2014). Migrant fathers, instead, invested

in the idea that this was made up for by the fact that children now had better opportunities to have other forms of education, thanks to the remittances they send. Talking about rural–urban migration, Lin (2013) discusses how fathers encourage their sons to take on domestic responsibilities in their absence, and to take up the tasks of social reproduction such as household maintenance and so on. It may be surmised that these processes are inherent to internationally migrant fathers too. Moreover, these roles are also likely to alter as children grow up as the nature of social reproduction alters across the life course (Locke et al. 2013).

Migrant parenting not only influences the reproduction of families but also the migrant's own gendered identities. For instance, men migrating in order to fill the dominant 'provider' model of their contribution to social reproduction, often inherited from their own fathers through what Brannen et al. (2011) call vertical relations, may find that this is challenged by coming into contact with other notions of ideal manhood and new ideas of parenting in the destination country, both amongst migrants and the non-migrant population (or horizontal relations). Fathering was a dynamic process but what Brannen et al. found was that men rejected care as the framework within which they parented. The more active fathering (rather than the status and authority of fatherhood) that has become an ideal was rather termed as spending time with the children and was part of a shifting constellation of activities around social reproduction of which their wage-earning role was only a part. Moreover, distance muted migrant fathers' ability to exert the authority that they associated with fatherhood and which was important to their subjectivities (Sinatti 2014) while visits home allowed fathers to engage in child-centred fathering which went against dominant norms of masculinity (see McKay 2011 for a discussion of Filipino seafarers). They developed new skills in fathering because of their migration. Similarly, grandfathers may also develop new skills and take up childcare responsibilities in the context of migration (Treas and Mazumdar 2004), highlighting how skills are not only deployed but also developed in order to undertake migrant parenting and grandparenting. Fathers may 'view migration as a cultural identity project' allowing men to develop new roles for themselves as fathers, thus redefining fathering (Haour-Knipe 2011; and see Taylor and Behnke 2005 for the experiences of Latino men fathering across the USA–Mexico border).[5]

In summary, parenting – and especially mothering – is an inherent part of social reproduction. Migrant mothers may facilitate the social reproduction of their children: by staying abroad and remitting resources until the children have undertaken their schooling; by

bringing children with them and learning the skills required to assist in their social reproduction; or by moving specifically to enable this education to occur abroad. These activities go well beyond care, in fact, sometimes caring *about* the children may mean moving abroad and relinquishing the care *of* the children. In effect, parents' commitment is to social reproduction.

5.4 Social reproduction and community work

Migrant women are not only involved in the reproduction of children's life chances but also of their communities. For instance, in Berlin in the community of Neukölln, over a hundred women were employed as district mothers 'Stadtteilmütter' to work with and support new migrant women. It was seen as a way of addressing the social inequalities and poor socio-economic outcomes of the new migrant group. The project was initiated in 2006 by the Deacon and Jobcentre of Neukölln together with the district authority and the Senate Department for Urban Development. Migrant women use their knowledge of German to act as community facilitators and to help new migrants access social benefits. However, it is their knowledge of being migrants that is seen to make them appropriate for this task.

One reason for this is their knowledge of different cultures, which allows them to act as intercultural mediators. Intercultural mediators are a profession whose principal aim is to facilitate the relations between nationals and migrants so as to promote knowledge and reciprocal understanding and to enhance good relations between people with different backgrounds (Halba 2009). This role is officially recognised in France, where it is well developed, and in Italy. In France the profession is based on experience and knowledge of the migrants' problematic. Some 75 per cent of such mediators are women, usually from migrant backgrounds. For instance, in Halba's study of mediators, 83 per cent had a higher education qualification. Over half were paid but a large number worked in a voluntary capacity. Most intercultural mediators have a migrant background (46 per cent have foreign roots and almost the same proportion was born in another country). They have become cultural mediators mostly after voluntary experience with an association working with migrants and ethnic minorities (67 per cent). Some 58 per cent are paid staff but the proportion of volunteers is quite important (42 per cent).

What is clear is that migrant women are drawing on their language skills and cultural knowledge in order to undertake this form of

community work, but they may be doing so because their other skills are not recognised (Liversage 2009). It also might provide a fresh route into employment and a new found sense of skills which women may enjoy for the first time. However, very often these interventions may also be needed in order to fill the deficits of mainstream services. For instance, a recognition of the systematic racial discrimination in service provision for migrants who lacked the social connections and cultural habitus to fully benefit from state provided care has led Caribbean migrants in the United Kingdom (Reynolds and Zontini 2013) to set up a range of support systems such as mental health associations, educational support and so on. Migrants are thus developing social and cultural skills in the context of gendered, classed and racial disadvantage.

Moreover, the economic recession – the effects of which began to be strongly felt from about 2010 – has led to retrenchment of state-provided services making the need for community engagement even more necessary, but also part of the rhetoric of ideal provision – one which is provided through the third sector – profit and non-profit (see Chapter 4). This sector is encouraged to supply services which certain categories of migrants (particularly irregular, temporary and those without permanent residence) are not entitled to or cannot afford (see Chapter 6). In addition, skilled migrants may engage with social reproduction not just as waged workers but also through a range of NGOs as volunteers. They play a part in reproducing some of the cultural practices of their origin countries.

5.5   Conclusion

Most analyses of women and migration have focused on the role of women in a few sectors, particularly domestic and care work. Human capital rarely appears to be significant in such movements. The more skilled sectors, on which there is significant debate, such as nursing, have primarily been seen through a human resources lens because the implications of the movement of personnel implies a loss/gain of human capital for the migrant and for the country of origin. Teaching offers another example of a skilled sector, but one where the transfer of what may often appear to be embrained knowledge and skills is far from straightforward. The mobility of skilled workers is not only a loss of human capital, there are also social and cultural losses and gains accompanying these movements.

Conceptualising these roles through the lens of social reproduction in sending and receiving societies provides an important way for analysing

these outcomes in terms that go beyond the personal, the cared-for and carer, to include wider societal impacts. This chapter has also extended existing analysis by highlighting some of the ways in which this social reproduction occurs and the costs of this mobility for the bearers of those skills.

Focusing on skilled migrants only offers a partial picture of the role of migrants in social reproduction. Transnational parenting by mothers and fathers across different educational levels and migration statuses involves the expenditure of effort, resources and time in ensuring the reproduction of the family both in the country of origin and in the receiving society. Family migrants, and not just those who have moved in search of employment, play an important part in the successful reproduction of their children and their communities.

However, the balance of migration flows and the ways in which skills are filtered and validated are not only dependent on the ingenuity and capabilities of migrants but also of immigration policies and labour market imperatives, which may open up, as well as limit possibilities for social reproduction and mobility. Skilled migrants have been relatively privileged as bearers of human and cultural capital, though they also have to confront increasing restrictions in a number of countries of immigration, of settlement and access to welfare. Especially for female migrants, the social or soft skills incarnated in embodied work have not been recognised but have led to restrictions on entry and their exclusion from settlement. At the same time, concern about the conditions of domestic workers, who do not benefit from standard labour law, has led to an international convention on decent work covering all domestic workers and improvements in some countries which would make the social reproduction of themselves and their families less precarious. These are issues to which we turn in the next chapter.

6
Immigration Regulations and Social Reproduction

In chapters 4 and 5, we examined the use of reproductive labour in different sites and sectors and with varying skills. Whilst in Chapter 4 we outlined some of the ways in which the state shaped and intervened in diverse sites of social reproduction, here we focus on the state, often in collaboration with other organisations such as professional bodies and recruitment agencies, as a significant mediator between migrants, labour markets and immigration regulations through which social reproduction is played out. Immigration regulations act as a filter encouraging certain kinds of migrants, as states position themselves in narratives of globalisation and national imaginaries and deal with complex and often conflicting demands between different economic, social and political interests through the construction of stratifying systems within an overall framework of managed migration (Kofman 2008; Morris 2002).

In this chapter we turn to the ways in which immigration regimes shape migratory flows in social reproductive sectors requiring different levels of skills and their impact on the social reproduction of categories of migrants. We argue that it is necessary to consider not only the immigration channels related to labour migration, both managed and irregular, but also other non-labour flows, such as family and asylum (see chapters 2 and 3). The state remains the main body regulating migration flows, though, as we shall see, regional organisations – such as the European Union (EU), North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) and Mercado Común del Sur (Mercosur) – may also contribute to the determination of immigration policies. There has also been considerable debate about the degree to which the state is 'constrained' by global institutions (Hollifield 2000) and international human rights conventions (Sassen 1996; Soysal 1994). Though not disputing the progressive possibilities offered by the development of global instruments of human

rights to protect migrants – such as the International Convention for Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families[1] or the ILO Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers (189)[2] – and the impact of human rights working through national institutions, we would argue that the state plays a crucial, though not exclusive, role in sending and receiving countries in producing supply and demand for labour markets in sectors of social reproduction. Certainly the governance of immigration is increasingly pursued on multiple scales and shapes the conditions of migrants' social reproduction, but a key arbiter still remains the state. At the same time the state has increasingly co-opted employers into the governance of immigration while civil society organisations have sought to improve working conditions for migrants in collaboration with international bodies and national and regional organisations such as trades unions (Basok and Piper 2013).

The first section examines the intensified and targeted economic calculus of immigration policies in the past two decades and the uneven impact of the economic crisis. We place these policies within a wider socio-economic and political context to understand why and how immigration regulations have reinforced migrant stratification through greater selectivity of entry, rights of residence and access to welfare, thus privileging those who are deemed to benefit the national economy, represent a low burden on welfare and to be worthy of belonging to the nation. The ensuing hierarchy separates the skilled – especially those with skills associated with the global economy and the circulation of knowledge – from the less skilled who seemingly do not contribute to this model and are portrayed as likely to be a burden on the state. In some European countries, the low skilled (who are often also seen in racialised ways) are also stigmatised as bringing in 'backward practices' and/or as being unfit to cohabit and mix with the national population, as in Singapore. The so-called solution usually deployed, as we shall see, is that those less well endowed in human and cultural capital can only enter as temporary migrants and are not allowed to become permanent residents, citizens or the reproducers of future citizens.

The second section turns to sources of reproductive labour admitted for other purposes such as family migration, or what Pastore (2010) terms functional equivalents. Furthermore, accrued instrumentalisation of immigration pertains beyond labour flows such that forms of migration traditionally derived from normative and human principles, for example, family migration, are also being subjected to an increasing extent to economic principles (Kofman 2014a). In Europe, in particular,

economic criteria are deployed as a measure to resolve and remove cultural practices which are deemed to be problematic or traditional, such as forced marriages and non engagement with gender equality. Human capital is thus used as a shortcut to eliminate those without certain forms of cultural capital in order to reproduce society according to particular social definitions; skills are equated with modernity and the capacity to integrate. The development of a calculus of rights based on immigration categories is especially pertinent to migrant women, yet, despite its significance, the gender implications of immigration regulations in shaping migration in receiving states have not been adequately explored (Boucher 2007, 2009; Dauvergne 2000; Harzig 2003; Iredale 2005; Kofman 2012, 2014b; Kofman et al. 2005). However, as we have discussed in the previous chapter, skills are gendered in their criteria, their application and their immigration outcomes.

The third section turns to immigration regulations for skilled and less-skilled sectors. In relation to the former, the opportunities for migration and entry into specific sectors of social reproduction are also influenced by professional and employers' organisations. As we have seen in less-skilled sectors, states have tended to either ignore the need for social reproduction, and thus encourage informal and undocumented work, or to permit it under working conditions well below those covered by national labour legislation. Nonetheless, in recent years there has been some progress, driven by international conventions and pressure from civil society groups to improve working conditions in sectors such as domestic work for migrants and non-migrants alike.

6.1   Migration regimes and changing trends

An immigration regime designates routes and conditions of entry, subsequent residence, the possibility of moving from one category to another, of acquiring settlement rights and the pathways to citizenship. Thus the intervention of the state in regulating migration is far more complex than simply controlling the total volume of flows, which only constitutes one of its objectives. States have become increasingly preoccupied with the composition of its intakes, according to the skills and ethnicity of migrants. Different migratory regimes amongst receiving countries may be classified according to the rights of entry and settlement they accord labour migrants (Guild and Mantu 2011) as well as other flows which contribute to social reproduction, such as marriage and family reunification (Hujo and Piper 2010; Teo and Piper 2009). A number of states with high levels of family migration (Australia, Canada, France,

Sweden) have sought to reduce it and increase the number of labour migrants, especially skilled ones. East and South East Asia represent an exception in that reproductive (marriage) migration is being encouraged (Kawaguchi and Lee 2012; Yeoh et al. 2013) in order to maintain biological and social reproduction of countries with low fertility rates and problems of families providing care.

However, 'immigration controls aren't simply instrumental responses to the needs of employers but are important to state legitimacy which through immigration policy is linked to ideas of nation building and preservation' (Anderson 2012: 47). Immigration policies are thus both pragmatic solutions and reflective of social ideas and relations about gender, labour and nation, and of fixing who are the right kinds of women as mothers, daughters and workers (Van Walsum 2008). The culturalisation of citizenship (Mepschen et al. 2010) has often gone hand in hand with the growing illiberalism of liberal states in immigration and integration policies (Adamson et al. 2011). Liberal states impose illiberal conditions on those it suspects of holding illiberal cultural and social values, thus using liberal norms in an exclusionary fashion. Especially in European states, there is an implicit belief that the less skilled are more likely to espouse illiberal values.

Some states may depict themselves as welcoming migrants and accommodating difference, as is the case of many settler societies such as Canada (Gabriel 2011), whilst ignoring the patchwork of differential inclusion generated by the development of temporary schemes in the past decade or so (see below). Whereas in the past people were recruited to build the 'new' nation, today the skills of migrants are seen as contributing to its global competitiveness. Temporary migrants engender greater flexibility. At the other extreme, some states assiduously ensure that certain categories cannot get close to citizens and participate in the reproduction of the nation, as with female domestic workers in Singapore and Malaysia. In other countries, such as Japan, the drive to control the homogeneity of society has simply led immigrants to enter through using a set of temporary statuses and sometimes irregular means. In general, across a range of states the low skilled have less and less place in the national imaginary and thus right to permanent settlement, citizenship and reproduction of the nation-state.

Ensuring that the right migrants – responsible for themselves and capable of integrating into the nation – enter has become the key criteria of selection (Ong 2006). States increasingly engage in micromanaging the stratification of different categories of labour migrants, each with their specific conditions of entry and settlement within a

broader framework of managed migration (Kofman 2008; Morris 2002). The state is the key authority in categorising and classifying migrants and redrawing the boundaries between and within different categories (Bourdieu 1998; Schrover and Moloney 2013). In turn, these categories determine who has the right to enter the country, the conditionalities under which they can work and reside (temporary and permanent), the degree to which they are allowed to circulate freely between employers (Bach 2010) and their access to social entitlements. Of course the manner and the intensity with which states impose controls and restrictions vary considerably. They simultaneously facilitate mobility and confine immobility through selectively opening and closing their borders using a variety of instruments, including spatially rescaling control beyond their territories and cooperating with other states (Mau et al. 2012).

Interaction within regional spaces, such as the EU (Guild 2011) and NAFTA (Délano and Serrano 2011; Runyan et al. 2013), also determines the nature of security, control and migrant rights in receiving countries and the capacity of sending countries to intervene. It has been primarily within regional spaces where some of the key transformations and the redrawing of boundaries have taken place. For example, in the case of the EU, the most advanced form of regional integration, the movement and accreditation of qualifications have been accorded within the regional space to all those holding the nationality of a member state but not to third country nationals[3] from outside the EU (Mantu 2011). The regional regime has reshaped migratory flows and most importantly rights of entry, residence and welfare, sharply dividing European and non-European (third country national) migrants. EU migrants, that is anyone with a member state citizenship, have substantial mobility rights and are able to circulate freely as long as they are not considered a burden on the state (Boswell and Geddes 2011; Carmel and Paul 2013). The regulations governing their transnational social reproduction are quite different to non-EU migrants, especially for the less skilled. The recent geopolitical redrawing of the EU through progressive rounds of enlargement since 2004 (Favell 2008) has reduced the ability of third country nationals to take up less-skilled employment, whilst the deskilling of new EU migrants, has been characterised by some as a flexible reserve army of labour (Currie 2008).

Furthermore, we can also see a clear desire in some countries to turn their backs on colonial links, for example in France, in its shift from *immigration subie* (burdensome and unwanted immigration) to *immigration choisie* (selected and selective) (Paul 2013). We also see this in the United Kingdom, where Commonwealth citizens had previously

filled shortages amongst doctors, dentists and nurses (Raghuram and Kofman 2002), but now it is assumed that shortages can be met either by increasing the UK-born labour force or through the migration of Eastern European professionals (Crisp 2007) and circulation of other professionals within the EU, so that the immigration of Commonwealth health professionals has become severely restricted (Raghuram 2009). On the other hand, in Spain, Latin Americans as citizens of former colonies had privileged access and rights and found it easier to move from an irregular status to a regular one.[4] They could acquire citizenship after two years of legal residence unlike the ten years required of other non-EU migrants (Herrera 2013).

Other regional bodies such as NAFTA, between the USA, Canada and Mexico, Mercosur for South America, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are less extensive and developed and have not gone as far in terms of political integration and freedom of movement as in the EU. For example, NAFTA (between Canada, Mexico and the USA) constitutes a much more stratified regional space of highly unequal partners such that at its inception in 1994, there was little concern about the effects of a free-trade bloc on the movement of people (Gabriel and Macdonald 2004; Rojas Wiesner and Cruz 2008). Post 2001, border security has been massively tightened and migration, especially of the large numbers of undocumented Mexican migrants in the USA, has come to preoccupy discussion between the two countries. However, movement for business visitors and professionals has been facilitated between Canada and the USA and even for Mexicans, the group whose mobility has been most problematised in public discourses in the USA – a quota of 5500 professionals was set per annum for the first ten years of NAFTA (Schepers 2010). Effectively low skilled labour is being immobilised with stiffer border controls to the USA and temporary visas for all Mexicans entering Canada (McDermott and Sanmiguel 2013). Tightening security has, until recently, also led to the redirection of flows to Europe, especially to Spain (McIlwaine 2011). Similarly, the free movement of people within the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) (Fuchs and Straubhaar 2003) was initially restricted to those with university degrees, and then extended to artists, media persons, sports persons and musicians.

ECOWAS has provided freedom of movement but so far the right to set up and establish businesses has not been extended (Adepoju et al. 2008). There is increasing movement between the countries that are part of Mercosur (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay). In 2002 an agreement on residency for nationals of the member countries was signed. It allows

temporary and permanent migrants to receive the same treatment as the nationals of the country in which they are resident. Argentina was the first country to implement the agreement (Cerruti 2009: 18–19) and in 2006 also regularised half a million migrants.

More and more states have sought to attract the skilled and highly skilled (Shachar 2006) in their quest for the brightest and the best 'knowledge workers' and their attempts to compete globally. Knowledge subjects are wooed by states as modern and productive subjects and an investment in rational knowledge with a key role played by science, technology and management epitomised by embrained skills (see Chapter 5). Several EU countries have sought to attract non-EU skilled migrants through their own national policies and the EU Blue Card (Cerna 2013). Although different criteria have been employed for filtering people with skills and human capital across different countries, the valuation of knowledge is highly gendered in its criteria and outcomes (Kofman 2013; Kofman and Raghuram 2013). A number of countries have applied points-based schemes (PBS) based largely on notions of human capital (education, work experience, language competence), but these differ and change in weight accorded to specific criteria. The role of shortage occupations within, or in conjunction with the PBS, is also significant in determining the selection of migrants according to nationality, gender and age. In Europe, the recent opening to highly skilled migrants has been even more closely attuned to the needs of knowledge-based societies through an emphasis on income earned as a key determinant of eligibility to enter. Indeed the Netherlands even names them as knowledge migrants (*Kennigsmigranten*). Salary levels serve as the translation of societal and economic value which does not take into account the complexity of skills, and how or where they were acquired (see Chapter 5). The UK Migration Advisory Committee, largely composed of academic economists,[5] has asserted that skills are correctly remunerated and rational people do not accept jobs that are below their qualifications, a view that makes it hard to understand gender pay gaps and why many feminised occupations are poorly paid at a level below that which would allow them to qualify through the PBS (Kofman 2014b). Furthermore, only formal skills (e.g. embrained and encoded rather than soft skills) are measured by immigration policies (Murray 2011). So whilst some countries such as Germany and Sweden have expanded their labour market immigration to include the semi-skilled, these too may favour skilled and, largely, male-dominated trades. In Sweden where employer-determined shortages rather than skills determine the allocation of work permits, the largest numbers in

2011 were given for agriculture, fisheries and related (32,821) and computing (2795), both largely male-dominated sectors of the labour market (Quirico 2012: 29).

Hence immigration policies are likely to impact differently on women and men resulting from the evaluation of skills and criteria of entry. In European countries with an emphasis on high salaries and so-called knowledge occupations, the effect on female migration is likely to be negative with men dominating highly skilled flows. In the Netherlands, 25.5 per cent of the 3592 permits assigned to knowledge workers in 2006 went to women. In the United Kingdom just over a quarter of tier 1 permits (which did not require prior employment for the entry permit) went to women in 2007. In the Netherlands, IT formed the largest sector with only 18 per cent women compared with 32 per cent in academic education and 40 per cent in finance. The role of educational attainment, common to all PBS schemes, is less straightforward (Kofman 2014b). In terms of educational attainment in Australia and Canada, there is not an enormous gender difference – a higher proportion of male migrants have masters and doctorates, but a slightly higher percentage of women have bachelor degrees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada).[6] However, the emphasis on STEM subjects – science, technology, engineering and mathematics – and women's under-representation in these fields has put them at a disadvantage. Furthermore, men graduating in science are more likely to find work in this field (50 per cent) compared to female graduates (33 per cent) (Flabbi 2011). In PBS schemes with a wider range of criteria, we do not know how women and men put together the points that make up their total score.

There has been little attempt to examine the gender and intersectional impact of policies and incorporate these analyses into policy making (Boucher 2007; Kofman et al. 2005; Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe 2009). As Boucher (2009: 21) notes 'stereotyping which may be reinforced by an intersectional marginalisation of age, class and ethnicity' is crucial to the construction of regulations. Whilst OECD (Dumont and Liebig 2005) studies show the extent to which migrant women in Europe face discrimination and disadvantage in the labour market and experience over-qualification (Eurostat 2011), they have not assessed the role of immigration policies (Kofman 2014b; Kofman and Raghuram 2013). A Gender Based Analysis was developed in Canada but has not effectively functioned since 2005 (Boucher 2007). Although critiques of policy on grounds of gender equality and discrimination have not had much purchase amongst policymakers, there has been some recognition, especially in Australia and Canada, of the

contribution of non-labour and largely feminised migratory flows to the economy (see section 2), and hence the need to develop policies to improve labour market integration.

Although recognition of the benefits of skilled migration is growing, the need for the migration of domestic workers is mostly denied, marginalised or permitted but with few or virtually no rights accorded so that workers occupy a liminal position in society (ILO 2013; Teo and Piper 2009). A number of reasons contribute to this denial. In part it stems from the fallacious idea that knowledge societies do not require less-skilled labour; that importing migrants to do less-skilled work generates competition with a destination society's workforce; and/or reluctance to permit the settlement of less-skilled workers and their families who are deemed to be unworthy of becoming citizens of a society. Actually the lack of a local workforce in the face of growing demand 'creates a twilight zone of informal labour markets' (Lutz 2011: 192) and migrants with an irregular status. In Chapter 4 we discussed the growing use of reproductive labour in the household and in section 6.3.2 we shall consider attitudes towards household workers in current immigration policies.

As the demarcation between the skilled and the less skilled becomes more pronounced, the outcome of such classifications in immigration regulations acquires a considerable bearing on access to social rights and the right to permanent residence and citizenship. In the United Kingdom, for example, the category of senior social carer, who had to have a stipulated qualification (National Qualifications Framework 3) was created for immigration purposes. Initially senior carers qualified for admission as skilled workers (Cangiano et al. 2009: 39–41) but as the income conditions became more demanding (as from 2007), the salaries earned by such carers no longer enabled them to qualify.[7] So whilst from 2001 to 2006 over 22,000 new work permits were granted for this category, this figure had dropped to 1005 in 2007 and only five new work permits were granted in 2008. Similarly in Australia, carers have not qualified since 2009 under the minimum salary levels demanded by the temporary migration programmes aimed at skilled labour (Boese et al. 2013).

The distinction between skilled and less skilled is particularly crucial when states are restricting the less skilled to temporary programmes and residence status without the possibility of converting their residence to a permanent one. Ruhs (2006) suggests that in relation to low skilled labour there is a trade-off between numbers and rights. Countries are prepared to admit large numbers with temporary statuses and

high levels of turnover without giving them rights to prolong their residence beyond a stipulated number of years, and thereby gain settlement rights. This is typical of many countries in Asia and the situation facing migrants performing domestic and care work where contracts are usually restricted to two to three years (Rosewarne 2012). The Middle East is distinctive in offering few rights to both skilled and lesser skilled workers although here too there is a gradation of rights based on skills.

Yet permitting the entry of high numbers of temporary migrants with fewer rights even pertains to the classic countries of immigration, where temporary programmes have become a normal element of the immigration system, both for skilled and less-skilled workers. In Australia, for example, temporary statuses have grown rapidly and up to half of permanent migrants are now drawn from those originally with temporary statuses (Jupp 2011) and with the number of the latter category uncapped (Hawthorne 2011, 2012). In Canada, Conservative governments have encouraged temporary programmes to such an extent that in some provinces the number of temporary migrants is now greater than permanent ones (Dumont et al. 2008). Temporary programmes serve as a stepping stone to permanent status and a preparatory stage where migrants are expected to demonstrate that they have the resources to live without the assistance of state-funded immigrant settlement and language programmes. Migration has thus become a two-tier phenomenon.

In Australia, temporary migrants are not eligible for Medicare except for citizens from a country with which the Australian Government has signed a Reciprocal Health Care Agreement, such as the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand and some European countries. They also have limited access to free public school education for children in certain states and lack access to family assistance or social security payments. Indeed there has been much concern in academic and activist literature about the precarity faced by temporary migrants, including highly skilled ones, due to legal status, lack of institutional security and access to public goods, and dependence on an employer (Anderson 2010; Boese et al. 2013; Fudge 2012).

Furthermore, even in classic immigration countries, temporary status may preclude less-skilled migrants from applying for permanent status. For example, in Canada there are a number of schemes for the less skilled but none, except the Live-In Caregiver Programme (LCP), permit access to settlement. However, where the temporary schemes are for skilled workers there may be access to permanent status as in Australia (Khoo et al. 2008).[8] In some countries, such as Australia, many of these

conversions to permanent status are by students. However, when gender segregation occurs in education, these are likely to be converted into temporary labour migration and permanent figures too. The top five subjects for international student enrolment in Australia in 2008 were business/commerce (48,922), accounting (20,210), information technology (IT) (13,528), engineering (11,052) and teaching (5796), all of which are strongly gender segregated – the first four are male dominated while the last is female dominated (Arkoudis et al. 2009). Where conversion from student status to the labour market and marriage streams is significant, the gendered patterns of education are likely to influence temporary and permanent migration streams too.

Gender differences in skill levels between those entering on permanent and temporary immigration statuses may be quite large. For example in Canada, only 22 per cent of temporary female migrants in 2012 fell into the three skilled categories (managerial, professional and trade) compared to 45 per cent of men (CIC 2013). Skilled trades in particular are dominated by men. The Canadian Experience Class, created in 2009, is open to gradate students and temporary workers with 24 months work experience but the low skilled are barred. In 2012 there were many more men (3758) than women (2185) in this category (CIC 2013). In the USA, with relatively low levels of permanent migration for employment but high levels of family migration, large numbers of temporary skilled workers enter initially as non-migrants (Martin 2006), for example through the H1B visa scheme, and then either request numerous extensions or are able to transfer to permanent residence. Of the H1B visa applicants in the USA, only 28 per cent went to aliens applying from outside the USA, 24 per cent to aliens within the USA and 48 per cent to continuing employment (USCIS 2013). In the United Kingdom as in the USA these onshore applications are primarily in the form of adjustment from inter-company transfer (ICT) visas. ICTs in both countries are dominated by computing, business and financial services – all sectors that are highly male dominated – and by large firms. As smaller firms struggle to use ICTs and are more dependent on other forms of recruitment, then the gender recruitment patterns based on size of firm and sector are both important variables influencing gendered migration.

Circularity, defined as repeated temporary migrations, has also become a buzzword and been strongly promoted by the EU in its bilateral cooperation agreements. It is seen as a neat solution to the management of migration, responding to labour market shortages but making no demands on the integration of workers (Triandafyllidou 2013).

Circularity is also one of the outcomes of regional consultative processes such as the Abu Dhabi dialogue where 18 member countries from Asia (11 sending countries and seven receiving ones) debate and establish mechanisms for temporary contractual labour movement. Their focus is primarily on lesser skilled workers. EU mobility partnerships, such as that signed with Cape Verde, also foster circularity (Betts 2011). Patterns of circularity vary across time and space; they may not necessarily be imposed by top down regulations but may be created by those seeking to combine the need for income and transnational familial obligations, for example older Ukrainian women in Italy working as carers (Marchetti 2013) or by male Polish handymen in Germany who support the social reproduction of middle-class households through irregular periods in the country (Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013). In some instances, as with Filipina entertainers, the constant circularity may lead to a sense of belonging nowhere and have implications for welfare entitlements (Parreñas 2010).

Finally, as suggested above, although immigration regulations are usually a sovereign matter, they are also influenced by a range of factors that act above and below the level of the state. This section began with a discussion of mobility agreements which push the limits of immigration regulations well beyond the state, particularly for those within free movement zones. There are also examples of new regulations which are forged between countries through bilateral agreements and partnership agreements, which have become an essential element of the governance of international migration and have increasingly involved non-state international actors such as the IOM (International Organization for Migration) and the OECD (Kunz 2013). Along with Memorandums of Understanding they offer guidelines for the treatment of migrants from entry through to employment. They are signed between sending and receiving countries and are dependent on identifying mutual grounds of agreement. A wide range of measures has been covered in such treaties, including screening (for health, skills etc.), and recruitment, training, rights of entry for family, employment rights (rights to switch employers, dispute, union) and return (Peters 2013). Partnership agreements as part of broader economic cooperation, such as those signed between Japan and Indonesia (2007), the Philippines (2008) and more recently with Vietnam (Mackie 2014), have also facilitated the entry of those working in reproductive sectors such as carers and nurses.

Immigration may also be regulated at sub-state levels. For instance, almost all of Canada's provinces and territories have come to obtain some control over immigration; they can nominate people for migration

through their province-specific nominee schemes which specify short-age areas and specific labour market thresholds to meet their labour demands (Dumont et al. 2008). Some provinces provide easier routes to entry and faster routes to permanent residence than the federal regulations.

State regulations also arise as an outcome of various pressures and, while public opinion (and its political significance in electoral politics) may be crucial to regulations, as we will see below, these regulations are inflected by labour market requirements, lobbying by professional organisations and by business groups too. Moreover, particularly in the socially reproductive sector where the state is still an important arbiter of the labour market, immigration regulations cannot be considered without exploring how they intersect with the work of professional bodies.

Another group of actors are civil society organisations and trade unions, often working together to inflect immigration and labour market conditions. However, it has been argued that the difficulties of using human rights instruments, often trumped by pragmatic interests, as with the Canadian temporary workers scheme, may have led activists to pursue networking with a range of social and political actors in order to effect change (Basok and Piper 2013 and see section 6.3.2).

6.2　Immigration regulations and non-labour migration routes

Official labour migration is not the only source of reproductive labour; categories admitted for purposes other than work, for example spouses or other family members, students and asylum-seekers and refugees (Pastore 2010), may also contribute to reproductive labour. These indirect labour immigration flows, especially of family migrants, were for a long time ignored, their contribution to the labour market discounted (Pastore and Salis 2013), and their migration conceptualised solely in cultural and social terms. However, for male spouses, family migration was often seen as a covert form of labour migration (Grillo 2008). In addition, there are those with irregular statuses and outside managed labour migration, many of whom have entered legally but have become irregular. Irregular migrants were depicted in terms of law and order rather than their growing presence in European labour markets. However, they may acquire a regular status and provide reproductive labour through marriage with a citizen,[9] registering as a student, or through a regularisation programme. As van Hooren (2012: 143) has

shown, 'labour migration policies for care-workers only had a limited impact on the employment of migrant workers' since 'many migrants employed in the social care sector rely on residence permits unrelated to employment or [...] are already living in the country as irregular migrants'.

Although both European and settler societies allow family reunification for long-term migrants, the range of family members is more extensive in the latter and beyond the narrowly defined nuclear family (Kofman and Meetoo 2008). Yet in settler countries, such as Australia and Canada, there has also been a shift away from family migration towards skilled economic migration. For instance, the Australian government saw skilled migration as having benefits for the country and skilled migrants being more financially self-reliant. This led to an occupation-based selection model for skilled migration (Boucher 2007: 385). In 1996–1997, 44,580 family migrants compared to 27,550 skilled migrants entered Australia. In 2010–2011 within an increasing pool of migrants, the number of skilled migrants had risen to 119,000 but with only 54,550 family migrants (Hawthorne 2012). The entry of parents and grandparents, increasingly presented as burdens on welfare, have been severely limited, as in Canada (see Chapter 4).

