

# *Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies*

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Ethnographers from anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines have been at the forefront of efforts to bring gender into scholarship on international and transnational migration. This article traces the long and often arduous history of these scholars' efforts, arguing that though gender is now less rarely treated merely as a variable in social science writing on migration, it is still not viewed by most researchers in the field as a key constitutive element of migrations. The article highlights critical advances in the labor to engender migration studies, identifies under-researched topics, and argues that there have been opportunities when, had gender been construed as a critical force shaping migrations, the course of research likely would have shifted. The main example developed is the inattention paid to how gendered recruitment practices structure migrations – the fact that gender sways recruiters' conceptions of appropriate employment niches for men versus women.

## *GENDER MATTERS*

In the last several decades, ethnographers from different disciplines have employed a variety of qualitative methods to identify, explore, and explain how gender shapes human life in all its phases. Bringing gender into migration studies is one of our objectives, attempting to remedy many decades during which migration scholarship paid little attention to gender. The field had eschewed female migrants<sup>1</sup> owing to the widely shared assumption that women (and children) migrate to accompany or to reunite with their breadwinner

<sup>1</sup>As always, terminology is not value-neutral. In this article we interchange “migrant” and “immigrant” frequently, unlike in previous publications on transnational migration wherein we are extremely attentive to “immigrant” given its association with unidirectional migration paradigms. Since we refer to many scholars' work that typically employs “immigrant” without regard to those issues, we do not want to impose this critique on their work.

migrant husbands. Beginning in the 1970s, the dearth of research on women was replaced by a flurry of historical and contemporary studies that took women migrants as the primary subject of inquiry; many other studies incorporated “gender” by inserting the variable of sex into their quantitative data collection. More recently, poststructuralist scholars have argued against comparing males versus females and their corresponding gender “roles” for a more dynamic and fluid conceptualization of gender as relational and situational. This perspective is reflected in an abundance of new publications on migration.

Yet despite these efforts, “the vast majority of immigration studies are still conducted as though gender relations are largely irrelevant to the way the world is organized” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999a:566), and gender “has encountered resistance and indifference in immigration scholarship” (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 1999:106). Indeed, in our own experiences as female scholars of migration promoting the importance of gender we have personally experienced its marginalization. It occurs in a variety of ways such as the delegation of gender issues to a single panel at a conference (usually on the last day), the paucity of male attendees at these panels, the practice of researching and writing only about women migrants while characterizing such work as “gender,” and the undervaluation of the qualitative data that largely inform gender analyses.

This article highlights contributions that ethnographic scholarship<sup>2</sup> has made toward bringing gender centrally into the field of migration studies, and it identifies promising directions that can be pursued to continue this process. The literature generated in recent decades is so vast that we cannot discuss it all with any depth, and certain meritorious and emerging subfields such as the study of gender and migration from medical, religious, and entrepreneurial perspectives will regrettably be omitted. Fortunately, numerous reviews of the

<sup>2</sup>We intentionally cite ethnographers, regardless of disciplinary background, more often than other scholars as our task is to highlight their contributions. We have tried to provide examples of where gender contributes to understanding experiences and issues. We refer to both those which commonly occur across migrant groups and those shaped by historically particular forces as well. We apologize in advance for excluding many scholars’ work that has contributed to bringing gender into migration studies given our task to feature ethnographic accounts and our page limits. However, we know that we are far from alone in this project and are grateful for the company. We would like to thank those many scholars, too numerous to name individually, whom we contacted prior to writing this article who offered their ideas about ways we can enhance and expand gender work in migration studies. This article has also benefited enormously from the reviews of four anonymous readers who gave us detailed feedback and suggestions.

literature on gender and migration have already been published. Particularly for those readers unfamiliar with this terrain, we highly recommend reading these important reviews as companion pieces to this article (*e.g.*, Brettell and deBerjeois, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999a; Pessar, 2003). The existing reviews make our task simpler, for they enable us to avoid summarizing all the preceding work and instead to focus on how ethnographic research that brings gender into discussions of various aspects of the migration experience enriches the analysis immeasurably. In some cases the contributions have been identified beforehand yet merit repeating particularly with an eye toward future research; in other cases we expect to uncover new contributions or view them from a different perspective. For example, though not frequently credited with making contributions to theory building, analyses using gender have and can make a difference to understanding how people decide to migrate, why they migrate at all, and why they occupy varying occupational niches.

Why privilege gender? We have been asked this piercing question before, so we pose it at the outset. The answer is simple and complex. First of all, the term “privilege” implies attention above that deserved. We feel adamantly that gender is still undervalued, and our efforts are oriented toward rectifying that assessment. Gender is the meaning people give to the biological reality that there are two sexes. It is a human invention that organizes our behavior and thought, not as a set of static structures or roles but as an ongoing process (*e.g.*, Lorber, 1994; Ortner, 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999b). People do “gender work”; through practices and discourses they negotiate relationships and conflicting interests. Conceptualizing gender as a process yields a more praxis-oriented perspective wherein gender identities, relations, and ideologies are fluid, not fixed.

Gender, thus, should not be equated with the dichotomous variable sex, though this is a common practice. Gender is a principal factor that organizes social life, and it has been operative since the dawn of human existence: a fact that cannot be stated for most other socially stratifying forces such as social class and race. Yet gender cannot be viewed and analyzed in isolation. Rather, gender is dynamic and it articulates with other axes of differentiation in complex ways that many scholars have been exploring. Their work has gone far in arguing that these forces are social constructions and therefore are not natural, innate categories or characteristics. Yet in everyday discourse and even in many scholarly circles gender operates so “naturally” that it may easily escape our awareness. To measure its effects we must first see gender operating. Thus, in the sections that follow we will practice a formula of first marking how ethnographic scholarship has revealed gender operating in different aspects of migration and then suggest ways to enhance and/or expand this analysis. Finally, we make a

concerted attempt to include insights gleaned from studies conducted around the globe. We recognize that researchers do not enjoy equal access to the literature, particularly that published beyond our normal academic circles, and that reading across the continents takes more effort, but we feel it is well worth the investment.