As we argued in Chapter 3, labour and family migrations need to be articulated, in part since family migrants are a significant source of labour, though one knows little about their contribution to the labour force at different levels of skill. The few studies on this issue have tended to focus on whether such migrants succeed in entering the labour force and the gender differences in doing so (González Ferrer 2011; Yoon In-Jin and Woo Haebong 2007). This applies equally to skilled migrants who often enter as the accompanying dependent, as a reunifying spouse or a marriage partner. For instance, although the spouses of ICT workers are allowed to work in the USA (L1 visa) there are restrictions on the employment of spouses on the H1B visa. Restrictions on spousal labour market participation can be a disincentive for skilled migrants, many of whom marry other skilled migrants working in the same occupational sector. This has led India, a large recipient of this category of visas globally, to agree bilateral agreements with Korea and Singapore allowing spouses to work (Satija and Mukherjee 2013). In Australia the contribution of family members of skilled migrants to the labour market (77 per cent of whom work after an initial period of six months) (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2010) is fully recognised with reports commenting that one gets two for the price of one

(Smith et al. 2012). In some sectors, such as medicine and teaching/lecturing, the numbers arriving as accompanying family members of skilled principal applicants add considerably to the labour supply; in other male- (accounting, computing) or female-dominated (nursing) sectors, spouses only make a modest contribution (Table 6.1).

Participation in the labour market is also one of the reasons partners[10] and children get preference in the family stream compared to parents and elderly dependants whose numbers are capped. A recent analysis of European data for selected major countries of immigration also demonstrates that recent female migrants (family, asylum, students) are employed across a range of social reproductive sectors (Table 6.2).

Whilst family migrants have not traditionally been selected on the basis of their economic participation, increasingly their employability

Table 6.1   Occupations of primary skilled applicants and their spouses 2004/2005 to 2008/2009 in Australia

Occupation	Primary applicant	Primary plus spouse
Medical practitioners	1489	2539
Teacher/lecturer	4398	8697
Administrator/manager	5964	11,512
Associate professionals	8480	13,895
Accounting	40,054	42,975
Computing	28,858	31,237
Nurses	6400	7676

Source: Hawthorne 2011: 22.

Table 6.2   Sector of employment of recent female migrants: family, asylum, post-enlargement EU-12 and domestic workforce, 2008

Sector	Family	Study	EU-12	Asylum	Domestic
Manufacturing	10	9	16	–	10
Vehicles	13	15	11	13	18
Accomm.food	14	15	21	15	6
ICT, finance, science	6	15	–	–	15
Admin	11	7	9	9	5
Education, Pub.Adm	6	10	–	9	16
Health care	11	19	9	31	17
Households	17	–	13	13	–
Other	7	–	6	–	8

Note: no figure indicates less than 5 per cent.
Source: Cangiano (2012) Figure 10, page 41.

and capacity to integrate into the labour market have been taken into account in a number of states, especially in Europe (Kofman forthcoming). In some countries, such as the Netherlands, these concerns stem from public discourses about the continuing reproduction of inequalities arising from so-called inadequate mothers and poor parenting (Prins and Saharso 2008). Furthermore, full social citizenship is increasingly aligned to paid employment, especially for migrants who have greater difficulties in claiming rights based on citizenship status (Andrijasevic 2009). The transposition of an economic rationality, the application of economic criteria, such as income, funds and resources and the ability to be self sufficient, are also determining the right to marry transnationally and bring in children. Hence sponsors with the weakest labour market positions (quality and stability of employment) are being denied the right to bring in spouses or are forced to develop complex coping strategies which extend the time it takes them to achieve their goal (Kulu-Glasgow and Leerkes 2011, 2013). The trend in relation to the entry of spouses is also one of selectivity based on human and cultural capital achieved through pre-entry language and knowledge of society tests (Entzinger et al. 2012). Similarly, the extension of the probationary period for spouses reinforces economic independence of the family and dependency of the sponsor. The rule of no recourse to public funds until the migrant acquires a permanent residence status (Indefinite Leave to Remain) in the United Kingdom means that migrant mothers cannot obtain child benefit, which, in a country with very expensive and largely private childcare, impinges on the kind of work she is able to take and whether she can afford, even if permitted as a skilled worker, to bring children over. Nurses, for example, may decide to leave their children behind to be able to work longer hours or take less-skilled care work with higher overall income to fit in with childcare arrangements (Wong 2014b). Other factors such as ethnic background, shared historical migration exchanges and representation of different categories of migrants may shape the ability, right and strategies of family reunification, as is the case of Latin Americans in Spain (Reher et al. 2013).

In Asia, as outlined in Chapter 2, the substantial growth in marriage migration parallels labour migration of domestic workers in a form of 'global spatial hypergamy' (Constable 2005). In supporting biological and social reproduction, marriage migration reveals a class differentiation between the middle classes who can afford to employ domestic workers whilst working-class men, who fail to find indigenous wives or cannot afford paid domestic labour, are forced to resort to imported

brides, often obtained through commercial agencies. Despite the shortage of domestic and care labour, the Japanese government does not issue working visas to migrant domestic workers, hence Chinese, Filipina and Korean women are entering Japan as marriage migrants in search of employment (Piper 1997; Suzuki 2008). In Singapore, households are required to have a certain level of income (SG 30,000 dollars annually) in order to employ a migrant domestic worker. These workers are not allowed to cohabit with their employers and are denied reproductive rights (Marriage Restriction Policy and mandatory six month pregnancy tests). Working-class men turn to women from lower-income countries such as China, Indonesia and Vietnam in order to provide care for elderly parents and other members of their family, and reproduce their family (Yeoh et al. 2013). Immigration legislation puts these women into a totally dependent position during a probationary period after they have obtained a Long Term Visitors Permit, but before they are granted a Permanent Residence Permit, which allows them to work and receive healthcare. Since April 2012, those who have produced a Singaporean child, and who have not yet been granted permanent residency or citizenship, can apply for a Long Term Visit Pass Plus (LTVP+).

6.3   Immigration regulations and social reproductive sectors

As we have seen in Chapter 2, female employment has tended to be concentrated in a few labour market sectors with many of the skilled feminised ones being highly regulated by the state and professional bodies compared to the more lightly regulated IT sector. The skilled sectors of social reproduction are subject to changing migration regimes and regulations in response to the fluctuating economic situations and welfare expenditure (Rosewarne 2000; Raghuram and Kofman 2002), resulting in constant shifts in policy regarding training of professionals, immigration policies, the ability of international students to take up employment upon graduation and selection policies for entry (Iredale 2005). States in particular have been keen to contain welfare expenditure, including staffing, though this may be tempered by political pressure from the electorate, especially concerning inadequate services. Furthermore, in Australia and Canada unequal provision in rural and remote areas has led to radical changes in immigration policies and contributed to the shift towards decentralised and employer-driven schemes. Immigration policies should also be seen as responding to

emigration trends for many countries (Australia, Canada, South Africa, the United Kingdom) which are both receiving and sending states. (see section 6.3.1).

The state is not the only actor shaping immigration policies and determining the composition of labour for purposes of social reproduction. The media, employers, professional organisations, trade unions (Grignon et al. 2012), recruitment agencies (or merchants of labour) (Kuptsch 2006) and civil society organisations, may all play a part in the management of migration. Above all, the shift to employer sponsorship in the selection process in permanent and temporary migration has endowed employers with a central role both in developing immigration policies and in selecting migrants (for Australia see Hawthorne 2012) and has led some to speak of the emergence of a private governance regime of immigration (Groutsis and Arnold 2012).

The extent to which other agents and groups are able to influence policy and are listened to by governments will vary in different states and contexts (Inoue 2010; Menz 2009; van Hooren 2010). The ability to influence policy may in certain circumstances be less connected with interest groups than with greater public acceptability for some categories of immigrants. Whilst skilled migrants tend to receive more support, this may also extend to domestic workers as in Italy, where in a familial welfare regime, they are vital for the care of elderly people. Hence, even in the face of an anti-immigration government, an expansive policy towards domestic workers, seen as being unthreatening and hard working, has been maintained (van Hooren 2010).

6.3.1   Skilled reproductive sectors

Regulatory and licensing conditions for entry into a profession and the right to practice are usually the remit of state and professional bodies which may be organised at the national level, as in the United Kingdom, or in provincial (Canada) and state (USA) levels. Professional associations may deploy a number of measures producing social closure around entry into the profession which erects considerable barriers to migrants, especially those from different educational systems. Measures include licencing, credentialising through formal education or additional tests which may be based on quotas or imposing very high thresholds which serve to severely restrict numbers entering (see Groutsis 2003 for doctors in Australia). Changes in licensing by professional associations may reinforce immigration regulations either in raising or reducing access to professional practice, for example by making it more difficult for overseas nurses to gain registration.

The state is closely involved with determining training for particular professions and support for students, accreditation, and welfare expenditure, both directly and through subsidies. Changes have occurred within the context of constant fluctuations of expenditure on training and shifting boundaries between professions and increasing use of lesser-skilled and remunerated assistants (Marceau and McKinlay 2008; Nancarrow and Borthwick 2005). Medicine in particular is a highly regulated profession and this may be undertaken by state regulators, state bureaucracies, state-licensed professional regulators or professional representative bodies or a combination of these in different countries (Raghuram 2014).

The United Kingdom illustrates the collaboration between state bureaucracies and professional associations in modulating immigration flows of health professionals. When the Labour government came to power in 1997 it announced a modernisation and investment programme for the National Health Service with a considerable expansion of staffing which could not be provided in the short term without resorting to migrant health professionals. In the meantime training places for nurses, funded by the government, grew by a third from 1997 to 2005 and then declined substantially from 2009/2010 (Buchan and Secombe 2012). In contrast, post 2005, apart from an increased supply of domestic staff and a belief that the NHS was largely self-sufficient (Crisp 2007), the economic context in which the NHS operated had changed. Performance-related and competitive principles pushed managers into reducing unit costs.

After 2005 a number of measures were brought in by the NHS, the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC) and the UK Border Agency, all working together to produce a downward trend in the registration of overseas nurses. In 2005 the NMC increased registration fees for overseas nurses and required them to complete a 20-day training programme and, if necessary, a period of unpaid supervised practice for which there were only limited places. In February 2007 it raised the English language requirement to International English Language Test 7. Meanwhile in 2006 the UK Border Agency removed most nursing categories from their shortage list which meant that applicants would need to complete a resident labour market test. The shortage list as of 6 April 2013, following the advice of the Migration Advisory Committee and backed by NHS Employers, now only contains one nursing shortage occupation – neonatal intensive care specialist. All these measures produced the desired result of a sharp reduction in the intake of overseas nurses from 8709 in 2005–2006 to 2309 in 2007–2008. Having had their budgets

reduced in order to make efficiency savings of £1.5 billion as part of public spending cuts in the past few years, numbers of nurses and training places have also been cut (21,000 in 2009 to fewer than 18,000 academic places in 2013), and once again requiring recruitment from within and outside the EU. The total number of nurses who registered to work in Britain after receiving their training abroad rose from 2306 in 2009 to 4521 in 2012 (Donnelly 2013) and continued rising in 2013 (Donnelly and Dominiczak 2014). Recently, the main countries of recruitment have been from the EU – Portugal, Spain and Ireland, all countries experiencing severe economic crisis – and the Philippines. At the same time British nurses have increasingly been moving to traditional Anglophone countries, in particular Australia (Buchan and Secombe 2012: 20).

In Canada too, during a period of nursing shortages and cuts in training places in the context of welfare retrenchment, Citizenship and Immigration Canada refused to give any points in the 1990s to nurses on the General Occupation List, thereby making it impossible for them to enter as independent immigrants. Many however migrated as dependants such that since 1986, 29 per cent of all people intending to work as GPs and 22 per cent as registered nurses entered through this route (Dumont et al. 2008: 41). To this, one should add the harsh restrictions to accreditation creating barriers to racialised minorities, for example by the Ontario Council of Nurses, challenged on grounds of the violation of human rights by the Ontario Nurses Association to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (Stasiulis and Bakan 2003: 119). Being ahead of the game in applying neo-liberal and cost-cutting measures, there was also a shift from hospital employed nurses to lower-paid health workers in other institutions. IRPA (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2002) did away with the General Occupational List and so, during the period 2002–2006, the permanent immigration of nurses increased by 39 per cent (Dumont et al. 2008). Furthermore, nurses are now included in the new category of Canadian Experience created in 2009 and on almost all of the provincial Regional Occupations Under Pressure list. However, at a time when Canada is concerned about the continuing exodus of nurses to the USA,[11] it does little to assist Internationally Educated Nurses (IENs) to complete their licensure, especially those who have come through the LCP route which is predominantly filled by Filipina women (83 per cent) and in which many had been trained as nurses. In the period 1999 to 2003, only 50 per cent of IENs were eligible to sit the exam (Dumont et al. 2008: 57).

In Australia, immigration policies have also fluctuated in their treatment of reproductive sectors. Having pursued a highly protectionist

and regulated professional labour market, especially in the health sector (Iredale 2005), there have been a number of major revisions of immigration policies in the past decade. In the mid-1990s medical practitioners could not enter via skilled migration categories but their entry was subsequently opened up due to shortages which the state has sought to fill through the expansion of medical schools (long-term demand) and immigration (medium- and short-term needs) in this area. This represents a similar policy response as in the United Kingdom until 2005. It has also encouraged international students who have been able to make a smooth transition to employment. In addition, it has simplified the procedures for accreditation through the development of the Competent Authority Pathway model based on 'a number of established international screening examinations for the purposes of medical licensure that represent a "competent" assessment of applied medical knowledge and basic clinical skills' (cited in Hawthorne 2012: 97). The five competent authority models are those of countries with similar systems (Canada, Ireland, the United Kingdom, USA, New Zealand), whose medical practitioners already encountered the least problems in becoming accredited. The benefit for Australian accreditation bodies and employers was that they can quickly process a large number of applications which, for example, has led to a rapid increase of UK doctors (Hawthorne 2012).

Hawthorne (2012) points out that doctors perform very differently in the Canadian and Australian systems – 19 per cent of Indian doctors were employed in medicine in their first five years in Canada compared to 66 per cent in Australia, 31 per cent from Hong Kong/Malaysia/Singapore (compared to 59 per cent), and 8 per cent from Eastern Europe (compared to 24 per cent). These figures reflect not only the differences between the two systems but also the importance of race, of assumptions about the knowledge of English (English-speaking background) and of accreditation systems, where the qualifications obtained in some countries are valued above those from others in shaping labour market integration. For instance, Hawthorne shows how South Africans thrived in each country and could be considered therefore as 'medical elites'. However, as Groutsis and Arnold (2012) show, such South African migrants also strategically prepared themselves for insertion into the labour market using their familial, professional and social networks and were assisted by the fact that their qualifications were seen as comparable to Australian ones. Their cultural and social capital enabled them to make the most of their human capital.

Hence they applied not for the lengthy examinations of the Australian Medical Council but directly to state registration boards and specialist bodies to have their qualifications evaluated. They exploited the multi-dimensionality of the federal system with differential accreditation requirements and regulations for migrants based on the local state rather than the national state. The outcome was that out of 469 South African respondents to a survey about their experiences of migration, settlement and labour market insertion, 92 per cent of the women and 96 per cent of the men were working in their area of training and qualification.

We can also see differences in outcome between English-speaking and non English-speaking nurses in Australia. Though permanent migration has grown over time, temporary migration has expanded even more rapidly, and nurses were the top sponsored occupation for the period 2004/2005 to 2008/2009 (Hawthorne 2011: 121). Registration is the key starting point likely to determine a nurse's future pathway through the system. Those with qualifications or professional experience from a small group of largely English-speaking countries as well as Singapore, Hong Kong and some EU countries, are able to obtain off-shore registration. For those from other countries, a number of barriers have to be overcome – English language tests and a bridging or conversion course – which means that they are unable to enter the country directly for employment but must come in with a different visa such as a student one (Boese et al. 2013). They are also more likely to have to expend considerable resources in gaining registration and use recruiting agents to gain a job. Hence for some, their integration into the labour market becomes a two-stage drawn out process.

6.3.2   Less-skilled reproductive sectors: Domestic and care work

Despite the obvious demand for domestic and care work in the household (see chapters 2 and 4) to ensure social reproduction needs in the receiving societies, immigration regimes largely either ignore or marginalise such labour or, where it is recognised, offer highly restrictive conditions of entry, residence and work. Such denial and marginal status in immigration regimes reflect an undervaluing of female embodied labour whilst ensuring social reproduction at the cheapest cost for the receiving society. On the whole where the need for domestic work and care is recognised in immigration regimes, most schemes limit workers to temporary contracts of two to three years which, even if renewable, cannot lead to permanent residence or citizenship (Surak 2013). For

those tied to their employer as a live-in-worker under a sponsorship system, as in the Middle East and South East Asia, it represents a kind of structural dependence.

In Europe, for example, domestic and care work in the household is either not recognised or only partially so for purposes of immigration entry, hence legal possibilities of entry in this sector have remained limited. As previously noted the enlargement of the supply of intra-European labour has enabled the continuing closure of routes for less-skilled non-EU labour to be maintained. The main exceptions to this situation lie in Southern European countries with familial welfare regimes which have sustained social reproduction through providing quotas supplemented by frequent regularisations of irregular migrants, especially targeted towards workers in the household care sector. Even in the midst of severe economic crisis, employment in this sector has not declined although quotas have been withdrawn as in Italy and Spain (Arango et al. 2013; Castagnone et al. 2013). One could typify these countries as combining recognition and toleration since official routes are by no means adequate. In other countries, also based on familial provision but with a more generous social welfare regime, such as Germany, no official route of entry has been developed, leaving the state complicit with irregular work undertaken by migrants (Lutz 2011). The denial of the need for domestic work and care has also led a number of countries to introduce an au pair scheme, not only for the common scenario of childcare, but even for the care of elderly persons as in Denmark (Stenum 2010, 2011).

Exceptions may be made for mobile elites. In the USA the A-3 visa is designed for ambassadors, diplomats and their families; G-5 for officers and employees of international organisations and B-1 visas to accompany US citizens who reside abroad but are assigned to the US temporarily for up to four years. The United Kingdom also offers an Overseas Domestic Workers visa. Until 1997 this concession did not allow the domestic worker to change employer, but after years of lobbying from Kalayaan, an organisation in London representing such workers, the new Labour government changed the regulations such that migrant domestic workers could change their employer in case of abuse (Anderson 2012). Some managed to build up sufficient years of residence to eventually obtain permanent residence. However their status did not fit neatly into the Points Based System, and the Conservative-led government in its drive to reduce immigration at all cost has limited the length of the visa to six months and withdrawn the right to change employer, thus entrenching a form of modern day slavery (Kalayaan 2013).

As discussed in section 6.2, non-labour routes may result in an addition to paid domestic reproductive labour, as in the case of Japan, where the government does not issue working visas to migrant domestic workers. Yet Chinese, Filipina and Korean women are entering Japan as marriage migrants or as entertainers who then marry and enter the labour market, many of them into the care sector. And, more generally, marriage can sometimes be the simplest and least expensive way to migrate in East Asia (see Chapter 2), where barriers to permanent migration are very high. For domestic workers seeking to prolong their stay beyond the temporary permit, becoming undocumented may be the only solution.

The vast majority of domestic workers are excluded from prevailing labour laws in the country. ILO (2013) estimates that only 10 per cent of all domestic workers or 5.3 million worldwide share the same legal protection as other workers. However this varies massively between regions. In advanced countries, 12 per cent enjoy coverage from general labour laws (France and Italy have collective agreements) although 77 per cent are covered by a mixture of general and subordinate or specific laws and 5 per cent have no coverage. In Latin America, with 37 per cent of global domestic workers, 17 per cent benefit from general coverage and none is completely excluded. At the other extreme, and in two regions with large numbers of domestic workers, Asia Pacific has 61 per cent and the Middle East with 99 per cent of domestic workers with no general coverage.

Whilst ILO Convention 189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers has only recently been ratified (5 September 2013),[12] unlike the Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families, it has been signed in a short time after its ratification by Four European countries (Germany, Ireland, Italy and Switzerland), and backed by the European Commission, as well as South Africa with its large migrant domestic worker population. It may also have an effect beyond non-signatory countries through the improvement of working conditions (minimum wages, days off, annual paid leave and sick pay), which a number of countries are doing. For example, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudia Arabia and UAE are concluding a region-wide contract but this is not the same as inclusion in national labour laws. Singapore implemented a two-month cap on recruitment fees but did not ban outright salary deductions which is part of the Convention.

The work that went into the adoption of the Convention from NGOs, social movements and unions may also have catalysed improvement in local and national conditions. Regional coalitions and networks, such

as the Asian Domestic Network, the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Women Domestic Workers (CONLACTRAHO) and Respect and Solidar in Europe, engaged in building alliances to press for the ILO Convention (Basok and Piper 2013: 272–273). In the USA, four states (California, Hawaii, Massachusetts and New York) had, from 2010 to 2014, passed legislation which brought domestic work into the ambit of standard labour laws. The federal government also recognised 2.5 million home care-workers as being covered by minimum wages and overtime under the Fair Labor Standards Act (Boris and Klein 2012; National Domestic Workers Alliance) for which the Caring Across Generations and National Domestic Workers Alliance had campaigned for some time. Hence, more generally, the Convention may raise awareness amongst politicians and policymakers and assist NGOs campaigning for improved labour rights and working conditions for domestic and care-workers.

Limitations of rights can also lead to deskilling. For instance, the Canadian LCP (implemented in 1992) shows how immigration policy, the workings of a temporary programme and credentialising combine to deskill women and leave them with partial citizenship. From 1993 to 2006, 35,719 women and 919 men entered under LCP. Eighty-three per cent of entrants had Philippine citizenship. In 2012, 3520 women and 170 men were recruited under this scheme (CIC 2013). A number of them had nursing qualifications but can't take a licensing exam until they have permanent residence for which they can apply once the two years of tied employment has been completed. Moreover, they must have practised nursing at some time in the past three to five years. However, activist campaigns have led to some changes in the programme, such as increasing the time during which a care-giver can accrue relevant work experience as a nurse for the purposes of conversion of permanent residency status and for those waiting for a Permanent Residency Permit to enjoy an Open Work Permit (Basok and Piper 2013). After years of criticism, a radical change to the scheme was announced in November 2014 ending the compulsory residence in the employer's household and preventing employers from docking expenses (accommodation, food). Applications for permanent residence will also be processed within six months after the end of the two years temporary visa which had previously often taken years. The scheme has now been capped at 5500 per annum and split evenly between childcare and care for those with chronic medical needs (CIC News 2014). It has however not been accepted positively by some, such as the Caregiver Action Centre in Toronto, which argues that the universal right to permanent

residence has been abolished and is now subject to fitting into the caps (The Star 29 November 2014).

Sending states have been involved in promoting transnational supply chains of labour (Phillips 2009), although few have envisaged or implemented more comprehensive migration strategies of formal labour schemes. The most elaborate government strategies promoting the export of labour can be found in Asian countries such as the Philippines which has put in place a framework which provides assistance prior to departure and at return and reintegration stages (UN 2009). Other countries, such as Indonesia and Sri Lanka (until 2009), have emulated the Philippines in promoting the export of domestic workers through temporary contracts and to a lesser extent the more skilled, such as nurses (Rosewarne 2012). However, governments have had very limited roles in recruitment which has meant recruitment's extensive commercialisation through private recruitment agencies which in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka undertake over 90 per cent of it (Haque 2005). On the other hand, ILO Convention 189 forbids the deduction of wages for placement fees, and its signing by the Philippines has led to greater intervention in this aspect. It has been one of the contributing factors to making Filipina domestic labour much more expensive to employ in Singapore. Their share of the domestic workers' market has fallen to 20–30 per cent and they have been replaced by workers from Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia, the latter are paying placement fees which can amount to up to eight months' salary (Ponniah 2013).

Even more than domestic work, migrant sex-workers are likely to be undocumented or semi-compliant, for example, reside in a country without having the right to engage in sex work. More than any other area of labour, major debates rage about its morality, whether it constitutes work and its relationship to trafficking, especially between those arguing that prostitution is always coerced and should therefore be abolished and those who contend that sex work[13] may be voluntary as well as forced (Chuang 2010; Doezema 1998). In 2000 the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (the UN Trafficking Protocol) was passed at the same time as the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 in the USA.[14] In each, trafficking was defined as the movement or recruitment of men, women or children, using force, fraud or coercion, for the purpose of subjecting them to involuntary servitude or slavery in one or more of a wide variety of sectors (such as agriculture, construction or commercial sex). A coalition of feminists, conservatives and Christian

evangelicals came together to promote an agenda for the abolition of prostitution worldwide (Chuang 2010: 1657–1658).

A number of feminist migration scholars have criticised the tendency to equate sex work with sex trafficking (Agustín 2005; Andrijasevic 2009; Boris et al. 2010; Parreñas 2010). Although the Palermo Convention broadened the remit of trafficking to include other forms of labour, attention has continued to focus on sex work and to conflate it with sex trafficking with the effect of limiting women's mobility and, in some cases, actually forcing them to use informal routes instead of the previously available formal route. This was the case for entertainers in Japan, classified as skilled workers for purposes of immigration entry, and whom the USA designated in its 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report as being the largest group of self-trafficked persons in the world. As a result the Japanese government substantially tightened the conditions of entry, stipulating that to qualify for a visa the individual had to have two years' experience as an entertainer prior to applying to enter Japan, or an internship. Thus from 2004 to 2006 the number of entertainer visas fell by 90 per cent, from 82,741 in 2004 to 8607 in 2006 (Parreñas 2011). It also has been used more as an anti-immigration instrument rather than for the protection of victims.

The status of sex-workers does not only depend on immigration regulations but also on whether such work is legal, partially decriminalised or totally decriminalised in a country (Chuang 2010). In most African countries, throughout East and South East Asia and in the USA, sex work is illegal. In Europe, Australasia and Latin America it is generally either legal or only illegal if organised in brothels and by pimping. Even in countries where it is legal, sex work may not be engaged in by those on temporary visas, as in New Zealand (Tan 2013).

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter has drawn out the existence of inequalities and stratifications based on skills and where they were obtained, and the increasingly significant use of temporary statuses in current immigration regimes. Specific entitlements, such as the right to bring in family members, the right to settlement and citizenship and access to welfare, are attached to each of these categories of skills and temporality and have implications for the conditions of social reproduction in receiving and sending countries. In particular, the growing use of temporary statuses, even for skilled categories is shifting the onus of social reproduction and the possibilities of social mobility away from states to individuals and their families.

On the other hand, some improvement is beginning to occur in relation to working conditions and labour and social rights in domestic and care work in the household through both national and international regulations concerning this sector. A coalition of forces achieved the adoption and subsequent ratification of the ILO Convention but even in countries where it has not been ratified as in the USA, some individual states and the federal government have passed a bill of rights for domestic workers or incorporated them into normal labour standards. In relation to sending countries improved labour conditions are likely to be felt most in countries which support their migrant workers, such as the Philippines.

Chapters 4 to 6 have highlighted the inequalities and stratifications arising from the differential valuations of sites, sectors and skills of social reproduction. These distinctions are also reflected and reinforced by immigration regulations which increasingly either exclude or marginalise the less skilled despite their significance for social reproduction. Often their knowledge is devalued and treated as being embodied, and their circulation circumscribed. In the next chapter we analyse these interlocking inequalities and show how they play out across class, gender and ethnicity as well as nationality and immigration status.

7
Migration, Social Reproduction and Inequality

As we saw in the previous chapters, social reproduction occurs across a number of sites and sectors. It also involves a range of educational qualifications and professional experiences that may be differentially valorised depending on who performs them, how their skills are regulated and where they were obtained. Moreover, rights to entry, to work, to form families and to welfare are also selectively given globally based on factors such as colonial links, new political affiliations and the nature of the state and its welfare regime.

Yet a number of similar patterns also emerge. Migrant women seem to be significantly employed in reproductive sectors of the labour market – in domestic work, sex work, care, nursing and teaching, although a number of other sectors such as religious work and medicine are also important sources of employment. This pattern is distinctive from that of men who occupy a much larger range of sectors of the labour market and are less likely than migrant women (though more than non-migrant men) to be engaged in social reproduction. The women who are employed in these sectors are not all labour migrants; many move as family migrants, as students or through forced migration. Given the commonalities and the differences among migrant men and women globally, how do we conceptualise the outcomes of gendered global migration for those providing reproductive labour for others in the countries to which they migrate, for themselves and for members of their family who live with them, and for those for whom they are responsible in the sending countries. This is the overarching question which we address in this chapter.

With this objective in mind we begin to draw together the theoretical frameworks underpinning the transfer of social reproduction and the sites in which it is deployed, such as the home, the community and

public spaces, such as hospitals and schools. In the next section (7.1) we use Bourdieu (1986) to explore the extent to which different capitals are exchanged, recognised or devalorised. The following section (7.2) examines how these processes of capital transfer and transformation are affected by a range of factors including race, class, gender, nationality and legal status. We outline how theories of intersectionality have been used to understand migration as a process, outcome and cause of inequalities. The complexities of these inequalities are then discussed in the penultimate section (7.3).

7.1 Forms of capital and social inequalities

Bourdieu's theory of capitals (economic, cultural, social) is a classic source for understanding how social inequalities are not simply produced and transferred, but also potentially transformed, across space and time, including intergenerationally. It has been a key theoretical framework for migration authors working on the varieties of forms of capital within different habituses (Al Ariss and Syed 2011; Bauder 2003; Erel 2010; Kelly and Lusis 2006; Nohl et al. 2014; Nowicka 2012, 2014; Weiss 2006) and has provided an incisive understanding of how transfers and exchanges occur from one context to another through the process of migration. His framework also helps us to comprehend how the different forms of cultural capital in particular are recognised or not by the state, professional organisations and employers, as well as the strategies and social networks that migrants endowed with different capitals deploy in different contexts.

For Bourdieu (1986: 241), the different forms of capital include:

- economic capital, comprising people's varying financial resources, which have become institutionalised in the form of property rights or their means to create more wealth;
- cultural capital, comprising a hierarchy of different dispositions, objectified in specific cultural goods, and institutionalised in an unequal distribution of qualifications and skills obtained by families' differential investments in the education of their members. This definition is in contrast to human capital theorists' understanding of how qualifications and skills are the rational and meritocratic outcome or reward for public and individual investment in education and training. It refers to competences such as education, linguistic skills, cultural knowledge (e.g. an understanding of the host country's culture);

- social capital, comprising people's networks of social obligations and the resources these give rise to, which can enable people to accumulate more economic capital and develop cultural capital.[1]

However, in addition to these three forms of capital, feminists have suggested *emotional capital*, which refers to the emotional resources and affective relationships available to those one cares for and is largely used for further investment in the family (children, spouses) (Reay 2005: 60)[2] and for social reproduction of the next generation (Chee 2003). This is the one form of capital that women are seen to have in abundance.

The habitus is the framework within which the value associated with various forms of capital is established. It is the objective 'rules of the game' that affect what will be prized and rewarded in any given context, what things are worth and what is considered worthy and worthwhile. Although these rules of the game exist beyond individual control, they must also be reproduced by individuals through their social practices. To speak of habitus is to 'include in the object the knowledge which agents who are part of the object, have of the object, and the contribution this knowledge makes to the reality of the object' (Bourdieu 1984: 467). Furthermore, 'the conversion rate between one sort of capital and another is fought over at all times' (Bourdieu 1984: 246).

As we have suggested throughout the volume, migration regimes increasingly focus on human capital as the key element for migrant selectivity. Acquiring human capital often requires cultural capital, with those with histories of privilege (raced and classed) being the most likely to obtain the kinds of education and skills which make them desirable migrant subjects. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 6, cultural and social capital can be crucial to the ability to transfer the advantages of human capital in a post-migration scenario. Institutional cultural capital carves out a geography of global positionalities whereby, although the state may recognise credentials according to level of educational attainment for purposes of entry into skilled reproductive sectors, professional associations may set up a series of distinctions and barriers which privilege comparable systems from other locations in the Global North (see chapters 5 and 6). This pattern is particularly apparent in Canada where, while human capital is used as a criterion for entry, post-entry this capital is stripped off and deprofessionalisation becomes common. We can illustrate these barriers to the transfer of capital through Canadian studies which have investigated the outcome over time of the labour force experiences of migrants (Adamuti-Trache and Sweet 2005; Dryburgh 2005; Reitz 2005). Some 45 per cent of adults arriving in 2000 had university degrees. However a quarter of the recent immigrants with a

university degree are working at jobs that require only a high school diploma or less, and only half are working in Canadian jobs that use their credentials three years after arrival. In 1996, 59 per cent of native-born men with bachelor degrees were working in knowledge-based occupations (i.e. those requiring degrees) but only 35 per cent of recently arrived men. For women it was 57 and 28 per cent respectively. The same gap was noted for postgraduate qualifications – 79 per cent of native-born men with a postgraduate degree were working in knowledge-based occupations and 59 per cent of newly arrived men, compared to 78 per cent of native-born women and 49 per cent of newly arrived women (Reitz 2005).

Employers may set much more store in embodied cultural capital such as local experience, accent or assumed dispositions than on human capital leading to what Bauder (2003) calls brain abuse. At the same time, stereotypical dispositions incarnated in embodied capital, such as being good at caring which is often ascribed to Filipinas, may produce negative outcomes by pushing migrants into socially reproductive activities in the household (Kelly and Lusis 2006) with implications for the social reproduction of their families. Migrants may also participate in the ethnicisation of their embodied skills, for example, amongst young Poles in the United Kingdom who present themselves as being hard working, flexible and intelligent workers (the majority having secondary or tertiary qualifications) (Nowicka 2012, 2014). However, the skills involved in social reproduction are undervalued as a form of human capital throughout the migration process despite being central to non-migrants. The forms of capital that migrants possess generally transfer inadequately and incompletely between the sending and receiving contexts (Bauder 2003, 2004 on Canada; Nohl et al. 2014; Weiss 2006 on Germany). However, to fully understand the process of (de)valorisation one needs to place the transfer within a transnational perspective which includes educational systems and labour markets in both origin and destination countries, that is, within a double frame of reference (Nowicka 2014).

Neither is the transfer back of these forms of capital between receiving and sending contexts through transnational processes such as remittances, social networks, and dispositions very effective, as exemplified in the case of migration between Canada and the Philippines (Kelly and Lusis 2006). Migrants without sufficient economic resources or familial connections, including nurses, may not be able to take certain kinds of employment, may forego promotion or bring their children with them (Dyer et. 2011; Wong 2014a) (see chapters 4 and 6). The aspiration for greater social mobility may actually be undermined by the

lengthy time taken for family reunification which many Filipina LCP workers in Canada have faced. These issues affect the intergenerational transfer of capital so that children do not always seem to benefit from the migration of their parents. Where migrants are able to bring their children with them into liberal welfare regimes (which typify most of the major immigration states), childcare is largely left to the market or family and friends or, as in the United Kingdom, migrants are not eligible for tax credits for childcare until they have acquired permanent residence. The deprofessionalisation of migrants alongside long hours of employment in low skilled work may lead to relatively low levels of tertiary education than one might expect amongst their children (see Chapter 5). This leads to the depletion of social reproduction.

Both male and female migrants frequently find their economic, social and cultural capital devalued in the receiving countries. This may lead to a return to the place of origin, especially after some basic objectives, such as the acquisition of citizenship, are achieved. This has been the situation for Hong Kong migrants in Canada, partly due to their negative experiences in Canada and the opportunities available in Hong Kong following its reincorporation into China and its transformation into a rapidly growing capitalist economy (Ley and Kobayashi 2005).

However, others are able to convert capital through several stages – from student to temporary or permanent migrant, from temporary to permanent, or using mobility between countries to build up one's convertible cultural capital, both institutional and endowed, as some nurses and care-workers do. Stepped migration – as amongst Indian and Filipina nurses who obtain training in the United Kingdom, and thus reduce expenditure on the more expensive bridging courses in Australia – is a case in point (see Chapter 6). In order to avail themselves of such possibilities, migrants require economic capital and strategic thinking. They need to familiarise themselves with the changing regulations about rights of entry, work and residence and how these vary from country to country, and which may open up and close down the possibilities of transitionary and multiple step moves. So whilst more families are stretched out spatially through global householding (see Chapter 4), its reproductive success in maintaining cultural, social and economic capital requires knowledge and strategic thinking about conditions in the society to which the migrant is moving temporarily for education or work or permanently.

Another means of converting capital is through marriage. Especially in countries with restrictive immigration regulations and professional closure to non-citizens in regulated professions (see Chapter 6), as in

Germany (Nohl et al. 2014; Weiss 2006), marriage and the conferring of citizenship enables cultural capital to be recognised and facilitates a more rapid full integration into the profession. Marriage or an intimate relationship with a citizen or permanent resident of a receiving country may enable migrants to demonstrate links with the destination country and enable them to access support, for example with familial responsibilities. So too does having family ties in the destination country (Al Ariss and Syed 2011). Biographical and life course moments such as marriage should also, therefore, be taken into account in the actualities of conversion of cultural capital and the use of social capital.

Clearly, contemporary migration requires accrued forms of cultural capital – which allow the development of human capital and the ability to transfer that capital – and is underpinned by socially reproductive work. Some migrants, like non-migrants, depend on other migrants to provide this work, but the lack of recognition of the skills and sectors of social reproduction leads to a devaluation of socially reproductive work. So what are the structural inequalities that underpin these forms of capital and the ability of migrants to transfer and transform them into labour market success? In the next section we will explore how class, gender and race intersect to produce these inequalities and how each one is inflected by the other. However in relation to migration, we also have to consider the effect of nationality and legal status on these social divisions as we will go on to show.

7.2 The complexities of intersectionality

Conceptualising the outcomes of migration and particularly the nature of discrimination has been a matter of significant concern for those working in migration. The intersection of class, gender and race or what has come to be called the unholy trinity (Mills 1993) is the lived reality of people around the world, but its importance in social identification and how it creates injustice was most forcefully expressed by black feminists in the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s these ideas had been expressed in essays, poems, pamphlets etc. within the context of black female activism. Most famous were the words of the Combahee River Collective (1979), a few African American lesbian women who published a paper named 'A Black Feminist Statement' claiming that racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression are interlocking. This pioneering work highlighted how the frameworks of race and gender are usually used distinctively, by black (male) and (white) female activists and they therefore only incompletely explain the injustice that

characterises the African American woman's life. The forceful ways in which race, gender and social class, including sexuality moulded black women's experiences, was highlighted.

Glenn (1985, 1992) played a key role in drawing out the interaction between gender, race and class in relation to different generations of minority women (see Chapter 3). Although the interaction between class, sex and race of racialised women in Britain had been addressed by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), the use of intersectionality as a term that incorporated the simultaneity of sexism, racism and homophobia etc., which cannot be studied distinctly from one another because they are interconnected, was limited. However, it took off in the 1990s, especially amongst socio-legal scholars, after it was used by critical race theorist Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) in her famous essay. Crenshaw used the example of traffic at an intersection to illustrate the nexus between gender, race and class which influences African American woman.

Since then intersectionality has become the most widely used feminist analytical tool (Nash 2008) for understanding the experiences of women of colour, including migrants, as its usage extended beyond legal studies to an emphasis on identity and subjective experiences.[3] Insights from this approach suggest that discrimination does not simply occur at the intersections of race, class and gender; holding these distinct and viewing their intersections presumes different tracks of discrimination that intersect. Rather, vulnerability in one area can *lead* to vulnerability in another. The analytical hubris of intersectionality has been defined by Choo and Ferree (2010) thus:

> the importance of including the perspectives of multiply-marginalised people, especially women of color; an analytic shift from addition of multiple independent strands of inequality toward a multiplication and thus transformation of their main effects into interactions; and a focus on seeing multiple institutions as overlapping in their co-determination of inequalities to produce complex configurations from the start, rather than 'extra' interactive processes that are added onto main effects. (p. 131)

Intersectionality is thus also a key analytical frame for understanding how inequalities that migrants experience are structured and experienced (Burkner 2012; Herrera 2013; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012). The critical edge of feminist politics has led feminists working on migrant women to focus on those who are seen as most disadvantaged and invisibilised, particularly those who work at the edges of legality,

such as sex-workers, and those who provide their labour within private settings, such as domestic workers. They are seen as subject to multiple discriminations of class, gender and race.

While intersectionality highlighted the simultaneity, the multiplication and the intertwining of processes of exclusion that migrants experience it is also increasingly clear that these processes don't just stop at the borders of the state but also extend to and include bordering processes in multiple sites and spaces within states. Through notions of desirable citizens or 'us and them' (Anderson 2013), the migrant may be simultaneously included and excluded. They may pass through the turnstiles of immigration borders precisely because of the gendered nature of the work that they do, but once they enter they are usually seen as objects suffering multiple discrimination. Hence, categories such as race, class and gender can't be seen as nationally bounded but as inflected by nationality and immigration status and by the complexities of the transnational manifestations of each category.

The next two sub-sections go on to explore in more detail the ways in which class, gender and race influence migrant outcomes. It also shows how these are influenced by nationality and legal status embedded in immigration systems. We begin with an outline of class and then show how these three vectors have been layered into theorisations of gendered global migration.

7.2.1 Class and gender

Of race, class and gender, arguably, it is class that has been theorised the least in the context of migrant women. More generally, whilst class has been claimed by some to be in retreat and displaced, eclipsed through the politics of identity and individualisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), a number of sociologists and other social scientists (Crompton et al. 2000; Devine et al. 2005; Gibson-Graham et al. 2000; Sayer 2005; Skeggs 1997, 2004) have argued for its continuing salience. A principal aim of class analysis is to identify any significant breaks in the distribution of resources that result from property and employment relations – these mark the structured capacities for action that generate characteristic life chances (Scott 2002). Others (Gibson-Graham et al. 2000), in reworking the notion of class, have emphasised economic relations and the different ways of appropriating and distributing surplus labour, that is class as process rather than status or position in the social hierarchy.

As Acker (1999) notes, class, though regularly invoked as one of the necessary three dimensions in the analysis of intersectionality, has not

been re-theorised in a way that facilitates its use in a combined analysis. She (2000) suggests various reasons why feminists have forgotten about class. First, they made little headway with trying to incorporate female experiences into class differences, although there was a lively exchange in the United Kingdom in the 1980s about whether class should be applied to individuals or households and the extent to which women differed in their class position (McDowell 2006: 832–833). Class, it was argued, had run into a dead end and was in crisis and thus came to be seen as irrelevant. It was seen to be out of tune with a postmodern sensibility in which identities are fluid and individualistic. It was a structural concept and a relic of modernism (Skeggs 1997: 7), a zombie category (Beck and Beck-Gersheim 2002). Class was posited in abstract terms, leaving little room for human agency whilst at the same time assuming men's working lives in the sphere of production. Interestingly, Acker (1999) suggests we need to expand the notion of the economic away from production to include distribution through marriage and other family relationships and through welfare-state transfers so that we can encompass the economic situations of white women and people of colour, as well as contemporary changes in world class structures. This ties in well with the emphasis of Gibson-Graham et al. (2000) on appropriation and circulation and allows us to extend these processes and the conceptualisation of class beyond nation-state boundaries.

Nonetheless, the perceptions of class structures, as Aguilar (2003: 150) points out, 'remain stubbornly "national" in their imagery', whether it be through the exclusion from citizenship of migrant labour in many countries or the replication of class structures overseas, as is the case of Filipinos. Indeed much of the recent feminist interest in the relationship between class and gender focuses on differences of work–life balance of non-migrant women across classes (Crompton and Brockman 2003; McDowell et al. 2005) and the polarisation between such women (McDowell 2001). McDowell (2006) suggests that class differences between women are widening as professional middle-class women employ working-class women to fill the gaps in household labour and enable them to pursue lifelong careers uninterrupted by childcare.[4] The little that exists on transnational manifestations of class has largely focused on the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2001), a group who are occupied in transnational firms that cut across countries and whose movements are often unfettered by national regulations. This class is rarely dependent on the state for its social reproduction. However, for others, class shapes migration processes and outcomes as we shall go on to see.

Migration is inherently a classed activity (Barber and Lem 2008). Class structures occupational mobility of skilled and lesser skilled workers with skills often standing in as a proxy for class in both sending and destination countries (Kofman and Raghuram 2006). However, mobility is frequently seen as the privilege of a global elite of the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2001) while migration of the working classes is seen as something to be contained, monitored and preferably stopped. As Bauman (1998: 2) has argued, 'mobility climbs to the rank of the uppermost among the coveted values – and the freedom to move, perpetually a scarce and unequally distributed commodity, fast becomes the main stratifying factor of our late modern or postmodern times'. Mobility and social inequality are 'mutually co-produced and interrelated' as a review of new forms of intra-European migrations highlights (Verwiebe et al. 2014).

Most of the literature on gendered migration has conflated female migration with the less skilled migration, particularly of those working in feminised sectors; there is much less work on the mobility of highly skilled women. The extensive focus on poor migrant women from the Global South to the Global North has led to a rich literature on the nexus between migration, gender and class where the three have come together to form a triple oppression. Here, it is increasingly recognised that the deep inequalities across the globe may also be viewed as a class divide writ large, driving migration and thus shaping the international division of reproductive labour. Migrants thus use migration as a route to achieving social mobility in global class hierarchies, in the context of the denuding of class privilege in many parts of the world.

The dreams and aspirations of class mobility (Mapril 2014), and of class stability when class is being eroded in the sending contexts, is an important driver for migration (Limpangog 2013). The global reproduction of class distinction has meant that moving from one country to another may involve compromising one's class status in the destination country but can lead to greater incomes in richer countries which it is often hoped can translate to class mobility generationally. However, as has been noted, the difficulties of transferring and converting forms of capital can mean that women and men may actually face downward mobility after migration, which Parreñas (2001) – based on her work with Filipina migrants – terms contradictory class mobility. This process occurs both amongst men and women (Batnitzky et al. 2009). The subjective experience of downward mobility will depend on the actual change of status, the degree to which this is perceived as a temporary stage in one's life and relations with employers. Thus, someone

who was previously a teacher or a nurse and who herself might have employed a domestic worker, will feel the downward pull more acutely than someone who had previously been employed as a domestic worker and whose situation may actually have improved. For example, many Dominican women in Spain were employed as domestic workers at home prior to migration and may not experience their post-migration involvement in this sector as downward mobility (Escrivá 2004). For others such as Eastern Europeans (au pairs and domestic workers), this downward mobility may be viewed as a temporary situation which has to be endured while they acquire linguistic skills, social capital and some money (Morokvasic-Müller 2003; Williams and Baláž 2005) in order to achieve class mobility over the long term.

This drawing in of reproductive labour from afar however also requires the recalibration of classed subjectivities amongst those planning to move. It involves the reshaping of pre-migrant subjectivities to expect and accept certain kinds of jobs irrespective of their class position. These are also embodied through the training that women and men undergo prior to migration (Gardiner Barber 2013a). For instance, nursing schools in the Philippines and pre-migration training schools for domestic workers in Sri Lanka prepare their students to forego or at least reshape their cultural capital and human capital in order to meet the labour market demands of the receiving state. On the other hand, the status of socially reproductive sectors such as nursing has improved through the prospects it offered for migration. Working in some of these sectors, which have global demand, enables non-migrants to benefit from the improved status of the occupation because of the promise it offers, and to transcend some of the gendered and classed connotations of the sector. Moreover, where women and men are involved in the less valorised socially reproductive sectors, they enable the class mobility of others (such as employers) whose reproductive tasks they take on. Both women and men undertake such roles but for women this occurs both as paid labour and within the family. Thus, the downward mobility of some facilitates the upward mobility of others.

While many of these debates have focused on the benefits of reproductive labour to non-migrant women, recognising the role of marriage and partnering alerts us to the other beneficiaries of this process of the international division of social reproductive labour: migrant and non-migrant men (Bartolomei 2010; Kilkey et al. 2013; Palenga Möllenbeck 2013). Through marriage with migrant women, men in lower class positions may draw in reproductive resources for their parents and have children (see Chapter 3). The intimacy of class encounters faced by

migrant domestic workers in the household (Anderson 2000) is a route for non-migrant children, for instance, to recognise their own place, as well as that of their migrant carer's, in the world. Migrant domestic workers learn to be racialised, classed subjects but also facilitate the reproduction of behaviours around gender, race and class by children whom the migrant domestic workers look after as the stratified reproduction of norms and values is ensured through domestic settings (Gottfried 2009). To what extent migrant women still use domestic work as a route to learning class distinctions, of the norms and manners of middle-class households in order to further their own class mobility as in the late 19th and early 20th century (McBride 1974) is unclear. The little research that exists suggests that these forms of class mobility are now routed through notions of cosmopolitanism and do provide cultural capital to migrant domestic workers (Yeoh and Soco 2014).

An emphasis on the class differences between employers and employees effaces the multiplicity of class relations in which women may actually be engaged and which they perform across different aspects of their daily lives (Gibson et al. 2001; Gibson-Graham et al. 2000). For instance, a domestic worker may be in a classed relationship with their employer but this relationship sometimes exhibits aspects of feudal relationships and incorporates elements of slave relationships at others (Aguilar 2003). Moreover, these relationships take new configurations in the different contexts such as the familial, through their role in the community, in religious organisations or in protest movements, in which domestic workers as individuals are entangled. These classed relationships also arise as forms of class consciousness and class activism.

Families and households are important modes for the transmission and reproduction of class hierarchies. But they are also riven with class differences. Migrant women often seek mobility as a route out of class divisions *within* the household, such as when there is unequal access to resources based on gender and generation. Inequalities within the household may be as great an impetus for migration as those between households (Bélanger and Rahman 2013; Raghuram 2005). The interplay of gender and class inequality is thus not only an effect of migration but is also a cause of it.

However, migration is also the site of the disruption of class hierarchies. Where migrant workers marry non-migrants by whom they are employed in the destination country, this can provide a route to class mobility. Moreover, cross-class alliances based on shared ethnicity may

occur (Johnson 2010; Però 2008) alongside the class distanciation often seen between differently classed migrants from the same country.

The increasing significance of women as reproducers of class hierarchies offers a challenge to theories of class, which have often seen men and their productive labour as the purveyors of class to the next generation. As Gardiner Barber (2008b) argues, the notion of class needs to be taken beyond the shop floor into the arena of social reproduction. According to her '[t]ransnational migrants' socially reproductive work is surely central to theoretical and ethnographic work on class and mobilisation' (p. 40). However, migrant women are increasingly providing the route to class transformation for both the immediate (spouses and children whom they bring with them or leave behind) and wider family. What then is the role of men in transferring class? Moreover, how are the techniques of class distinction carried differently when migration is the route for class mobility and class mobility is being provided from afar? And what are the forms of articulation between production and social reproduction in the contemporary world? How have they shifted since the 1970s and 1980s when they were hotly debated? We may also ask what are the issues around social reproduction faced by migrants working in the productive sector and how do they form alliances with those employed in waged work in sectors of social reproduction?

In migration studies this has largely been discussed within the context of families who are left behind. Where migrants have been successful in their project and have achieved social mobility, class tensions between those who moved and those who stayed may be exacerbated (Nguyen-Akbar 2014), creating new challenges if migrants return. On the other hand, where they have faced deskilling, the social reproduction of the wider family is strained as remittances may not meet the expectations of the family back home. The symbolic capital of family becomes compromised or depleted through migration. The effect of female migration on this symbolic capital is greater than that of men (Gamburd 2000).

These contradictions in class mobility experienced by migrants are not restricted to work; they also occur in other roles – women are helping to produce or reproduce class advantage through their mothering practices. However, mothers who move may have the emotional value of their mothering devalued because of their migration (Ogaya 2004) while the economic capital accruing from remittances becomes valued. Migrants are then clearly implicated in a multiplicity of class relations going on simultaneously – as spouses, mothers and workers.

Moreover, there are global variations in the meaning and performance of class (Purkayastha 2012). Given the differences in what constitutes class relations, what happens to class when people shift? What class-transition paths exist for migrants? And how is class experienced in transnational lives where a combination of class relations may be lived out simultaneously in different places.

In summary, through their focus on class mobility and the different scales at which these contradictions are played out – from the intimate as a place of downward mobility, to the global as one of upward mobility – migration scholars show the complexity of class in migration. But what is also clear is that a class analysis has to be attuned to gender differences. As we have seen, the interplay of class and gender is noticeable throughout the migration process. Before migration it manifests in the kinds of opportunities that present for class stability and mobility. In a study in Manila in the Philippines, Ogaya (2004) found that women were more likely to be educated than men but their ability to use their education or to continue in their occupation was less than that of men. Men also found more stability in their occupations than women. Skilled women who migrate as partners often find it more difficult than do skilled men obtain employment in their field and at their previous level (Permits Foundation 2009). The difference between paid and unpaid employment is less for women than men, as women are often doing similar tasks in both arenas. The class relationships that male and female migrants are engaged in, hence, vary.

Men accrue capital through migration in ways that are rarely recognised for women. Looking across a range of sectors and skills in which migrant women are employed leads us to ask: what are the kinds of capital that women accumulate? Most research focuses on remittances and thus on economic capital; there is much less recognition of the forms of human capital that women may be able to access through migration and which may be useful in enabling class mobility. This is because the framework of 'sacrifice' dominates how migration is understood when it applies to women. What opportunities for class mobility are opened up for the migrants themselves?

Moreover, gender norms are not the same the world over with narratives of migrant women as traditional, as modern (read sexually available and threatening) or mixtures of the two circulating depending on the countries from which migrants arrive, the countries of destination and the class positions of the women employed. These differentiated gender norms across countries are, however, an object of

concern in several destination countries. The gender norms of the source country may be defined in deeply racialised ways with migrants seen as requiring lessons on how to perform masculinity and femininity in order to integrate into the gender frameworks of the destination country (Scrinzi 2005). Doing gender appropriately becomes a mark of 'integration'. Moreover, flexibility about how to perform gender which is available to non-migrants may be less willingly extended to migrants. Thus, Purkayastha (2005) found that while the role of men in parenting was increasingly accepted in the USA, non-migrants did not accept 'foreign' men as carers, and were reluctant to send their children on play dates when the gender stereotyped roles were being challenged and it was the host child's father rather than mother who was to care for the children during play time. On the other hand, gender is not necessarily more emancipatory in countries of destination. The ways in which women are inserted into these countries will affect how far they are able to rescript gender norms. For instance, women who enter highly feminised sectors of the labour market and those who lose their rights to work as spouses accompanying migrant husbands may find that femininity and its associated characteristics, such as caring, and responsibilities towards social reproduction become reinscribed onto their bodies. Women sacrifice their gender equity for class mobility. In other cases, as among international sex-workers remitting money to Benin, migration enabled alterations in their structural power within the receiving households. The households shifted from co-operation based on female subservience to a more competitive economic relation where women became key decision-makers (Osezua 2011). Moreover, as among Somali men and women in the USA, access to state-provided welfare to women has also altered how gender relations are played out between men and women (Abdi 2014). Men see the state as disrupting the male breadwinner model by routing finances to women and often resent the power that women have accrued as a result. For other female migrants, their active wage-earning role has not been accompanied by transformations in gender inequalities; rather, they have reverted to stereotypes around mothering and domesticity, highlighting their socially reproductive role despite becoming the main breadwinner (Bastia 2012). These work to make women migrants' agency socially acceptable but can result in strengthening gender norms (Hofmann and Buckley 2012).

Thus, gender norms are also not always transformed after migration, they may be reproduced albeit with some modifications (Morokvasic 2007; Vullnetari 2012). But the degree of change in gendered relations is very variable across the globe.

7.2.2   Racialisation, gender, class, nationality and legal status

National fantasies based around rootedness result in migrants also becoming marked in racialised ways. Even in countries which are themselves multiracial the structural persistence of race as a way of discriminating against migrants remains profound. In the context of Europe, Silverstein (2005) argues that the marking of migrants in racialised ways has shifted over time from nomad, to labourer, uprooted proletariat, hybrid cosmopolitan and transnational migrant. These shifts in racial marking are an outcome of changes in the nature of migration, the ways in which both source and destination nations are imagined and the dynamic political concerns of the time.

Concerns over race are also always classed. Thus, according to Hage (2000) within the context of a fantasy of a white Australia, class mobility can lead to a deracialisation of ethnically marked migrants in middle and upper classes to a limited extent. Moreover, race can also lead to classed differentiations. For example, the use of the term expatriates to refer to white migrants suggests that white migrants have more disposable wealth and pose no threat to destination countries. Thus, racial differences can lead to classed understandings of migrants so that white migrants are often seen as middle or upper class while somatically marked migrants are perceived as working class. Moreover, the fantasy of a white Australia requires that the indigenous and existing migrant populations of Australia are ignored.

These classed intersections are played out in the intimate spaces of the home where race and class difference are reinforced through daily acts of distanciation, of the reproduction of notions of servitude and through the devaluation of the labour of racialised migrants. However, the micropolitics of these differences may be manipulated by other factors as Lan (2003) argues. For instance, Filipina domestic workers in Taiwan were able to use their superior knowledge of English in comparison to their Taiwanese employers to remake class differences. The colonial heritage of the Philippines provides the basis of a better knowledge of English which is then utilised to adjust class distinctions. Migrant domestic workers therefore also have their own hierarchies of employers which draw on global racialised orders (Paul 2011).

However, race, gender and class do often combine. As we saw in Chapter 5, Filipina migrant care-workers in Canada are seen as domestic workers while white childcare workers are defined as nannies, paid higher wages and their work valued differently. These differences are finely tuned with complex ethnic hierarchies emerging as between Indonesians and Filipinas in Taiwan (Loveband 2004) or among

domestic workers of different nationalities in the Middle East. These hierarchies are also solidified through the employment practices of recruitment firms who play on and amplify these distinctions (Abrantes 2014). Hence, these intersections of race and class find institutional form. These differences are also gendered with the masculinity of migrant men employed in occupations classed as female (such as domestic work) remoulded in order that it can be accommodated into the racialised, gendered order (Sarti and Scrinzi 2010). Men are sometimes seen as hyper-masculinised and as sexual threats (Tranberg Hansen 1989), at other times their labour is accommodated within dominant forms of masculinity by emphasising the heavy household work undertaken or the work performed outside the house such as gardening or home maintenance (Cox 2012; Palenga-Möllenbeck 2013; Ramirez 2011). Male domestic workers seek to professionalise their work by claiming how what is assigned as feminised and natural when done by women, is an object of training and is learned when they are required to perform the same tasks. They also develop occupational niches within feminised professions, see this job as just one step in occupational mobility, rewrite the femininity of these occupations as peculiar to the destination country in order to negotiate their masculinity (Sarti 2010; Scrinzi 2010) or justify this strategic flexibility in occupational choice as necessary in order to meet financial commitments (Batnitzky et al. 2009). Yet, at other times, as in the case of black domestic workers in Southern Africa, their work is infantilised as it is considered inherently feminine but this may be made acceptable by reinforcing their hierarchised position within a racial order (Bartolomei 2010; Tranberg Hansen 1989). Men may define domestic work through choosing and appropriating what they consider gender suitable tasks within the gamut of domestic work.

Crucially, both the work and the worker come to be seen as embodiments of their racialised, gendered and class positions (see above). Embodiment for Skeggs is the 'product of the composition and volumes of capital that can be accrued and carried by the body and the fit between the habitus (the disposition organizing mechanism) and the field' (2004: 22). It is deeply contingent and contextual and shows how both the worker and the occupation are co-constituted in gendered, classed and racialised ways. This process has been well described in the case of domestic work, with black women marked as strong and masculine, South East Asians as docile and so on, drawing on colonial and postcolonial relationships. These ascriptions are often, but not always, gender specific. For instance, the docility of Filipino migrants is ascribed

both to women and to men, with men, as a result, dominating areas of service on cruise ships where they are ascribed with qualities such as subservience and compliance (Terry 2014). Somatic preferences for fairer skinned Iranian and Moroccan sex-workers operates alongside notions of distinction (their lesser availability, the expensive sites where they work and shared language) to enable them to operate in the high-end sector of sex work in Dubai (Mahdavi 2010). Conversely where their migration strategy fails they may find it difficult to access support from voluntary organisations precisely because their exclusiveness suggests that they had choices other than to work in this sector.

Middle-class women from these ethnic groups may reject their working-class compatriots because of the ways in which these racial-isations are also classed while the reverse may occur as working-class women feel Filipino nurses in Singapore, for instance, act too superior. They may thus, both try to distance themselves from each other. But the middle-class women may also depend on these same women to take over their socially reproductive tasks. As Johnson (2010) states, without the help of domestic workers they too will be threatened with a loss of status and autonomy, reducing them to the role of unpaid domestic worker. Their middle-class status is thus fragile. Moreover, these class differences are not static, they are always open to alteration. For instance, participation in NGOs by Filipina middle-class women who then came to be seen in racialised ways reinforced in them their ethnic commonal-ity with the domestic workers for whom the NGOs were working despite class differences between them (Law and Nadeu 1999).

This racialisation may also build on histories of class within the non-migrant labour market. For instance, the history of nursing in the United Kingdom has been built upon racialised, classed and gendered distinctions (Smith and Mackintosh 2007) where there were clear class distinctions between enrolled nurses – who were seen as looking after the undeserving ill, such as the poor, old or the mentally ill patient in poor law institutions – and registered nurses in voluntary hospitals. Enrolled nurses provided bodily care while the more managerial aspects of care were reserved for registered nurses. The migration of Irish and African-Caribbean nurses to the United Kingdom and their inclusion into the nursing cadres served to complicate this gendered, class order with a racial order with enrolled nursing becoming the primary domain for African-Caribbean nurses, for instance. Thus, not only do gender, race and class operate together to produce occupational disadvantage among migrant women, they also draw upon older institutional hier-archies and constitute new ones in their turn. This leads Smith and

Mackintosh (2007) to argue that this conjuncture of race, class and gender are always being made and remade in the institutional hierarchies of nursing.[5] Moreover, their institutionalisation enables the reproduction of disadvantage and social distance produced through race, class and gender.

This cumulative disadvantage is apparent both through an exploration of the histories of migration but also in biographical research which focuses on individual lives (Purkayastha 2005). Cumulative disadvantage points to the ways in which one vector of disadvantage leads to, exacerbates and multiplies disadvantages due to other vectors. However, disadvantages are not always cumulative. Women who become lead migrants because of their work in skilled sectors of the labour market may be advantaged with regard to migration because of demand in the feminised sectors in which they work but may suffer discrimination in the labour market because of their race or class (Raghuram 2004a). Here disadvantage may be the consequence of just one aspect of their identity while they benefit from others. Thus, part-time female migrant doctors are still comfortably well-off and are able to retain class privileges in the United Kingdom unlike other female part-time migrant workers (Oikelome and Healy 2013). The influence of different vectors can also vary. For female migrants in sectors such as medicine (Raghuram 2006) the skilled nature of their work and the class position that this brings with it alters, but does not necessarily reduce the impact of gender. On the other hand, institutionalised discriminatory processes may make race and migration status the primary markers of disadvantage. Skilled women also often operate in sectors where there are old boys' networks as well as raced non-migrant networks which serve to exclude women. These processes of exclusion also affect migrant men (Raghuram et al. 2010). Besides, lesser skilled women living in neighbourhoods which are more racially segregated could have access to ethnic resources and networks that more skilled racialised women who are sparsely distributed in 'white neighbourhoods' do not (Purkayastha 2005). As such, the simultaneity of class, race and gender cannot always be assumed – they may be experienced differently in different places.

As we saw in Chapter 6, these structural differences in how gender, migration and race are experienced can also be seen in migration policy. Immigration regulations may involve both gendered and racialised aspects, although what each of these constitutes is continuously being renegotiated. Racial discrimination is also coded into legislation as in the case of Japanese immigration laws where strong distinctions separate

the rights of non-Japanese from those of other ethnicities (Arudou 2013). Race also intersects with other factors. For instance, shared migration history and racist discriminations by the Spanish between different Latin American groups (Venezuelans and Argentinians at the top of the hierarchy; mestizos and indigenous Americans from Andean countries like Bolivia at the bottom) influence the likelihood of migrants from these countries being able to bring their families with them (Reher et al. 2013). In Germany and Austria the healthy male labouring body was the object of the guest-worker regime in Austria, while more recent migration regulations have defined these bodies as objects of security and have recast their racialised presence through the lens of religion (Scheibelhofer 2012). In the United Kingdom, Eastern Europeans are increasingly cast in racialised terms although the nature of those constructions differs from those through which South Asian or African migrant bodies are seen (Fox et al. 2012). Moreover, while official regulations offer mobility across Europe for Eastern Europeans cultural racism has persisted with characterisations of Eastern European migrants drawing on classed categories such as 'poor-white' and its associated classed cultural racism which had been applied to non-migrant populations. These perceptions of the poor white then influence how Eastern Europeans are integrated into the United Kingdom. These racialisations are also highly gendered with Eastern European men in Iceland being cast as overly masculine while Eastern European women, like Asian women, are considered to be naturally caring (Júlíusdóttir et al. 2013). Undoubtedly these racialisations are also set both within the context of Icelandic notions of their own masculinity and femininity and of the labour market shortages within the country and who is thought appropriate to fill them.

Religion also influences this racialisation with Muslims being cast as the zenith of incompatible difference in much of the Western world (Kofman et al. 2000; Zontini 2008). Women may be considered traditional while men are portrayed as threatening. On the other hand, in the labour migration centres of the Middle East, Muslims may be better accommodated than non-Muslims though this acceptability intersects strongly with race (Johnson 2010).

While processes of integration are racially marked, it is worth noting that racial boundaries can, in part, be transcended through country of citizenship as it pertains to rights of entry. For instance, all EU citizens irrespective of race, class or gender have the right to mobility within the EU and access to rights of mobility beyond the EU,

while class, race and gender will all influence the rights of non-EU citizens. EU citizens are therefore bearers of transnational privilege. Migration then becomes a route to achieve class mobility for future generations who will have the 'right citizenship' (Zontini 2008). Moreover, as we have seen in the case of Australia (Chapter 6), nationality also influences migrant's labour market outcomes through differential processes of accreditation and recognition of qualifications. These may be achieved effectively through regional integration programmes such as those within the EU.

While the mutations of class are increasingly understood in migration studies through theories of contradictory class mobility for instance, less frequently studied is how race is transformed during the migration process. Those who are part of a racial majority may, after migration, become part of a racial minority and suffer racism. Others may benefit from their racialisation, helping them, at least partially, to improve their earnings. For instance, Russian sex-workers in South Korea benefit from their whiteness (Joon and Fu 2008). Class may also intersect differently with race and gender in source and destination countries. Moreover, some migrants use transnational linkages to continue to be linked to their source country so that they can *simultaneously* be part of a racial majority in that country and a minority in the destination country. As Purkayastha (2012) argues the impact of transnationalism on intersectionality needs much more attention. Just as gender scripts are not uniform across countries so too does race change, although the importance of some dominant structures of race (inherited through colonial and postcolonial interaction) transnationally means the extent to which race norms show flexibility is somewhat limited.

While our analysis above paints a picture of the complexities of the combination of race, gender and class for migrant women there are also many aspects of these intersections of which we are less aware. What happens to migrant women who are privileged in terms of class or other social categories but penalised by their gender (and perhaps race) in terms of their occupational trajectories? Moreover, are there commonalities between the experiences of female labour migrants in male-dominated sectors and feminised sectors? When and how do gender and nationality supersede sectoral working conditions to become a shared vector for understanding female migration? Do these different positionings mean that migrant women in different sectors share more than might be expected? Or is gender differentially mobilised across sectors so that it becomes less significant for some male-dominated sectors than in feminised sectors? These are questions for future research.