### *BRINGING GENDER IN: CONTRIBUTIONS BY ETHNOGRAPHERS*

#### *Valuing Qualitative, as Well as Quantitative, Methods*

As employed and exemplified by the Chicago School, the program first to study migration systematically, ethnographic research has enjoyed a long and valued place within immigration studies (Wirth, 1956; Nelli, 1970; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1984), and a wide range of social scientists around the world have fruitfully adopted it. In the hands of most anthropologists and those who consider themselves to be ethnographers in other disciplines such as sociology and geography, ethnography primarily involves participant observation and in-depth interviewing over the course of many months or years, solely or principally by an individual ethnographer. Although this intensive approach places constraints on the numbers of people any given ethnographer can effectively investigate, it has the virtue of capturing, in some depth, the lived experiences, beliefs, and identities of those studied (Foner, 2003). Ethnography thus stresses a holistic and contextual approach that is particularly useful for examining complex concepts and practices such as the relations between males and females.

In this paper we often use the term “feminist ethnographers,” instead of the more generic term “anthropologists,” to refer to that group of scholars who, irrespective of discipline, share certain epistemological assumptions and research strategies associated with the traditions of feminist scholarship and anthropological fieldwork. These include the conviction that quantitative, positivist approaches to social science research often fail to contextualize the data collected or redress gender-linked biases in research design. Feminist ethnographic enquiry tends to focus not only on trained researchers’ observations but also on the perspectives and understandings of subjects’ actions and beliefs, thus facilitating the definition of potential interventions that reflect and respect local knowledge (Benmayor, Torruellas, and Juarbe, 1997).

Despite the long contribution of ethnography to migration studies, theory building has often been attributed, obviously or subtly, to quantitative researchers who make claims deemed valid for large populations. Yet, as Nina

Glick Schiller (2003) notes, the strength of ethnographic methods is their ability to not only build upon previous observations and generate hypotheses from them, but also to produce new research materials, questions, and hypotheses from within ongoing observations. Ethnography is thus especially useful for exploratory research – the kind that generates questions which later can be examined systematically – and in this way promotes new theorization. A case in point is gendered motivations for emigration such as fleeing a husband's abuse (Hart, 1984; Gamburd, 2000; Phizacklea, 2002) or community gossip that disproportionately circumscribes women's lives over men's (Brettell, 1995; Mills, 1999). Ethnography is also reflexive and flexible, adaptable to changing research conditions and to evolving research questions. Its empirical orientation encourages incorporation of newly discovered relevant variables, a suppleness much more difficult to accomplish in quantitative data collection.

Arguably, the adoption of qualitative research methods by migration scholars focusing on gender – though appropriate to the nature of this multifarious concept – contributes to gender's marginalization in the field. Put bluntly, to some scholars "soft" methods yield "soft" data that are incompatible with theory building. Additionally, ethnographic research is often challenged by scholars who employ more quantitatively oriented methods on the grounds of their data's greater generalizability and reliability. In contrast, ethnographers tend to eschew grand narratives, seeking instead more local, small-scale or mid-range theories or analytical frameworks suited to specific problems and particular locales (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The hierarchy of methods yields differentially valued research results. Yet we reiterate that gender is not the dichotomous variable sex – the most frequent measure of gender in quantitative studies; it is saturated with meanings and evident in relations that are not static nor by any means universal. A sizeable challenge faces us then as developments within the social sciences pull for more objective, verifiable methods in one camp and dialectical and deconstructionist approaches in the other. What we argue, however, is that bringing gender truly into migration studies is best accomplished by employing multiple research methods. Indeed, although hierarchies in disciplinary hegemony have characterized migration studies, there has also been a sustained and healthy respect for interdisciplinarity and methodological pluralism. Truly, migration is one of the *most* cross-disciplinary fields in academia today.

Gazing toward the future, we realize that we ethnographers do not wish to continually be on the defensive regarding our methods. Rather, we look to promising existing strategies that take advantage of the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods and to the invention of additional such

methodological hybrids. One existing approach that shows much wider potential for scholarship examining gender and migration is Douglas Massey's "ethnosurvey" (1987), which employs multiple methods over the course of several phases of research. Usually, ethnographers begin the work and their data inform the refinement of more quantitative techniques and later the interpretation of data.<sup>3</sup>

Advancing our understanding of gender and migration will progress more rapidly if we conduct more comparative research. The single case study is the ethnographic staple, and it generates rich, valid data, yet, as stated above, it suffers from the presumption that it is too idiosyncratic to contribute to theory building. Comparative ethnographic case studies conducted in multiple sites simultaneously could ameliorate these concerns about data generalizability. Multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998; Burawoy *et al.*, 2000) is already indispensable for studying transnational migration where people's lives are conducted across borders. The need now is for incorporating comparisons in multi-sited research that, optimally, employs various methods. Such research will be expensive, and agencies must be convinced that these expenditures are worth the additional cost.

Finally, we call for more longitudinal research in the future. As Mahler (1999a) lamented a few years ago as she tried to measure change in gender relations in El Salvador – a country that was almost ignored by researchers until its civil war – there was no historical baseline against which she could compare her contemporary observations. This is not a unique case. And even when there is a great deal of historical, background information on gender relations, this does not mean that it is methodologically compatible with current concepts (a classic example is "sex roles" versus "gender relations") to serve as a baseline. Longitudinal research has much more potential; however, as we fully recognize, it is not easy to do longitudinal research on migration when funding sources tend to be episodic. We should work hard to transform this fact, to convince funding agencies that migration – just as most medical research – needs to be longitudinal and that the added cost is justified.

<sup>3</sup>Ethnography characterizes most of the initial work of the ethnosurvey, taking advantage of ethnographers' ability to comprehend issues holistically and contextually. This information then informs the development of quantitative instruments that can help test reliable findings from small samples to larger populations. Ethnographic work continues as these quantitative data are collected and serves to help interpret the resulting data. Interpretation of quantitative data is often the Achilles' heel of quantitative research, particularly when results do not conform to expectations. This is precisely what Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) encountered in their research on Dominican migration, and the fieldwork proved invaluable to explaining the survey data collected.

*Gender Shapes Migrant Households, Kinship, and Social Networks*

While ethnographers of migration have studied diverse and interlinked units of analysis, households, families, and larger social networks have arguably received the greatest attention. In part this focus reflects anthropologists' traditional disciplinary training in kinship and social organization. However, it also incorporates two key critiques: First, ethnographers argue that migration is not merely a process best understood in economic and/or political terms; it is also a sociocultural process mediated by gendered and kinship ideologies, institutions, and practices (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1999). Second, beginning in the early 1980s, ethnographers started arguing that while macrostructural transformations unleash pressures and incentives for international migration, it is frequently households and families who determine which members of the domestic unit will migrate, how their contributions will fit into the household's economy, etc. That is, individuals are inexorably tied to larger social units (Pessar, 1982; Wood, 1982; Boyd, 1989).