7.3   Conclusion: Gendered migration, social reproduction and engaging with inequalities

The intersections of class, race, gender, nationality and legal status (amongst others) lead to landscapes of inequality amongst migrant men and women. While most theories of inequality have drawn on theories of production, as we have shown the reproductive sector too is both a cause and a site of these inequalities. Both the crisis of social reproduction and gendered inequalities in this reproduction (Gamburd 2000) lead women and men to migrate. But being part of reproduction also leads to losses for migrant women in a world where the productive sectors are generally overvalorised. The skills and sectors associated with production are much better recognised and rewarded than those associated with reproduction. As such, theories of production and social reproduction need to be better articulated in understanding how inequality is played out in the world of gendered migration. While existing theorisations have gone beyond the debates around reproduction and production in the 1980s by emphasising the range of ways in which reproductive work is a source of employment there is still more work to be done here. For instance, women often appear to emphasise gender norms in order to better accommodate and find acceptability of their productive contributions to the household. Hence, the coupling of social reproduction with feminised gender roles is still very strong. It is only in the more skilled sectors of social reproduction, such as nursing, where there has been any challenge to this.

Women and families are not the only ones who lose out due to these inequalities. For instance, in its attempt to valorise the emotional labour performed by women the care chain literature situates the losses incurred by female migration as a familial loss. However, it is also a national loss. Including a range of skills, such as nursing and teaching forces us to recognise that the emigration of women who contributed to these sectors is also a societal loss for the next generation. As we saw in Chapter 5 this is not merely a loss of embrained knowledge (brain drain) but also of encoded and encultured knowledge and of the embodied work and workers who help to reproduce a society. These roles were performed by women both as migrant workers and as mothers (Wong 2014b). Moreover, the social fields within which inequalities are played out means that

the practices that are activated by migration reflect social inequalities within care networks that cannot be grasped by the concept of

> global care chains. The inequitable distribution of care labor occurs not only among different nation-states but also between women and men; among and within families; among women of different social class, ethnic, or racial ascriptions; and so on. Therefore, the geography of global inequality must complement a reconstruction of local care networks and the way these networks are traversed by gender and race ideologies.
>
> (Herrera 2013: 477)

These inequalities are not simply experienced by passive subjects. Gendered global migrations are ways in which migrants try to strategise more or less successfully in an unequal world. Whether driven by global inequalities such as the South–North divide, by gendered inequalities within the home or combinations of these along with other factors, migration is a response to the crisis of social reproduction. Women and men identify a range of tactics to manage the migration process, their entry into the labour market, their continued stay, reunification with their family and sometimes their return. Even under straitened circumstances, the agency of the migrant – both tactical and strategic is evident (Constable 2014). Thus women are not only involved in reproduction but are reproducing the ways of engagement with migration through their agency. For women and for men (Bastia 2012; Mai 2011) migration is itself a form of protest.

These forms of action take many forms as Zontini (2008) highlights: progressively negotiating for better wages and conditions in consecutive jobs; by using their role as mothers and the rights accorded to children to bargain for greater welfare provision from local government (as among Moroccan women in Bologna); networking among each other and forming organisations to lobby for better working conditions and to pressure source countries to improve the rights of transnational migrants (Filipinas in Bologna and Barcelona).

This agency is not only individual or familial, it also occurs through forms of collective action which may take formal or informal routes (Kofman et al. 2000). Formal challenges have been organised by groups such as the Latino Front in the United Kingdom who lobbied for Latin Americans to be recognised as a minority, for rights of children with irregular status and so on (Però 2008). Their efforts thus go well beyond the diasporic politics that have been the subject of interest of most researchers, and of access to welfare and immigration, to longer term issues such as rights to education.

Women, both irregular and regular, enact their citizenship (Andrijasevic et al. 2012) and in doing so they make claims to rights as workers, migrants and women. They also question territorially based claims to citizenship by performing citizenship as mobility. Collective agency may be routed through and enabled by civil society organisations and NGOs. It may be easier in some places than others. For example, Hong Kong has become a centre for migrant activism due to the presence of trade unions and other civil society organisations and the ability of migrants to establish their own associations (Piper 2008: 1300; and for the United Kingdom see Anderson 2010). Migrants have also mobilised human rights discourses to greater or lesser effect, discourses that have been successfully appropriated to highlight gender issues in the case of domestic workers in Malaysia (Elias 2010). As we have seen in Chapter 6, migrant and minority workers have come together to challenge poor working conditions in domestic and home care sectors in disparate countries, at regional levels and globally. Even where female workers have not won a dispute, they have changed the nature of the struggle and their involvement with trade unions, as in the case of two iconic strikes 30 years apart in the United Kingdom involving South Asian women working in Grunwicks and Gate Gourmet (Pearson et al. 2010). Inequalities are therefore not simply experienced but also challenged and transformed by and through women and men.

8
The Value of Social Reproduction

Gendered global migrations have increasingly come to be seen through the lens of care and its associated theorisations of the care diamond and care chains. While this work has served to expand our understanding of the relationships between different parts of the world and how they are mediated by the embodied and affective work of care, particularly within the household, we have argued that theories of social reproduction offer a richer analysis of these movements. We suggest that using social reproduction includes a wider repertoire of activities, sites and sectors and leads to a recognition of spatial differentiation and dynamic variability that is often missed in the literature on care. We explored some of the ways in which social reproduction had been theorised but also outlined how the resurgence of interest in social reproduction offers new veins of analysis.

Contemporary theorisations of social reproduction have gone beyond the debates around reproduction and production in the 1980s by emphasising the range of ways in which reproductive work is a source of waged employment, and is not only done within the family as unpaid work. Reproduction is also part of the productive system. It represents a source of growing profit for the contemporary capitalist economy whether it takes place in the household or in public spaces and institutions.

Research has highlighted both the global scope of the mobility of this labour and widened the focus to recognise the longstanding presence of paid labour within the household. However, there is more work to be done here as the association between gender and reproductive work has not been adequately challenged. The coupling of social reproduction with feminised gender roles is still very strong. It is only in the more skilled sectors such as nursing where there has been any challenge

to this with more men entering the sector. Yet the more skilled sectors have also not been folded into the theoretical apparatuses used to understand gendered global migration. Thus, it is important to insert women into the landscape of skilled migration and one step towards this would involve a recognition of skilled migrant women's contribution to often feminised, state-regulated socially reproductive sectors.

Gender normativity of social reproduction is being reshaped (transformed but also selectively entrenched) through its global reconfigurations. For instance, women often appear to emphasise traditional gender norms in order to better accommodate and find acceptability of their productive contributions to the household. In many (but not all) contexts the wages they earn from their reproductive labour appears to cement and not adequately challenge their unpaid reproductive work. Indeed in many countries, public policies have encouraged and subsidised educated women to rely on less-skilled workers, both non-migrant and migrant, to undertake reproductive tasks.

While there is a large literature on the value of reproductive work for the household, the ways in which this articulates with sites and sectors beyond the household is much less well studied. The conflation of the household with the family erases the number of ways in which the state, community organisations as well as waged workers beyond those directly recruited by the family also enter the household to provide reproductive work. The state is implicated in reproduction of households but also of the public sphere through which the household functions. Treating households as relatively distinctive entities reduces reproduction to a household phenomenon and presents the global transfer of labour as an unmediated relationship between households.

Social reproduction also needs to engage more critically with the wider feminist literature in order to provide an adequate theoretical base for understanding female labour mobility. For instance, although feminist writing has adopted a fairly comprehensive definition of social reproduction, in its application to migrants very often a much narrower version has been adopted. Domestic work and the three 'Cs' – caring, cleaning and cooking – have provided the primary empirical evidence for much of these theorisations. The literature on migrant women and their contributions to reproductive labour internationally has also largely focused on two key sectors of the labour market – domestic work and sex work. The preponderance of studies in these two sectors overshadows other sectors such as industrial cleaning and hospitality which are non-relational and undertaken outside of the household

and often subsumed under production. This reproduces the equation of production with public spaces and reproduction with private spaces.

Moreover, the dynamicity of individuals over the life course means that socially reproductive tasks move into and out of the household over time, as children grow up and enter pre-school and then more formal schooling, when older people need professional care and move out into residential care provided by the state or by private organisations and so on. Workers also move between these different sectors, often combining work with different kinds of employers and even across sectors such as domestic work and sex work. Even in irregular professions like sex work, women may move from the more secure and safe high-end escort work to the more dangerous work in bars or selling sex on the streets. This fluidity between, across and within sectors shows the ways in which people move across different sites and sectors which are differentially validated and recompensed.

There are also different articulations between reproduction and productive work. For instance, the cleaning of offices in industrial and commercial centres is a necessary part of the reproduction of production. Sectors such as catering, restaurants and hotels also offer public forms of reproductive work that underpin the mobile transnational capitalist class. These sectors, by locating themselves in the public sphere, expand the ways in which the articulation between production and reproduction was theorised in the 1980s. The role of migrants in both these forms of production and reproduction has also increased.

On the other hand, recent years have seen the growth of direct payments as a means of subsidising social reproduction. This has led to the reprivatisation of forms of reproductive work, often with much more insecure conditions for migrant employees leading to high turnovers of employees and making social reproduction tenuous. This highlights the inadequacies of finding private solutions to public problems and the need to make more structural changes to pay and working conditions for women and men in their reproductive roles in order to address the depletion that marks social reproduction.

Thinking through the lens of social reproduction highlights the relationship between the state, the markets, community and the family. So far much of the welfare diamond (see Chapter 4) has focused on how women care in each of these sectors. Across the spectrum, social reproduction is also increasingly being commoditised through its marketisation both in the household and in other locations, such as residential homes for the elderly. Increasingly, the state uses the social reproduction undertaken by women, including the work they do within

the community in order to subsidise the private sector. Labour is being delivered by migrant women to the state which is then used to under-write capital. Focusing on social reproduction, thus, asks new questions about the relationship between migrant women and the production of capital. This is particularly important given the growing emphasis on productivity and workfare as a global rhetoric which is shifting the out-lines of welfare states. Given that women and men are increasingly being asked to be productive and in a context where the modes of production are being capitalised and privatised, how then does social reproduction articulate with and underwrite production?

Does reproductive labour provide a route to rights and what differ-ential axes to rights are accorded at the nexus between production and reproduction? For migrants this very much depends on the extent to which migrant skills are validated, how they enter a country and the intersections of race, class and gender as well as nationality. It also depends on the sites in which migrants work and where work done in the private spaces of the home is often under-recognised and treated as intrinsically acquired embodied knowledge. Social reproduction high-lights the varieties of relations with capital and leads to certain paths for thinking about the marginalisation or appropriation of class.

Migrant women and men may obtain political rights if they are part of production but as we have seen they have to struggle to obtain the same rights if they are involved in reproduction, especially in pri-vate spaces. Moreover, the kinds of citizenship accorded to migrants in socially reproductive sectors vary. How does the category of citizenship alter through the everyday acts of citizenship that social reproduction constitutes? How can a focus on social reproduction shift our under-standings of citizenship and belonging? Belonging to the nation often becomes much more attenuated when it is filtered through the lens of reproduction and exclusionary practices embedded in immigration and citizenship regulations. On the whole, reproductive work does not make the same claims on the state as productive work because the state is increasingly envisaged in the contemporary moment as a vehicle for economic growth and production rather than welfare and citizenship. In particular the pursuit of competitiveness within the global economy has led many states in the Global North to privilege the globally val-ued and transferable forms of embrained knowledge. As a result, social reproduction is devalued and migrant's work in these sectors becomes doubly devalued.

While social reproduction had, in the 1980s, been criticised for hav-ing a universalising vision of the relationship between production and

reproduction, the large empirical literature on care has helped to disrupt these narratives and highlight local variations. However, as we have seen, the relationship between production and reproduction is always locally contingent. Care does not mean the same thing globally and nor does social reproduction. The ways in which the private, state and the community sectors operate varies across nations as does gender norms, labour markets and the intersections between race, class and gender. Yet there are strong similarities too with social reproduction, almost everywhere being female dominated. Hence, we need to hold in tension the universalising elements with the local aspects.

There are also different temporalities to reproduction. While much of the literature has focused on the historicity of capitalism and its mutations the temporalities of the life course articulate with these longer time frames. For instance, social reproduction calls for an analysis of generational reproduction but we also need to recognise that this generational reproduction is undertaken on a daily basis. Moreover it does not only involve the reproduction of children in their care and socialisation, it also requires the reproduction of the migrants themselves and of intergenerational relations. All these are subjected to change through migration. Some of these changes in modes of social reproduction, gender norms and the costs and benefits of these activities are slow and steady. But it may be marked by epochal moments of transition as through the life-course or may be dramatic in periods of geopolitical transformation and economic and social crises. As we have seen through the examples of the global economic crisis since 2008, the latter includes rather dramatic moments of disruption that escalate, slow down, stop or alter the direction and modalities of the organisation of social reproduction.

Focusing on social reproduction also highlights the extent to which the crisis of social reproduction is something shared by migrants and non-migrants alike in source countries, those of transition and destination. The role of non-migrants in reproductive activities also comes into view, opening up to scrutiny the relations between migrants and non-migrants who are employed in the same sector or occupational niches. We may ask about the class and race of non-migrants employed in social reproduction and how this affects relationships between migrants and non-migrants. Moreover, the gendered nature of skilled reproductive work may be recast as less gendered in some cases (such as in nursing for migrants) due to the opportunities that migration provides, while other aspects of social reproduction (familial, for instance) may become entrenched. The extent and nature of these changes is context

dependent as we have seen. Does gender predominate or do we have cases where the work is regendered as it comes to be done by migrants? Is it the same class group who provides this labour irrespective of whether they are migrants or non-migrants? How do people become classed by working alongside migrants? We do not know the answer to these questions, but by asking them it suggests that intersectionality operates not only through individual identities but also shapes and structures occupations and institutional set-ups. Using the lens of social reproduction helps to reveal these complexities because social reproduction goes beyond the interpersonal to emphasise the institutional and societal factors influencing migrant women.

Fundamentally the main drivers of global migrations since the 1970s have been the use of mobility to overcome the crisis and depletion of social reproduction as well as the improvement of conditions of social mobility. In that period the new international division of labour, structural adjustment processes and political upheavals have engendered worsening and more difficult conditions of social reproduction which have generated increasing flows and spatial extensions of gendered migrations. Since the 1990s in particular there has been an opening up of new spaces of demand for social reproductive labour, especially in middle-income countries of the Global South and in the Global North, which has however captured most of the attention. Today the types of crises of social reproduction, which had been associated with a distant Global South, are reshaping gendered migrations within the Global North.

Yet the transfer of reproductive labour, material and affective, circulates, as we have argued, through a diversity of migratory forms – labour, family, asylum, student – and are indeed often articulated in different ways. Labour and family may evolve into the other or be combined. One may be chosen instead of the other. Hence, not only should we take into account the diverse activities that fall under social reproduction but also the complex and dynamic strategies pursued by female and male migrants both in response to providing the reproductive needs of non-migrants as well as their own in countries of origin and destination. These are some of the issues we need to explore in greater depth, taking into consideration the relationship between global processes and local contexts.

Notes

1   Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction: An Introduction

1. Feminisation here means an increase in the proportion of women in migration streams and is not an absolute majority of women in overall migration numbers. It is also worth noting that what was noticeable was the growth in the number of women in labour migration; for some time women have dominated family migration which continues to be a dominant form of migration in many countries.
2. It is important to note that this notion of stability of households is a discursive illusion. In fact, mobility is inherent to households globally as households transform over time with kin members moving in and out of a residence as they are born, grow and die. Moreover, through the periods of slavery and colonialism the distances travelled by individuals were as long as they are currently. However, despite this, there has been a tendency to view households as units of stability.

2   Gendered Migrations and Global Processes

1. Australia attracted about 245,270 permanent migrants and 125,070 temporary ones in 2011–2012 (DIAC 2013) whilst Canada had 248,700 and 213,573, respectively, in 2012 (CIC 2013).
2. There are different classifications of the South and hence the countries that comprise it. Bakewell (2009) identifies three major classifications – the UN based on low income, level of human capital and economic vulnerability and covering 137 countries; the World Bank based on low- and middle-income countries and which excludes countries such as Singapore, South Korea and much of the Persian Gulf counted as developing by the UN; and UNDP derived from a Human Development Indicator where the South now includes all countries without a very high HDO of 0.9. Also see IOM (2013).
3. Efforts have been recently made to provide more systematic data by gender, age, educational qualifications, duration of stay and labour market outcomes (OECD 2008), but this is limited to immigration within OECD countries.
4. King et al. (2008) outline ten different sequences and pathways connecting internal and international migrants globally.
5. It should also be noted that the ratio for international migrants, many of whom are undocumented, has fluctuated over time and in response to immigration restrictions and level of border surveillance (Donato et al. 2006).
6. Internal migrants working as domestic workers are younger, come from poorer regions, have a lower level of education and less work experience than those who migrate internationally.

7. Most of the women were in their 40s and had been employed in the public sector in China, and with the economic reforms had lost their jobs and then unsuccessfully started their own businesses. Many were divorced with a child. They had then decided to emigrate but had few contacts abroad.

8. We use South America to designate the continent and Latin America to refer to South and Central America.

9. Family migration has dominated permanent migration such that by 2001, 95 per cent of legal migrants from Mexico and 98 per cent from the Dominican Republic to the USA were family migrants.

10. Lutz (2010) notes that migrant women's work might have at times been overlooked because of its location in the private sphere and its characterisation as 'family work'.

11. In part this was due to the methodology used. Though they studied demand in advertisements, including in London where it was greatest, their fieldwork took place in two cities (Newcastle upon Tyne in the north east and Reading in the south east) which would not have had a high demand for international migrant labour at that time. Nonetheless Irish women had provided domestic labour for many decades (Walter 2000).

12. This approach has also been used in studies of household migratory strategies in the international context (Cortes 2008).

13. Although we use North and South in the book, we refer to First and Third worlds where the author or the debate used these terms.

14. Cravey (1998: 6) estimated that there were 107 export zones in 51 countries.

15. There is relatively little literature on men, masculinities and marriage, especially where men migrate. However, Suzuki (2007) has written extensively on Japanese men's marriages with Filipina women whom they generally meet in bars.

16. Loos (2008) argues that there was considerable intermarriage between Asians in the colonial period.

3 Conceptualising Reproductive Labour Globally

1. She uses the concept of family and household interchangeably.

2. Yet, simultaneously there were also attempts to modernise domestic work by the ILO – by institutionalising it and bringing it into the ambit of modern work relations (see Chapter 6).

3. Interestingly, there was also little overlap with the ongoing debates about the relationship between the formal and informal sector, which occurred at the same time and which touched upon the complex relation between capitalism and informal work (see for example, Moser 1978).

4. Though in different circumstances from the 1970s, there is a renewed interest in it. In Venezuela in May 2013, the government enacted a law which recognised unpaid work by giving mothers a pension. http://www.revleft.com/vb/new-venezuelan-law-t180876/index.html?s=de0b250645e278967e3ff13e467ea30b& In Italy too there has been a proposal to pay housewives a salary as a means of giving women facing domestic violence the ability to gain independence. http://revaluingcare.net/paid-housework-wages-for-wages-against/

5. Far less attention has been paid to biological reproduction (Bledsoe and Sow 2008) and cultural reproduction as transmission of identities (Gedalof 2009).

6. They probably reached this conclusion because the Irish were not considered as migrants and because of the sites selected for their fieldwork, namely Reading in Berkshire and Newcastle upon Tyne, which at the time had very few migrants or established minorities from the former colonies. A few years later Rosie Cox (1999) highlighted the ethnicisation of domestic employment in London where a somewhat diverse group of migrants with diverse immigration statuses (Australians, Irish, Filipinas, Europeans) filled the various jobs in this sector.

7. Comparison with European states would be with the various regularisation programmes in Southern Europe which have included high numbers of migrant female domestic workers (Andall 2003; Lutz 2008).

8. Isaksen et al. (2008) have suggestively compared contemporary dislocations with the loss of solidarity in the commons as happened in rural to urban migrations in the 18th century. We should also bear in mind that in some cases a certain geographical separation may be desired where marital relationships have broken down.

9. In an Italian study of Latin American female migrants in Milan, migrants with Italian family members were more easily able to regularise their status and gain citizenship, and hence bring in other family members and reconfigure their family (Bonizzoni 2011).

10. For Truong, the feminist conception of reproduction encompasses three interrelated meanings: human reproduction; maintaining and sustaining human beings throughout their life cycles; and systemic reproduction which enables a given social system to be recreated and sustained.

4   Sites of Reproduction, Welfare Regimes and Migrants: Unpacking the Household

1. Its conceptualisation varies considerably between countries and is called in some countries the social economy and in others, the third sector (Defourny and Pestoff 2008).

2. As with Esping-Andersen's earlier writings, Wood and Gough (2006) did not consider the sexual division of labour and gender relations. Martinez Franzoni (2008), however, adds the family and sexual division of labour as well as combining the outcomes of (de)commodification and defamilialisation in her comparison of 18 Latin American states.

3. It may be difficult to ascertain the contribution of each component of the mix given the global paucity of information regarding reliable and comparative measures of: privately provided pensions and services (except for health purchases); community and NGO-provided welfare; the role of households and wider kin groups, except for overseas remittances; and the role and influence of transnational actors, except aid donors (Sharkh and Gough 2010).

4. The critique has been that this preoccupation is concerned with white middle-class women but that paid domestic labour had been a major sector

of employment for racialised and working-class women (Duffy 2007; Glenn 1992).

5. The difference in the daily rates earned by male householders and the payments they make for household maintenance is quite clearly discussed by men in their reasons for employing others rather than doing it themselves (see section 4.2.1).

6. There are different ways of packaging activities. Thus, Gershuny and Kan (2009) divide unpaid work into three categories: the domestic core, covering routine household cleaning, cooking and laundry; caring for family members; and other, that is non-routine activities of shopping, gardening and household repairs.

7. In a separate study of 12 European countries, household management is combined with adult care and tends to be at its highest in Nordic countries (10–11 minutes for men and 13 for women in Norway and Sweden). An exception is Spain with a marked difference between men (five minutes) and women (16 minutes) (OECD 2011: 21).

8. Duffy's clarification of the meaning of care divides it into two formulations, that of nurturance involving direct contact and reproductive labour extending to non-relational tasks such as cleaning and cooking, which may be done in restaurants, canteens or in the home, and where the language is not about relations but about maintaining existing life and the reproduction of future generations.

9. Other research (Cox 2013), based on a different strata and society (i.e. New Zealand), where the relinquishing of household maintenance is seen as an undermining of masculinity.

10. The characteristics of the domestic worker labour force are: 38 per cent Latina/o; 10 per cent Black; 6 per cent Asian or other; and 46 per cent White.

11. In the United Kingdom, tax credits could be seen as a compensation for low wages. For the period 2002–2008, male employment income shrank by £610, female employment income rose by £301 and tax credits contributed. £581 (*The Guardian* 31 October: 28–29).

12. Whilst EU citizens who are working, seeking work or self-employed have access to benefits, they do not have the right to reside if they constitute a burden on the state. States also have the right to impose an initial period of residence before an EU citizen can access benefits such as unemployment and family allowances.

13. The level of unemployment among young people aged 15–24 years rose for example from 21.3 per cent to 35.9 per cent in Italy between 2007 and 2012, from 9.4 to 30.3 per cent in Ireland and 19.7–51.1 per cent in Spain (OECD 2012b).

5   Skills and Social Reproductive Work

1. This is in some ways similar to the WHO code of practice for the recruitment of health workers.

2. Norms around childhood are increasingly globalising. The idealisation of an American notion of childhood was an important driver for women from Mexico and El Salvador who migrated to the USA. Thus, reproduction of a

particular version of childhood may itself be an aim of migration (Horton 2008).

3. 37.4 per cent of Filipino parents are degree holders, but only 25.3 per cent of their daughters and 13.2 per cent of their sons graduate from university. In contrast, 22.8 per cent of Chinese parents are degree holders, but 67.7 per cent of their daughters and 56.7 per cent of their sons graduate from university (Kelly 2014: 17).

4. However, the extent to which these strategies are successful is increasingly being questioned, as deskilling accompanies so much of middle-class migration. Instead, routes for being cosmopolitan at home are increasingly being pursued (Abelmann et al. 2014).

5. The experiences of children who have been left behind, and of migrant children and their views on their parents' migration experience are also increasingly being discussed. Exemplary is the work of the CHAMPSEA (see for instance, Graham and Yeoh 2013) project focusing on several South East Asian countries which shows that migrant children may benefit significantly because of the migration of their parents.

6   Immigration Regulations and Social Reproduction

1. As of September 2014, 47 countries had ratified and 17 signed but not ratified the Convention. It took from 18 December 1990 until 1 July 2003 to reach the 20 countries ratifying it to enable the Convention to enter into force. However none of the major receiving ones in the Global North (Australasia, Europe, Gulf countries or North America) had ratified it.

2. The ILO Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers (189) – put to a vote on 16 June 2011 – was ratified by the necessary two states (Uruguay and the Philippines) and entered into force on 5 September 2013.

3. However, in some sectors such as medicine, country of qualification may outweigh or work alongside nationality as a vector of discrimination.

4. For example, Ecuadorians, one of the most represented nationalities in Spain, were able to enter before 2003 as tourists without a visa or, if possessing €2000, were able to look for work.

5. MAC is supposedly independent but demonstrates a narrow economic understanding of processes and outcomes. This could be clearly seen in its advice to the UK government on the income level for sponsors to be able to bring in international spouses (MAC 2011) where it constantly reiterated that it was unable to take into consideration any social dimensions.

6. In Australia 11.6 per cent of male GSM migrants had masters and doctorates and 23.4 per cent had bachelor degrees compared to 8.7 per cent and 25.5 per cent respectively for women in 2001–2006 (Hawthorne 2011). In Canada, 12.8 per cent of male migrants had masters and doctorates and 22.4 per cent bachelor degrees compared to 10.3 per cent and 25.3 per cent respectively of female migrants.

7. The UK Border and Immigration Agency argued in August 2007, ahead of introducing a formalised Points Base System in 2008, that it was closing this route because the majority of senior care-worker positions had lower entry requirements than the existing work permit skills criteria and were not

paying the required salaries for this post which they deemed should be £7.02 per hour. MAC subsequently set the rate even higher at £7.80 per hour. These rates would have been particularly difficult to achieve outside of London.

8. Under the 457 visa scheme, only about 2 per cent were less skilled in the period 2004/2005 to 2008/2009 (Hawthorne 2011).

9. In Germany it was one of the few ways in which a non-EU irregular migrant doing less-skilled work could obtain a legal status (Lutz 2011). The drive against so-called sham and grey marriages, or marriages of convenience, in many European countries can make this attempt more difficult (de Hart 2006).

10. With a labour market rate of 75 per cent, partners are often combined in studies of labour market outcomes post immigration (Dept. of Immigration and Citizenship 2010).

11. In 2004, 20.2 per cent of foreign-educated nurses in the USA were from Canada compared to 16 per cent in 2000 (McGillis Hall et al. 2013).

12. Eleven countries have ratified and the Convention is in force – Bolivia, Germany, Italy, Guyana, Mauritius, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, South Africa, Uruguay, Ecuador. Five countries have ratified but the Convention will only come into force in the course of 2015 – Colombia, Costa Rica, Argentina, Ireland, Switzerland.

13. It is worth noting that the use of the terms 'prostitution' and 'sex work' relate closely to these two positions.

14. There has been considerable development in refining and expanding the activities covered by anti-trafficking measures since then. In Europe, *Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA* was passed on 21 March 2011.

7   Migration, Social Reproduction and Inequality

1. We have not focused on social capital and the variants and developments of Bourdieu's theories of social capital by other writers such as Granovetter (1983) and Putnam (2000). Instead we primarily look at the relationship between cultural and human capital.

2. The term originated with Helga Nowotny (1981) for whom it was a variant of social capital and encompassed within the private sphere of family and friends.

3. There have also been various critiques of intersectionality, including the limitations of the traffic light metaphor in Crenshaw's work and its legacies. We, however, use intersectionality to discuss the how, where and when of how class, race and gender are experienced and negotiated, (i.e. on how they act as processes shaping inequality).

4. McDowell's study was limited to the United Kingdom and does not take account of migrant women who may be of middle-class background.

5. This dynamicity of the production of class captured most tellingly by E. P. Thompson in his making of the working class.

Bibliography

Abdi, C. (2014) Threatened identities and gendered opportunities: Somali migration to America. *Signs*, *39*(1), 459–483.

Abelmann, N., Newendorp, N. and Lee-Chung, S. (2014) East Asia's astronaut and geese families: Hong Kong and South Korean cosmopolitanisms. *Critical Asian Studies*, *46*(2), 259–286.

Abiotsi, E. (2013) Learning the value of success in exile: The educational and disciplinary strategies of Ghanaian parents in London. Unpublished MSc Thesis, Department of Education, University of Oxford.

Abrantes, M. (2014) 'I Know It Sounds Nasty and Stereotyped': Searching for the competent domestic worker. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *21*(5), 427–442.

Acharya, M. (2008) Global integration of subsistence economies and women's empowerment: A case study from Nepal. In Bakker, I. and Silvey, R. (eds.) *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction*. London: Routledge, 55–72.

Acker, J. (1999) Rewriting class, race, and gender: Problems in feminist rethinking. In Ferree, M. M., Lorber, J. and Hess, B. B. (eds.) *Revisioning Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 44–69.

Acker, J. (2000) Revisiting class: Thinking from gender, race and organisations. *Social Politics*, *7*, 192–214.

Adamson, F. B., Triadafilopoulos, T. and Zolberg, A. R. (2011) The limits of the liberal state: Migration, identity and belonging in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(6), 843–859.

Adamuti-Trache, M. and Sweet, R. (2005) Exploring the relationship between educational credentials and the earnings of immigrants. *Canadian Studies in Population*, *32*(2), 177–201.

Addams, J. (1896) A belated industry. *American Journal of Sociology*, *1*(5), 536–550.

Adepoju, A., van Naerssen, T. and Zoomers, A. (eds.) (2008) *International Migration and National Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Viewpoints and Policy Initiatives in the Countries of Origin*. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum Series.

Adhikari, R. (2013) Empowered wives and frustrated husbands: Nursing, gender and migrant Nepali in the UK. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 168–179.

Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (eds.) (2005) *Feminism After Bourdieu*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Agarwal, B. (1987) Under the cooking pot: The political economy of the domestic fuel crisis in rural South Asia. *IDS Bulletin*, *18*(1), 11–22.

Agarwal, B. (1997) Bargaining and gender relations: Within and beyond the household. *Feminist Economics*, *3*(1), 1–51.

Aguilar, F. V. (1996) The dialectics of transnational shame and national identity. *Philippine Sociological Review*, *44*(1–4), 101–136.

Aguilar, F. V. (2003) Global migrations, old forms of labor, and new transborder class relations. *Southwest Asian Studies*, *41*(2), 137–161.

Aguilar, F. V., Peñalosa, J. E. Z., Liwanag, T. B. T., Cruz, R. S. and Melendrez, J. M. (2009) *Maalwang Buhay: Family, Overseas Migration, and Cultures of Relatedness in Barangay Paraiso*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Agustín, L. M. (2003) A migrant world of services. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *10*(3), 377–396.

Agustín, L. M. (2005) Migrants in the mistress's house: Other voices in the 'trafficking' debate. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *12*(1), 96–117.

Åkesson, L., Carling, J. and Drotbohm, H. (2012) Mobility, moralities and motherhood: Navigating the contingencies of Cape Verdean lives. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 237–260.

Alaggia, R., Chau, S. and Tsang, K. T. (2001) Astronaut Asian families: Impact of migration on family structure from the perspective of the youth. *Journal of Social Work Research and Evaluation*, *2*(2), 295–306.

Al Ariss, A. and Syed, J. (2011) Capital mobilization of skilled migrants: A relational perspective. *British Journal of Management*, *22*(2), 286–304.

Allsop, J., Bourgeault, I. L., Evetts, J., Le Bianic, T., Jones, K. and Wrede, S. (2009) Encountering globalization – professional groups in an international context. *Current Sociology*, *57*(4), 487–510.

American Federation of Teachers (2009) *Importing Educators: Causes and Consequences of International Teacher Recruitment*. Report. Washington, DC.

Andall, J. (2003) Hierarchy and interdependence: The emergence of a service caste in Europe. In Andall, J. (ed.) *Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Europe*. Oxford: Berg, 39–60.

Anderson, B. (2000) *Doing the Dirty Work: The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London: Zed.

Anderson, B. (2001) *Reproductive Labour and Migration*, 6th International Metropolis Conference, Rotterdam, Oxford University WPTC-02-01.

Anderson, B. (2002) Just another job? The commodification of domestic labour. In Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, A. R. (eds.) *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Henry Holt, 104–114.

Anderson, B. (2010) Mobilizing migrants, making citizens: Migrant domestic workers as political agents. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(1), 60–74.

Anderson, B. (2012) Who needs them? Care work, migration and public policy. *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales*, *30*(1), 45–61.

Anderson, B. (2013) *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, B. and O'Connell Davidson, J. (2003) Is trafficking in human beings demand driven? A Multi-Country Pilot Study. *IOM Migration Research Series*, No. 15. Geneva: IOM.

Andrijasevic, R. (2009) Sex on the move: Gender, subjectivity and differential inclusion. *Subjectivity*, 29, 389–406.

Andrijasevic, R. (2010) *Migration, Agency and Citizenship in Sex Trafficking*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Andrijasevic, R., Aradau, C., Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2012) European citizenship unbound: Sex work, mobility, mobilisation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *30*(3), 497–514.

Anthias, F. (1998) Evaluating diaspora: Beyond ethnicity? *Sociology*, *32*(3), 557–580.

Anthias, F. (2001) The concept of 'social division' and theorising social stratification: Looking at ethnicity and class. *Sociology*, *35*(4), 835–854.

Anthias, F. (2012) Transnational mobilities, migration research and intersectionality. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *2*(2), 102–110.

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

Antman, F. M. (2012) Gender, educational attainment, and the impact of parental migration on children left behind. *Journal of Population Economics*, *25*(4), 1187–1214.

Anttonen, A. and Sipilä, J. (1996) European social care services: Is it possible to identify models? *Journal of European Social Policy*, *6*(2), 87–100.

Anttonen, A. and Zechner, M. (2011) Theorizing care work. In Pfau-Effinger, B. and Rostgaard, T. (eds.) *Care Between Work and Welfare in European Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Appleton, S., Sives, A. and Morgan, W. J. (2006) The impact of international teacher migration on schooling in developing countries: The case of Southern Africa. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *4*(1), 121–142.

Arango, J., Diaz Gorfinkiel, M. and Moualhi, D. (2013) *Promoting Integration for Migrant Domestic Workers in Spain*. International Migration Papers No. 114. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Arat-Koc, S. (2006) Whose social reproduction? Transnational motherhood and challenges to feminist political economy. In Bezanson, K. and Luxton, M. (eds.) *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neoliberalism*. Montreal and Kingston: Magill-Queens University Press, 75–92.

Arias, P. (2013) International migration and familial change in communities of origin: Transformation and resistance. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *39*, 429–450.

Arizpe, L., Despradel, L. and Morokvasic, M. (1984) Women in internal and international migration. *Women on the Move: Contemporary Changes in Family and Society*. UNESCO Report, 77.

Arkoudis, S., Hawthorne, L., Baik, C., Hawthorne, G., O'Loughlin, K., Bexley, E. and Leach, D (2009) *The Impact of English Language Proficiency and Workplace Readiness on the Employment Outcomes of Tertiary International Students*. Canberra: Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations.

Armbruster, H. (2008) 'With hard work and determination you can make it here': Narratives of identity among German immigrants in post-colonial Namibia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *34*(3), 611–628.

Arudou, D. (2013) Embedded racism in Japanese migration policies: Analyzing Japan's 'revolving door' work visa regimes under critical race theory. *Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, *3*(1), 155–185

Asare, P. (2012) *Labour Migration in Ghana*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Available at: http://www.fesghana.org/uploads/PDF/FES_LabourMigration_2012_FINAL.pdf (Accessed 22 November 2013).

Asis, M. M. (2006a) *The Philippines' Culture of Migration*. Migration Information Source. Available at: www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=364.

Asis, M. M. (2006b) Living with migration: Experiences of left-behind children in the Philippines. *Asian Population Studies*, *2*(1), 45–67.

Avril, C. and Cartier, M. (2014) Subordination in home service jobs comparing providers of home-based child care, elder care, and cleaning in France. *Gender and Society*, *28*(4), 609–630.

Babu, S. (2006) *Mothers' Work in Schooling Children: Perspectives from Immigrant Asian-Indian Mothers*. PhD Thesis, Pennsylvania State University

Bach, S. (2010) Managed migration? Nurse recruitment and the consequences of state policy. *Industrial Relations Journal*, *41*(3), 249–266.

Bach, S., I. Kessler and P. Heron (2012) Nursing a grievance? The role of healthcare assistants in a modernized National Health Service, *Gender, Work and Organization*, *19*(2), 205–224.

Bair, J. (2010) On difference and capital: Gender and the globalization of production. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *36*(1), 203–226.

Bakan, A. B. and Stasiulis, D. K. (1995) Making the match: Domestic placement agencies and the racialization of women's household work. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *20*(2), 303–335.

Bakan, A. B. and Stasiulis, D. K. (eds.) (1997) *Not One of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bakewell, O. (2009) *South-South Migration and Human Development: Reflections on African Experiences*. UNDP Human Development Research Paper 7.

Bakker, I. (2007) Social reproduction and the constitution of a gendered political economy. *New Political Economy*, *12*(4), 541–556.

Bakker, I. and Gill, S. (eds.) (2003) *Power, Production, and Social Reproduction: Human In/Security in the Global Political Economy.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bakker, I. and Silvey, R. (eds.) (2008) *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction*. New York: Routledge.

Baldassar, L. (2007) Transnational families and aged care: The mobility of care and the migrancy of ageing. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33, 275–97

Baldassar, L. and Merla, L. (2013/2014) *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. London: Routledge.

Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2011) *Labour Immigration and Labour Markets in the GCC Countries: National Patterns and Trends*. Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalization in the Gulf States. London School of Economics.

Ball, R. E. (2004) Divergent development, racialised rights: Globalised labour markets and the trade of nurses – the case of the Philippines. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 119–133.

Barber, P. (2013) 'Grateful' subjects: class and capital at the border in Philippine–Canada migration. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 37(3/4), 383–400.

Barber, P. and Lem, W. (2008) Introduction: Migrants, mobility, and mobilization. *Focaal*, *51*(1), 3–12.

Barrientos, A., Gideon, J. and Molyneux, M. (2008) New developments in Latin America's social policy. *Development and Change*, *39*(5), 759–774.

Bartolomei, M. R. (2010) Migrant male domestic workers in comparative perspective: Four case studies from Italy, India, Ivory Coast, and Congo. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 87–110.

Basok, T. and Piper, N. (2012) Management versus rights: Women's migration and global governance in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 35–61.

Basok, T. and Piper, N. (2013) Justice for migrants: Mobilizing a rights-based understanding of migration. In Ilcan, S. (ed.) *Mobilities, Knowledge and Social Justice*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 255–276.

Basok, T., Piper, N. and Simmons, V. (2013) Disciplining female migration in Argentina. In Geiger, M. and Pecoud, A. (eds.) *Disciplining the Transnational Mobility of People*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 162–184.

Basran, Gurcharn, S. and Zong, Li (1998) Devaluation of foreign credentials as perceived by visible minority professional immigrants. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30, 6–23.

Bastia, T. (2012) Migration as protest? Negotiating gender, class, and ethnicity in urban Bolivia. *Environment and Planning A*, *43*(7), 1514–1529.

Batnitzky, A., McDowell, L. and Dyer, S. (2008) A middle-class global mobility? The working lives of Indian men in a West London hotel. *Global Networks*, *8*(1), 51–70.

Batnitzky, A., McDowell, L. and Dyer, S. (2009) Flexible and strategic masculinities: The working lives and gendered identities of male migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(8), 1275–1293.

Battistella, G. (2003) International migration in Asia. Migration patterns and policies in the Asian and Pacific Region. *Asian Population Studies Series*, *160*.

Bauder, H. (2003) 'Brain abuse', or the devaluation of immigrant labour in Canada. *Antipode*, *35*(4), 698–717.

Bauder, H. (2004) Cultural representations of immigrant workers by service providers and employers. *International Journal of Migration and Integration*, *4*(3), 415–438.

Bauder, H. (2006) *Labor Movement. How Migration Regulates Labor Markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bauman, Z. (1998) *Globalization. The Human Consequences*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Becker, G. (1981) *A Treatise on the Family*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beck-Gersheim, E. (2011) The marriage route to migration: Of border artistes, transnational matchmaking and imported spouses. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *1*(2), 60–68.

Beck, U. (2006) *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Beck, U. and Beck-Gersheim, E. (2002) *Individualization*. London: Sage.

Bedford, K. (2010) *Harmonizing Global Care Policy? Care and the Commission on the Status of Women*. Geneva: UNRISD.

Bedford, K. and Rai, S. M. (2010) Feminists theorize international political economy. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *36*(1), 1–18.

Bélanger, D. and Linh, T. G. (2011) The impact of transnational migration on gender and marriage in sending communities of Vietnam. *Current Sociology*, *59*(1), 59–77.

Bélanger, D. and Rahman, M. (2013) Migrating against all the odds: International labour migration of Bangladeshi women. *Current Sociology*, *61*(3), 356–373.

Benería, L. (2007) Paid/unpaid work and the globalization of reproduction. *GEM-IWG Working Paper 07–01*. Available at: www.genderandmacro.org.

Benería, L., Deere, C. D. and Kabeer, N. (2012) Gender and international migration: Globalization, development, and governance. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 1–33.

Bense, K. (2014) 'Languages aren't as important here': German migrant teachers' experiences in Australian language classes. *Australian Education Researcher*, *41*(4), 485–497.

Bergeron, S. (2011) Economics, performativity, and social reproduction in global development. *Globalizations*, *8*(2), 151–161.

Berger, J. and Mohr, J. (1975) *A Seventh Man. Migrant Workers in Europe*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bettio, F., Simonazzi, A. and Villa, P. (2006) Change in care regimes and female migration and public policy. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *16*(3), 271–285.

Betts, A. (2011) The global governance of migration and the role of trans-regional partnerships. In Kunz, R., Lavenex, S. and Panizzon, M. (eds.) *Multilayered Migration Governance: The Promise of Partnerships*. New York: Routledge, 23–45.

Bilsborrow, R. and Schoorl, J. (2006) *Gender and International Migration: Evidence from the NIDI-Eurostat Study*. International Symposium on International Migration and Development, Turin, Italy, 28–30 June.

Bittman, M., Matheson, G. and Meagher, G. (1999) The changing boundary between home and market: Australian trends in outsourcing domestic labor. *Work, Employment and Society*, *13*(2), 249–273.

Bjeren, G. (1997) Gender and reproduction. In Hammar, T., Brochmann, G., Tamas, K. and Faist, T. (eds.) *International Migration, Immobility and Development*. Oxford: Berg, 219–246.

Bledsoe, C. and Sow, P. (2008) Family reunification ideals and the practice of transnational reproductive life among Africans in Europe. *Max Plank Institute of Demographic Research Working Paper WP-2008*.

Bodomo, A. (2009) The African presence in contemporary China. *China Monitor*, *36*, 4–9.

Boese, M., Campbell, I., Roberts, W. and Tham, J. C. (2013) Temporary migrant nurses in Australia: Sites and sources of precariousness. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, *24*(3), 316–339.

Bohning, W. (1984) *Studies of International Migration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bollard, A., McKenzie, D. and Morten, M. (2010) The remitting patterns of African migrants in the OECD. *Journal of African Economies*, *19*(5), 605–634.

Bonizzoni, P. (2011) Civic stratification, stratified reproduction and family solidarity strategies of Latino families in Milan. In Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M. and Schmoll, C. (eds.) *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration.* Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 311–335.

Boris, E. and Klein, J. (2012) *Caring for America Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boris, E., Gilmore, S. and Parreñas, R. (2010) Sexual labors: Interdisciplinary perspectives towards sex as work. *Sexualities*, *13*(2), 131–137.

Bose, C. E. (2012) Intersectionality and global gender inequality. *Gender and Society*, *26*(1), 67–72.

Boswell, C. and Geddes, A. (2011) *Migration and Mobility in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boucher, A. (2007) Skill, migration and gender in Australia and Canada: The case of gender-based analysis. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *42*(3), 383–401.

Boucher, A. (2009) Picking the best and the brightest: Gendering skilled immigration policy in Australia and Canada. *European Consortium of Political Research*

(ECPR) First European Conference on Politics and Gender, Queen's University, Belfast, 21–23 January.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In Richardson, J. G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood, 241–259.

Bourdieu, P. (1997) The forms of capital. In Halsey, A. H., Lauder, H., Brown, P. S. and Wells, A. (eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 46–58.

Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (2007) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Boyden, J. (2013) 'We're not going to suffer like this in the mud': Educational aspirations, social mobility and independent child migration among populations living in poverty. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *43*(5), 580–600.

Boyd, M. and Pikkov, D. (2008) Finding a place in stratified structures: Migrant women in North America. *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration: Livelihoods, Rights, and Entitlements*. New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 19–58.

Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K. (1998) *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Bradby, H. (2013) A review of research and policy documents on the international migration of physicians and nurses. *MMG Working Paper*, (13–07), 1–40.

Brannen, J., Parutis, V., Mooney, A. and Wigfall, V. (2011) Fathers and intergenerational transmission in social context. *Ethics and Education*, *6*(2), 155–170.

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

Brennan, D., Cass, B., Himmelweit, S. and Szebehely, M. (2012) The marketization of care: Rationales and consequences in Nordic and liberal care regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(4), 377–391.

Brijnath, B. R. (2008) The legislative and political contexts surrounding dementia care in India. *Ageing and Society*, *28*(7), 913–934.

Broom, L. and Smith, S. (1963) Bridging Occupations. *British Journal of Sociology*, *14*, 321–334.

Brown, M. (2003) Hospice and the spatial paradoxes of terminal care. *Environment and Planning A*, *35*, 833–851.

Bruegel I. (1999) Who gets on the escalator? Migration, social mobility and gender in Britain. In Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K. (eds.) *Migration and Gender in the Developed World*, London: Routledge, 70–83.

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

Brydon, L. and Chant, S. (1989) *Women in the Third World. Gender Issues in Rural-Urban Areas*. New York: Rutgers University Press.

BSP (2014a) (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas) *Overseas Filipios Remittances*. Available at: http://www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/keystat/ofw.htm

BSP (2014b) (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas) *Consumers Expectations Survey*. Second Quarter 2014. Available at: http://www.bsp.gov.ph/publications/regular_consumer.asp

Buchan, J. and Secombe, J. (2012) *Overstretched. Under-Resourced. The UK Nursing Labour Market Review 2012*. London: RCN.

Buchan, J. and Aiken, L. (2008) Solving nursing shortages: A common priority. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *17*(24), 3262–3268.

Buchan, J., O'May, F. and Dussault, G. (2013) Nursing workforce policy and the economic crisis: A global overview. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, *45*(3), 298–307.

Buchan, J., Wismar, M., Glinos, I. and Bremner, J. (eds.) (2014) *Health Professional Mobility in a Changing Europe. New Dynamics, Mobile Individuals and Diverse Responses*. European Observatory Studies Series. WHO.

Budlender, D. (2008) *The Statistical Evidence on Care and Non-Care Work Across Six Countries*. Geneva: UNRISD.

Budlender, D. (2009) *Industrial Relations and Collective Bargaining: Trends and Developments in South Africa*. ILO Working Paper, No. 2. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Bueno, L. (1996) Dominican women's experiences of return migration: The life stories of five women. *Center for Migration Studies, Special Issues*, *13*(4), 61–90.

Bunster, X. and Chaney, E. (1985) *Sellers and Servants: Working Women in Lima, Peru*. New York: Praeger.

Búriková, Z. and Miller, D. (2010) *Au pair*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Burkner, H. (2012) Intersectionality: How gender studies might inspire the analysis of social inequality among migrants. *Population, Space and Place*, *18*, 181–195.

Burnham, L. and Theodore, N. (2012) *Home Economics: The Invisible and Unregulated World of Domestic Work*. New York: National Domestic Workers Alliance.

Büscher, M. and Urry, J. (2009) Mobile methods and the empirical. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *12*(1), 99–116.

Cancedda, L. (2001) *Employment in Household Services*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Cangiano, A. (2012) *Immigration policy and migrant labour market outcomes in the European Union: New evidence from the EU Labour Force Survey*. Fieri Working Papers, Turin. FIERI. Available at: www.labmiggov.eu. [Accessed 12 May 2014].

Cangiano, A., Shutes, I., Spencer, S. and Leeson, G. (2009) *Migrant Care Workers in Ageing Societies: Research Funding in the UK*. Oxford: COMPAS.

Cangiano, A. and Walsh, K. (2014) Recruitment processes and immigration regulations: The disjointed pathways to employing migrant carers in ageing societies. *Work, Employment & Society*, *28*, 372–389.

Carmel, E. and Paul, R. (2013) Complex stratification: Understanding European Union governance of migrant rights. *Regions and Cohesion*, *3*(3), 56–85.

Caroleo, F. E. and Pastore, F. (2010) Structural change and labour reallocation across regions: A review of the literature. In *The Labour Market Impact of the EU Enlargement A New Regional Geography of Europe?* Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 17–47.

Castagnone, E., Salis, E. and Premazzi, V. (2013) Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in Italy. *International Migration Papers, No. 115,* International Migration Programme. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castles, S. (2003) The international politics of forced migration. *Development*, *46*(3), 11–20.

Castles, S. (2010) Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1565–1586.

Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1985) *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. (1993/2009) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Cederberg, M. (2010) Gender (in)equality and ethnic boundaries. Gender, migration and ethnicity in Swedish labour market and society. In Slany, K., Kontos, M. and Liapi, M. (eds.) *Women in New Migrations. Current Debates in European societies*. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 121–139.

Cerna, L. (2013) Understanding the diversity of EU migration policy in practice: The implementation of the Blue Card initiative. *Policy Studies*, *34*(2), 180–200.

Cerruti, M. (2009) *Gender and Intra-Regional Migration in South America*. Human Development Research Paper. UNDP. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/papers/.

Champion, T. and Fielding, T. (1992) *Migration Processes and Patterns: Research Progress and Prospects*. London: Belhaven.

Chaplin, D. (1978) Domestic Service and Industrialisation. *Comparative Studies in Sociology*, *1*, 97–127.

Charsley, K., Storer-Church, B., Benson, M. and Hear, N. (2012) Marriage-Related migration to the UK. *International Migration Review*, *46*(4), 861–890.

Chee, M. (2003) Migrating for the children: Taiwanese American women in transnational families. In Piper, N. and Roces, M. (eds.) *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 137–156.

Chitonge, H. (2012) Social protection challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa: 'Rethinking regimes and commitments'. *African Studies*, *71*(3), 323–345.

Choi, K., Tienda, M., Cobb-Clark, D. and Sinning, M. (2012) Immigration and Status Exchange in Australia and the United States. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *30*(1), 49–62

Cho, J. (2012) Global fatigue: Transnational markets, linguistic capital, and Korean-American male English teachers in South Korea. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *16*(2), 218–237.

Choo, H. Y. and Ferree, M. (2010) Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, *28*(2), 129–149.

Choroszewicz, M. and Wolff, P. (2010) 51 million young EU adults lived with their parent(s) in 2008. Brussels: European Commission.

Choy, C. (2003) *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chuang (2010) Rescuing trafficking from ideological capture: Prostitution reform and anti-trafficking law and policy. *Pennsylvania Law Review*, *158*, 1655–1728.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013) Facts and Figures. Preliminary Tables – Permanent and Temporary Residents, 2013. Available at: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/Menu-fact.asp [Accessed September 2014].

CIC News (2014) *Major Reforms to Caregiver Program Announced by Canadian Government.* Available at: http://www.cicnews.com/2014/11/major-reforms-caregiver-program-announced-canadian-government-114044.html [Accessed 29 November 2014].

Clarke, J. (2005) New Labour's citizens: Activated, empowered, responsibilized, abandoned? *Critical Social Policy*, *25*(4), 447–463.

Clement, W. and Prus, S. (2004) *The Vocabulary of Gender and Work: Some Challenges and Insight from Comparative Research.* Unpublished Paper Presented at Gender and Work: Knowledge Production in Practice Conference, October, 2004.

Cock, J. (1980) *Maids & Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Cock, J. (1981) Disposable nannies: Domestic servants in the political economy of South Africa, *Review of African Political Economy*, *21*, 63–83.

Cohen, J. H., Rodriguez, L. and Fox, M. (2008) Gender and migration in the central valleys of Oaxaca. *International Migration*, *46*(1), 79–101.

Colen, S. (1995) Like a mother to them: Stratified reproduction and West Indian childcare workers and employers in New York. In Ginsburg, F. and Rapp, R. (eds.) *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 78–102.

Collins, J. and Reid, C. (2012) Immigrant teachers in Australia. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *4*(2), 38–61.

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

Combahee River Collective (1979) A Black feminist statement. In Eisenstein, Z. R. (ed.) *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Condon, S. and Ogden, P. (1991) Emigration from the French Caribbean: The origins of an organized migration. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *15*(4), 505–523.

Condon, S., Lada, E., Charruault, A. and Romanini, A. (2013) Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in France. *International Migration Papers*, 117.

Connell, J. and Stilwell, B. (2006) Merchants of medical care: Recruiting agencies in the global health care chain. In Kuptsch, C. (ed.) *Merchants of Labour.* Geneva: International Labour Office, 239–253.

Constable, N. (2005) *Cross-Border Marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Constable, N. (2009) The commodification of intimacy: Marriage, sex, and reproductive labor. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *38*, 49–64.

Constable, N. (2014) *Born Out of Place: Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cooke, T. (2013) All tied up: Tied staying and tied migration within the United States, 1997 to 2007. *Demographic Research*, *29*(30), 817–836.

Cook, S. and Dong, X. Y. (2011) Harsh choices: Chinese women's paid work and unpaid care responsibilities under economic reform. *Development and Change*, *42*(4), 947–965.

Cooper, F. (2005) *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cortes, R. (2008) *Children and Women Left Behind in Labour Sending Countries: An Appraisal Of Social Risks*. New York: UNICEF.

Coser, L. (1973) Servants: The obsolescence of an occupational role. *Social Forces*, *52*(1), 31–40.

Coulson, M., Magas, B. and Wainwright, H. (1975) The housewife and her labour under capitalism – A critique. *New Left Review*, *89*(1), 59–71.

Cox, R. (1999) The role of ethnicity in shaping the domestic employment sector in Britain. *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service*, London: Routledge, 134–147.

Cox, R. (2006) *The Servant Problem. Domestic Employment in a Global Economy*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Cox, R. (2010) Some problems and possibilities of caring. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, *13*(2), 113–130.

Cox, R. (2012) Invisible au pairs: Gendered work and migration regimes. In Sollund, R. (ed.) *Transnational Migration, Gender and Rights*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 33–52

Cox, R. (2013) The complications of 'hiring a hubby': Gender relations and the commoditization of home maintenance in New Zealand. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *14*(5), 575–590.

Coyte, P., Goodwin, N. and Laporte, A. (2008) *How Can the Settings Used to Provide Care to Older People Be Balanced?* Policy Brief. Denmark: WHO Regional Office for Europe. Available at: www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/73284/E93418.pdf [Accessed 8 May 2014].

Cravey, A. J. (1998) *Women and Work in Mexico's Maquiladoras*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Creese, G., Dyck, I. and McLaren, A. T. (2011) The problem of 'human capital': Gender, place and immigrant household strategies of reskilling in Vancouver. In Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M. and Schmoll, C. (eds.) *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 141–162.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1989) Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *140*, 139–167.

Crisp, N. (2007) *Global Health Partnerships: The UK Contribution to Health in Developing Countries.* London: DFID.

Crompton, R. (2000) The gendered restructuring of the middle classes: Employment and caring. In Crompton, R., Devine, F. and Scott, J. (eds.) *Renewing Class Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell, 165–184

Crompton, R. and Brockman, M. (2003) *Class, Gender and Work-Life Balance.* ESRC Seminar Work, Life and Time in the New Economy, 30 May.

Crompton, R., Devine, F. and Scott, J. (eds.) (2000) *Renewing Class Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

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

Czaika, M. and H. de Haas (2014) The globalization of migration: Has the world become more migratory? *International Migration Review*, *48*(2), 283–323.

Da, W. W. (2003) Gender relations in recent Chinese migration to Australia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *12*(3), 361–384.

Dalla Costa, M. (1973) *Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press.

Dalla Costa, M. and James, S. (1972) *Women and the Subversion of the Community*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press.

Daly, M. (ed.) (2001) *Care Work. The Quest for Security*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Daly, M. and Lewis, J. (2000) The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology*, *51*(2), 281–298.

Daly, M. and Rake, K. (2003) *Gender and the Welfare State*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Da Roit, B. and Le Bihan, B. (2011) Cash for care schemes and the changing role of elderly people's informal caregivers in France and Italy. In Pfau-Effinger, B. and Rostgaard, T. (eds.) *Care Between Work and Welfare in European Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Da Roit, B. and Weicht, B. (2013) Migrant care work and care, migration and employment regimes: A fuzzy-set analysis. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *23*(5), 469–486.

Datta, K., McIlwaine, C., Wills, J., Evans, Y., Herbert, J. and May, J. (2006) *Challenging Remittances as the New Development Mantra: Perspectives from Low-Paid Migrant Workers in London.* London: Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London. Available at: http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/remittances.pdf.

Dauvergne, C. (2000) Citizenship, migration laws and women: Gendering permanent residency statistics. *Melbourne UL Review*, *24*, 280.

Davids, T. and van Driel, F. (2009) The unhappy marriage between gender and globalisation. *Third World Quarterly*, *30*(5), 905–920.

Debnath, P. and Selim, N. (2009) Impact of short-term male migration on their wives left behind: A case study of Bangladesh. In *Gender and Labour Migration in Asia*. Geneva: IOM, 121–151.

Defourny, J. and Pestoff, V. (2008) Images and concepts of the third sector in Europe. *EMES Working Papers, No 08/02*. Liège: EMES European Research Network.

De Haas, H. (2008) *Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends* (No. 32). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

De Hart, B. (2006) Introduction: The marriage of convenience in European immigration law. *European Journal of Migration and Law, 8*(3), 251–262.

Delacroix, C. (1997) Mediatrices socio-culturelles, citoyennes innovantes. In Bentichcou, N. (ed.) *Les Femmes de l'Immigration au Quotiden*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 41–54.

Delaney, E. (2001) Gender and twentieth-century Irish migration, 1921–1971. In Sharpe, P. (ed.) *Women, Gender and Labour Migration*. London and New York: Routledge, 209–223.

Délano, A. and Serrano, M. (2011) *Migration Flows and Security in North America. Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

de los Reyes, P. (2001) Women and migrants: Continuity and change in patterns of female migration in Latin America. In Sharpe, P. (ed.) *Women, Gender and Labour Migration.* London: Routledge, 275–289.

Delphy, C. (1977) *The Main Enemy*. London: Women's Research and Resources Centre.

Deneva, N. (2012) Transnational aging carers: On transformation of kinship and citizenship in the context of migration among Bulgarian Muslims in Spain. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *19*(1), 105–128.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Government of Australia) (2010) *Immigration Update.* July–December 2009. Canberra.

Deshingkar, P. (2005) *Maximizing the Benefits of Internal Migration for Development.* Regional Conference on Migration and Development in Asia, Lanzhou, China, 14–16 March 2005.

Deshingkar, P. and Grimm, S. (2005) *International Migration and Development: A Global Perspectives. (No. 19).* Geneva: IOM Migration Research Series, IOM.

Devine, F., Savage, M., Crompton, R. and Scott, J. (eds.) (2005) *Rethinking Class: Identities, Cultures and Lifestyles.* London: Palgrave.

De Wind, J. and Holdaway, J. (eds.) (2008) *Migration and Development Within and Across Borders: Research and Policy Perspectives on Internal and International Migration.* Geneva and New York: IOM/The Social Science Research Council.

DIAC (Department of immigration and Citizenship, Commonwealth of Australia) (2013) *Migration to Australia's States and Territories, 2011–12*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Dodson, B. (2008) Gender, migration and livelihoods: Migrant women in Southern Africa. In Piper, N. (ed.) *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration. Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements*. New York and London: Routledge, 137–158.

Dodson, B., Simelane, H., Tevera, D., Green, T., Chikanda, A. and de Vletter, F. (2008) Gender, migration and remittances in Southern Africa. *Southern African Migration Project Migration Policy Series No. 49.* Cape Town: Idasa Publishing.

Doezema, J. (1998) Forced to choose: Beyond the free v. forced prostitution dichotomy. In Kempadoo, K. and Doezema, J. (eds.) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition.* New York and London: Routledge, 34–50.

Donato, K. M., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan, M. and Pessar, P. R. (2006) A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 3–26.

Donato, K. M., Alexander, J. T., Gabaccia, D. R. and Leinonen, J. (2011) Variations in the gender composition of immigrant populations: How they matter. *International Migration Review*, *45*(3), 495–526.

Donnelly, L. (2013) Number of foreign nurses coming to UK doubled in three years as NHS poaches workers from abroad. *Daily Telegraph*, 14 October.

Donnelly, L. and P. Dominiczak (2014) Number of foreign nurses up 50pc in a year more than 5,000 nurses come to UK from EU, as NHS cuts training for home-grown staff. *Daily Telegraph*, 13 May.

Douglass, M. (2006) Global householding in Pacific Asia. *International Development Planning Review*, *28*(4), 421–446.

Douglass, M. (2012) Global householding and social reproduction: Migration research, dynamics and public policy in East and Southeast Asia. *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, No. 188. Available at: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/docs/wps/wps12_188.pdf [Accessed August 2014].

Dreby, J. and Stutz, L. (2012) Making something of the sacrifice: Gender, migration and Mexican children's educational aspirations. *Global Networks*, *12*(1), 71–90.

Dryburgh, H. (2005) Social structures and the occupational composition of skilled worker immigrants to Canada. *Canadian Studies in Population*, *32*(1), 97–130.

Duffy, M. (2005) Reproducing labor inequalities. Challenges for feminists conceptualizing care at the intersections of gender, race, and class. *Gender and Society*, *19*(1), 66–82.

Duffy, M. (2007) Doing the dirty work: Gender, race, and reproductive labor in historical perspective. *Gender and Society*, *21*(3), 313–336.

Dumont, J. C. and Liebig, T. (2005) Labour market integration of immigrant women: Overview and recent trends. In *Présenté à la Conférence EU-OCDE Migrant Women and the Labour Market: Diversity and Challenges*. Bruxelles.

Dumont, J. C., Zum, P., Church, J. and Le Thi, C. (2008) International mobility of health professionals and health workforce management in Canada: Myths and realities. *OECD Health Working Papers, No. 40*. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/228478636331.

Dumon, W. A. (1981) The situation of migrant women workers. *International Migration*, *19*(1–2), 190–209.

Duquette-Rury, L. (2011) *The Welfare Effects of Migrant-State Coproduction: The 3x1 Program, Remittances and Public Goods Provision in Mexico*. Paper presented at 'Politics and Migration in Out-Migration Countries' Workshop, CIDE, Mexico City, 23 September 2011.

Dussault, G. and Buchan, J. (2014) The economic crisis in the EU: Impact on health workforce mobility. In Buchan, J., Wismar, M., Glinos, I. A. and Bremner, J. (eds.) *Health Professional Mobility in a Changing Europe*. Geneva: World Health Organisation, 35–64.

Dyer, S., McDowell, L. and Batnitzky, A. (2011) Migrant work, precarious work–life balance: What the experiences of migrant workers in the service sector in Greater London tell us about the adult worker model. *Gender, Place and Culture*: *A Journal of Feminist Geography*, *18*(5), 685–700.

Eberhardt, P. (2010) Beyond the prototypical male migrant: An analysis of the gender knowledge in Jacob Mincer's family migration model and the Roy-Borjas selection model of migration. *New Research in Global Political Economy, Working Paper No. 1/2010*. Kassel University.

Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, A. R. (2003) Introduction. In Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, A. R. (eds.) *Global Women: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Elias, J. (2010) Transnational migration, gender, and rights: Advocacy and activism in the Malaysian context. *International Migration*, *48*(6), 44–71.

Elson, D. (2010) Gender and the global economic crisis in developing countries: A framework for analysis. *Gender and Development*, *18*(2), 201–212.

Elson, D. and Pearson, R. (1981) 'Nimble fingers make cheap workers': An analysis of women's employment in Third World export manufacturing. *Feminist Review*, *7*(1), 87–107.

England, K. (2010) Home, work and the shifting geographies of care. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, *13*(2), 131–150.

England, K. and Henry, C. (2013) Care work, migration and citizenship: International nurses in the UK. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *14*(5), 558–574.

Enloe, C. (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. London: Pandora Press.

Entzinger, H., Saharso, S. and Scholten, P. (2012) Shaping immigration for integration? The Dutch migration-integration nexus in perspective. Netherlands

Country Report. EIF. Project PROSINT (Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration of TCN's) Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Erdem, E. and Mattes, M. (2003) Gendered policies – gendered patterns: Female labour migration from Turkey to Germany from the 1960s to the 1990s. In Ohliger, R., Schonwalder, K. and Triadafilopoulos, T. (eds.) *European Encounters. Migrants, Migration and European Societies Since 1945*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 167–185.

Erel, U. (2009) *Migrant Women Transforming Citizenship: Life-Stories from Britain and Germany*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Erel, U. (2010) Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies. *Sociology*, *44*(4), 642–660.

Erel, U. (2013) Kurdish migrant mothers in London enacting citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, *17*(8), 970–984.

Erel, U. and Lutz, H. (2012) Gender and transnationalism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *19*(4), 409–412.

Erel, U. and Tomlinson, F. (2005) *Women Refugees – from Volunteers to Employees: A Research Project on Paid and Unpaid Work in the Voluntary Sector and Volunteering as a Pathway into Employment*. Final Report. Working Lives Research Institute and Refugee Assessment and Guidance Unit, UK.

Escrivá Á. (2004) *Securing the Care and Welfare of Dependants Transnationally: Peruvians and Spaniards in Spain*. Working Paper No. WP404.

Escrivá A. (2005) *Aged Global Care Chains: a Southern-European Contribution to the Field.* Paper at Conference on Migration and Domestic Work in Global Perspective, Wassenaar, the Netherlands, 26–29 May 2005.

Escrivá, A. and Skinner, E. (2006) Moving to Spain at an advanced age. *Generations Review*, *16*(2), 8–15.

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

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999) *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Espiritu, Y. (2003) *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eurofound (2014) *Social Situation of Young People in Europe*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission (2012) *On Exploiting the Employment Potential of the Personal and Household Services*. Communication from the Commission Strasbourg, SWD (2012) 95 Final.

European Migration Network (2012) *Misuse of the Right to Family Reunification. Marriages of Convenience and False Declarations of Parenthood*. Brussels: European Commission.

Eurostat (2011) *Migrants in Europe. A Statistical Portrait of the First and Second Generation*. Brussels: European Union.

Eurostat (2014) *Share of Young Adults Aged 18–34 Living with Their Parents by Age and Sex*. Source: EUSILC, Eurostat. Available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec. europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_lvps08&lang=en.

Evers, A. (1996) Institutionalizing a new pluralism – Lessons from the area of care and personal services. In *Reconciling Economy and Society: Towards a Plural Economy*. Paris: OECD, 79–89.

Faist, T. (2010) Towards transnational studies: World theories, transnationalisation and changing institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1665–1687.

Fakier, K. and Cock, J. (2009) A gendered analysis of the crisis of social reproduction in contemporary South Africa. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *11*(3), 353–371.