While household/family level decisions might be guided by principles of consensus and altruism – the prevailing “pre-feminist” view early on – they might just as equally be informed by hierarchies of power along gender and generational lines, for instance. Ethnographers have successfully documented how the tensions, dissensions, and coalition building these gendered and generational hierarchies produce go on to impact key processes of decision making, recruitment, settlement, and return (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Buijs, 1993; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000; Phizacklea, 2002).

While there was a growing recognition in the 1980s that social networks assumed an important role in key migratory processes, these social networks were seen as organized largely upon norms of social solidarity, and gender was often ignored. Revisionist research has contradicted such claims and has countered that migrant social networks can be highly contested social resources, not always shared even in the same family or between spouses (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kyle, 1995; Ellis, Conway, and Bailey, 1996; Kyle, 2000; Menjivar, 2000). At a minimum, there is abundant historical and contemporary evidence that in many cases male networks differ from females' (Diner, 1983; Wiltshire, 1992; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). Sometimes these networks evolve when women are specifically recruited to do gendered work abroad (Repak, 1995) or when several women form a cooperative network to cover both paid work as foreign laborers and their own domestic, reproductive work at home

(Morokvasic, 2002). As we discuss more fully below, work remains to be done on how the gendered nature of migrant recruitment into certain occupations affects the gendered composition and functioning of social networks.

Ethnographers using households, families, and networks as units of analysis have revealed a pattern wherein immigrant women introduced to wage-earning employment often experience gains in personal autonomy, independence, and greater gender parity, whereas men lose ground (*e.g.*, Pessar, 1986; Ui, 1991; Eastmond, 1993; Kibria, 1993; Hirsch, 1999; Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1999; Gamburd, 2000). This is particularly true when women's wages and/or remittances are sufficiently high relative to those of male household members to be used as leverage to negotiate greater parity in household decision making (including budgeting), in physical mobility, and in house-keeping and childcare. Some studies document how migration fosters more companionate spousal relations (Hirsch, 2003; Pribilsky, 2004). There are, however, sufficient countervailing ethnographic accounts that describe the intensification of men's control over women as well as instances of emotional and physical abuse to merit caution and comparative research (Peña, 1991; Abdulrahim, 1993). We thus need to probe further how changes in females' status as a result of migration affect masculine privilege and how this interrelates with other challenges to males' self-esteem that are caused by racism, classism, religion, and legal status.

A growing body of literature documents that many women of distinct nationalities and in varied host countries seek to maintain and deepen personal gains achieved through migration by prolonging their households' stays abroad (Pessar, 1986; Chavez, 1992). There are also indications that men may be more committed to and involved in maintaining transnational ties both to facilitate a more speedy return and to situate themselves in arenas of male privilege, such as male-headed transnational community associations (Jones-Correa, 1998; Goldring, 2001). Clearly, these are examples where attentiveness to gender difference enhances our understanding of key features of settlement and the creation and maintenance of transnational identities, practices, and institutions. There is, nonetheless, need for continuing research. One topic deserving greater attention is how long-term migrants negotiate the terms of their retirements and the importance of gender therein. Research typically focuses on how migrants, particularly females employed in the domestic sector, provide care to the young and, increasingly, the aging populations in host countries (Escrivá, 2005). Ignored, however, is the growing specter of millions of aging immigrants themselves and if, where, and under what conditions they will retire (Singer and Gilbertson, 2000). We expect gender will influence this highly understudied phenomenon.

As noted above, anthropologists have specialized in studying kinship and this perspective has greatly enriched migration studies in the past (Mayer, 1961; Lomnitz, 1977; Uzzell, 1979). Studying descent, marriage, and fictive kin has receded in significance in the discipline of anthropology, and the same is even truer within ethnographic studies of migration. In our readings of contemporary scholarship we see many instances in which gendered kinship ideologies, relations, and practices appear to assume a role in migration processes, although these often go unexamined. There is a small, often historical, literature that questions what impact post-marital residence practices, such as patrilocality versus matrilocality or neolocality (living with the husband's or wife's family or in a new household), and diverse forms of inheritance (passed down male or female lines exclusively or bilaterally) exert on the range of incentives for and constraints on labor mobility placed on male and female household members, respectively (Diner, 1983; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Mills, 1997; Mahler, 1999a; De Clementi, 2002). Does it not matter whether polygyny is permitted and practiced or which household spouses join following marriage in places where migration is commonplace? The work of Stephen Lubkemann (2000) on the transnational polygyny practiced by migrant men from Mozambique to South Africa and by Mahler (2001) on Salvadoran migrants who worry little about their wives as they are carefully watched in patrilocal households are cases in point that kinship does matter. Undoubtedly, if we look we will find that other kinship rules and relations structure migrations and their effects, but we need to pay more attention to this overlooked topic.

### *Children Are Gendered Too*

Recently, Lawrence Hirschfeld (2002) published a scathing article in the *American Anthropologist* entitled "Why Don't Anthropologists Like Children?" in which he argues that the field has marginalized children. We amplify Hirschfeld's concern by adding that migration scholars have disproportionately focused their work on the adults, with a few notable exceptions such as research on immigrant children in schools (e.g., Ogbu, 1978; Gibson, 1988; López, 2003), a small literature on transnational childhoods (e.g., Pe-Pua *et al.*, 1996; Wolf, 1997; Faulstich Orellana *et al.*, 1998; Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Orellana *et al.*, 2001; Parreñas, 2005), and the much larger literature on the second generation. Anthropologists and other ethnographers have made major contributions to the latter (*inter alia* Stepick, 1998; Singer and Gilbertson, 2000; Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Levitt and Waters, 2002), though their work may not be as fully appreciated as that from more quantitative studies (e.g., Portes

and Zhou, 1993). The real issue we wish to bring to the fore, however, is the contributions that ethnographic research on migrant children makes to understand the relationships between gender and migration.

The second generation is a segment of the immigrant population especially implicated in the forging of ethnic identities and practices and in more general processes of incorporation. A gendered lens has been applied inconsistently but increasingly to the experiences of this youthful and growing segment of receiving countries' populations (*e.g.*, Gibson, 1988; Stepick, 1998; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Espiritu, 2003; López, 2003). A common refrain is families' differential treatment of adolescent boys versus girls, particularly the pronounced disciplining of young women's sexuality. Indeed, as Yen Espiritu's work brings into sharp focus, adolescent girls shoulder not only their families' reputations but also carry those of their entire ethnic group (2001). The very gender regimes that root girls to home and off the streets where their brothers may roam, however, appears to enhance their academic success. Indeed, some research has found that gender-based behavioral expectations and rewards are practiced in schools as well as in the home (Suárez-Orozco, 2001; López, 2003). Mary Waters (2001) writes that second-generation West Indian boys have adopted an adversarial form of African-American identity, one reflecting repeated incidents of social exclusion, harassment, and denigration at the hands of white Americans. Within the school context, this adversarial stance has had a chilling effect on their academic achievement.

Ethnographic research on gender's role in the second generation is also beginning to question some of the conclusions of segmented assimilation theory, a theoretical frame that has informed much of this type of immigration research. Proponents of segmented assimilation theory argue that immigrants can achieve intergenerational upward mobility either by retaining certain ethnic traditions and institutions and/or conforming to mainstream cultural norms (*e.g.*, Portes and Zhou, 1993). Ethnographer Nancy López (2003), reflecting the need to research gender beyond sex (male-female) comparisons, argues that assimilation theory needs to recognize that "the very social networks, neighborhoods, schools, job opportunities, and family arrangements that are open to the second generation are racialized *and* gendered" (5, emphasis in original). López finds that these concurrent processes explain much of why disadvantaged young women of color are succeeding at higher rates in schools and in the labor market than their male counterparts.

Second-generation research is making important contributions to our understanding and theorizing of assimilation processes and how they interact with gender and other socially stratifying forces. Therefore, why limit our

research to adolescents? We recognize there are ethical and methodological considerations, but these are overcome by researchers in psychology and other disciplines. Immigrant children have long been identified as more adept at learning new cultures and serving as culture brokers for adults, including their own parents (Warner and Srole, 1945). As such they would appear to be a strategic population in which to examine the acquisition, negotiation, and implementation of multiple cultural competencies (aka “biculturalism” or “multiculturalism”). Do, for example, young immigrant children learn to behave in gender-appropriate ways for the different contexts they live in, such as their home life versus day care? Can early childhood programs, particularly universal programs such as those offered to all young children in Denmark, where the state supports a multicultural curriculum (Richard Jenkins, personal communication), make a difference in the gender ideologies and practices of these children as they mature? Certainly these are important questions to ask and to research.

Another very fruitful line of inquiry with regard to children and migration is international adoptions. There is an emerging literature that documents how gender and other socially organizing forces affect the entire process of adoption, including who has the resources to adopt and who is deemed appropriate to adopt and to be adopted (*e.g.*, Melosh, 2002). As Sara Dorow (2004) documents in her study of white Americans adopting babies in China, girls are preferred for one of several reasons, including the belief that they will be easier to raise than boys, less likely to join gangs, more fun to dress up, and that they will benefit more by being raised in a less patriarchal society. She also describes in a remarkable ethnographic vignette how on the Chinese island housing the U.S. consulate different strands of the migration experience come together: She found it ironic to see white American parents pushing Chinese baby girls in strollers on the very geography that a century earlier accommodated female Chinese servants (*amahs*) caring for the white offspring of colonial elite rulers. Finally, it is important to note that international adoption produces immigrants, though they have no choice in the matter. It is an instance of “deliberately induced” migration – a topic we develop in depth later – which calls into question the key assumptions that underlie popular migration theories.

### *The Social Construction of Immigrant and Majority Subjects*

Throughout this article we repeatedly maintain that to advance migration studies a consideration of gender differences alone is often insufficient. Rather, gender is entwined with other structures of difference, such as race, class,

generation, and sexual orientation, and these must also be factored into studies of gender and migration. In this section we take up an argument begun in the previous section on children by acknowledging those scholars who have moved beyond the study of immigrant and ethnic subjects and institutions to explore how immigrant and native-born subjects are reciprocally constituted. These scholars, who usually position themselves more in cultural and ethnic studies than in migration studies but whose methods are overwhelmingly qualitative, explore how reciprocal representations of the “other” with respect to gender and sexuality (and other axes of difference) reveal tensions and contradictions in the ideologies, practices, and distributions of power within the lives of immigrants *and* native-born populations (Anzaldúa, 1987; Lowe, 1996; Espiritu, 1997; Modood and Werbner, 1997; Manalansan, 2003). They also alert us to the fact that ideological representations of gender and sexuality are central to the exercise and perpetuation of patriarchal and class domination. The fact that, for instance, in the U.S. context Asian men are simultaneously portrayed as both hypersexual and asexual, and Asian women are depicted as both super-feminine and masculine helps define, maintain, and legitimate white male virility and supremacy (Espiritu, 1997; Glenn, 1999; Espiritu, 2003).

Scholars who have traced these processes of gendered, sexual, and racial othering to colonial and neocolonial encounters help us to appreciate how these technologies of power set the stage for later episodes of immigration exclusion. The Page Act passed in the United States in 1875 is an early case in point. It severely restricted the immigration of Chinese women owing to their sexual stereotyping as prostitutes and fears of miscegenation with whites (Lubhéid, 2002). On the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao the colonial government has run the *Campo Alegre/Mirage* “Happy Land” brothel for nearly fifty years, employing hundreds of women from the Dominican Republic and Colombia – whose lighter skin than that of local Curaçaoan women is deemed more attractive to sex tourists. Prostitution on the island has drawn the ire of many locally who collectively label the sex workers “Sandom” and target them for exclusion in part because their activities detract from the images of wholesome tourism the island’s elite cultivate (Kempadoo, 1998). Such research indicates that sexuality issues, though on the rise in migration studies by ethnographers (*e.g.*, Constable, 2003, 2005; Manalansan, 2003; Tyner, 2004), merit more attention.

Analyses that examine mutually constituted identities and the forces behind their dynamism promote our understanding of how and why xenophobia in home country populations develops and the effects it has on political, economic, and social policies and practices as well as popular ideologies and

stereotypes. Clearly, gender matters in all of these processes. For example, reflecting upon a flier circulated in New York City depicting Osama Bin Laden being sodomized by the World Trade Center, Leti Volpp observes: “Post-September 11 nationalist discourse reinscribes both compulsory heterosexuality and the dichotomized gender roles upon which it is based: the masculine citizen soldier, the patriotic wife and mother, and the properly reproductive family” (2002:1589).