Fan, C. C. and Li, L. (2002) Marriage and migration in transitional China: A field study of Gaozhou, Western Guangdong. *Environment and Planning A*, *34*(4), 619–638.

Fang, C. (2010) Demographic transition, demographic dividend, and Lewis turning point in China. *China Economic Journal*, *3*(2), 107–119.

Fang, C., Yang, D. and Meiya, W. (2009) Migration and labor mobility in China. *UNDP Human Development Research Paper, No. 9.* New York: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report Office

Farré, L., González, L. and Ortega, F. (2011) Immigration, family responsibilities and the labor supply of skilled native women. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, *11*(1), 1–48.

Farrer, J. (2010) 'New Shanghailanders' or 'new Shanghainese': Western expatriates' narratives of emplacement in Shanghai. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(8), 1211–1228.

Farvaque, N. (2013) *Developing Personal and Household Service in the EU. A Focus on Housework Activities*. Report for DG Employment, Social Affairs and Social Inclusion, Tender no. VT/2012/026

Faur, E. (2008) *The 'Care Diamond': Social Policy Regime, Care Policies and Programmes in Argentina*. Gender and Development, 'The Social and Political Economy of Care,' UNRISD Research Paper, No. 3.

Favell, A. (2008) The new face of East–West migration in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(5), 701–716.

Federici, S. (1975) *Wages Against Housework*. London: Power of Women Collective and Falling Wall Press.

Federici, S. (1999) Reproduction and feminist struggle in the new international division of labor. In Dalla Costa, Mariarosa and Giovanna F. Dalla Costa (eds.) *Women, Development and Labor of Reproduction. Struggles and Movements*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 47–82.

Federici, S. (2012) *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Brooklyn/Oakland: Common Notions/PM Press.

Fee, T. (1976) Domestic labour: An analysis of housework and its relation to the production process. *Review of Radical Political Economy*, *8*(1), 1–8.

Feistritzer, E. C. (2011) Profile of teachers in the US 2011. *National Center for Education Information.* Available at: http://www.ncei.com/Profile_Teachers_US _201l.pdf [Accessed 8 May 2014].

Ferguson, L. (2010) Tourism development and the restructuring of social reproduction in Central America. *Review of International Political Economy*, *17*(5), 860–888.

Fernandez-Kelly, M. P. (1983) *For We Are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier*. New York: Suny Press.

Finch, J. and Kim, S. K. (2012) Kirogi families in the US: Transnational migration and education. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(3), 485–506.

Fisher, B. and Tronto, J. (1990) Toward a feminist theory of caring. In Abel, E. and Nelson, M. (eds.) *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 35–62.

Fiszbein, A., Schady, N. R. and Ferreira, F. H. (2009) *Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Flabbi, L. (2011) *Gender Differences in Education, Career Choices and Labor Market Outcomes on a Sample of OECD Countries*. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Background Paper for the WDR 2012.

Fog Olwig, K. (2012) The care chain, children's mobility and the Caribbean migration tradition. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(6), 933–952.

Folbre, N. (2001) Accounting for care in the United States. In M. Daly (ed.) *Care Work: The Quest for Security*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 175–192.

Folbre, N. (2006) Measuring care: Gender, empowerment, and the care economy. *Journal of Human Development*, *7*(2), 183–199.

Foner, N. (2009) Gender and migration: West Indians in comparative perspective, *International Migration*, *47*, 3–29.

Foucault, M. (1984) Space, knowledge and power. In Rabinow, P. (ed.) *The Foucault Reader.* New York: Pantheon Books, 239–256.

Fox, J. E., Moroşanu, L. and Szilassy, E. (2012) The racialization of the new European migration to the UK. *Sociology*, *46*(4), 680–695.

Fraser, N. (2014) Behind Marx's hidden abode. *New Left Review*, *86*, 55–72.

Freedman, J. (2009) *Female Asylum-Seekers and Refugees in France*. Geneva: UNHCR Refugee Legal and Policy Protection Research.

Fuchs, D. and Straubhaar, T. (2003) *Economic Integration in the Caribbean: The Development Towards a Common Labour Market*. Social Protection Sector. Geneva: International Migration Programme, International Labour Office.

Fudge, J. (2012) Precarious migrant status and precarious employment: The paradox of international rights for migrant workers. *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal*, *34*(1), 95–131.

Fultz, E. and Francis, J. (2013) *Cash Transfer Programmes, Poverty Reduction and Empowerment of Women: A Comparative Analysis: Experiences from Brazil, Chile, India, Mexico and South Africa*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Gabriel, C. (2004) A question of skills: Gender, migration policy and the global economy. In Van Der Pijl, K., Assassi, L., and Wigan, D. (eds.) *Global Regulation: Managing Crises After the Imperial Turn*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 162–176.

Gabriel, C. (2011) Migration and globalized care work: The case of internationally educated nurses in Canada. In Mahon, R. and Robinson, F. (eds.) *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy: Towards a New Global Political Economy of Care*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 39–58.

Gabriel, C. and Macdonald, L. (2004) The hypermobile, the mobile, and the rest: Patterns of inclusion and exclusion in an emerging North American migration régime. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *29*(57–58), 67–91.

Gabriel, C. and Macdonald, L. (2007) Migration and citizenship rights in a new North American space. In Studer, I. and Wise, C. (eds.) *Requiem or Revival? The Promise of North American Integration*. Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 353–370.

Gabriel, C. and Pellerin, H. (eds.) (2008) *Governing International Labour Migration: Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas*. New York: Routledge.

Gallagher, P. (2013) NHS hospitals send overseas for nurses before winter crisis. *The Independent*, 24 November.

Gallo, E. (2005) Unorthodox sisters gender relations and generational change among Malayali migrants in Italy. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, *12*(2–3), 217–251.

Gamburd, M. R. (2000) *The Kitchen Spoon's Handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. and Nyberg Sørensen, N. (eds.) (2012) *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. London/New York: Routledge.

Gardiner Barber, P. (2008a) Cell phones, complicity, and class politics in the Philippine labor diaspora. *Focaal*, *51*(1), 28–42.

Gardiner Barber, P. (2008b) The ideal immigrant? Gendered class subjects in Philippine–Canada migration. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(7), 1265–1285.

Gedalof, I. (2009) Birth, belonging and migrant mothers: Narratives of reproduction in feminist migration studies. *Feminist Review*, *93*(1), 81–100.

Gender Youth Migration Web Portal (2013) UNESCO. Available at: http://www.solutionexchange-un-gen-gym.net/.

GENSEN Report (2012) Cheikh Ali, H., Querton, C. and Soulard, E. (2012) *Gender-Related Asylum Claims in Europe. Comparative Analysis of Law, Policy and Practice Focusing on Women in Nine EU Member States*. Available at: http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/GENSEN-Report-FINAL.pdf] [Accessed May 2014].

George, S. M. (2005) *When Women Come First: Gender and Class in Transnational Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gerhardt, H. (2008) Geopolitics, ethics, and the evangelicals' commitment to Sudan. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *26*(5), 911–928.

Gershuny, J. (2000) *Changing Times: Work and Leisure in Post-Industrial Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gershuny, J. (2011) Time-use surveys and the measurement of national well-being. *Centre for Time-Use Research.* Department of Sociology. University of Oxford.

Gershuny, J. and Kan, M. Y. (2009) *Half-Way to Gender Equality in Work? Evidence from Time Use Data*. Berlin: Equalsoc Famnet/Employ. Meeting, 11–12 March.

Ghosh, J. (2005) *Integration of Gender Perspectives in Macro-Economics*. Written statement to the Commission on the status of women, 49th session, New York, 28 February–11 March, 2005.

Ghosh, J. (2009) *Human Development Research Paper No. 12*. New York: UNDP.

Gibson-Graham, J. K., Resnick, S. A. and Wolff, R. D. (eds.) (2000) *Class and Its Others*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gibson, K., Law, L. and McKay, D. (2001) Beyond heroes and victims: Filipina contract migrants, economic activism and class transformations. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *3*(3), 365–386.

Giddings, L. A. (1998) Political economy and the construction of gender: The example of housework within same-sex households. *Feminist Economics*, *4*(2), 97–106.

Gilligan, C. (1982) In a different voice: Women's conceptions of self and morality. *Harvard Educational Review*, *47*, 481–517.

Gimenez-Nadal, J. I. and Molina, J. A. (2014) Regional unemployment, gender, and time allocation of the unemployed. *Review of Economics of the Household*, *12*(1), 105–127.

Glenn, E. (1985) Racial ethnic women's labor: The intersection of race, gender and class oppression. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, *17*(3), 86–108.

Glenn, E. (1992) From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labor. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *18*, 1–43.

Glick Schiller, N. and Çağlar, A. (2009) Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrant incorporation and city scale. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(2), 177–202.

Glorius, B., Grabowska-Lusinska, I. and Rindoks, A. (2013) *Mobility in Transition: Migration. Patterns after EU Enlargement.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Glucksmann, M. (2005) Shifting boundaries and interconnections: Extending the 'total social organisation of labour'. *The Sociological Review*, *53*(2), 19–36.

Goering, L. (2007) Outsourcing the elderly: Low-cost care, made in India. *Seattle Times*, 3 August. Available at: http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/nationworld/2003819509_ indiahomes03.html.

González-Ferrer, A. (2007) The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung – Journal of Family Research*, *19*(1), 10–33.

González-Ferrer, A. (2011) Explaining the labour performance of immigrant women in Spain: The interplay between family, migration and legal trajectories. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(1–2), 63–78.

Goody, E. (1982) *Parenthood and Social Reproduction: Fostering and Occupational Roles in West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gorz, André (1988) *Métamorphoses du Travail (The Metamorphosis of Work).* Paris: Galilée.

Gottfried, H. (2009) Japan: The reproductive bargain and the making of precarious employment. In Vosko, L. F., MacDonald, M. and Campbell, I. (eds.) *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment*. Oxford: Routledge, 76–91.

Gough, I. and Wood, G. (2004) *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graham, E. and Yeoh, B. S. (2013) Child health and migrant parents in South-East Asia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *22*(3), 297–314.

Graham, H. (1983) Caring: A labour of love. In Finch, J. and Groves, D. (eds.) *A Labour of Love: Women, Work and Caring*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 13–30.

Granovetter, M. (1983) The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory*, *1*(1), 201–233.

Green, G., Bradby, H., Chan, A. and Lee, M. (2002) Chinese migrant women and families in Britain. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *25*(6), 607–618.

Gregson, N. and Lowe, M. (1994) Waged domestic labour and the renegotiation of the domestic division of labour within dual career households. *Sociology*, *28*(1), 55–78.

Grignon, M., Owusu, Y. and Sweetman, A. (2012) *The International Migra-
    tion of Health Professionals*. Discussion Paper Series, Institute for the Study
    of Labour, No. 6517. Available at: http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/
    58692/1/715992589.pdf.

Grillo, R. D. (ed.) (2008) *The Family in Question: Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities in
    Multicultural Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Groes-Green, C. (2014) Journeys of patronage: Moral economies of transactional
    sex and female migration from Mozambique to Europe. *Journal of the Royal
    Anthropological Institute*, n.s., *20*, 237–255.

Groutsis, D. (2003) The state, immigration policy and labour market practices:
    The case of overseas – trained doctors. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, *45*(1),
    67–86.

Groutsis, D. and Arnold, P. C. (2012) Tracking the career decisions and experience
    of migrant elites: The case of South African-trained medical professionals in the
    Australian labour market. *Health Sociology Review*, *21*(3), 332–342.

Grugulis, I. and Vincent, S. (2009) Whose skill is it anyway? 'Soft' skills and
    polarization. *Work, Employment and Society*, *23*(4), 597–615.

Gruner-Domic, S. (2011) Transnational lifestyles as a new form of cosmopolitan
    social identification? Latin American women in German urban spaces. *Ethnic
    and Racial Studies*, *34*(3), 471–489.

Guild, E. (2011) Equivocal claims? Ambivalent controls? Labour migration
    regimes in the European Union. In Guild, E. and Mantu, S. (eds.) *Construct-
    ing and Imagining Labour Migration: Perspectives of Control from Five Continents*.
    Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 207–228

Guild, E. and Mantu, S. (eds.) (2011) *Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration:
    Perspectives of Control from Five Continents*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Gulati, L. (1993) *In the Absence of Their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on
    Women*. New Delhi: Sage.

Gülçür, L. and İlkkaracan, P. (2002) The 'Natasha' experience: Migrant sex workers
    from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey. *Women's Studies
    International Forum*, *25*(4), 411–421.

Gustafson, P. (2008) Transnationalism in retirement migration: The case of North
    European retirees in Spain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(3), 451–475.

Hage, G. (2000) *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural
    Society*. New York: Routledge.

Halba, B. (2009) *T.I.P.S. for Intercultural Dialogue – T-learning to Improve Professional
    Skills for Intercultural Dialogue*. A comparative report. Institut de Recherche et
    d'Information sur le Volontariat (IRIV), Paris.

Haour-Knipe, M. (2011) *Moving Families: Expatriation, Stress and Coping*. New York:
    Routledge.

Haour-Knipe, M. and Davies, A. (2008) *Return Migration of Nurses*. International
    Centre on Nurse Migration. Available at: http://www.intlnursemigration.org/
    assets/pdfs/ReturnmigrationA4.pdf [Accessed 4 May 2014].

Haque, M. S. (2005) Migration trends and patterns in South Asia and man-
    agement approaches and initiatives. *Asia Pacific Population Journal*, *20*(3),
    39–60.

Hardill, I. and MacDonald, S. (1998) Choosing to relocate: An examination of
    the impact of expatriate work on dual-career households. *Women's Studies
    International Forum*, *21*(1), 21–29.

Harriss, B. (1981) *Coarse Grains, Coarse Interventions*. Geneva: UNRISD.

Hartmann, H. (1981) The family as the locus of gender, class, and political struggle: The example of housework. *Signs*, *6*(3), 366–394.

Harzig, C. (2003) Immigration policies: A gendered historical comparison. In Morokvasic-Muller, M., Erel, U. and Sinozaki, K. (eds.) *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries*. Vol. 1 *Gender on the Move*. Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 35–58.

Hawthorne, L. (2011) *Competing for Skills: Migration Policies and Trends in New Zealand and Australia*. Full Report. Wellington: Department of Immigration and Citizenship and Department of Labour.

Hawthorne, L. (2012) *Health Workforce Migration to Australia. Policy Trends and Outcomes 2004–2010*. Adelaide: Health Workforce Australia.

Heisig, J. P. (2011) Who does more housework: Rich or poor? A comparison of 33 countries. *American Sociological Review*, *76*(1), 74–99.

Herrera, G. (2008) States, work and the social reproduction through the lens of migrant experience. Ecuadorian domestic workers in Madrid. In Bakker, I. and Silvey, R. (eds.) *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction*. London: Routledge, 93–107.

Herrera G. (2010) Stratified workers/stratified mothers: Migration policies and citizenship among Ecuadorian immigrant women. In Chavkin, W. and Maher, J. (eds.) *The Globalization of Motherhood. Deconstructions and Reconstructions of Biology and Care*. London/New York: Routledge, 55–76.

Herrera, G. (2013) Gender and international migration: Contributions and cross-fertilizations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *39*, 471–489.

Hess, S. and Puckhaber, A. (2004) 'Big sisters' are better domestic servants?! Comments on the booming au pair business. *Feminist Review*, *77*(1), 65–78.

Heyzer, N. (1982) *From Rural Subsistence to an Industrial Peripheral Work Force: An Examination of Female Malaysian Migrants and Capital Accumulation in Singapore*. New York: Praeger.

Hill, M. (2007) The mixed economy of welfare: A comparative perspective. *Understanding the Mixed Economy of Welfare*. Bristol: Policy Press, 177–198.

Himmelweit, S. (2000) *Inside the Household: From Labour to Care*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Himmelweit, S. (2005) *Can We Afford (Not) to Care?: Prospects and Policy*. London: London School of Economics, Gender Institute.

Hirose, K., Nikač, M. and Tamagno, E. (2011) *Social Security for Migrant Workers: A Rights-Based Approach*. Budapest: International Labour Organisation.

Hoang, L. A., Yeoh, B. S. and Wattie, A. M. (2012) Transnational labour migration and the politics of care in the Southeast Asian family. *Geoforum*, *43*(4), 733–740.

Hochschild, A. (2000) Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In Giddens, A. and Hutton, W. (eds.) *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape, 130–146.

Hofmann, E. T. and Buckley, C. J. (2012) Cultural responses to changing gender patterns of migration in Georgia. *International Migration*, *50*(5), 77–94.

Holden, C. (2002) The internationalization of long term care provision: Economics and strategy. *Global Social Policy*, *2*(1), 47–67.

Hollifield, J. F. (2000) The politics of international migration: how can we 'bring the state back in'? In Bretell, C. and Hollifield, J. (eds.) *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. New York and London: Routledge, 137–186.

Holzmann, R. and Koettl, J. (2011) *Portability of Pension, Health, and Other Social Benefits: Facts, Concepts, Issues*. World Bank Social Protection Discussion Paper No. 1110, Washington, DC.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001) *Domestica*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2003) *Gender and US Immigration: Contemporary Trends*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2007) *Domestica. Immigrant Worker Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. and Avila, E. (1997) 'I'm Here, but I'm There'. The meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender and Society*, *11*(5), 548–571.

Horton, S. (2008) Consuming childhood: 'Lost' and 'ideal' childhoods as a motivation for migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *81*(4), 925–943.

Houston, M. F., Kramer, R. G. and Barrett, J. M. (1984) Female predominance in immigration to the United States since 1930: A first look. *International Migration Review*, *18*, 908–963.

Huang, S. and Yeoh, B. S. (2003) The difference gender makes: State policy and contract migrant workers in Singapore. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *12*(1/2), 75–98.

Huang, S., Yeoh, B. S. and Lam, T. (2008) Asian transnational families in transition: The liminality of simultaneity. *International Migration*, *46*(4), 3–13.

Hugo, G. (2008) In and out of Australia: Rethinking Chinese and Indian skilled migration to Australia. *Asian Population Studies*, *4*(3), 267–291.

Hujo, K. and Piper, N. (eds.) (2010) *South–South Migration: Implications for Social Policy and Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hussein, S., Moriarty, J., Manthorpe, J. and Huxley, P. (2008) Diversity and progression among students starting social work qualifying programmes in England between 1995 and 1998: A quantitative study. *British Journal of Social Work*, *38*(8), 1588–1609.

Hussein, S., Stevens, M., Manthorpe, J. and Moriarty, J. (2011) Change and continuity: A quantitative investigation of trends and characteristics of international social workers in England. *British Journal of Social Work*, *41*(6), 1140–1157.

Ilcan, S., Oliver, M. and O'Connor, D. (2007) Spaces of Governance: Gender and Public Sector Restructuring in Canada. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *14*(10), 75–92.

Illanes, J. C. (2010) Migrant mothers and divided homes: Perceptions of immigrant Peruvian women about motherhood. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *41*(2), 205–224.

ILO (2013) *Domestic Workers Across the World. Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection*. Geneva: International Labour Office. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—dgreports/—dcomm/—publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf [Accessed 28 July 2014].

Inoue, J. (2010) *Migration of Nurses in the EU, the UK, and Japan: Regulatory Bodies and Push-Pull Factors in the International Mobility of Skilled Practitioners*. Discussion Paper 526. Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University, Japan.

International Domestic Workers' Network, The International Trade Union Confederation and Human Rights Watch (2013) *Claiming Rights. Domestic Workers' Movements and Global Advances for Labor Reform*. Joint Report.

Available at: http://www.ituc-csi.org/claiming-rights-domestic-workers?lang =en [Accessed 23 March 2014].

IOM (2008) *World Migration Report 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*. Available at: http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index .php?main_page=product_info&cPath=37&products_id=62 [Accessed 17 March 2013].

IOM (2010) *World Migration Report 2010. The Future of Migration: Building Capacities for Change*. Geneva [Accessed 18 March 2011].

IOM (2013) The *World Migration Report 2013: Migrant Well-being and Development.* Geneva. [Accessed 23 March 2014].

IOM and UN-INSTRAW (2007) *Survey on Remittances 2007: Gender Perspectives*. Working Books on Migration 24. Available at: http://www.oim.org.gt/ documents/Working%20Notebook%20No.%2024.pdf [Accessed 23 February 2009].

IOM-INSTRAW and UNDP (2010) *Gender, Migration and Remittances*. Geneva: IOM.

Iredale, R. (2005) Gender, immigration policies and accreditation: Valuing the skills of professional women migrants. *Geoforum*, *36*(2), 155–166.

Isaksen, L. W. (ed.) (2010) *Global Care Work: Gender and Migration in Nordic Societies*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Isaksen, L. W., Devi, S. U. and Hochschild, A. R. (2008) Global Care Crisis. A problem of capital, care chain, or commons? *American Behavioral Scientist*, *52*(3), 405–425.

Ishii, C. (2010) *Globalizing Households and Multi-Ethnic Community Building in Japan*. United Nations University Working Paper No. 2010/67, June.

Itami, M. Morooka, Y. and Itami, K. (2010) Migration of internationally educated nurses from Southeast Asia to Japan: Proposals on educational supports to combat brain loss in Japan. *Kuroshio Science*, *4*(1), 81–94.

Ittura, R. (1985) Marriage, ritual and profit: The production of producers in a Portuguese village. *Social Compass*, *32*(1), 73–92.

Itzigsohn, J. and Giorguli-Saucedo, S. (2005) Incorporation, transnationalism, and gender: Immigrant incorporation and transnational participation as gendered processes. *International Migration Review*, *39*(4), 895–920.

Izzard, W. (1985) Migrants and mothers: Case-studies from Botswana. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *11*(2), 258–280.

Jabir, H. (2014) Ottawa's new rules put parent sponsorship out of reach. *Thestar. com*, 16 January. Available at: http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/ 2014/01/16/ottawas_new_rules_put_parent_sponsorship_out_of_reach.html [Accessed 13 July 2014].

Jalali, R. (2008) International funding of NGOs in India: Bringing the state back in. *Voluntas*, *19*(2), 161–188.

James, N. (1989) Emotional labour: Skill and work in the social regulation of feelings. *The Sociological Review*, *37*(1), 15–42.

James, S. (1972) *Women, the Unions, and Work*. London: Crest Press.

Jelin, E. (1976) *Migración a las ciudades y participación en la fuerza de trabajo de las mujeres latinoamericanas: El caso del servicio doméstico*. Estudios Sociales 4. Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad.

Jelin, E. (1977) Migration and labor force participation of Latin American women: the domestic servants in the cities. *Signs*, *3*(1), 129–141.

Jensen, P. H. and Møberg, R. J. (2011) Tensions related to the transition of elderly care from an unpaid to a paid activity. In Pfau-Effinger, B. and Rostgaard, T. (eds.) *Care Between Work and Welfare in European Societies*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 98–114.

Jenson, J. (1997) Who cares? Gender and welfare regimes. *Social Politics*, *4*, 182–187.

Jenson, J. (2003) *Redesigning the 'Welfare Mix' for Families: Policy Challenges*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Jenson, J. (2010) Diffusing ideas for after neoliberalism. The social investment perspective in Europe and Latin America. *Global Social Policy*, *10*(1), 59–84.

Johnsen, S., Cloke, P. and May, J. (2005) Day centres for homeless people: Spaces of care or fear? *Social and Cultural Geography*, *6*(6), 787–811.

Johnson, M. (2010) Diasporic dreams, middle class moralities and migrant domestic workers among Muslim Filipinos in Saudi Arabia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, *11*(3–4), 428–448.

Johnson, M. and McKay, D. (2011) Mediated diasporas: Material translations of the Philippines in a globalized world. *South East Asia Research*, *19*(2), 181–196.

Jones, A. (2008) A silent but mighty river: The costs of women's economic migration. *Signs*, *33*(4), 761–769.

Joon, K. K. and Fu, M. (2008) International women in South Korea's sex industry: A new commodity frontier. *Asian Survey*, *48*(3), 492–513.

Júlíusdóttir, M., Skaptadóttir, U. D. and Karlsdóttir, A. (2013) Gendered migration in turbulent times in Iceland. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, *67*(5), 266–275.

Jupp, J. (2011) Politics, public policy and multiculturalism. In Clyne, M. and Jupp, J. (eds.) *Multiculturalism and Integration: A Harmonious Relationship*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 41–52.

Kabeer, N. (2007) *Marriage, Motherhood and Masculinity in the Global Economy: Reconfigurations of Personal and Economic Life*. Sussex: IDS Working Paper.

Kaiser, L. C. and Paul, R. (2011) Differential inclusion in Germany's conservative welfare state: Policy legacies and structural constraints. In Carmel, E., Cerami, A. and Papadopoulos, T. (eds.) *Migration and Welfare in the New Europe: Social Protection and the Challenges of Integration*. Bristol: Policy Press, 121–142.

Kalavar, J. and Jamuna, D. (2011) Aging of Indian women in India: The experience of older women in formal care homes. *Journal of Women and Aging*, *23*(3), 203–215.

Kalayaan (2013) *Slavery by Another Name: The Tied Migrant Domestic Worker Visa*. London: Kalayaan.

Kandiyoti, D. (1988) Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, *2*(3), 274–290.

Kasturi, L. 1978. *South Indian Migrant Women in Delhi's Slums*. Delhi: ICSSR mimeo.

Katz, C. (2001) Vagabond capitalism and the necessity of social reproduction. *Antipode*, *33*(4), 709–728.

Katz, E. (1992) Household resource allocation when income is not pooled: A reciprocal claims model of the household economy. In *Understanding How Resources Are Allocated Within Households*. FPRI Policy Briefs No. 8. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, World Bank, 41–42.

Kaur, A. (2007) International labour migration in Southeast Asia: Governance of migration and women domestic workers. *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, 15. Available at: http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue15/kaur.htm. [Accessed 12 July 2014].

Kawaguchi, D. and Lee, S. (2012) Brides for sale: Cross-border marriages and female immigration. *Harvard Business School Research Paper Series*, 12–82, March.

Kelly, P. (2012) Class, migration and identity in a Philippine village. In Pluss, C. and Chan, K. B. (eds.) *Living Intersections: Transnational Migrant Identifications in Asia*. New York: Springer.

Kelly, P. (2014) Understanding intergenerational social mobility: Filipino youth in Canada. *IRRP Study No. 45*, February.

Kelly, P. and Lusis, T. (2006) Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada and the Philippines. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*(5), 831–847.

Khoo, S.-E, Hugo, G. and McDonald, P. (2008) Which skilled temporary migrants become permanent residents and why? *International Migration Review*, *42*(1), 193–226.

Khoo, S.-E., Smith, P. C. and Fawcett, J. T. (1984) Migration of women to cities: The Asian situation in comparative perspective. *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 1247–1263.

Kilkey, M. (2010a) Men and domestic labor: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 126–149.

Kilkey, M. (2010b) Domestic-sector work in the UK: Locating men in the configuration of gendered care and migration regimes. *Social Policy and Society*, *9*(3), 443–454.

Kilkey, M. and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2013) Fathers' time-bind and the outsourcing of 'male' domestic work in Europe: The cases of the United Kingdom and Germany. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, *29*(2), 109–121.

Kilkey, M., Perrons, D. and Plomien, A. (2013) *Gender, Migration and Domestic Work. Masculinities, Male Labour and Fathering in the UK and USA*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kingma, M. (2006) *Nurses on the Move: Migration and the Global Health Care Economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

King, R., Thomson, M., Fielding T. and Warnes, T. (2006) Time, generations and gender in migration and settlement. In Penninx, R. Berger, M. and Kraal, K. (eds.) *The Dynamics of Migration and Settlement in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

King, R. and Skeldon, R. (2010) 'Mind the gap!' Integrating approaches to internal and international migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1619–1646.

King, R., Skeldon, R. and Vullnetari, J. (2008) *Internal and International Migration: Bridging the Theoretical Divide*. Working Paper No. 52. University of Sussex.

King, R., Warnes, T. and Williams, A. M. (2000) *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

King's College London (2013) District nursing – who will care in the future? *Policy+ No. 40*, September. Available at: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/nursing/research/nnru/policy/Currentissue/Policy–Issue-40.pdf [Accessed 15 May 2014].

Klineberg, E. (2012) I want to be alone: The rise and rise of solo living. *The Guardian*, 30 March, 41–43.

Kofman, E. (2002) Contemporary European migrations, civic stratification and citizenship. *Political Geography*, *21*(8), 1035–1054.

Kofman, E. (2004) Gendered global migrations: Diversity and stratification. *International Journal of Feminist Politics*, *6*(4), 643–665.

Kofman, E. (2006a) Gender, remittances and migration: Latin Americans and Caribbeans in Europe. *International Forum on the Social Science* – Policy Nexus, 20–24 February 2006, Argentina and Uruguay. Available at: http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/4448/1/Kofman-gender_remittances.pdf [Accessed 13 April 2009].

Kofman, E. (2006b) *Gendered Migrations, Social Reproduction and Welfare Regimes: New Dialogues and Directions*. Paper presented at Social Science and History Conference, Amsterdam, 22–25 March.

Kofman, E. (2008) Managing migration and citizenship in Europe. In Gabriel, C. and Pellerin, H. (eds.) *Governing International Labour Migration: Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas*. New York: Routledge, 13–26.

Kofman, E. (2010) Gendered migrations and the globalisation of social reproduction and care: New dialogues and directions. In Schrouver, E. and Yeo, E. (eds.) *Gender and Migration in Global, Historical and Theoretical Perspective*. London: Routledge, Chapter 3.

Kofman, E. (2012) Gender and skilled migration in Europe. *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales*, *30*(1), 63–89.

Kofman, E. (2013) Gendered labour migrations in Europe and emblematic migratory figures. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(4), 579–600.

Kofman, E. (2014a) Family migrants, immigration, integration and employment policies, Paper presented at Workshop *Transnational Labor Markets: Bridging Different Regulatory and Cultural Contexts*, Universiteit Duisburg-Essen, 26–27 June.

Kofman, E. (2014b) Towards a gendered evaluation of (highly) skilled immigration policies in Europe. *International Migration*, *52*(3), 116–128.

Kofman, E. and Meetoo, V. (2008) Family migration. In *World Migration 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*. IOM World Migration Report Series No. 4. IOM, Geneva, pp. 151–172.

Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P. and Sales, R. (2000) *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare, and Politics*. London: Routledge.

Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2005) Gender and skilled migrants: Into and beyond the work place. *Geoforum*, *36*(2), 149–154.

Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2006) Gender and global labour migrations: Incorporating skilled workers. *Antipode*, *38*(2), 282–303.

Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2010) The implications of migration for gender and care regimes in the South. In Hugo, K. and Piper, N. (eds.) *South–South Migration: Implications for Social Policy and Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 46–83.

Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2012) Women, migration, and care: Explorations of diversity and dynamism in the Global South. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *19*(3), 408–432.

Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2013) Knowledge, gender, and changing mobility regimes: women migrants in Europe. In Ilcan, S. (ed.) *Mobilities, Knowledge, and Social Justice*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 59–75.

Kofman, E., Raghuram, P. and Merefield, M. (2005) *Gendered Migrations: Towards Gender Sensitive Policies in the UK*. Asylum and Migration Working Paper 6. London: Institute of Public Policy Research.

Kofman, E., Saharso, S. and Vacchelli, E. (forthcoming) Gendered perspectives on integration discourses and measures. *International Migration*, DOI: 10.1111/imig.12102.

Kofman, E. and Youngs, G. (eds.) (2008) *Globalization: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter.

Korpi, W. (2000) Faces of inequality: Gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *7*(2), 127–191.

Korteweg, A. C. and Triadafilopoulos, T. (2013) Gender, religion, and ethnicity: Intersections and boundaries in immigrant integration policy making. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *20*(1), 109–136.

Kraler, A. (2010) *Civic Stratification, Gender and Family Migration Policies in Europe*. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development.

Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M. and Schmoll, C. (eds.) (2011) *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kröger, T. and Zechner, M. (2009) Migration and care: Giving and needing care across national borders. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration*, *4*(2), 17–26.

Kulu-Glasgow, I. and Leerkes, A. (2013) Restricting Turkish marriage migration? National policy, couples' coping strategies and international obligations. *Migration Letters*, *10*(3), 369–382.

Kunz, R. (2008) 'Remittances are beautiful'? Gender implications of the new global remittances trend. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(7), 1389–1409.

Kunz, R. (2010) The crisis of social reproduction in rural Mexico: Challenging the 're-privatization of social reproduction' thesis. *Review of International Political Economy*, *17*(5), 913–945.

Kunz, R. (2011) *The Political Economy of Global Remittances: Gender, Governmentality and Neoliberalism*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.

Kunz, R. (2013) Governing international migration through partnership. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(7), 1227–1246.

Kuptsch, C. (ed.) (2006) *Merchants of Labour*. Geneva: International Institute of Labour Studies.

Kveder, M., Leonie, C. and Flahaux, M. L. (2013) Returning to Dakar: A mixed methods analysis of the role of migration experience for occupational status. *World Development*, *45*, 223–238.

Laczko, F. and Brian, F. (2013) North–South migration: A different look at the migration and development debate. Technical Report. *International Organization for Migration*, June–July 2013. Available at: http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/what-we-do/migration-policy-and-research/migration-policy-1/migration-policy-practice/issues/june-july-2013/northsouth-migration-a-different.html [Accessed 12 May 2014].

Lahav, G. (1998) Immigration and the state: The devolution and privatisation of immigration control in the EU. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *24*(4), 675–694.

Lanoix, M. (2013) Labor as embodied practice: The lessons of care work. *Hypatia*, *28*(1), 85–100.

Lan, P. C. (2003) 'They have more money but I speak better English!' Transnational encounters between Filipina domestics and Taiwanese employers. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *10*(2), 133–161.

Lan, P. C. (2006) *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lan, P. C. (2008) New global politics of reproductive labor: Gendered labor and marriage migration. *Sociology Compass*, *2*(6), 1801–1815.