Looking forward, we are cognizant that there is an urgent need to understand immigrants’ disaffection during these times of heightened insecurity. The 9/11 attacks, U.S. occupation of Iraq, and the bombings in Madrid and London have produced ripple effects in many non-Muslim countries where immigrant Muslims live. These are fostering xenophobia, reassertions of “the homeland” – with all its gendered hierarchies and connotations – and even the assertion of religion-based national identities where church and state have long been separated (Kaplan, 2004). The time is right to examine more closely the linkages between immigrant experiences and gendered, ethnic, and racial subjectivities (Foner, 2005).

### *Gender Matters to Nation-States and Supranational Institutions*

As gender has been brought more centrally and broadly into migration studies, feminist ethnographers have turned their attention to nation-states, borders, and supranational institutions. In doing so, they have refused essentialized notions of the nation. Instead they ask, Whose nation? and How are gendered technologies employed to constitute the nation and police inclusion and exclusion? (Yeoh and Huang, 1999; Walton-Roberts, 2004; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman, 2005).

States are, of course, the prime institutions charged with border control, and gender influences states’ border policies and practices. On the one hand, women and girls are much more often targets of gender-based violence, particularly rape, and of suspicions of border crossing for purposes of prostitution than are males (Kempadoo, 1998; Wright, 2001; Brennan, 2004). On the other hand, border concerns characterized in national security terms disproportionately affect males. In the Middle East (and increasingly elsewhere) it is they who are more likely to be singled out for mistreatment owing to gendered assumptions about who is a terrorist. These border matters are an important site for more ethnographic research. In another example of gendered state policies, Caroline Brettel (1995) studied how the Portuguese government issued passports only to men until 1989. Their dependents were expected to travel on

the men's passports. When the policy shifted, women could obtain passports but could not travel abroad without their husband's permission – a clear collusion of state policy and patriarchal authority.

States also regulate who may become incorporated into the body politic and how this is accomplished. In many European countries, for example, immigration laws act to reproduce traditional notions of women's dependency on men by assuming that the latter are the breadwinners and thus the heads of households (Boyd, 1997; Phizacklea, 1998; Kofman, 2000). A consequence of these persistent gendered practices is that a British Asian woman experiences far greater difficulty in successfully petitioning her non-British Asian husband (who is viewed as a competitor on the national job market) than is a British Asian or White man who petitions for his spouse (Bhabha, 1996). In contrast, U.S. immigration law regularly discriminates against divorced men who petition for their children, holding them to higher standards of documenting their relationship to their children than mothers receive.

Feminist ethnographers have contributed to the important examination of national and supranational laws and policies regarding asylum seekers and refugees. They find that gender is consistently operative in public discourses, laws, and the practices associated with asylees' and refugees' control and assistance (McSpadden and Moussa, 1993; Camino and Krulfeld, 1994; Giles, Moussa, and Van Esterik, 1996; Indra, 1999; Silvey, 1999; Holtzman, 2000; Pessar, 2001). Long-entrenched gendered notions of the male "public" sphere and the female "private" sphere also serve to impede states and international organizations from defending women's human rights against assaults experienced routinely in the more "intimate" spaces of families and ethnic communities (Bhabha, 1996; Crawley, 1997). That is, the ways in which most human rights law and practice are constituted favor forms of public dissent and persecution more typically associated with men than with women. Recently, however, a few countries, like Canada and the United States, have amended their laws to recognize certain forms of gendered persecution, such as female genital circumcision (Macklin, 1999). Yet here, too, gendered notions of women's agency continue to operate. In a pioneering ethnographic study, Connie Oxford (2005) documents how U.S. lawyers and immigration officials have routinely convinced female asylum seekers from certain African nations to seek asylum on the gendered grounds of forced circumcision rather than through claims based on political resistance and persecution – the actions which truly motivated their flight. Featuring quite a different set of conventional understandings about gender (and race), Kristin Koptiuch (1996) presents the case of a Hmong refugee charged with the kidnapping and rape of a co-ethnic

college student. Referring to the lawyer's claim that his client was merely adhering to the Hmong ritual practice of marriage by capture, the anthropologist states: "From a spectacular collapse of space, time, and subjectivity, the law takes license to retrieve a non-historical, primitivized, feminized image of Asia that facilitates . . . the denial of coevalness between Asia and the United States" (p. 229).

A growing literature on states' roles in migration has examined their efforts to reach outside their borders to interact with their emigrant populations and with states where their citizenry has resettled. Most of this transnational literature does not engage gender explicitly or centrally. However, when scholars incorporate gender analyses they are beginning to find that hometown associations and other transnational organizations and activities are spaces where patriarchy is often reproduced (Jones-Correa, 1998; Goldring, 2001). For instance, Luin Goldring (2001) found that despite the fact that Mexican immigrant women's work produced funds to support community projects in their hometowns, the women were excluded from leadership positions in the hometown association owing, in large part, to the fact that the Mexican state would only work with male representatives. And in her research on Guatemalan refugees in Mexico and their return home, Patricia Pessar (2001) found that women's citizenship was encouraged and facilitated by transnational agents and in supranational venues. Workshops in refugee camps organized by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and attendance at international meetings on women and human rights promoted women's empowerment and the expansion of their notions of and claims to citizenship. Refugee women's rights as citizens and their political agency diminished greatly, however, once they returned home and into the fold of a highly patriarchal Guatemalan state. Such research invites further scrutiny into those local, national, and transnational contexts and conditions that promote or constrain immigrant, asylum-seeker and refugee-gendered citizenship and political empowerment (*see* Yeoh and Huang, 1999; Hyndman, 2000; Kofman, 2000; Silvey, 2004).

### *Engendering Transnational Migration*

The transnational perspective on migration arose in the late 1980s largely as a way to comprehend international migration that paid attention not only to migrants' incorporation into new societies as they resettled, but also to homeland ties they sustain or build even as they settle abroad. Generations of scholars prior to this time had overwhelmingly ignored transnational ties and their effects, favoring instead an approach that began with the earliest school

addressing migration, the Chicago School of Sociology, which focused on immigrants' adaptation and assimilation over enduring transnational linkages and identities. The scholars who pioneered the transnational approach are ethnographers, anthropologists in particular (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994), and it is important to note that their qualitative empirical data provoked a paradigm shift.

Unfortunately, in the early years of the transnational perspective, gender was featured much less prominently than other socially stratifying forces such as race, ethnicity, and nation. Concerned that gender again be marginalized, albeit unintentionally, we began to organize panels and conferences during which the added value of a gendered perspective was brought into the debates around transnational migration and transnationalism in general. What we still lacked was a theoretical approach for how to conceptualize and study gendered identities and relations when conducted and negotiated across international borders, as they relate to multiple axes of difference, and as they operate along and across many sociospatial scales – from the body to the globe. To that end, we developed a framework called “gendered geographies of power,” which we summarize here from previous publications (Mahler and Pessar, 2001; Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

Gendered geographies of power (GGP) is composed of four fundamental building blocks, of which the first is called “geographical scales.” This spatial term captures our understanding that gender operates, usually simultaneously, on multiple *spatial*, *social*, and *cultural* scales (for example, the body, the family, the state, gender hegemonies, and counterhegemonies). A gender regime's disciplining force and seeming immutability are reinforced through repetition in the ways in which gender is embedded and reenacted between and among these multiple scales. A critical question we ask in our own model is: When the geographical spaces we study extend across international borders, does this multiplication and dispersal produce even greater opportunities for the reinforcement of prevailing gender ideologies and norms, or, conversely, do transnational spaces provide openings for men and women, girls and boys to question hegemonic notions of gender, to entertain competing understandings of gendered lives, and to communicate these new understandings across transnational spaces? That is, do international migration and other cross-border activities that bring people into new gendered contexts change gender relations, and, if so, in what direction(s)? The existing transnational evidence is mixed; preliminary work indicates that gains for women or men may be uneven and contradictory (Hirsch, 1999; Silvey, 1999; Goldring, 2001; Pessar, 2001; Hirsch, 2003).

The analytical construct of “social location” is the second component of our model; it provides a reference term for how individuals and groups are situated in multiple, intersecting, and mutually constituting hierarchies of gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, and so on. “Social location” is conceptually akin to sociologists’ notion of “embeddedness” (Granovetter, 1985; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). However, social location 1) specifically conceives of social locations as scalar and fluid; and 2) plots individual and group identities and agencies along *multiple* social hierarchies or continuums at the same time. For example, a Moroccan immigrant in Spain may occupy low social locations with regard to race, class, and nationality while simultaneously occupying high social locations in his or her home country.

Agency comprises the model’s third component. We examine the types and degrees of agency people exert, given their social locations. Quite apposite here is feminist geographer Doreen Massey’s observation that the particular conditions of modernity have produced time-space compressions that place people in very distinct positions regarding access to and power over flows and interconnections between places. Moreover, she concludes, some individuals

initiate flows and movement, others don’t. Some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it . . . [There are] groups who are really in a sense in charge of time-space compression, who can really use it and turn it to advantage, whose power and influence it very definitely increases [such as media moguls and the business elite] . . . but there are also groups who are also doing a lot of physical moving, but who are not “in charge” of the process in the same way at all. (Massey, 1994:149)

We add that there are also those who do not move at all yet feel the effects of time-space compression, and those who both contribute to this condition and are imprisoned by it. For example, Denise Brennan (2004) studies how poor, dark-skinned sex workers in a popular sex tourism location in the Dominican Republic contribute to a German and even international sexual aesthetic of “hot” and compliant females, yet almost never get to see Germany for themselves.

Our model also acknowledges the role of the *imagination* or *mind work*, an element frequently sidelined in those transnational studies that privilege social relations and social institutions. Pioneering scholarship has been conducted on those images, meanings, and values associated with gender, consumption, modernity, place, and “the family” that circulate within the global cultural economy (Featherstone, 1990; Lipsitz, 1994; Appadurai, 1996). What is in far shorter supply are studies that examine how these “ideoscapes” and “mediascapes” (Appadurai, 1990) are gendered, interpreted, and appropriated by women and men, girls and boys in varied sites in ways that promote or constrain mobility

(Mills, 1997; Brennan, 2001; Pessar, 2001; Constable, 2003). We are pleased to see the GGP model taken up by other scholars (*e.g.*, Constable, 2005) and hope that it will continue to inspire research on gender, transnationalism, and migration.

*Engendering Remittances* There are innumerable transnational sites where gender matters. One of the most exciting literatures is that on transnational families (Rouse, 1986; Georges, 1992; Wiltshire, 1992; Ong, 1993; Pe-Pua *et al.*, 1996; Alicea, 1997; Mills, 1997; Menjivar, 2000; Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000; Yeoh and Willis, 2000; Fournon and Glick Schiller, 2001; Levitt, 2001; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Sorensen and Olwig, 2002; Espiritu, 2003; Parreñas, 2003; Escrivá, 2005). A transnational space where gender matters but which has not been so thoroughly explored to date is remittances. Although not always conceptualized in monetary terms (Levitt, 1998), remittances are generally understood to be those moneys sent by overseas workers to their homelands. These sums are not insignificant; globally they are estimated at over US\$70 billion while in many countries they equal or exceed income from exports (Orozco, 2002). Not surprisingly, remittances have garnered the attention of states, banks, migrant organizations, and large international financial institutions such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and International Monetary Fund. Indeed, the IDB sponsored several years of nation-by-nation studies of the importance of remittances and innovations to lower transaction costs and to improve the productivity of remittances in the Americas.

Does gender shape remittances and remittance policies and, if so, what would a gendered approach to remittances look like? It is quite early to answer these important questions given that to date there have been very few studies that even disaggregate remittances by the sex of remitters and senders, let alone work toward a comprehensive gendered analysis. Thus, while remittances have captured the fancy of many international lending institutions from small remittance agencies to the World Bank – including a panel at the 2005 IDB conference – a true gendered study is still lacking. The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) has been charged with developing a gender-based approach to remittances (Ramírez, García Domínguez, and Míguez Morais, 2005). Yet there is gendered cause for concern in these developments as well. The IDB gender panel, for example, was scheduled last in the program and though labeled “gender” was truly about women. The same is largely true for INSTRAW’s work.

Like wealth in general, remittances reflect and transmit power. Thus we need a detailed analysis of who earns these funds, what they are *not* spent on in order that they be sent abroad and who is affected by this lack of spending, who transmits the money, and who benefits from the profits generated by these transactions. This set of issues begs some questions: Why do migrants send remittances, ostensibly depriving themselves and their families of this income? Why do they send to some individuals over others? Does gender influence these decisions and, if so, how? Unfortunately, these questions remain to be studied systematically. However, there are some tantalizing clues in the literature that merit mention. For example, Mary Beth Mills (1999) examines how gender shapes rural Thai family obligations and how female migrants to Bangkok must eke remittances out of their low wages and send them home to win the women the family honor that their brothers can earn locally. Georges Fouron and Nina Glick Schiller (2001) show that poor Haitian immigrant women's remittances and gifts elevate their social status back home to an extent previously unimaginable. Yet, paradoxically, their material contributions signify such a high percentage of hard currency flowing into Haiti that they really buttress the very Haitian state that systematically discriminates against women. And Mahler (1999b) found that gender cuts both ways with regard to who becomes informal remittance couriers in El Salvador. Women are favored because they are deemed more trustworthy (less likely to drink heavily upon arrival, for instance), but the danger involved in transporting large sums of money and goods on roads notorious for armed assaults predisposes men for the courier work.