Larner, W. and Spoonley, P. (1995) Postcolonial politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Stasulius, D. and Yuval-Davis, N. (eds.) *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*. London: Sage, 39–64.

Laslett, B. and Brenner, J. (1989) Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *15*, 381–404.

Lauser, A. (2008) Philippine women on the move: Marriage across borders. *International Migration*, *46*(4), 85–110.

Lavinas, L. (2013) *Latin America. Anti-Poverty Schemes Instead of Social Protection*. Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Law, L. and Nadeu, K. (1999) Globalization, migration, and class struggles: NGO mobilization for Filipina domestic workers. *Kasarinlan*, *15*(3–4), 51–68.

Lawson, V. (2007) Geographies of care and responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *97*(1), 1–11.

Le Bihan, B. and Martin, C. (2010) Reforming long-term care policy in France: Private–public complementarities. *Social Policy and Administration*, *44*(4), 392–410.

Lechner, F. J. and Boli, J. (eds.) (2008) *The Globalization Reader* (Vol. 3). Oxford: Blackwell.

Lee, H. K. (2010) Family migration issues in North-East Asia. In *IOM World Migration Report 2010*. Geneva: IOM.

Lee, M., Chan, A., Bradby, H. and Green, G. (2002) Chinese migrant women and families in Britain. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *25*(6), 607–618.

Leerkes, A. and Kulu-Glasgow, I. (2011) Playing hard(er) to get – The state, international couples, and the income requirement. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, *13*, 95–121.

Lenard, P. T. and Straehle, C. (eds.) (2012) *Legislated Inequality: Temporary Labour Migration in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

León, M. (2010) Migration and care work in Spain: The domestic sector revisited. *Social Policy and Society*, *9*(3), 409–418.

Lethbridge, J. (2011) Social dialogue in the hospital sector at EU level. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, *17*(4), 501–513.

Levitt, P. and Glick Schiller, N. (2004) Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1002–1039.

Lévy, F. and Lieber, M. (2009) La sexualité comme ressource migratoire. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, *50*(4), 719–746.

Lévy, F. and Lieber, M. (2013) La sexualité comme resource migratoire. Les Chinoises du Nord à Paris. In Verschuur, C. and Catarino, C. (eds.) *Genre, Migrations et Globalisation de la Reproduction Sociale, Cahiers Genre et Développement 9*. Geneva: Graduate Institute/Editions L'Harmattan, 303–318.

Lewis, J. (1992) Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *2*(3), 159–173.

Ley, D. and Kobayashi, A. (2005) Back to Hong Kong: Return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks*, *5*(2), 111–127.

Liebelt, C. (2008) On sentimental orientalists, Christian Zionists, and working class cosmopolitans: Filipina domestic workers' journeys to Israel and beyond. *Critical Asian Studies*, *40*(4), 567–585.

Limpangog, C. (2013) Migration as a strategy for maintaining a middle-class identity: The case of professional Filipina women in Melbourne. *ASEAS-Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, *6*(2), 307–329.

Lin, X. (2013) *Gender, Modernity and Male Migrant Workers in China: Becoming a 'modern' Man*. New York: Routledge.

Little, J., Peake, L. and Richardson, P. (eds.) (1988) *Women in Cities: Gender and the Urban Environment.* London: Macmillan Education.

Little, M. (1995) Seeing and caring: The role of affect in feminist moral epistemology. *Hypatia*, *10*(3), 117–137.

Liversage, A. (2009) Finding a path: Investigating the labour market trajectories of high-skilled immigrants in Denmark. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(2), 203–226.

Li, W. and Lo, L. (2012) New geographies of migration?: A Canada-US comparison of highly skilled Chinese and Indian migration. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, *15*(1), 1–34.

Lloyd-Sherlock, P. (2002) Formal social protection for older people in developing countries: Three different approaches. *Journal of Social Policy*, *31*(4), 695–713.

Locke, C., Seeley, J. and Rao, N. (2013) Migration and social reproduction at critical junctures in family life course. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(10), 1881–1895.

Lo, M. S. (2008) Beyond instrumentalism: Interrogating the micro-dynamic and gendered and social impacts of remittances in Senegal. *Gender, Technology and Development*, *12*(3), 413–437.

Longman, C., De Graeve, K. and Brouckaert, T. (2013) Mothering as a citizenship practice: an intersectional analysis of 'carework' and 'culturework' in non-normative mother–child identities. *Citizenship Studies*, *17*(3–4), 385–399.

Loos, T. (2008) A history of sex and the state in Southeast Asia: Class, intimacy and invisibility. *Citizenship Studies*, *12*(1), 27–43.

Lopez Rodriguez, M. (2010) Migration and a quest for 'normalcy'. Polish migrant mothers and the capitalization of meritocratic opportunities in the UK. *Social Identities*, *16*(3), 339–358.

Loveband, A. (2004) Positioning the product: Indonesian migrant women workers in Taiwan. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *34*(3), 336–348.

Lozano-Ascencio, F., Roberts, B. and Bean, F. (1999) The interconnectedness of internal and international migration: The case of the United States and Mexico. In Pries, L. (ed.) *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 138–161.

Lu, M. C. W. (2012) Transnational marriages as a strategy of care exchange: Veteran soldiers and their mainland Chinese spouses in Taiwan. *Global Networks*, *12*(2), 233–251.

Lundström, C. (2014) *White Migrations: Gender, Whiteness and Privilege in Transnational Migration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lutz, H. (2008) When home becomes a workplace: Domestic work as an ordinary job in Germany? In Lutz, H. (ed.) *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 43–60.

Lutz, H. (2010) Gender in the migratory process. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1647–1663.

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

Lutz H., Herrera Vivar M. T., Supik L. (2011) Framing intersectionality: An introduction. In Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M. T. and Supik, L. (eds.) *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. Farnham: Ashgate, 1–24.

Lutz, H. and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2010) Care work migration in Germany: Semi-compliance and complicity. *Social Policy and Society*, *9*(3), 419–430.

Lutz, H. and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2011) Care, gender and migration: Towards a theory of transnational domestic work migration in Europe. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, *19*(3), 349–364.

Lutz, H. and Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2012) Care workers, care drain, and care chains: Reflections on care, migration, and citizenship. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, *19*(1), 15–37.

Luxton, M. and Bezanson, K. (eds.) (2006) *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Lynch, K., Baker, J. and Lyons, M. (2009) *Affective Equality: Love, Care and Injustice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lyon, D. and Glucksmann, M. (2008) Comparative configurations of care work across Europe. *Sociology*, *42*(1), 101–118.

Mackie, V. (2014) Japan's biopolitical crisis: Care provision in a transnational frame. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *16*(2), 278–296.

Mackintosh, M. (1981) The sexual division of labour and the subordination of women. In Young, K., Wolkowitz, C. and McCullagh, R. (eds.) *Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspectives*. London: CSE Books, 1–15.

Madge, C., Raghuram, P. and Noxolo, P. (2009) Engaged pedagogy and responsibility: A postcolonial analysis of international students. *Geoforum*, *40*(1), 34–45.

Mahapatro, S. R. (2010) *Patterns and Determinants of Female Migration in India: Insights from Census*. Institute for Social and Economic Change. Available at: http://www.isec.ac.in/WP%20246%20-%20Sandhya.pdf [Accessed 31 November 2013].

Mahdavi, P. (2010) Race, space, place: Notes on the racialisation and spatialisation of commercial sex work in Dubai, UAE. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, *12*(8), 943–954.

Mahdavi, P. (2013) Gender, labour and the law: The nexus of domestic work, human trafficking and the informal economy in the United Arab Emirates. *Global Networks*, *13*(4), 425–440.

Mahler, S. and Pessar, P. (2001) Gendered geographies of power: Analyzing gender across transnational spaces. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *7*(4), 441–459.

Mahler, S. and Pessar, P. (2006) Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 27–63.

Mahon, R. (2011) Transnationalising (child) care policy: The OECD and the World Bank. In Mahon, R. and Robinson, F. (eds.) *Feminist Ethics and Social*

Policy: Towards a New Global Political Economy of Care. Vancouver: UBC Press, 77–95.

Mahon, R. and Robinson, F. (eds.) (2011) *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy: Towards a New Global Political Economy of Care*. Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press.

Mai, N. (2009) *Migrant Workers in the UK Sex Industry*. Final policy-relevant report. ESRC final project report. Available at: http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research-units/iset/projects/esrc-migrant-workers.cfm [Accessed 29 October 2013].

Mai, N. (2011) Tampering with the sex of 'angels': Migrant male minors and young adults selling sex in the EU. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(8), 1237–1252.

Malvarez, S., Famer Rocha, C., Cometto, M. C. and Siantz de Leon, M. L. (2006) *The International Mobility of Latin American Nurses: An Overview of the Situation*. Argentina: Instituto Universitario de Ciencias de los Sisternas Humanos.

Manalansan, M. F. (2006) Queer intersections: Sexuality and gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 224–249.

Manik, S., Maharaj, B. and Sookrajh, R. (2006) Globalisation and transnational teachers: South African teacher migration to the UK. *Migracijske i etničke teme*, *22*(1–2), 15–33. Cited in Price, H. (2009) Migration and education: The brain drain of South African teachers to the United Kingdom. *Undercurrent*, *6*(3), 20–26.

Mantu, S. (2011) Nationality: An alternative control mechanism in an area of free movement? In Guild, E. and Mantu, S. (eds.) *Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 229–253.

Mapril (2014) The dreams of middle class: Consumption, life-course and migration between Bangladesh and Portugal. *Modern Asian Studies*, *48*(3), 693–719.

Marceau, L. and McKinlay, J. B. (2008) The blindness of those who will not see: On the replacement of primary care doctors in the 21st century. A response to Timmermans. *Social Science and Medicine*, *67*(10), 1497–1501.

Marchand, M. and Runyan, A. S. (eds.) (2010) *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*. New York: Routledge.

Marchetti, S. (2013) Dreaming circularity? Eastern European women and job sharing in paid home care. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, *11*(4), 347–363.

Margheritis, A. (2007) State-led transnationalism and migration: reaching out to the Argentine community in Spain. *Global Networks*, *7*, 87–106.

Martin, P. (2004) Germany: Managing migration in the 21st century. In Wayne, C., Takeyuki, T., Martin, P. L. and Hollifield, J. F. (eds.) *Controlling Immigration. A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 221–252.

Martin, P. (2006, June) Managing labor migration: Temporary worker programmes for the 21st century. In *International Symposium on International Migration and Development*. Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P07_Martin.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2014].

Martinez Franzoni, J. (2008) Welfare regimes in Latin America: Capturing constellations of markets, families, and policies. *Latin American Politics and Society*, *50*(2), 67–100.

Marx, K. (1867, reprinted 2000) *Das Kapital*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.

Masako, I., Yoshinori, M. and Kiyoshi, I. (2010) Migration of internationally edu-
cated nurses from Southeast Asia to Japan: Proposals on educational supports
to combat brain loss in Japan. *Kuroshio Science*, *4*(1), 81–94.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota
Press.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E.
(1994) An evaluation of international migration theory: The North American
case. *Population and Development Review*, *20*(4), 699–751.

Mau, S., Brabandt, H., Laube, L. and Roos, C. (2012) *Liberal States and the
Freedom of Movement: Selective Borders, Unequal Mobility*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
Macmillan.

May, J., Wills, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J. and McIlwaine, C. (2007)
Keeping London working: Global cities, the British state and London's new
migrant division of labour. *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*,
32(2), 151–167.

Mazzucato, V. and Schans, D. (2011) Transnational families and the well-being of
children: Conceptual and methodological challenges. *Journal of Marriage and
Family*, *73*(4), 704–712.

McBride, T. M. (1974) Social mobility for the lower classes: Domestic servants in
France. *Journal of Social History*, *8*(1), 63–78.

McCabe, K. (2012) Foreign-born health care workers in the United
States. *Migration Information Source, June*. Migration Policy Institute.
Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/foreign-born-health-care-
workers-united-states [Accessed 25 March 2014].

McDermott, P. and Sanmiguel-Valderrama (2013) Immobilizing unskilled
migrant labor post-NAFTA; Racialized and gendered legal barriers to the human
rights of migrant Mexicans in Canada and the US. In McDermott, P., Lind,
A. P. A., Marchand, M. H. and Runyan, A. S. (eds.) *Feminist (Im)mobilities in
Fortress(ing) North America: Rights, Citizenships, and Identities in Transnational
Perspective*. Farnham, UK/Burlington, US: Ashgate, 39–55.

McDowell, L. (2001) Father and Ford revisited: Gender, class and employ-
ment change in the new millennium. *Transactions of the Institute of British
Geographers*, *26*, 448–464.

McDowell, L. (2005) *Hard Labour: The Forgotten Voices of Latvian Migrant Volunteer
Workers*. London: UCL Press.

McDowell, L. (2006) Reconfigurations of gender and class relations. *Antipode*, *38*,
825–850.

McDowell, L. (2009) *Working Bodies: Interactive Service Employment and Workplace
Identities*. Maiden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2008) Internationalization and the
spaces of temporary labour: The global assembly of a local workforce. *British
Journal of Industrial Relations*, *46*(4), 750–770.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2009) Precarious work and economic
migration: Emerging immigrant divisions of labour in Greater London's service
sector. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *33*(1), 3–25.

McDowell, L., Perrons, D., Fagan, C., Ray, K. and Ward, K. (2005) The contradic-
tions and intersections of class and gender in a global city: Placing working
women's lives on the research agenda. *Environment and Planning A*, *37*(3),
441–461.

McGillis Hall, L., MacDonald-Rencz, S., Peterson, J., Price, S., Lalonde, M., Andrews, G., Johnson, S. and Harris, A. (2013) *Moving to Action: Evidence-Based Retention and Recruitment Policy Initiatives for Nursing.* Canadian Foundation for Healthcare Improvement and the Office of Nursing Policy, Health Canada. Available at: http://www.cfhi-fcass.ca/Libraries/Reports/Moving-to-Action-McGillis-Hall-E.sflb.ashx.

McGregor, J. (2007) 'Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners)': Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(5), 801–824.

McIlwaine, C. (2011) Super-diversity, multiculturalism and integration: An overview of the Latin American population in London, UK. In McIlwaine, C. (ed.) *Cross-Border Migration among Latin Americans.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 93–117.

McKay, D. (2002) *Filipina Identities: Geographies of Social Integration/Exclusion in the Canadian Metropolis*. Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Vancouver Centre of Excellence Working Paper Series, 01–18.

McKay, S. (2011) Re-masculinizing the hero: Filipino migrant men and gender privilege. *Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 172.* Singapore: National University of Singapore.

McKenzie, D. (2005) Paper walls are easier to tear down: Passport costs and legal barriers to emigration. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 3783. Washington: World Bank.

McNeil-Walsh, C (2004) Widening the discourse: A case for the use of postcolonial theory in the analysis of South African nurse migration to Britain. *Feminist Review*, *77*, 120–124.

Meehan, K. and Strauss, K. (eds.) (2014) *Precarious Worlds: Contested Geographies of Social Reproduction.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Meintel, D. (2006) La réciprocité dans la reconnaissance. *Vivre Ensemble*, *13*, 17–20.

Meintel, D., Fortin, S. and Cognet, M. (2006) On the road and on their own: Autonomy and giving in home health care in Quebec. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *13*(5), 563–580.

Mensah K., Mackintosh, M. and Henry, L. (2005) *The 'Skills Drain' of Health Professionals from the Developing World: A Framework for Policy Formulation.* London: Medact.

Menz, G. (2009) The neoliberalized state and migration control: The rise of private actors in the enforcement and design of migration policy. *Debatte*, *17*(3), 315–332.

Mepschen, P., Duyvendak, J. W. and Tonkens, E. H. (2010) Sexual politics, orientalism and multicultural citizenship in the Netherlands. *Sociology*, *44*(5), 962–979.

Meyer, J. B. and Brown, M. (1999) *Scientific Diasporas: A New Approach to the Brain Drain*. Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme. Discussion Paper, 4. Paris: UNESCO. Available at: www.unesco.org/most/meyer.htm [Accessed 23 October 2013].

Michel, S. and Peng, I. (2012) All in the family? Migrants, nationhood, and care regimes in Asia and North America. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(4), 406–418.

Mies, M. (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books.

Mills, C. (1993) A comment on race, class and gender – The unholy trinity. In Green, E. (ed.) *Race, Class and Gender in the Future of the Caribbean*. Kingston, Jamaica: ISER, 111–114.

Mills, M. B. (2003) Gender and inequality in the global labor force. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *32*, 41–62.

Mincer, J. (1978) Family migration decisions. *Journal of Political Economy*, *86*, 149–773.

Migration Advisory Committee (2011) *Review of the Minimum Income Requirement for Sponsorship under the Family Migration Route*. London: MAC

Miranda, V. (2011) *Cooking, Caring and Volunteering: Unpaid Work around the World*. Paris: OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers N°. 116.

Mitchell, K., Marston, S. and Katz, C. (2003) Introduction: Life's work: An introduction, review and critique. *Antipode*, *35*(3), 415–442.

Mitchell, K., Marston, S. and Katz, C. (2004) *Life's Work: Geographies of Social Reproduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mitchell, O. S., Piggott, J. and Shimizutani, S. (2007) *Developments in Long-Term Care Insurance in Japan*. Research Paper 08/2007. Australian Institute for Population Aging Research.

Mittelman, J. (2005) What is critical globalization studies? In Applebaum, R. and Robinson, W. (eds.) *Critical Globalization Studies*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 19–32.

Mkandawire, T. (2001) *Social Policy in a Development Context*. Programme Paper 7. Geneva: UNRISD.

Moch, L. P. (2003) *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Moch, L. P. (2005) Gender and migration research. In Bommes, M. and Morawska, E. (eds.) *International Migration Research: Constructions, Omissions and the Promises of Interdisciplinarity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 95–108.

Moguérou, P. (2004) *A Double Gender-Family Inequality Phenomenon in the International Mobility of Young Researchers*. Conference presentation at ESRM 2004 – Early Stage Researcher Mobility in Europe, Joint Conference by MCFA, Euroscience, Eurodoc and PI-net. Lisbon, Portugal, 25–27 February 2004.

Mohan, G. and Tan-Mullins, M. (2009) Chinese migrants in Africa as new agents of development? An analytical framework. *European Journal of Development Research*, *21*(4), 588–605.

Molyneux, M. (1979) Beyond the domestic labour debate. *New Left Review*, *116*(3), 27.

Molyneux, M. (1981) Women's emancipation under socialism. A model for the Third World? *World Development*, *9*(9–10), 1019–1037.

Morel, N. (2012) *The Political Economy of Domestic Work in France and Sweden in a European Perspective*. Sciences-Po, LIEPP Working Paper. Available at: https://hal.inria.fr/file/index/docid/789919/filename/LIEPP-MOREL-Working_paper_2.pdf [Accessed 2 April 2014].

Morel, N., Palier, B. and Palme, J. (2011) *Towards a Social Investment Welfare State? Ideas, Policies and Challenges*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Morokvasic, M. (1984) Birds of passage are also women. *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 886–907.

Morokvasic, M. (2003) Transnational mobility and gender: A view from post-wall Europe. In Morokvasic-Muller, M., Erel, U. and Shinozaki, K. (eds.) *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries: Women on the Move*. Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 101–133.

Morokvasic, M. (2004) 'Settled in mobility': Engendering post-wall migration in Europe. *Feminist Review*, *77*(1), 7–25.

Morokvasic, M. (2007) Migration, gender, empowerment. In Lenz, I., Ullrich, C. and Fersch, B. (eds.) *Gender Orders Unbound?: Globalisation, Restructuring and Reciprocity*. Opladen, Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 69–97.

Morris, L. (2002) *Managing Migration: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights*. Abingdon: Psychology Press.

Morrison, A., Schiff, M. and Sjöblom, M. (eds.) (2007) *The International Migration of Women*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Moser, C. O. N. (1978) Informal sector or petty commodity production: Dualism or dependence in urban development? *World Development*, *6*(9), 1041–1064.

Moshabela, M. Gitomer, S. Qhibi, B. Schnieder, H. (2013) Development of non-profit organisations providing health and social services in rural South Africa: A three-year longitudinal study. *PloS One*, *8*(12), 1.

Munck, R. (2008) Globalisation, governance and migration: An introduction. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(7), 1227–1246.

Murray, A. (2011) *Britain's Points Based Migration System*. CentreForum. Available at: http://www.centreforum.org/assets/pubs/points-based-system.pdf [Accessed 9 May 2014].

Nair, S. and Percot, M. (2007) *Transcending Boundaries: Indian Nurses in Internal and International Migration*. Thiruvananthapuram: Centre for Women's Development Studies.

Nakuga, M. (2003) Japanese education in an era of internationalization: A case study of an emerging multicultural coexistence model. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, *12*, 79–94.

Nancarrow, S. and Borthwick, A. (2005) Dynamic professional boundaries in the healthcare workforce. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, *27*(7), 897–919.

Nash, J. C. (2008) Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, *89*(1), 1–15.

National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP (2009) *Caregiving in the U.S.* Washington, DC: National Alliance for Caregiving.

Newland, K., Terrazas, A. and Munster, R. (2010) *Diaspora Philanthropy: Private Giving and Public Policy*. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/diaspora-philanthropy-private-giving-and-public-policy [Accessed 18 February 2014].

Ng, R. (1999) Homeworking: Dream realized or freedom constraint? The globalized reality of immigrant garment workers. *Canadian Woman Studies*, *19*(3), 110–114.

Nguyen-Akbar, M. (2014) The tensions of diasporic 'return' migration: How class and money create distance in the Vietnamese transnational family. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *42*(2), 176–201.

Nichols, B., Davis, C. and Richardson, D. (2010) International models of nursing. In *The Future of Nursing: Leading Change, Advancing Health*. The Institute of

Medicine. Available at: http://www.iom.edu/∼/media/Files/Activity%20Files/ Workforce/Nursing/International%20Models%20of%20Nursing.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2014].

Nichols, B., Davis, C. and Richardson, D. (2011) Global nurse migration. In Mason, D.J., Leavitt, J.K. and Chaffee, M.W. (eds.) *Policy and Politics in Nursing and Health Care*, London: Elsevier Health Sciences, 401–408.

Noddings, N. (1984) *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Nohl, A. M., Schittenhelm, K., Schmidtke, O. and Weiss, A. (2014) *Work in Transition: Cultural Capital and Highly Skilled Migrants' Passages into the Labour Market*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Nowicka, M. (2012) *Deskilling in Migration in Transnational Perspective. The Case of Recent Polish Migration to the UK*. Bielefeld: COMCAD.

Nowicka, M. (2014) Successful earners and failing others: Transnational orientation as biographical resource in the context of labor migration. *International Migration*, *52*(1), 74–86.

Nowotny, H. (1981) Women in public life in Austria. In Epstein, C. and Coser, R. (eds.) *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 145–158.

Nukaga, M. (2013) Planning for a successful return home: Transnational habitus and education strategies among Japanese expatriate mothers in Los Angeles. *International Sociology*, *28*(1), 66–83.

Ochiai, E. (2009) Care diamonds and welfare regimes in East and South-East Asian societies: Bridging family and welfare sociology. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, *18*(1), 60–78.

Odem, M. and Browne, I. (2011) Understanding the diversity of Atlanta's Latino population: Intersections of race, ethnicity, and class. *Norteamérica*, *6*(SPE), 71–89.

OECD (2008) *A Profile of Immigrant Populations in the 21st Century. Data from OECD Countries*. Paris: OECD

OECD (2011) *Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD (2012) *Youth Unemployment Rates in OECD Countries, December 2007 to March 2012*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available at: http://www.west-info.eu/ files/Youth-unemployment-rates-in-OECD-countries.pdf.

Ogaya, C. (2004) Social discourses on Filipino women migrants. *Feminist Review*, 77, 180–182.

Ogaya, C. (2005) Towards an analysis of social mobility of transnational migrant women: The case of Filipina domestic workers. In Agrawal, A. (ed.) *Migrant Women and Work*. New Delhi: Sage, 116–135.

Oikelome, F. and Healy, G. (2013) Gender, migration and place of qualification of doctors in the UK: Perceptions of inequality, morale and career aspiration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(4), 557–577.

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ong, A. (2006) *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (2009) *Guide to Gender Sensitive Labour Market Policies*. Vienna: OSCE.

Orlansky, D. and Dubrovsky, S. (1978) *Effects of Rural-Urban Migration on Women's Role and Status in Latin America*. Paris: UNESCO.

Orloff, A. (1993) Gender and social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states. *American Sociological Review*, *58*, 303–328.

Orozco, M. (2012) Remittances and social development: The Latin American experience. In Nilsson, M. and Gustafsson, J. (eds.) *Latin American Responses to Globalization in the 21st Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 58–75.

Orozco, M. (2013) *Migrant Remittances and Development in the Global Economy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Orozco, M., Lowell, L. and Schneider, J. (2006) *Gender-Specific Determinants of Remittances: Differences in Structure and Motivation.* Report to the World Bank Group. Available at: http://www.remesasydesarrollo.org/uploads/media/Gender-Specific_Determinants_of_Remittances.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2014].

Osezua, O. C. (2011) Cross-border sex trade, transnational remittances and changing family structures among Benin people of Southern Nigeria. *Gender and Behaviour*, *9*(2), 4276–4297.

Oso Casas, L. (2005) La réussite paradoxale des bonnes espagnoles de Paris. Stratégies de mobilité sociale et trajectoires biographiques. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, *21*(1), 107–129.

Oso, L. and Catarino, C. (2013) From sex to gender: The feminisation of migration and labour-market insertion in Spain and Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(4), 625–647.

Oso, L. and Ribas-Mateos, N. (eds.) (2013) *The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Palenga-Möllenbeck, E. (2013) Care chains in Eastern and Central Europe: Male and female domestic work at the intersections of gender, class, and ethnicity. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, *11*(4), 364–383.

Palriwala, R. and Neetha, N. (2011) Stratified familialism: The care regime in India through the lens of childcare. *Development and Change*, *42*(4), 1049–1078.

Palriwala, R. and Pillai, N. (2007) *Political and Social Economy of Care: Indian Proposal.* Geneva: UNRISD.

Palriwala, R. and Uberoi, P. (eds.) (2008) *Marriage, Migration and Gender*. London: Sage Publications.

Panopio, S. (2010) More than masculinity: Experiences of male migrant nurses in London. *LSE Gender Institute. New Working Paper Series*, Issue 26. Available at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/genderInstitute/research/workingPapers/workingpaper26.pdf [Accessed 12 July 2014].

Park, S. J. (2006) *The Retreat from Formal Schooling: 'Educational Manager Mothers' in the Private After-School Market of South Korea*. Unpublished dissertation. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois.

Parreñas, R. (ed.) (2001) *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R. (2005) Long distance intimacy: Class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), 317–336.

Parrenas, R. (2008) Transnational fathering: Gendered conflicts, distant disciplining and emotional gaps. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(7), 1057–1072.

Parreñas, R. (2010) Homeward bound: The circular migration of entertainers between Japan and the Philippines. *Global Networks*, *10*(3), 301–323.

Parreñas, R. (2011) *Illicit Flirtations: Labor, Migration, and Sex Trafficking in Tokyo*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pastore, F. (2010) Managing migration through the crisis. Evolving patterns in European labour policies on labour migration and mobility. *FIERI Working Papers*. Available at: http://www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/MIGRATION-IN-UNCERTAIN-TIMES-_Working-Paper-FIERI-Dec-2010_.pdf [Accessed 14 August 2014].

Pastore, F. and Salis, E. (2013) Managing labour migration in times of crisis. Recent trends and open issues in selected EU countries. Comparative overview. *Research Paper of the EU-ASIA Dialogue*. Brussels: European Policy Centre.

Paul, A. (2011) The 'other' looks back: Racial distancing and racial alignment in migrant domestic workers' stereotypes about white and Chinese employers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(6), 1068–1087.

Paul, R. (2013) Strategic contextualisation: Free movement, labour migration policies and the governance of foreign workers in Europe. *Policy Studies*, *34*(2), 122–141.

Pearson, R. (1997) Renegotiating the reproductive bargain: Gender analysis of economic transition in Cuba in the 1990s. *Development and Change*, *28*(4), 671–705.

Pearson, R., Anitha, S. and McDowell, L. (2010) Striking issues: From labour process to industrial dispute at Grunwick and Gate Gourmet. *Industrial Relations Journal*, *41*(5), 408–428.

Pearson, R. and Kusakabe, K. (2012) Who cares? Gender, reproduction, and care chains of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 149–175.

Peberdy, S. (2008) The invisible woman: Gender blindness and South African immigration policies and legislation. *Signs*, *33*(4), 800–807.

Peck, J. and Ward, K. (2005) Constructing markets for temporary labour: Employment liberalization and the internationalization of the staffing industry. *Global Networks*, *5*(1), 3–26.

Pécoud, A. and Guchteneire, P. (eds.) (2007) *Migration Without Borders: Essays on the Free Movement of People*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Pekin, H. (1981) Migrant women in host countries: The situation of migrant women workers. *International Migration*, *19*(1–2), 75–82.

Pellizzoni, L. (2003) Knowledge, uncertainty and the transformation of the public sphere. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *6*(3), 327–355.

Peng, I. (2011) Social investment policies in Canada, Australia, Japan, and South Korea. *International Journal of Child Care and Education Policy*, *5*(1), 41–53.

Pe-Pua, R. (1996) *Astronaut Families and Parachute Children: The Cycle of Migration between Hong Kong and Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government Publication Service.

Percot, M. (2005) Indian nurses in the Gulf: From job opportunity to life strategy. In Agrawal, A. (ed.) *Migrant Women and Work*. New Delhi: Sage, 155–176.

Percot, M. (2006) Indian nurses in the Gulf: Two generations of female migration. *South Asia Research*, *26*(1), 41–62.

Permits Foundation (2009) *International Survey of Expatriate Spouses and Partners Employment, Work Permits and International Mobility. Final Report*. Permits Foundation: The Hague.

Però, D. (2008) Political engagement of Latin Americans in the UK: Issues, strategies, and the public debate. *Focaal*, *2008*(51), 73–90.

Perrons, D., Plomien, A. and Kilkey, M. (2010) Migration and uneven development within an enlarged European Union: Fathering, gender divisions and male migrant domestic services. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *17*(2), 197–215.

Pessar, P. (2005) *Women, Gender, and International Migration Across and Beyond the Americas: Inequalities and Limited Empowerment.* Report for the Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean. Mexico City: UN Population Division.

Pessar, P. and Mahler, S. (2003) Transnational migration: Bringing gender in. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 812–846.

Peters, M. (2013) *Open Trade, Closed Borders: Immigration in the Era of Globalization*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Petrón, M. (2009) Transnational teachers of English in Mexico. *The High School Journal*, *92*(4), 115–128.

Pettman, J. J. (1996) *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London: Routledge.

Pfau-Effinger, B. and Geissler, B. (eds.) (2005) *Care and Social Integration in European Societies*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Phillips, N. (2009) Migration as development strategy? The new political economy of dispossession and inequality in the Americas. *Review of International Political Economy*, *16*(2), 231–259.

Phizacklea, A. (1983) *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*. London: Routledge.

Phizacklea, A. (2000) Ruptures. Migration and globalization: Looking back and looking forward. In Phizacklea, A. and Westwood, S. (2013) *Trans-Nationalism and the Politics of Belonging*. London/New York: Routledge, 101–119.

Phizacklea, A. (2003) Transnationalism, gender and global workers. In Müller, M., Erel, U. and Shinozaki, K. (eds.) *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries*, Vol I. Opladen, Germany: Leske and Budrich.

Pieke, F. N. (2012) Immigrant China. In Pieke, F. N. and Barabantseva, E. (eds.) Old and New Diversities in Contemporary China. *Modern China, Special Issue*, *38*(1), 40–77.

Piper, N. (1997) International marriage in Japan: 'Race' and 'gender' perspectives. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, *4*(3), 321–338.

Piper, N. (2004) Rights of foreign workers and the politics of migration in South-East and East Asia. *International Migration*, *42*(5), 71–97.

Piper, N. (2005) *Gender and migration.* Paper prepared for Policy Analysis and Research Programme. Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration. Available at: http://incedes.org.gt/Master/pipersesentacuatro.pdf [Accessed 19 February 2014].

Piper, N. (2008) Overview of gender and labour migration in Asia. In *Gender and Labour Migration in Asia*. Geneva: IOM.

Piper, N. and Roces, M. (eds.) (2003/2004) *Wife or Worker?: Asian Women and Migration*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Piper, N. and Yamanaka, K. (2008) Feminised migration in East and South-east Asia and the securing of livelihoods. In Piper, N. (ed.) *New Perspectives*

on Gender and Migration: Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements. Geneva: UNRISD, 159–188.

Piscitelli, A. (2008) Looking for new worlds: Brazilian women as international migrants. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *33*(4), 784–793.

Plantenga, J. and Remery, C. (2009) *The Provision of Childcare Services. A Comparative Review of 30 European Countries*. Brussels: European Commission DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities.

Polanyi, M. (1958) *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Polanyi, M. (1966) The logic of tacit inference. *Philosophy*, *41*(155), 1–18.

Politzer, M. (2008) *China and Africa: Stronger Economic Ties Mean More Migration.* Migration Policy Institute. Washington, DC: Migration Information Source Publication. Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/china-and-africa-stronger-economic-ties-mean-more-migration [Accessed 24 July 2014].

Ponniah, K. (2013) Maid in Singapore: Will Cambodian domestic workers be better protected? Cambodia's government says its workers will be shielded from abuse, but doubts linger over key welfare issues. *Guardian*, 11 November. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/nov/11/maid-singapore-cambodia-domestic-workers [Accessed July 2014].

Pratt, G. (1999) From registered nurse to registered nanny: Discursive geographies of Filipina domestic workers in Vancouver, BC. *Economic Geography*, *75*(3), 215–236.

Pratt, G. (2005) Abandoned women and spaces of the exception. *Antipode*, *37*(5), 1052–1078.