Finally, many policy makers have stressed the "productive" uses of remittances and how to promote them. In their view the vast majority of remittances are spent by recipients on "unproductive" purchases such as food, shelter, clothing, and education. The development project is to increase the percentage of these moneys that are saved, not spent, so that the capital can be invested.<sup>4</sup> Gender seeps subtly into a seemingly neutral notion of "productive" versus "unproductive" uses of remittances. We understand the value of capital investments for socioeconomic development. However, we are also very familiar with remittance recipients – families who are frequently but not always headed by women. We wonder why they should be singled out for disciplining when what they receive rarely or barely meets the needs of their dependents, particularly given that remittance streams are often irregular. Is it appropriate to not characterize as "productive" expenditures on children's education and welfare? Is

<sup>4</sup>We thank Manuel Orozco for sharing his experience in these arenas and insights with us.

there a less gendered rhetoric that might be substituted? And should recipients of remittances be disproportionately burdened with the responsibility for the development of home country economies? Are there not more apropos guilty parties – such as the large lending institutions?

*Gendered Employment: The Importance of Induced Migration*

We end our discussion where many others begin, namely, in the examination of labor markets. This has long been a major area of migration scholarship. For some time, scholars have observed that an important feature of globalization has been the increasing incorporation of women into the paid labor force. These incorporation processes frequently if not always involve migrations; indeed, the penetration of capitalism into previously unincorporated areas of the global economy has unleashed rural-to-urban migrations around the world, migrations that often produce international migrations when economic and/or social and political changes occur. Due to globalization, demand for female workers is particularly strong, inducing girls and women to migrate into cities to work in domestic jobs and factories, later migrating abroad when dislocated by any number of hiccups in the global economy. Ethnographers have been at the forefront of chronicling their experiences at work in export-oriented manufacturing (Ong and Nonini, 1987; Wright, 1997), domestic service (Constable, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001), sex work (Kempadoo, 1998; Law, 2000; Brennan, 2004), escort and entertainment work (Truong, 1990; Tyner, 2004), and as domestics and other care workers (Ong, 1987; Wolf, 1992; Momsen, 1999; Andall, 2000; Anderson, 2000; Escrivá, 2005).

In most cases, female migrant workers occupy different employment niches than their male counterparts. We argue that employer demand for labor is a powerful tool for understanding gendered employment patterns; it also explains more generally the genesis of international migrations and their geographic and demographic patterning. Historical and contemporary studies from around the world document the role of employers and their intermediaries (including states and religious organizations as well as private employment agencies) in stimulating – even coercing – people into motion who otherwise were uninclined to migrate (Eelens and Speckmann, 1992; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Anderson, 1999; Cox, 1999; Andall, 2000; Basok, 2002; *inter alia* Sassen, 1988; Satzewich, 1991; Feldman-Bianco, 1992; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Portes, 1995; Repak, 1995; Grimes, 1998; Rosenbloom, 2002; Espiritu, 2003; Tyner, 2004). As far back as 1983, Anne Phizacklea wrote that “Nearly all labour migration is characterized by compulsion” (p. 7),

yet recruitment and other forms of employer-stimulated labor flows have usually been marginalized in theoretical discussions. We do not know why but argue that they bring real added value to theorizing migration – and gender’s role as well.

Demand-driven or induced migration turns commonplace assumptions about migration and migrants’ motives on their head. It questions the assumption that people migrate merely because they envision a better life. Quite conversely, most migrations do not *begin* with individuals’ cost-benefit calculations but with enticements made to people with no intention of migrating. These enticements alter the very basis for cost-benefit calculations that potential migrants use, introducing a foreign element that is rarely if ever acknowledged in neoclassical theoretical accounts. Once begun, kinship- and friendship-based networks supplant the need for employer inducements to sustain migration streams (Massey, Duran, and Malone 2002; Rosenbloom, 2002).

Recruitment geographies present a little-explored place to examine gender in operation, frequently interacting with other socially stratifying forces, state policies, and colonial and neocolonial relations to sculpt people into workers and channel them into gendered employment niches. A place to start is the fact that agencies specializing in recruiting for companies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries more often than not catered only to men or women and fit applicants into gendered occupations (Rosenbloom, 2002). A simple example yet one rarely recognized case is the agricultural worker programs orchestrated by the Mexican, Canadian, and U.S. governments to recruit and deploy *male* farm labor in areas with shortages beginning in the World War II era. Known as the Bracero Program in the U.S., these programs set in motion patterned migrations from certain recruiter-targeted towns in Mexico with towns where employers needed labor (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 1999; Basok, 2002). These induced, gendered (male-only) migrations retraced North-South neocolonial relations, established gendered migration networks that have endured for decades, and crafted the stereotypical “wetback” image of the Mexican migrant as rural, male, and poor. Unfortunately, we do not know why the governments involved saw fit to only offer these opportunities to men; we can imagine that if they had been open to women the course of Mexican migration northward might look very different. We do know, however, that gendered ideologies regarding the appropriate roles for men and women were radically reconfigured in the postwar environment. During the war labor was in demand and women were recruited into the war industries and agriculture in unsurpassed numbers, but when the soldiers returned, “Rosie the Riveter” was told to go home, have babies, and stay (Honey, 1984).

We expect that if researchers begin looking systematically, we will find that gendered ideologies shape employer decisions and consequently migration streams because gender is so deeply implicated in people's notions of male versus female work. Given that to date such gendered recruitment studies are rare, we have chosen to feature one case that illustrates how much this analysis contributes.

### *Case Study: Filipino Migration*

Arguably, the best-documented case of gender-induced and sculpted migration is that of Filipinos, one that illustrates well what a new generation of migration scholarship with a gendered optic can produce. It is a case that also documents the role played by colonial and neocolonial relations – gendered forces that have had a hand in shaping many migrations. As chronicled by Espiritu (2003), the U.S. colonial government built many military bases on the islands, whose male labor force was subsequently recruited into subservient roles in the navy on the mainland. The men's confinement to “feminine” positions became a major basis for their enduring stereotypes of emasculation.