Pratt, G. (2012) *Families Apart: Migrant Mothers and the Conflicts of Labor and Love*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pratt, G. and Pendakur, R. (2008) *Deskilling Across the Generations: Reunification Among Transnational Filipino Families in Vancouver*. Working Paper 08–06. Metropolis British Columbia: Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity.

Pribilsky, J. (2012) Consumption dilemmas: Tracking masculinity, money and transnational fatherhood between the Ecuadorian Andes and New York City. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 323–343.

Prins, B. and Saharso, S. (2008) In the spotlight: A blessing and a curse for immigrant women in the Netherlands. *Ethnicities*, *8*(3), 365–384.

Purkayastha, B. (2005) Skilled migration and cumulative disadvantage: The case of highly qualified Asian Indian immigrant women in the US. *Geoforum*, *36*(2), 181–196.

Purkayastha, B. (2012) Intersectionality in a transnational world. *Gender and Society*, *26*(1), 55–66.

Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. London: Simon and Schuster.

Pyshchulina, O. (2008) *Human Trafficking as the Shadow of Globalization*. Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction.

Querton, C. (2012) Gender-related Asylum Claims in Europe. A comparative analysis of law, policy and practice in nine EU Member States. *Women's Asylum News, 110*, 1–4. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4fc5f8422.pdf [Accessed 29 July 2014].

Quirico, M. (2012) Labour migration governance in contemporary Europe – the case of Sweden. Country report for the LAB-MIG-GOV Project 'Which labour migration governance for a more dynamic and inclusive Europe?' *FIERI Working Paper*. Available at: http://www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/CASE-STUDY-SWEDEN-FINAL-REPORT1.pdf [Accessed 19 May 2014].

Radcliffe, S. A. (1990) Multiple identities and negotiation over gender: Female peasant union leaders in Peru. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *9*(2), 229–247.

Raghuram, P. (2001) Caste and gender in the organisation of paid domestic work in India. *Work, Employment and Society*, *15*(3), 607–617.

Raghuram, P. (2004a) The difference that skills make: Gender, family migration strategies and regulated labour markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(2), 303–321.

Raghuram, P. (2004b) Migration, gender, and the IT sector: Intersecting debates. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 163–176.

Raghuram, P. (2005) Global maid trade: Domestic workers in the global market. In Huang, S., Rahman, N. A. and Yeoh, B. S. A. (eds.) *Asian Women as Transnational Domestic Workers*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 146–174.

Raghuram, P. (2006) Asian women medical migrants in the UK. In Agrawal, A. (ed.) *Migrant Women and Work*. New Delhi: Sage, 73–94.

Raghuram, P. (2008) Migrant women in male-dominated sectors of the labour market: A research agenda. *Population, Space and Place*, *14*(1), 43–57.

Raghuram, P. (2009) Caring about 'brain drain' migration in a postcolonial world. *Geoforum*, *40*(1), 25–33.

Raghuram, P. (2012) Global care, local configurations – challenges to conceptualizations of care. *Global Networks*, *12*(2), 155–174.

Raghuram, P. (2014) Brain circulation or precarious labour? Conceptualising temporariness in the UK's National Health Service. In Latham, R., Preston, V. and Vosko, L. (eds.) *Liberating Temporariness?: Migration, Work and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 177–200.

Raghuram, P., Bornat, J. and Henry, L. (2011) The co-marking of aged bodies and migrant bodies: Migrant workers' contribution to geriatric medicine in the UK. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, *33*(2), 321–335.

Raghuram, P., Henry, L. and Bornat, J. (2010) Difference and distinction? Non-migrant and migrant networks. *Sociology*, *44*(4), 623–641.

Raghuram, P. and Kofman, E. (2002) The state, skilled labour markets, and immigration: The case of doctors in England. *Environment and Planning A*, *34*(11), 2071–2090.

Raghuram, P. and Kofman, E. (2004) Out of Asia: Skilling, re-skilling and deskilling. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 95–100.

Rai, S., Hoskyns, C. and Thomas, D. (2013/2014) Depletion: The cost of social reproduction. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *16*(1), 86–105.

Ramírez, C., Garcia Domínguez, M., Morais, J., Ramírez, M. and de Pou, J. A. (2005) *Crossing Borders: Remittances, Gender and Development*. Working Paper. INSTRAW.

Ramirez, H. (2011) Masculinity in the workplace: The case of Mexican immigrant gardeners. *Men and Masculinities*, *14*(1), 97–116.

Ramirez, H. and Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2009) Mexican immigrant gardeners: Entrepreneurs or exploited workers? *Social Problems*, *56*(1), 70–88.

Ratha, D. and Shaw, W. (2007) *South–South Migration and Remittances* (No. 102). Washington: World Bank Publications.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885) The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, *48*(2), 167–235.

Ray, M. (2013) The global circulation of skill and capital – pathways of return migration of Indian entrepreneurs from the United States to India. In Tan Tai Yong and Md Mizanur Rahman (eds.) *Diaspora Engagement and Development in South Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 75–102.

Razavi, S. (2007) The political and social economy of care in a development context: conceptual issues, research questions and policy options. *Gender and Development Paper* No. 3. Geneva: UNRISD.

Razavi, S., Arza, C., Braunstein, E., Cook, S. and Goulding, K. (2012) *Gendered Impacts of Globalization: Employment and Social Protection.* Available at: http://www.unrisd.org/publications/pp-razavi-et-al [Accessed 23 November 2013].

Razavi, S. and Staab, S. (2010) Underpaid and overworked: A cross-national perspective on care workers. *International Labour Review*, *149*(4), 407–422.

Reay, D. (2005) Doing the dirty work of social class? Mothers' work in support of their children's schooling. *The Sociological Review*, *53*(2), 104–116.

Rees, P. and Kupiszewski, M. (1999) *Internal Migration and Regional Population Dynamics in Europe: A Synthesis*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press.

Reher, D., Requena, M. and Sánchez-Domínguez, M. (2013) Divided families among Latin American immigrants in Spain: Just how level is the playing field? *The History of the Family*, *18*(1), 26–43.

Reid, C. and Collins, J. (2013) 'No-one ever asked me': The invisible experiences and contribution of Australian emigrant teachers. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *16*(2), 268–290.

Reitz, J. G. (2005) Tapping immigrants' skills: New directions for Canadian immigration policy in the knowledge economy. *Institute for Research on Public Policy, Choices*. Available at: https://migrationfiles.ucdavis.edu/uploads/rs/images/1._j_reitz_2_choices.pdf [Accessed 18 October 2013].

Reynolds, T. and Zontini, E. (2013) Care circulation in transnational families. In Baldassar, L. and Merla, L. (eds.) *Transnational Families, Migration, and Care Work: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. London: Routledge, 203–219.

Ringen, S., Kwon, H. J., Yi, I., Kim, T. and Lee, J. (2011) *The Korean State and Social Policy: How South Korea Lifted Itself from Poverty and Dictatorship to Affluence and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, A. (2012/2013) Financing social reproduction: The gendered relations of debt and mortgage finance in twenty-first-century America. *New Political Economy*, *18*(1), 21–42.

Rodriguez, R. M. (2008) The labor brokerage state and the globalization of Filipina care workers. *Signs*, *33*(4), 794–800.

Rojas Wiesner, M. L. and Cruz, H. A. (2008) Gendered migrations in the Americas: Mexico as country of origin, destination and transit. In Piper, N. (ed.) *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration. Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements*. New York and London: Routledge, 189–245.

Rose, H. (1983) Hand, brain, and heart: A feminist epistemology for the natural sciences. *Signs*, *9*(1), 73–90.

Rosewarne, S. (2000) Globalization, migration, and labour market formation – Labor's challenge? *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, *12*(3), 71–84.

Rosewarne, S. (2012) Temporary international labor migration and development in South and Southeast Asia. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 63–90.

Rostgaard, T., Chiatti, C. and Lamura, G. (2011) Care migration: The South–North divide of long-term care. In Pfau-Effinger, B. and Rostgaard, T. (eds.) *Care Between Work and Welfare in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 129–154.

Royal College of Nursing (2013) *Moving Care to the Community: An International Perspective*. RCN Policy and International Department. Policy briefing 12/13, May.

Ruckert, A. (2010) The forgotten dimension of social reproduction: The World Bank and the poverty reduction strategy paradigm. *Review of International Political Economy*, *17*(5), 816–839.

Ruhs, M. (2006) The potential of temporary migration programmes in future international migration policy. *International Labour Review*, *145*(1–2), 7–36.

Rummery, K. (2009) A comparative discussion of the gendered implications of cash-for-care schemes: Markets, independence and social citizenship in crisis? *Social Policy and Administration*, *43*(6), 634–648.

Runyan, A., Lind, A., McDermott, P. and Marchand, M. (eds.) (2013) *Feminist (Im)Mobilities in Fortress(ing) North America. Rights, Citizenships, and Identities in Transnational Perspective*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Ryan, J. (2002) Chinese women as transnational migrants: Gender and class in global migration narratives. *International Migration*, *40*(2), 93–116.

Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Feldman, R. (2011) *Migration and Social Protection: Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Safri, M. and Graham, J. (2010) The global household: Toward a feminist post-capitalist international political economy. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *36*(1), 99–125.

Sainsbury, D. (2012) *Welfare States and Immigrant Rights. The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salis, E. (2013) *The Internationalization of European Care Regimes*. A concept paper. Available at: http://www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/The-internationalization-of-European-care-regime_4-10-2013.pdf.

Sander-Staudt, M. (2006) The unhappy marriage of care ethics and virtue ethics. *Hypatia*, *21*(4), 21–39.

Sarti, R. (2008) The globalisation of domestic service – An historical perspective. In Lutz, H. (ed.) *Migration and Domestic Work. A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 77–97.

Sarti, R. (2010) Fighting for masculinity: Male domestic workers, gender, and migration in Italy from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 16–43.

Sarti, R. and Scrinzi, F. (2010) Introduction to the special issue: Men in a woman's job, male domestic workers, international migration and the globalization of care. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 4–15.

Sassen-Koob, S. (1984) Notes on the incorporation of Third World women into wage-labor through immigration and off-shore production. *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 1144–1167.

Sassen, S. (1990) *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sassen, S. (1996) *Losing Control?: Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sassen, S. (2000) The global city: Strategic site/new frontier. *American Studies*, *41*(2–3), 79–95.

Sassen, S. (2002) Women's burden: Counter-geographies of globalization and the feminization of survival. *Nordic Journal of International Law*, *71*(2), 255–274.

Sassen, S. (2010) Strategic gendering: One factor in the constituting of novel political economies. In Chant, S. H. (ed.) *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Satija, D. and Mukherjee, A. (2013) *Movement of IT Professionals Between India and the EU: Issues and the Way Forward*. CARIM-India Research Report 2013/04.

Sayer, A. (2005) *The Moral Significance of Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheibelhofer, P. (2012) From health check to Muslim test: The shifting politics of governing migrant masculinity. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *33*(3), 319–332.

Schenk-Sandbergen, L. (ed.) (1995) *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*. New Delhi: Sage.

Schepers, E. (2010) Undocumented immigration: Paying the price of NAFTA. Available at: http://www.peoplesworld.org/undocumented-immigration-paying-the-price-of-nafta/ [Accessed 23 September 2013].

Schierup, C. U., Hansen, P. and Castles, S. (2006) *Migration, Citizenship and the European Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schrover, M. and Moloney, D. (2013) *Gender, Migration and Categorisation. Making Distinctions Between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.

Schrover, M. and Yeo, E. (eds.) (2010) *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere 1850–2005*. New York: Routledge.

Schultz, C. and Rijks, B. (2014) Mobility of health professionals to, from and within the European Union. *IOM Migration Research Series, No. 48.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Schwenken, H. (2008) Beautiful victims and sacrificing heroines: Exploring the role of gender knowledge in migration policies. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *33*(4), 770–776.

Schwenken, H. and Eberhardt, P. (2008) *Gender Knowledge in Economic Migration Theories and in Migration Practices*. Warwick: University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation.

Scott, J. (2002) Social class and stratification in late modernity. *Acta Sociologica*, *45*(1), 23–35.

Scrinzi, F. (2005) Les hommes de ménage ou comment aborder la féminisation des migrations en interviewant des hommes. *Migrations Société*, *17*(99–100), 229–240.

Scrinzi, F. (2009) Cleaning and ironing with a smile. Migrant workers in the care industry in France. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, *14*(3), 271–292.

Scrinzi, F. (2010) Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 44–64.

Sevenhuijsen, S. (1998) *Citizenship and the Ethics of Care: Feminist Considerations on Justice, Morality, and Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sevenhuijsen, S. (2003) The place of care: The relevance of the feminist ethics of care for social policy. *Feminist Theory*, *4*, 179–197.

Shachar, A. (2006) *The Race for Talent: Highly Skilled Migrants and Competitive Migration Regimes*. University of Toronto Legal Studies series 883739.

Shakespeare, T. (2002) The social model of disability: an outdated ideology? *Research in Social Science and Disability*, *2*, 9–28.

Shanthi, R. (2006) Female labour migration in India: Insights from NSSO data. *Working Paper 4/2006*. Chennai: Madras School of Economics.

Sharkh, M. A. and Gough, I. (2010) Global welfare regimes a cluster analysis. *Global Social Policy*, *10*(1), 27–58.

Sharma, R. (2013) Teachers on the Move: International Migration of School Teachers From India. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *17*(3), 262–283.

Sharpe, P. (ed.) (2001) *Women, Gender, and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Shutes, I. and Chiatti, C. (2012) Migrant labour and the marketisation of care for older people: The employment of migrant care workers by families and service providers. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(4), 392–405.

Siar, S. V. (2013) From highly skilled to low skilled: Revisiting the deskilling of migrant labor. *Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Discussion Paper Studies*, No. 2013–2030.

Silverstein, P. A. (2005) Immigrant racialization and the new savage slot: Race, migration, and immigration in the new Europe. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *34*, 363–384.

Silvey, R. (2008) Development and geography: Anxious times, anaemic geographies, and migration. *Progress in Human Geography*, *33*(4), 507–515.

Simonazzi, A. (2009) Care regimes and national employment models. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, *33*, 211–32.

Sinatti, G. (2014) Masculinities and intersectionality in migration: Transnational Wolof migrants negotiating manhood and gendered family roles. In Truong, T. D., Gaspar, D. and Handmaker, J. (eds.) *Migration, Gender and Social Justice*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 215–226.

Singh, A. M. (1978) Rural urban migration of women among the urban poor in India: Causes and consequences. *Social Action*, *24*(3).

Sirkeci, I., Cohen, J. H. and Ratha, D. (eds.) (2012) *Migration and Remittances During the Global Financial Crisis and Beyond*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Sisson Runyan, A. and Spike Peterson, V. (2013) *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Skeggs, B. (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*. London: Sage.

Skeggs, B. (2004) Context and background: Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of class, gender and sexuality. In Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu*. Blackwell: Oxford, 19–34.

Skeggs, B. (2013) *Class, Self and Culture*. London: Routledge.

Skeldon, R. (ed.) (1994) *Reluctant Exiles?: Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Skeldon, R. (2006) Interlinkages between internal and international migration and development in the Asian region. *Population, Space and Place*, *12*(1), 15–30.

Sklair, L. (2001) *Transnational Capitalist Class*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, D., Kovac, E. and Watson, M. (2012) *The Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants. Cohorts 1 to 5 Report 2009–11*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Government of Australia.

Smith, P. (1979) Domestic labour and Marx's theory of value. In Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A. (eds.) *Feminism and Materialism*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smith, P. A., Allan, H., Henry, L. W., Larsen, J. A. and Mackintosh, M. M. (2007) *Valuing and Recognising the Talents of a Diverse Healthcare Workforce*. Report on researching equal opportunities for overseas-trained nurses and other healthcare professionals (REOH). Available at: http://www.rcn.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/78713/003078.pdf [Accessed December 2013].

Smith, P. and Mackintosh, M. (2007) Profession, market and class: Nurse migration and the remaking of division and disadvantage. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *16*(12), 2213–2220.

Sorensen, N. (2005) *The Development Dimension of Migrant Remittances: Towards a Gendered Typology*. Paper prepared for Gender and Remittance Flows Session of the International Forum on Remittances, International Development Bank, 28–30 June, Washington, DC.

Soysal, Y. N. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spencer, S., Martin, S., Bourgeault, I. and O'Shea, B. (2010) *The Role of Migrant Care Workers in Ageing Societies. Report on Research Findings in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada and the United States*. Geneva: IOM.

Spike Peterson, V. (2003) *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive and Virtual Economies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Spike Peterson, V. (2010) Global householding amid global crises. *Politics and Gender*, *6*(2), 271–281.

Squires, A. and Beltrán-Sánchez, H. (2013) *Strengthening Health Systems in North and Central America: What Role for Migration?* Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute and Wilson Centre. Available at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/strengthening_health_systems.pdf [Accessed 10 July 2014].

Staab, S. (2004) *In Search of Work. International Migration of Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Santiago de Chile: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Standing, G. (2001) Care work: Overcoming insecurity and neglect. In Daly, M. (ed.) *Care Work: The Quest for Security*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 15–32.

Standing, G. (2011) *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Star (The) (2014) New Rules for Federal Live-In-Caregiver Program. 29 November http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2014/11/28/new_rules_for_federal_livein_caregivers_program.html

Stasiulis, D. and Bakan, A. (2003/2005) *Negotiating Citizenship: Migrant Women in Canada and the Global System*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Stasiulis, D. and Yuval-Davis, N. (eds.) (1995) *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*. London: Sage.

Steans, J. and Tepe, D. (2010) Introduction – Social reproduction in international political economy: Theoretical insights and international, transnational and local sitings. *Review of International Political Economy*, *17*(5), 807–815.

Stenum, H. (2010) Au-pair migration and new inequalities. The transnational production of corruption. In Widding Isaksen, L. (ed.) *Global Care Work, Gender and Migration in Nordic Societies*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 23–48.

Stenum, H. (2011) *Abused Domestic Workers in Europe: The Case of Au Pairs*. Brussels: European Parliament.

Stock, I. (2012) Gender and the dynamics of mobility: Reflections on African migrant mothers and 'transit migration' in Morocco. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(9), 1577–1595.

Strauss, K. (2012) Coerced, forced and unfree labour: Geographies of exploitation in contemporary labour markets. *Geography Compass*, *6*(3), 137–148.

Strik, T., de Hart, B. and Nissen, E. (2013) *Family Reunification: A Barrier or Facilitator of Integration? A Comparative Study*. Brussels: European Commission.

Surak, K. (2013) Guestworker regimes: A taxonomy. *The New Left Review*, *84*, 84–102.

Suzuki, N. (2007) Marrying a Marilyn of the tropics: Manhood and nationhood in Filipina-Japanese marriages. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *80*(2), 427–454.

Suzuki, N. (2008) Between two shores: Transnational projects and Filipina wives in/from Japan. In Willis, D. and Murphy-Shigematsu, S. (eds.) *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender and Identity*. London: Routledge, 65–87.

Szebehely, M. and Trydegård, G. B. (2012) Home care for older people in Sweden: A universal model in transition. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, *20*(3), 300–309.

Taboada-Leonetti, I. and Levi, F. (1979) *Femmes et Immigrées: L'insertion des Femmes Immigrées en France*. Paris: Documentation Française.

Taha, N., Messkoub, M. and Siegmann, K. A. (2013) How portable is social security for migrant workers? *ISS Working Paper Series/General Series*, *573*, 1–37.

Tan, J. (2012) Missing mother: Migrant mothers, maternal surrogates, and the global economy of care. *Thesis Eleven*, *112*(1), 113–132.

Tan, L. (2013) Money, not traffickers, lures migrant sex staff. *New Zealand Herald*, 12 April. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10876977 [Accessed September 2014].

Taravella, L. (1984) *Les Femmes Migrantes: Bibliographie Analytique Internationale, 1965–1983*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Taylor, B. A and Behnke, A. (2005) Fathering across the border: Latino fathers in Mexico and the US. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice About Men as Fathers*, *3*(2), 99–120.

Teo, Y. and Piper, N. (2009) Foreigners in our homes: Linking migration and family policies in Singapore. *Population, Space and Place*, *15*(2), 147–159.

Terry, W. (2014) The perfect worker: Discursive makings of Filipinos in the workplace hierarchy of the globalized cruise industry. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *15*(1), 73–93.

Theobald, H. (2011) Migrant carers in elder care provision: Interaction of policy fields. In Pfau-Effinger, B. and Rostgaard, T. (eds.) *Care between Work and Welfare in European Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 155–176.

Thimothy, R. and Sasikumar, S. K. (2012) *Migration of Women Workers from South Asia to the Gulf*. Delhi: UN Women and V.V. Giri National Labour Institute.

Toyota, M. (2006) Ageing and transnational householding: Japanese retirees in Southeast Asia. *International Development Planning Review*, *28*(4), 515–531.

Toyota, M. (2007) Bringing the 'left-behind' back into view in Asia: A framework for understanding the left behind nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, *13*(3), 157–161.

Toyota, M. (2008) Editorial introduction; International marriage, rights and the state in East and Southeast Asia. *Citizenship Studies*, *12*(1), 1–7.

Traikovski, L. (2003) The housewives' wages debate in the 1920s Australian press. *Journal of Australian Studies*, *27*(78), 9–13.

Tranberg Hansen, K. (1989) *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900–1985*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Treas, J. (2008) Four myths about older adults in America's immigrant families. *Generations*, *32*(4), 40–45.

Treas, J. and Mazumdar, S. (2004) Kinkeeping and caregiving: Contributions of older people in immigrant families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *35*(1), 105–122.

Triadafilopoulos, T. (2011) Illiberal means to liberal ends? Understanding recent immigrant integration policies in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(6), 861–880.

Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) (2013) *Irregular Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe: Who Cares?* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Tronto, J. (2005) Care as the work of citizens: A modest proposal. In Friedman, M. (ed.) *Women and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 130–145.

Truong, T. D. (1996) Gender, international migration and social reproduction: Implications for theory, policy, research and networking. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *5*(1), 27–52.

Truong, T. D. (2008) Trans-local livelihoods and connections-Embedding a gender perspective into migration studies. *Gender, Technology and Development*, *12*(3), 285–302.

Truong, T. D., Gasper, D. and Handmaker, J. (2014) *Migration, Gender, Social Justice, and Human Insecurity*. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

Tseng, Y. F. and Wang, H. Z. (2013) Governing migrant workers at a distance: Managing the temporary status of guestworkers in Taiwan. *International Migration*, *51*(4), 1–19.

Twigg, J. (2000) Carework as a form of bodywork. *Ageing and Society*, *20*(4), 389–411.

Twigg, J. (2006) *The Body in Health and Social Care*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

UNDESA (2013) UNDESA *Population Division, Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision. UN Database*. http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=1 and http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/WallChart2013.pdf [Accessed July 2014].

Ungerson, C. (1990) *Gender and Caring: Work and Welfare in Britain and Scandinavia*. Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Ungerson, C. (2005) Care, work and feeling. *The Sociological Review*, *53*(2), 188–203.

Ungerson, C. (ed.) (2007) *Cash for Care in Developed Welfare States*. London: Palgrave.

UN-INSTRAW and UNDP (2010) *Migration, Remittances and Gender-Responsive Local Development*. Dominican Republic and New York: UN-INSTRAW and UNDP.

United Kingdom Network of Sex Work Projects (2008) Available at: http://www. uknswp.org/wp-content/uploads/GPG2.pdf [Accessed 8 September 2014].

United Nations (2009) *International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision*. Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN. Available at: http:// esa.un.org/migration/ [Accessed December 2013].

United Nations Population Fund (2006) *State of World Population 2006 a Passage to Hope. Women and International Migration.*

USCIS (2013) *Characteristics of H1B Specialty Occupation Workers Fiscal Year 2012 Annual Report to Congress. October 1, 2011 – September 30, 2012*. Available here: http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Resources/Reports%20and%20 Studies/H-1B/h1b-fy-12-characteristics.pdf [Accessed March 3, 2014].

US Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013) *Unpaid Eldercare in the United States–2011–2012*. Data from the American Time Use Survey. Newsletter.

Van Hooren, F. (2010) When families need immigrants: The exceptional position of migrant domestic workers and care assistants in Italian immigration policy. *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, *2*(2), 21–38.

Van Hooren, F. (2012) Varieties of migrant care work: Comparing patterns of migrant labour in social care. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(2), 133–147.

Van Kerckem, K., Van der Bracht, K., Stevens, P. A. and Van de Putte, B. (2013) Transnational marriages on the decline: Explaining changing trends in partner choice among Turkish Belgians. *International Migration Review*, *47*(4), 1006–1038.

Van Kersbergen, K. and Hemerijck, A. (2012) Two decades of change in Europe: The emergence of the social investment state. *Journal of Social Policy*, *41*(3), 475–492.

van Riemsdijk, M. (2013) Everyday geopolitics, the valuation of labour and the socio-political hierarchies of skill: Polish nurses in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(3), 373–390.

Van Walsum, S. (2008) *The Family and the Nation: Dutch Family Migration Policies in the Context of Changing Family Norms*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Van Walsum, S. (2011) Regulating migrant domestic work in the Netherlands: Opportunities and pitfalls. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *23*(1), 141–165.

Verwiebe, R., Wiesbock, L. and Teitzer, R. (2014) New forms of intra-European migration, labour market dynamics and social inequality in Europe. *Migration Letters*, *11*(2), 125–136.

Vogel, L. (1973) The Earthly Family. *Radical America*, *7*(4–5), 9–44.

Voigt-Graf, C. (2003) Fijian teachers on the move: Causes, implications and policies. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *44*(2), 163–175.

Vullnetari, J. (2012) Women and migration in Albania: A view from the village. *International Migration*, *50*(5), 169–188.

Waerness, K. (1984) Caring as women's work in the welfare state. In Holter, H. (ed.) *Patriarchy in a Welfare Society*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Walter, B. (2000) *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness, Place and Irish Women.* London: Routledge.

Walton-Roberts, M. (2012) Contextualizing the global nursing care chain: International migration and the status of nursing in Kerala, India. *Global Networks*, *12*(2), 175–194.

Wang, H. Z. (2007) Hidden spaces of resistance of the subordinated: Case studies from Vietnamese female migrant partners in Taiwan. *International Migration Review*, *41*(3), 706–727.

Webb, S., Beale, D. and Faine, M. (2013) *Skilled Migrant Women in Regional Australia: Promoting Social Inclusion Through Vocational Education and Training*. Canberra: Australian Government, Dept. of Industry.

Weeden, K. A. (2002) Why do some occupations pay more than others? Social closure and earnings inequality in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, *108*(1), 55–101.

West, J. (2014) *Marriage migration in East Asia*. Asian Century Institute, 26 March http://asiancenturyinstitute.com/migration/178-marriage-migration-in-east-asia [Accessed 28 November 2014].

Weiss, A. (2005) The transnationalization of social inequality: Conceptualizing social positions on a world scale. *Current Sociology*, *53*(4), 707–728.

Weiss, A. (2006) Comparative research on highly skilled migrants. Can qualitative interviews be used in order to reconstruct a class position? *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(3). Available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-06/06-3-2-e.htm [Accessed 23 July 2013].

Werkele, G. (1984) A woman's place is in the city. *Antipode*, *6*(3), 11–20.

WHO (2011) *Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel*. Geneva: WHO.

Wiesbrock, A. and Herzog, M. (2010) *The Legal Framework for Highly-Skilled Migration to the EU: EU and US Labour Migration Policies Compared*. Maastricht Graduate School of Governance Working Paper MGSoG/2010/001. Maastricht: Maastricht University.

Wight, V. R., Bianchi, S. M. and Hunt, B. R. (2013) Explaining racial/ethnic variation in partnered women's and men's housework. Does one size fit all? *Journal of Family Issues*, *34*(3), 394–427.

Williams, A. (2005) *International Migration and Knowledge*. COMPAS Working Paper No. 17. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Williams, A. M. (2006) Lost in translation? International migration, learning and knowledge. *Progress in Human Geography*, *30*(5), 588–607.

Williams, A. M. and Baláž, V. (2005) What human capital, which migrants? Returned skilled migration to Slovakia from the UK. *International Migration Review*, *39*(2), 439–468.

Williams, F. (2001) In and beyond New Labour: Towards a new political ethics of care. *Critical Social Policy*, *21*(4), 467–493.

Williams, F. (2011) Care, migration and citizenship: Migration and home-based care in Europe. In Dahl, H. M., Kovalainen, A. and Keränen, M. (eds.) *Europeanization, Care and Gender*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 41–58.

Williams, F. and Brennan, D. (2012) Care, markets and migration in a globalising world: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(4), 355–362.

Williams, L. (2010) *Global Marriage*. *Cross-Border Marriage Migration in Global Context*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Willis, K. and Yeoh, B. (eds.) (2000) *Gender and Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Willis, P. (1981) Cultural production is different from cultural reproduction is different from social reproduction is different from reproduction. *Interchange*, *12*(2–3), 48–67.

Willis, P. (1983) Cultural production and theories of reproduction. In Jenks, C. (ed.) *Culture: Critical Concepts of Sociology.* London: Routledge, 178–202.

Windebank, J. (2011) Responses of French family and employment policy to the unemployment crises: Impacts on the gendering of paid and unpaid work. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, *19*(3), 393–407.

Winkelmann-Gleed, A. and Seeley, J. (2005) Strangers in a British world? Integration of international nurses. *British Journal of Nursing*, *14*(18), 954–961.

Wolkowitz, C. (2002) The social relations of body work. *Work, Employment and Society*, *16*(3), 497–510.

Wolkowitz, C. (2006) *Bodies at Work*. London: Sage.

Women, Geography Study Group of the IBG and Explorations in Feminism Collective (Great Britain) (1984) *Geography and Gender: An Introduction to Feminist Geography*. London: Hutchinson Publishers.

Wong, M. (2006) The gendered politics of remittances in Ghanaian transnational families. *Economic Geography*, *82*, 355–381.

Wong, M. (2014a) Geographies and strategies of caregiving among skilled Ghanaian women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *42*(1), 28–43.

Wong, M. (2014b) Navigating return: The gendered geographies of skilled return migration to Ghana. *Global Networks*, *14*(4), 438–457.

Wood, G. and Gough, I. (2006) A comparative welfare regime approach to global social policy. *World Development*, *34*(10), 1696–1712.

World Bank (2009) *The Nurse Labor and Education Markets in the English-Speaking CARICOM: Issues and Options for Reform.* Report No. 48988-LAC. Human Development Department, Caribbean Country Management Unit Latin America and the Caribbean Region.

World Bank (2013) *Migration and Development Brief 20*, Migration and Remittances Unit, Development Prospects Group.

Yagi, N., Mackey, T. K., Liang B. A. and Gerlt, L. (2014) Policy review: Japan–Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA) – Analysis of a failed nurse migration policy. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, *51*(2), 243–250.

Yamanaka, K. and Piper, N. (2003) An introductory overview. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *12*(2), 1–19.

Yeates, N. (2004) Global care chains. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *6*(3), 369–391.

Yeates, N. (2008) *Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yeates, N. (2009) Production for export: The role of the state in the development and operation of global care chains. *Population, Space and Place*, *15*(2), 175–187.

Yeoh, B. S. (2006) Bifurcated labour: The unequal incorporation of transmigrants in Singapore. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, *97*(1), 26–37.

Yeoh, B. S., Chee, H. L. and Baey, G. H. (2013) The place of Vietnamese marriage migrants in Singapore: Social reproduction, social 'problems' and social protection. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(10), 1927–1941.

Yeoh, B. S., Huang, S. and Lam, T. (2005) Transnationalizing the 'Asian' family: Imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), 307–315.

Yeoh, B. S., Leng, C. H. and Dung, V. T. K. (2013) Commercially arranged marriage and the negotiation of citizenship rights among Vietnamese marriage migrants in multiracial Singapore. *Asian Ethnicity*, *14*(2), 139–156.

Yeoh, B. S. and Lin, W. (2012) Rapid growth in Singapore's immigrant population brings policy challenges. *Migration Information Source*, April. Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/rapid-growth-singapores-immigrant-population-brings-policy-challenges [Accessed 2 July 2014].

Yeoh, B. and Soco, A. (2014) The cosmopolis and the migrant domestic worker. *Cultural Geographies*, *21*(2), 171–187.

Yoon, I-J. and Woo, H. (2007) International family migration and labour market outcomes of immigrant couples: Do types of migration matter? *Development and Society*, *36*(2), 201–227.

Young, K, Wokowitz, C. and McCullagh, R. (eds.) (1981) *Of Marriage and the Market.* London: CSE Books.

Zachariah, K. C. and Rajan, S. (2011) *From Kerala to Kerala via the Gulf: Emigration Experiences of Return Emigrants*. Working Paper 443, CDS, Thiruvananthapuram.

Zaiceva, A. and Zimmermann, K. F. (2014) Children, kitchen, church: Does ethnicity matter? *Review of Economics of the Household*, *12*(1), 83–103.

Zentgraf, K. M. and Chinchilla, N. S. (2012) Transnational family separation: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 345–366.

Zhou, Y. R. (2012) Space, time, and self: Rethinking aging in the contexts of immigration and transnationalism. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *26*(3), 232–242.

Zhou, Y. R. (2013) Toward transnational care interdependence: Rethinking the relationships between care, immigration and social policy. *Global Social Policy*, *13*(3), 280–298.

Zhu, Y. and Lin, L. (2013) From 'integration into cities' to 'an integrated society': Women migrants' needs and rights in Fujian Province, China. In Truong, T. D., Gasper, D. and Handmaker, J. (eds.) *Migration, Gender, Social Justice, and Human Insecurity*. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 153–172.

Zlotnik, H. (2003) The global dimensions of female migration. *Migration Information Source*, March. Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/global-dimensions-female-migration. Accessed 2 October 2013.

Zontini, E. (2008) Resisting Fortress Europe: The everyday politics of female transnational migrants. *Focaal*, *51*(1), 13–27.

Index