Under colonial rule, Filipinas were induced into a completely different migratory stream – the newly feminized profession of nursing. Catherine Ceniza Choy (2000) documents this process beginning with how the recently professionalized nursing curriculum in the U.S. was exported to its colony during the early twentieth century. In order to “modernize” nursing care and lift its reputation, only certain students in both countries were sought. “Like their American counterparts, the first Philippine nursing schools recruited young, healthy, ‘moral’ women from ‘respectable’ Filipino families” all over the country to schools in Manila, promoting rural to urban migrations that would subsequently become international (p. 115). At the same time and in an “effort to ‘civilize’ Filipinos and to ‘prepare’ ” them for self-rule, the American colonial government in the Philippines sponsored a unique educational opportunity for young Filipinos of the elite class. Through the *pensionado* program, Filipinos were sent abroad to attend college in the United States to prepare them to assume top positions in American-established institutions in the Philippines. Their fates were carefully gendered, however: men were sent to study politics, law, and medicine while women were expected to study home economics, social work, religion, and nursing. After World War II, the *pensionado* program was replaced by the Exchange Visitor Program (EVP), which sponsored thousands of Filipino nurses' migrations to work and study in the United States (Espiritu, 2003).

By the 1970s, gendered emigration had become a nation-building strategy of Filipino dictator Ferdinand Marcos, one built upon the benefits of exporting labor and importing laborers' remittances. Schools continued to train nurses for export to North America, Europe, and the Middle East. They were joined by hundreds of thousands of female domestic workers whose services are in demand around the globe.

Domestic workers must seek employment through state-licensed agencies which subject them to a dizzying array of rules and grooming procedures, a "homogenizing process intended to produce a single product: a hardworking, submissive and obedient domestic helper" (Constable, 1997:65). Applicants are "fitted into uniforms, examined, photographed, x-rayed, measured and evaluated" (p. 70). If they pass the first cut they are then coached by agencies in the Philippines on how to dress, speak, cut their hair, control their weight, answer questions, communicate with their families back home, eat, and abide by these agencies' "codes of discipline." Only those who "'adjust' to fit themselves into the necessary mold" (p. 69) and do not have very dark complexions (which Chinese fear will scare the children) can be sold to counterpart agencies overseas where they are subject to an additional round of scrutiny and disciplining by agencies and then employers. If lucky enough to be chosen for work, they will experience 14-hour workdays and be on call for 24; they will be told what to wear, when to bathe, what to eat and how much, and what spaces inside the home they may occupy – all in addition to the chores they must perform.

This abbreviated discussion of the richly documented Filipino case (*see also* Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Parreñas, 2001; Ogaya, 2004) still illustrates well processes at play in migrations more generally. The evidence is abundant but little recognized that people are induced into migration rather than volunteer for duty as most migration theory assumes. Employers' and recruiters' ideas about who make ideal laborers for different jobs sculpt the labor force and shuttle workers into different employment niches that reflect ideologies of gender, race, class, and civilization. Yet the prevailing notion is that people *want* to migrate leading scholars to theorize individual (or family/household) rational decision-making as the prime mover of migrations. To our minds, this orientation serves intentionally or not as an ideological tool to buttress states' policies to interdict and restrict migrations, i.e., their claims to sovereignty in the face of hordes of desperate invaders. Yet this and any other postulate needs to be researched. We feel strongly that ethnographers can and should be at the forefront of interrogating this and other theoretical models.

There are numerous other examples of deliberately induced migrations that have also not been sufficiently examined with a gender lens. The migration

of overseas spouses (the operative term, obviously gendered, is “brides”) is one area that has attracted attention (Constable, 2003; Nakamatsu, 2003; Constable, 2005), but there are others: international adoptees, sex workers, and professional sports players as well as other types of “exceptional” immigrants such as artists and skilled workers (Piper and Roces, 2003). In each of these cases though there may be some desire to move on the part of the migrant, the recruiter (or aspiring parent, spouse, pimp, agent, etc.) exerts more agency than the migrant. “Recruitment” and “inducement” are not the operative terms used in these instances, employer “sponsorship” often is. Why? We feel strongly this question needs to be asked regularly as the beginning of a process to expand our critiques. Indeed, as agency is more interrogated the commonplace poles of “voluntary” (immigrant) versus “involuntary” or “forced” (refugee, slave?) migration should be rightfully seen as endpoints in a long continuum with many intermediary measures and sites where gendered ideologies and processes operate.

### *CONCLUSIONS*

Our goal for this article was to illustrate how gender not only matters to migration but also contributes substantial added value to the analysis and comprehension of this complex phenomenon. We have cited ethnographic research which reveals how gender shapes migrations, migration policies, and ideas about appropriate forms of employment and political citizenship – just to name a few examples. Yet, if gender is so central, why was it possible to focus research exclusively on males in the past and why has gender not been commonly drawn on for theorizing migrations? There are multiple sources of marginalization, some disciplinary, some methodological, and others ideological. In terms of ideological marginalization, we refer to how many scholars write that they are studying “gender” yet examine only women, including a few feminist ethnographers who do so intentionally (Parreñas, 2001; Erel, Morokvasic, and Shinozaki, 2002).<sup>5</sup> There was a time when the

<sup>5</sup>For an excellent rebuttal of the women-only is alright argument, we recommend Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (1999b:566): “The ‘immigrant women only’ approach has also retarded our understanding of how gender as a social system contextualizes migration processes for all immigrants . . . this preoccupation with writing women into migration research and theory has stifled theorizing about the ways in which constructions of masculinities and femininities organize migration and migration outcomes. Finally, the preoccupation with writing women into migration research has also prompted methodological strategies that add gender as a variable. Consequently, differences between female and male migrants are often simply compared rather than interrogated or understood as interrelated parts of a system.”

exclusive male-only focus needed this corrective but we feel that this time has passed. Indeed, another imbalance has occurred and is only partially being corrected by studies that examine men's experiences and gender relations (Rouse, 1995; Schafer, 2000; Yeoh and Willis, 2000). Our point is that the scholarship on gender has moved much beyond male versus female analyses as we have shown here. There is still much room for additional research and we invite more of our male colleagues, in particular, to take up this call. Lastly, we hope that this article and the volume of which it is a part will lay to rest forever past practices of viewing gender-based analyses as, at best, optional and, at worst, unnecessary. Gender matters. To incorporate gender in migration research is not to "privilege" it but to accord it the explanatory power it merits.

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